CHAPTER II

INFRA-STRUCTURE

The original meaning of infra-structure is a "system of air fields, telecommunications and public services forming a basis for defence."¹ In economic literature the term is used to mean a system of economic and social overheads like a network of transport and communication, power supply, financial and credit institution, and basic social services particularly education and public health—all of which go together to constitute the basic foundation of economic development of a country or region. Thus a well laid infra-structure is an essential precondition of economic development and the nature and the degree of development of infra-structure in an economy determine to a large extent the pattern and the rate of growth of the economy in question. Therefore, any study on regional development such as ours must make it a point to examine the existing state of infra-structure in the region in question with a primary object of suggesting lines of development in the future.

A peculiar characteristic of investments in the construction of infra-structure of an economy is that they are not directly productive of consumable goods. It is, therefore, desirable to maintain, as far as practicable, a balance between investments in infra-structure and investments in directly

¹. The Concise Oxford Dictionary.
productive activities. But it is a matter of common experience that an underdeveloped economy does not possess sufficient amount of resources to make adequate investments in both. Therefore, shortage of either of the two is bound to occur and it is for the development planners to decide whether shortages should be permitted to occur in the directly productive activities or in the infrastructure, depending upon the specific situation of a particular case. In a fairly developed economy the infrastructure of which is pretty well-laid the strategy of economic growth may sometimes suggest a deliberate policy of shortage of investments in infrastructure for the time being relatively to investments in directly productive activities because this policy is likely to call forth induced investments in infrastructure in the immediate or remote future. A shortage that is experienced is very likely to lead to attempts to remedy it on the part of those who suffer from it or who stand to gain from its elimination. For example in an industrial city where the existing supply of power is insufficient to meet the demands of domestic consumers and industrialists, the latter are likely to be ready to pay higher taxes to enable the public authority to plan for increased power supply. But this argument is not applicable to a region like Manipur where even the minimum infrastructure needed for industrial venture capital has not yet been created. Here any investment in directly productive

activity, will have to preceded by or synchronised with investment in social overhead capital. Therefore, the problem of infra-structure assumes immense importance in the study of the economic development of Manipur which is one of the most backward areas in our underdeveloped country. Among the several constituents of the infra-structure of the economy of the State, we propose to discuss here the existing positions of transport and communications, power-supply, financial and credit institutions and facilities of education and public health.

(A) **Transport and Communication**

The importance of transport and communication in the economic development of an underdeveloped region can hardly be exaggerated. In the case of Manipur transport bottleneck is perhaps the greatest hurdle in the way of the State's economic development. Having realised this undeniable fact, the planners and the Government of Manipur devoted large proportions of the plan outlays to the development of transport and communication (including tourism) during the first three Five Year Plans. The proportions of outlays on transport and communications to the total plan outlays during the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans of Manipur were respectively 59.30%, 35.61% and 34.24%.

3. Figures for the First and Second Plans are taken from the Techno-Economic Survey of Manipur (by N.C.A.E.R) p.116 and that of Third Plan is deduced from the figures of plan outlays given in 'Third Five Year Plan in Manipur' (published by the Development Department, Govt. of Manipur).
These compare quite favourably with the all-India figures of 23.6, 28.9 and 20 percent respectively for the three successive Five Year Plans. In the following paragraphs the essential aspects of transport and communication in the State are briefly discussed.

Roads:

Manipur has no railway, and the only land communication between Manipur and the rest of India is the Imphal-Dimapur Road which connects Imphal with the Railhead of Dimapur in Nagaland. The road is 134 miles in length and passes through the hilly regions of Manipur and Nagaland. It is liable to interruptions especially during the rainy season, a period during which air transport service between Calcutta and Imphal is also likely to be interrupted. Attempts have been made during the last decade to provide a second life-line linking Imphal with Silchar by means of a new road - the New Cachar Road. Considerable progress has been made in the construction of the new road but it is not yet open to traffic. The multiplicity of rivers to

5. As reported in Draft 4th Five Year Plan of Manipur, earth works have been completed excepting a stretch of 14 miles and estimates are under preparation for construction of major bridges. Further the Govt. of Assam have already agreed to the construction of a bridge over the Jiri River (the boundary between Assam and Manipur) initially by the Govt. of Manipur subject to reimbursement of one half of the cost at a later stage.
be bridged, the difficult terrain through road passes, disturbance by Naga hostiles and host of other factors make the task a Herculean one.

Road communication within the State is not also satisfactory, especially in the hills region. Imphal, which is not only the political capital of the State but also the most important centre of trade in it is not yet connected with some of the important hill areas. Even the subdivisional head quarters are not all connected with Imphal and with one another with motorable roads. The few roads in the hill areas are subject to frequent and serious interruptions during the rainy season. Moreover, owing to multiplicity of rivers and streams, there are also enormous problems of construction and maintenance of bridges. Many of the existing bridges were constructed before and during the Second World War and almost all the old bridges are of wooden structures.

Till recently, roads in Manipur were not developed according to any scientific plan. However, the road schemes undertaken during the last decade or so have been drawn up with a view to connecting Imphal with the various subdivisional head quarters in the hills and also to connect the subdivisional head-quarters with one another. Thus apart from the requirements of economic development, administrative and strategic considerations have been kept in view at the time of planning the new roads.
In addition to the Indo-Burma Road, a national highway which runs across Manipur (from Mao to Moreh within the geographical area of the State i.e. 133 miles) the total length of extramunicipal roads in Manipur, by the end of the Third and that likely to be achieved by end of a Fourth Five Year Plan, are shown in the following table.

Table 7  Extramunicipal Roads in Manipur (excluding National Highways)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of roads</th>
<th>Total length of Roads (in Kilometers)</th>
<th>Achieved at the end of the Third Plan</th>
<th>Likely to be achieved during the 4th Plan</th>
<th>Likely to be achieved at the 4th Plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total length of Roads (in Kilometers)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. State Highways</td>
<td>1,366.00</td>
<td>583.00</td>
<td>1,949.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Major District Roads</td>
<td>410.80</td>
<td>32.20</td>
<td>443.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other district Roads</td>
<td>56.20</td>
<td>279.80</td>
<td>336.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Village roads</td>
<td>310.13</td>
<td>342.87</td>
<td>653.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,143.13</td>
<td>1,237.87</td>
<td>3,381.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Govt. of Manipur - Draft Outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan, Chapter on Transport and Communication.

An obvious conclusion that emanates from a casual examination of the above figures is that compared to the size of the State, the existing road-mileage is very short. Moreover, a larger proportion of the existing roads is unsurfaced.6

6. In 1959-60, the latest year for which information regarding detailed classification of roads is available, out of a total road mileage of 1873.7 Km only 472 Km had modern surface (i.e. bituminous and concrete) 106.1 Km were water bound Macadam, and the remaining 1295.6 Km were unsurfaced, vide Statistical Abstract of Manipur 1965-66, pp. 44-46.
Equally important with the roads themselves is the agency for constructing roads. The Public Works Department of Manipur, the agency for constructing roads in the State has 14 divisions of which 8 are mainly concerned with road construction. To expedite works some of the divisional (P.W.D.) head quarters have been shifted from Imphal to the subdivisional (administrative) head-quarters in the hill areas. It is, therefore, expected that the Department will be able to proceed on vigorously with road construction programmes as envisaged in the Five Year Plans. At the same time the limitations the Department must not be lost sight of. For want of technically qualified persons many important posts—those of computers, overseers, draftsmen, surveyors, tracers, foremen, mechanics, mechanical supervisors and estimators—in the department are vacant. It is natural that the department cannot make much headway when many technical posts cannot be filled up. Moreover, the department is not well equipped with road building machines. In addition to the existing stock of equipment the department immediately requires 35 road rollers, 5 crawler type tractors, 5 motor graders, 30 trucks, 5 stone crushers, 12 pile driving machines, 20 concrete vibrators and 6 concrete mixers.

8. Govt. of Manipur: Draft Fourth Plan, Chapter on Transport and Communications.
Motor transport:

Road transport being the most important form of transportation in Manipur, the organization of motor transport assumes enormous importance in the State. Among the thirteen principal operators now working in the State twelve are co-operative societies and the 13th is the Manipur State Transport which is a state undertaking. There are also a number of private motor vehicle owners. The co-operative societies are small and possess only a few vehicles. Moreover, "whereas ordinarily co-operatives are formed by owners, in Manipur the majority of the co-operators do not have vehicles of their own." Most of them serve only one route.

The Manipur State Transport is the biggest operator. In 1963-64, the latest year for which detailed statistics are available this state undertaking had 70 buses, 73 trucks, 3 station wagons, 7 mail vans, 5 dodge weapon carriers and 10 jeeps. In the same year the organisation employed 586 persons and served 444 miles of route mileage. It runs the railway out-agency between Dimapur and Imphal, and it has monopoly in passen-

9. The more important of the co-operative societies are (1) Manipur Drivers' Union Co-operative Society (2) Litan-Ukhrul Road Transport CS (3) Cachar Road Transport CS (4) Imphal-Tamenglong Transport Co-operative society (5) Manipur Public Carriers' Transport Co-operative society (6) Imphal-Yairipok Road Transport Co-operative society and (7) Tidim Road Motor Owners' Transport co-operative society.


ger transport and handles a major portion of goods transport on the Imphal-Dimapur Road. In addition, the Manipur State Transport is also operating services on the Imphal-Morah Route (68 miles), Imphal-New Churchandpur Route (38 miles), Imphal-Waikhong Route (39 miles), and Imphal-Kongchup Route (9 miles). It is also the sole operator of city bus services for Imphal and its suburbs.

Although the progress made by the State Transport in the number of vehicles acquired and mileage of route operated is encouraging, the operation has been resulting in sizeable losses to the Government. The operating cost per mile was gradually increasing from 87 paisa in 1957-58 to Rs. 1.27 in 1960-61 while the earning per mile was declining from Rs. 1.13 p. in 1957-58 to 88 paisa in 1960-61. As a result, the State Transport incurred a loss of Rs. 3,80,371 in 1960-61, as against a profit of Rs. 2,07,149 in 1957-58. 12

Further, although the Manipur State Transport is the biggest operator in Manipur, it meets only a part of the transport requirements of the State. The transport co-operative societies and individual owners of vehicles provide more than 50 p.c. of the transport services available in the State. In 1963-64, 1,503 registered vehicles were plying on roads of Manipur as against 168 vehicles belonging to the Manipur State Transport. Out of the total of 1,503 vehicles in running cond-

tions 570 were private cars, 165 were public service vehicles, 501 were goods vehicles, 116 were motor cycles and 151 were miscellaneous types. However, the number of running vehicles is not much more than one-third of the total number of vehicles registered with the Manipur State Transport Authority. In 1964-65, the State Transport Authority registered 397 vehicles. This brought the number of registered vehicles in Manipur to 4266. This means that the number of registered vehicles in the State was 3869 in 1963-64 which is not much less than three times the number of vehicles in running condition in the year. The inevitable conclusion which emerges from this state of affairs is that most of the registered vehicles in Manipur have long passed their useful life but they cannot be replaced for want of necessary resources.

This conclusion is confirmed by a study of the age-structure of motor vehicles in Manipur. The National Council of Applied Economic Research pointed out that in 1960, out of a total of 615 vehicles they examined including 152 stage carriages 5 private carriers, and 458 public carriers only 49 vehicles including 15 stage carriages 3 private carriers and 31 public carriers were within an estimated working life of six years and the remaining 566 vehicles including 137 stage carriages, 2 private carriers and 427 public carriers were long past

their age of superannuation according to recognised standards of useful life.15

There are also the problems of workshop facilities and fuels. With the exception of the Manipur State Transport which has well-equipped workshops of its own for maintenance and repairs, other operators cannot run their own workshops. However, thanks to the ingenuity of Manipuri drivers, many vehicles which would have superannuated long before are still plying although there are only one or two registered workshops in the State. In many cases the drivers are themselves mechanics and the owners of the vehicles. It is encouraging to note that the drivers are themselves maintaining their own vehicles or those under their care. But this state of affairs cannot be equated with workshop facilities for maintenance and repair of vehicles. Another problem of road transport in Manipur is that most of the vehicles operating at present feed on costly fuel viz. petrol. In 1963-64, out of 1,503 vehicles that were plying, only 160 had diesel engines. Moreover, there are no fuel depots in Manipur except those at Imphal.

Next, we have to turn to the administrative aspect of the problem. The enforcement of the rules and regulation regarding transport and traffic is at present under the Police Department and a special staff has been appointed to enforce the decisions taken by the Transport Authority of the State regarding

routes, timings etc. The need for mobile courts with adequate strength of traffic police has been felt. There is also unusual delay in the issue of permits. The process takes three to four months. The reasons for the delay are ascribed to the inability of the inadequate staff of the State Transport Authority to cope with the work and to some extent to the application of the Motor Vehicles Act. Whatever the reason, "It is obvious that such delays are detrimental to the development of transport and what is worse is that they tend to create a sort of 'premium market' for permits." ¹⁶

The question of inter-state permits deserves special attention. Manipur has two supply points at Gauhati and Dimapur. The question of levying taxes over the length of journey beyond Mao (i.e., beyond the territorial boundary of Manipur) and of interruption to the free flow of traffic on national highway beyond the point (Mao) has not been satisfactorily solved. For a long time, lack of reciprocal arrangement with Assam rendered the arrangements for the free plying of public carriers and other transport between Imphal and Gauhati most unsatisfactory. The Nagaland Government have also raised the question of inter-state traffic. Recently the State Transport Authority of Manipur entered into a reciprocal agreement with the Government of Assam and Nagaland, operative from the first August 1967. However, the Manipur State Transport Authority has failed to put an adequate

number of vehicles in the agreement. This has made matters worse, and as a matter of fact the Nagaland Government seized a large number of vehicles during the last few months for violating the agreement. This is an instance of hindrances to inter-state traffic which will have the effect of holding up or upsetting the plans for economic development. As building materials and heavy types of consumer goods can be brought to Manipur only from Gauhati or Dimapur, the interruption of the flow of traffic will impose heavy strains on the economy of Manipur. Something must be done to improve the interstate permit system.

Lastly, it is necessary to emphasize the desirability of unified control of roads and road transport in the interest of more efficient service. At present the plans for development of roads and road transport are subject to dual control of the Governments of Manipur and the Union in as much as any plan mooted by Manipur Government will have to receive prior technical sanction of the Government of India before execution. This process delays the execution of development programmes as technical sanctions cannot generally be obtained in time. It is, therefore, felt that greater delegation of powers to the Chief Commissioner of Manipur will help matters considerably.

17. The Manipur State Transport Authority put only 15 vehicles in the agreement for the life-line of the State.
Inland water transport:

Before the days of road development inland water transport had considerable importance in the economy of Manipur. But now-a-days this form of transport is of little use.

Post and telegraph and public call offices:

By the end of 1963-64, Manipur had one Head post office 12 sub-offices and 171 branch offices. The volume of transactions in the post offices was considerably large. In the same year the State had 12 telegraph offices, 10 public call offices and 287 phones.18

Air Transport:

In view of the geographical isolation of the State air lifting of traffic is likely to play an important role in the transport between Imphal and the rest of the country. At present air freight to and from Calcutta and points in Assam is handled by converted passenger planes or crafts not designed for handling cargo, and therefore, not as economically as it could be. Considering that apart from road transport Manipur has no other means of transport than by air, the importance of organising it (air transport) on proper lines may be appreciated.

(B) Power:

So far we have been discussing one important ingredient of the infrastructure of the economy of Manipur. An equally important component of infrastructure is power. In so far as power supply is concerned, Manipur is rather unfortunate. She has no workable reserves of coal, nor does she possess oil-bearing rocks. Also, except for domestic heating wood is not used for generation of power. Electricity is thus the only form of power available to the State. But its development is in the embryonic stage and remains confined to Imphal and a few other places. In 1958-59 the per capita consumption of electricity in the State was 1.78 units as against the all-India figure of 82.26. In 1964-65, 17.64 lakhs units of electricity were utilised against an estimated population of 8.8 lakhs in the same year. This means that the per capita consumption of electricity in the year was a little above two units. This figure along with that of 1958-59 indicates that not only is the per capita consumption of electricity in Manipur extremely low but the rate of growth of power-supply in State is painfully slow. It is proposed to examine here, the following aspects of power-supply in the State:

Power Resources:

As noted earlier, Manipur possesses considerable hydro-power potential. A few sites have already been investigated and found to be economically sound for power development. In our survey of the water resources of the State, we referred to seven schemes of hydel power generation whose total production potential was estimated at 63,896 KW. If the existing potentials are fully exploited, Manipur will be able to export electric energy to the neighbouring States besides meeting the varied needs of the State. However, for utilizing the resource potentials, fundamental studies in the geology and hydrology of the State have to be made.

Present position of power production:

In spite of all the fairly large potential resources, the present position of power production in the State is far from satisfactory. At the end of the Third Plan, the only source of power was diesel engine sets.* At this time, there were 15 diesel generating sets, of which 9 were in Imphal. The available power in Imphal was only 1000 KW. Another 228 KW was available from Moirang, Thoubal and Ukhrul. A sixteenth set with a capacity of 50 KW has been installed at Jiribam in 1966-67 and the first

* The Leimakhong hydel power house which was established in 1930 by the erstwhile State Government and which remained the only hydel power house in the State for a long time was damaged by flood in 1962. This power-house could not be replaced until 1966-67.
stage of the new Leimakhong Hydro-Electric project with an installed capacity of 600 KW was commissioned in the same year. Thus by 1966-67 the aggregate amount of power available in the State was only 1878 KW. This fell far short of the immediate requirement of 3500 KW, excluding requirements for industries. It is pity to note that the few small industries in the State have to work only 2 or 3 days in a week according to a time schedule, because for want of power all of them can not operate simultaneously.

Not only is the supply insufficient to meet the increasing demand but the little amount of power available is very costly as the cost of production of power by diesel engine sets is much higher than cost of production by hydel generators. The current price of electricity in Manipur is 40 paise per unit for domestic lighting and 25 paise for industrial purposes. Such a high price of power seriously tells upon industries. On the one hand, it raises the cost of production, and on the other, it reduces the competitive strength of industries.

25. In 1958-59, the costs of generation per unit from the Diesel Power House at Imphal and Hydro Power House at Leimakhong were 14.6 paise and 7.6 paise respectively. Vide Techno-Economic Survey of Manipur, p. 64.
Pattern of utilisation:

The pattern of utilisation of electricity available in the State and the proportion of electric power actually utilised to the total electricity output are no less disquieting. A careful scrutiny of the utilisation of electricity for different purposes reveals that a major portion of electric power generated in Manipur is utilised for domestic lighting and very little is left for use in industry and agriculture. Likewise, a comparison of the amount of power generated and the quantum of power sold by the Electricity Department and actually utilised by various types of consumers clearly betrays that a huge portion of the generated power is lost due, perhaps, to administrative laxity of the State Electricity Department or the technological lapses of electrical engineers.

A perusal of tables 8 and 9 given in the following pages will substantiate these observations.

The figures in table 8 indicate that whereas for India as a whole industries are the biggest consumer of electricity, they occupy a relatively unimportant place among the customers of electricity in Manipur. This is largely due to the fact that as the quantum of production of electricity in the State is small very little amount of electric energy is left for industries after meeting the immediate requirements of domestic lighting and heating.²⁶ It is also pointed out that the meagre amount of

²⁶. This is a case of malallocation of resources. In the matter of consumption of electricity, industrial use should be given priority over domestic lighting and heating.
Table 8

Purpose-wise distribution of electricity used in Manipur, Assam and India (a comparative study) as percentages of the total amount utilised.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/State</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic or Residential</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
<th>Industrial</th>
<th>Agricultural Irrigation</th>
<th>Public Lighting</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-India</td>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (1) Figures for Manipur are taken from the Techno-Economic Survey of Manipur (by N.C.A.E.R.), P. 112.

(2) Figures for Assam and All-India are taken from the Techno-Economic Survey of Assam (by N.C.A.E.R) P. 223.

The consumption of electricity by industries is accounted for by the slow progress of industries in the State. However, this argument loses much of its weight when we remember that even the few small scale industries existing in Manipur cannot
operate for all days in the week for want of power. Whatever
the reason, it is an undeniable fact that the consumption of
electricity by industries is low. Figures of production and
consumption of electricity in Manipur for later years indicate
that this pattern of utilisation still continues. For example,
in 1963 the latest year for which detailed figures of produc-
tion and consumption of electricity in Manipur are available,
out of 16.83 lakh units of energy utilised for different purpo-
ses domestic consumption accounted for 13.10 lakh units while
industries utilised only 0.21 lakh units. Another interesting
point in regard to utilisation of electric energy in Manipur is
that electricity is not at all utilised in the State for irriga-
tion and other agricultural purposes.

The pattern of utilisation of electric power in Mani-
pur is somewhat similar to that in Assam where industry and
agriculture occupy relatively unimportant place among the vari-
ous consumers of electricity. But a study of the trend of uti-
ilisation unmistakably reveals that the position is better in
Assam. Whereas the proportion of electricity consumed by indus-
tries is gradually rising in Assam, the proportion remains more
or less stagnant in Manipur. An inevitable conclusion emerges
from this state of affairs: in Manipur electricity is more a
consumer good than a source of power designed to be utilised

27. Electricity Division P.W.D. Manipur, as reported by the
Statistical Bureau of Manipur in Statistical Abstract of
Manipur 1965-66, p. 56.
for further production and till to-day there is no indication of change in the pattern of utilisation of this important type of energy.

The second observation that a large proportion of generated electric energy is lost is substantiated by the following table.

**Table 9**

Loss of Electricity in Manipur and Assam: A comparative study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Manipur (in lakh units)</th>
<th>Assam (in million units)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Power generated and utilised</td>
<td>Power lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lakh Unit</td>
<td>% of Rated Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>4.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>20.77</td>
<td>13.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>23.73</td>
<td>16.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


N.B. Figures of production and utilisation are taken from the above sources and the figures of the power lost and the proportion which it bears to the total quantum of energy produced are deduced from the figures available in the sources.
Even a casual observation of the above figures indicates that the proportion of loss of electricity to the total electricity output was higher in Manipur than in Assam in every one of the years under review. It is natural that some power is lost for technical reason, but the extent of loss occurring in Manipur is unwarranted, and this suggests either or both of two things: first, administrative laxity on the part of the Electricity Division of P.W.D., Manipur which cannot detect unlawful utilisation of electricity by consumers; second, technical lapses on the part of the electrical engineers who fail to minimise the extent of loss due to technical reasons.

In a discussion of pattern of utilisation of electricity a word about its per capita consumption may not be irrelevant. In this regard, the progress in Manipur is not impressive in comparison with that in the rest of India. The per capita consumption (in Manipur) which was 0.68 unit in 1955-56 rose to 1.29 units in 1958-59 and to 1.78 units in 1968-59. Thus the magnitude and the rate of growth of per capita consumption of electricity in Manipur are rather disappointing. A comparison of per capita consumption figures in the State with those in all-India and some advanced and some backwards states of the country is drawn in the table on the next page.

Per capita consumption of electricity: A comparative study.

### Units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Manipur</th>
<th>Assam</th>
<th>Tripura</th>
<th>West Bengal</th>
<th>Bombay</th>
<th>All-India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.684</td>
<td>72.25</td>
<td>69.69</td>
<td>28.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(calendar year 1955)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>1.039</td>
<td>Not avail</td>
<td>73.15</td>
<td>32.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(calendar year 1957)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**
2. -do- of Assam, p. 222
3. -do- of Tripura, p. 88

---

**Growth of Demand:**

The Central Water and Power Commission estimated (in their load survey report of 1958) the maximum demand for electricity in Manipur at the end of the Second, Third and Fourth Five Year Plans at 900 KW, 1,350 KW and 1,600 KW respectively. However, the National Council of Applied Economic Research estimated the demands at the end of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th Five Year Plan at 700 KW, 1,600 KW and 3000 KW respectively, taking into account the increasing consumption of electricity by the existing small scale and cottage industries and the prospect of establishing forest-based industries for which Manipur has ample

---

supplies of raw materials. It is, however, found that even
the larger estimates by the N.C.A.E.R. are much below the require-
ments of the State. It is reported that by the end of the 3rd
Five Year Plan the immediate requirement of the State was 3500
KW excluding requirements for industries. The increase in
demand comes mainly from the expansion of Imphal town and the
necessity of electrifying Moirang, Thoubal, Ukhrul, Mao, Tadubi,
Jiribam, Moreh and other smaller towns. "Besides there are
demands from the Defence Installation of not less than 500 KW
and also another 50 KW for the All-India Radio, Imphal which
are intending to locate a more powerful transmitter in this
area."  

If we add to this the demand from industries the
total requirement of electricity in Manipur will be fairly large
because with the growth of road transport and the expansion of
internal market under the impact of the Five Year Plans a few
small industries have already been established and a pretty
large number of more units are likely to come into existence
once power becomes available at an economic price. Further,
quite a large number of farmers and cultivators are anxiously
waiting for the arrival of electricity. But as against the
increasing demand the available supply was as stated earlier,
only 1878 KW in 1966-67, the latest year for which reports are
available.

31. Govt. of Manipur : The Draft outline of the Fourth Five
Year Plan of Manipur : Chapter on Power.
32. Ibid.
Lines of Development:

All these considerations clearly underline the necessity of increasing power supply in the State. The ultimate solution to the problem lies in a full exploitation of the existing hydro-power potentials. But before this much desired objective is achieved something must be done to meet the immediate requirements. It is interesting to note in this connection that the National Council of Applied Economic Research suggested that Manipur would have to develop its internal power resources to meet its requirements till 1970, and that any inter-connection with the neighbouring State of Assam for import of power was ruled out until the demand in the State developed to justify such inter-connection. The Council, therefore, recommended as short term measure the installation of diesel generating sets and midget hydro sets at places where electricity was not available for a three-fold purpose of meeting the requirements of domestic consumption, of satisfying the demand of small scale industries and of building up the initial load to justify the installation of or inter-connection with bigger hydro-electric stations at a later date. By now the demand for power in the State seems to be large enough to justify inter-connection with Assam for import of power. And the Government of Manipur have decided to construct a transmission line from Assam to meet the immediate needs of power in Manipur. 33 Draft 4th Five Year Plan of Manipur.
ments have also been made with the Assam State Electricity Board to purchase power up to the end of 1970-71 in the first stage. Along with this the Government is proposing to take up a major hydro-electric scheme - the Loktak scheme with an estimated capacity of about 60,000 KW. The Government expects that when the new scheme is complete, Manipur will be able to sell power to Assam through the same transmission line through which it is now proposing to purchase power from the nearest sister State. The scheme is well-conceived, but in view of the disturbed conditions of the hill areas through which the transmission will have to pass we cannot but raise serious doubts about the workability of the scheme.

Wood gas generators:

At one place the National Council of Applied Economic Research hinted at the possibility of installing wood-gas generators by exploiting the tremendous bamboo resources of the Borak Drainage forest of the Western hills of Manipur.34

(C) Financial structure:

Although in the early stage of human civilisation, the economic systems of many peoples of the world were non-monetised it is anachronistic to-day to think of a totally non-monetised

economy. Indeed, money is the life-blood of economic development and the degree of monetisation of an economy is a direct indicator of the level of development attained by it. Now, a principal test of the degree of monetisation of the economy of a particular country or region is the structure and the efficiency of the financial institutions operating therein. Thus the types and the nature of organisation of the financial institutions in a country and the level of their operational efficiency provide a fairly dependable measuring rod of the degree of economic development of the country or the region in question. Coming to the specific area of our study, it pains to observe that Manipur, being one of the most backward regions in an underdeveloped country, has not yet given birth to many of the types of financial institutions which one commonly finds in the more developed regions of our country. And those financial institutions which have seen the light of day are in a stage of infancy, requiring as they do, a sympathetic and careful nursing. An attempt is made here to make a brief survey of the financial structure of the economy of the State.

Before the Second World War, the economy of Manipur was very little monetised and as such the basic conditions necessary for the growth of banking practices were absent. The war, however, brought large sums of money into the State and after the close of the War two banks from outside the State viz. 35 The only bank in Manipur at that time was the Manipur Co-operative Bank Ltd. which still functioning to day.

35. The only bank in Manipur at that time was the Manipur Co-operative Bank Ltd. which still functioning to day.
the Modern Tripura Bank and the Assam Bank opened their branches at Imphal. No figures are, however, available regarding the local deposits in the banks. The banks went into liquidation soon after leaving a deep suspicion on banking business as such in the minds of the people of the State.

In 1947, the Manipur State Bank was established with 51 p.c. of the share capital being contributed by the then State Government. The Bank was, however, liquidated early in 1959 with the opening, at Imphal, of a branch of the State Bank of India which took up banking business of the former. The Reserve Bank of India has no branch in Manipur and the aforesaid branch of the State Bank is operating in the State as an agent of the Reserve Bank. The United Bank of India also opened a branch at Imphal in 1958. In the co-operative sector there are four banks operating in Manipur. These are the Manipur Co-operative Bank Ltd., Imphal; the Manipur State Co-operative Bank Ltd., Imphal; the Imphal Urban Co-operative Bank Ltd., Imphal; and the Moirang Primary Co-operative Bank, Moirang. Thus at present only four local banks and two branches of two banks of all-India status are operating in Manipur. The local banks are all tiny institutions having only one office each and no branch.

For facilitating analysis, we may study the financial structure of the economy of Manipur under three subheadings (1) Agricultural Finance, (2) Industrial Finance and (3) Business or urban Finance.
Agricultural Finance:

As in other parts of India, agricultural credit in Manipur is composed of three elements viz. Governmental Credit, Co-operative credit and private credit. In the following paragraphs a brief description is made of the existing position of the three components, and of the interrelationship among them.

Governmental credit:

The only types of Government credit available to cultivators in Manipur are those extended to them by the Revenue Department of the State Government under the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883 and the Agriculturists' Loans Act of 1884. The Land Improvement Loans Act empowers the State Governments to issue loans for the purpose making any improvement on land, to any person having right to make that improvement, and the Agriculturists' Loans Act empowers them (State Governments) to make loans to owners and occupiers of arable land for the relief of distress, purchase of seed or cattle or any other purpose connected with agricultural objects but not specified in the Land Improvement Act. A rough idea of the extent of the Government's financial assistance to the agriculturists in Manipur may be formed from an examination of the following figures of loans granted by the Government during the six years from 1960-61 to 1965-66.
Table 11

Statement of Agricultural Finance Extended by the Government to the cultivators in Manipur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount sanctioned</th>
<th>Amount utilised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>Rs. 6,00,000</td>
<td>Rs. 6,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>10,71,500</td>
<td>10,71,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
<td>6,00,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Co-operative credit:

As on 31-3-66, there were 320 agricultural co-operative credit societies in Manipur, including 19 large sized ones. 36 These, together with the Manipur State Co-operative Bank which also serves as a central co-operative bank and a few more agricultural credit societies which might have sprung up within the last one year or so constitute the structure of rural credit in Manipur. These institutions dispense short-term and medium-term credit for agricultural purposes in the State. Therefore, an

analysis of the working and the financial strength of the institutions will reveal some interesting facts about rural credit in Manipur.

The Manipur State Co-operative Bank Ltd., Imphal:

The Manipur State Co-operative Bank Ltd. is the pivot of rural credit and the central financing agency for the Co-operative institutions in Manipur. Although the Bank was registered as late as July 1956 and started functioning only on 29.3.58,37 it has made fairly good progress during the last five or six years. As reported in the Bank's Annual Report for the year 1965-66,38 its paid up share capital increased from Rs. 5.14 lakhs in 1960-61 to Rs. 9.26 lakhs in 1965-66. During the same period, the Bank's Deposits rose from Rs. 7.37 lakhs to Rs. 28.41 lakhs, working capital from Rs. 22.61 lakhs to Rs. 45.73 lakhs and the volume of loans and advances from Rs. 16.26 lakhs to Rs. 23.19 lakhs. Thus, during the last few years the Bank gathered strength and the volume of its business increased considerably.

Besides agricultural financing, the Bank is rendering financial assistance to industries, particularly the industrial co-operative societies; it is also performing urban banking functions, although the last function is declining with the establishment of the Imphal Urban Co-operative Bank Ltd. The nature and scale of its operations have increased considerably.

37. The Bank was registered on 2.7.1956 but it started functioning on 29.3.58 vide the Annual Report of Bank 1964-65, p.1.
of financial assistance rendered by the Bank to its clients will be evident from the table on the next page.

A perusal of the figures reveals that although the Bank is being engaged in many functions, agricultural financing is the most important function accounting for a lion's share of the total volume of the Bank's loan transaction. Out of the outstanding loans of Rs. 17.87 lakhs, Rs. 18.76 lakhs and Rs. 23.19 lakhs as on 30.6.64, 30.6.65 and 30.6.66 respectively loans to agricultural co-operative societies accounted for Rs. 13.44 lakhs Rs. 14.61 lakhs and Rs. 19.00 lakhs respectively. The rate of increase of agricultural loans, especially short-term loans is also satisfactory. The outstanding short-term agricultural loans increased from Rs. 13.38 lakhs on 30.6.64 to Rs. 18.90 lakhs on 30.6.66. The amount of annual disbursement of loans is also increasing.

But this does not mean that the Bank has adequately met the credit requirements of the cultivators in the State. The Bank itself admits that its assistance to cultivators is far too inadequate to meet their needs. Only for financing seasonal agricultural operation and marketing of crops under the co-operative fold not less than Rs. 30 lakhs will be required.39 The degree of inadequacy becomes more vividly visible if we juxtapose this figure with the proportion of agricultural families coming under the purview of co-operatives which cover

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agricultural Loan to Co-operative Society</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) Short term loan (crop loans and others)</td>
<td>15.58</td>
<td>8.71</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>14.47</td>
<td>15.97</td>
<td>9.56</td>
<td>18.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Medium term loans</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>8.80</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>14.61</td>
<td>15.98</td>
<td>9.41</td>
<td>18.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non-agricultural Loans to Societies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) Short-term Loans</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>6.96</td>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Medium term Loans</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) Cash credit loans including handlooms finance</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>10.84</td>
<td>10.59</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>17.60</td>
<td>17.76</td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>6.76</td>
<td>7.03</td>
<td>5.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Loans to Individuals (excluding overdrafts)</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including 0/0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>17.87</td>
<td>27.20</td>
<td>26.51</td>
<td>18.76</td>
<td>21.64</td>
<td>17.24</td>
<td>25.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hardly more than 20% of the total rural families. Besides, the Bank has not been able to make any significant headway in meeting the medium term financial requirements of the cultivators. The amount of outstanding medium term loans remained stagnant at Rs. 0.10 lakh on 30.6.66 as against Rs. 0.06 lakh two years before. This is largely due to paucity of funds and overall weakness of the primary agricultural credit societies in the State. Further, it is reported that because of the failure of loanee cultivators to repay their loans to the Bank, the Bank was unable to repay its borrowings from the Reserve Bank of India. As a result the Bank's borrowing from the R.B.I. declined from Rs. 15 lakhs in 1961-62 to Rs. 2 lakhs in 1962-63. In 1963-64 the figure rose to Rs. 5 lakhs and then remained stationary at that level till 1965-66. This phenomenon weakens the financial position of Bank and seriously detracts from its ability to render more assistance to the cultivators.

Co-operative credit societies:

These societies are increasing in number and their membership rolls are expanding. But, financially they are weak and organisationally they are inefficient. It is often reported that people's contributions to the share capital of the soci-

ties are much less than Government contribution, and therefore, their financial position is not sound. Even the so called large-sized societies are not viable units. The progress of the agricultural credit societies in Manipur and their existing position may be known from the following table.

Table 13
Agricultural Co-operative Credit Societies in Manipur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>as on 31.3.61</th>
<th>on 31.3.62</th>
<th>on 31.3.65</th>
<th>on 31.3.66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Number of Societies</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Membership</td>
<td>11,605</td>
<td>17,305</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Share capital (Rs)</td>
<td>2,68,000</td>
<td>3,67,500</td>
<td>6,40,000</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Working capital (Rs)</td>
<td>2,83,000</td>
<td>18,96,500</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>23,02,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. No. of villages covered</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>48 p.c.</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Percentage of Rural families covered</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>N. A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.A. = Not available.
A study of the above table reveals that while the number of agricultural credit co-operative societies more than doubled itself during a period of five years, the number of members increased more than three times. Such a rate of progress is quite satisfactory. But as against this, the table indicates the financial weakness of the societies. Although there was a three-fold increase of share capital in absolute terms, the relative position of share capital worsened considerably. The per capita share capital (i.e. share capital per member) declined from about Rs. 24 in 1960-61 to Rs. 20 in 1964-65. The position is even more unsatisfactory in the case of working capital which hardly doubled itself in 5 years’ time as against a three-fold increase of membership. Such a state of affairs is really disquieting, especially when we examine the role of co-operative societies in the provision for the rural credit of the State. To add to this, the rate of increase in the proportion of rural families brought within the purview of co-operative credit is hardly satisfactory.

There are no land mortgage banks in Manipur. The State Bank of India which has a branch in State has not so far done anything to help the agriculturists there.

Private Credit:

The foregoing discussion clearly underlines the insignificance of role of institutional finance in the rural credit
system of Manipur. A natural conclusion that would emanate from this situation is that private credit, especially loans from village money lenders, would be meeting a large portion of the cultivators' credit needs. No official statistics are, however, available to substantiate this conclusion. Nevertheless, a village survey report of the Imphal College Planning Forum, Imphal, goes a long way to prove the validity of the above conclusion. The Forum conducted a socio-economic survey of Nambol Laitonjam, a typical Manipuri village situated in the centre of Manipur Valley. According to the Report, 16% of the cultivators in the village had their own savings to meet their agricultural needs, 32% were able to obtain a little amount of credit from different sources, while the remaining 52% felt an acute need for funds but could not obtain them from any source. Of the available credit facilities 15.6% came from the Government and Co-operative agencies, 1.2% from relatives and the remaining 87.3% from the village money lenders.

Thus the village money lenders are the most important source of rural credit in Manipur. But it is a pity that they charge exorbitant rates of interest ranging from 60% to 120% per annum according to the nature of the security offered. In order to control the money lenders, the Govt. of Manipur extended the Bombay Money Lenders Act, 1946 to the Union Terri-

---

44. Finding of field work.
tory of Manipur in the year 1961-62. The Act is still in force in the State. But the money lenders have invented an ingenious device of evading the Act. Mortgage-deeds for making loans are prepared and registered in the form of sales-deeds and loan transactions are effected as sales transactions. Thus while there is an understanding between the lender and borrower that the transaction is a mortage with a high rate of interest the legal form of the transaction is that of a sale. As a matter of fact more than 90% of the mortgage deeds are prepared and registered as sales deeds, and there are very few money lenders holding licence under the Act. The poor borrowers are found to accept the terms dictated by the lenders as they have no alternative source of credit.

**Industrial Finance:**

Like agricultural finance, industrial finance in Manipur is not well-organised. The only official and institutional financing agencies are the State Directorate of Industries under the State Aid to Industries Act and the Manipur State Co-operative Bank Ltd., Imphal. Manipur has no State Financial corporation of its own, but the jurisdiction of the Assam State Financial Corporation extends over the State as well. But the scale of its assistance to industries in Manipur

---

is very small. The United Bank of India Ltd. and the State Bank of India have provisions for giving credit facilities to industrial units, but 'so far such credit facilities are not extended to any industrial unit in Manipur.' The actual position of industrial finance in the State may best be studied by a break-down analysis of the financial assistance rendered by the existing agencies of industrial finance.

The State Directorate of Industries:

The State Directorate of Industries is the most important financing agency rendering financial assistance to all sorts of industries in the Territory. The annual loans and grants given by the Directorate during the Third Five Year Plan period to the different industrial units are given in the tables on the next pages.

The Manipur State Co-operative Bank Ltd., Imphal:

The next agency for providing industrial finance in Manipur State Co-operative Bank Ltd. which is following a planned scheme of financing industrial co-operatives, particularly weavers' co-operatives. A deliberate object of the Bank is reported to be to supplement Government finance to small-scale and cottage industries. The Bank is, however, making a

Table 14
Loans granted by the State Directorate of Industries, Manipur.

Year-wise distribution of loans (thousand rupees)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Small scale industries</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Handloom (for Co-operative societies)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sericulture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rural Industries</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total (1 to 4)</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


N.B. The figures are correct to the nearest thousand.
# Table 15
Grants-in-aid made by the State Directorate of Industries, Manipur.

**Year-wise distribution of grants (thousand rupees)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Handloom (for Co-operative Societies)</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sericulture</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tribal Welfare (industries included therein)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Handicrafts</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rural Industries</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Total (1 to 5)</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Govt. of Manipur: Directorate of Industries, 'Industrial Survey of Manipur', 1966, p. 27.

N.B. The figures are correct to the nearest thousand.
cautious move in this direction (i.e., the direction of industrial finance) as most of the industrial co-operatives in Manipur need a thorough orientation and consolidation in respect of management and sound business. The financial assistance rendered by the Bank to industrial co-operatives during last few years is given in the following table, a study of which will reveal the nature and extent of the Bank's assistance to the industrial co-operatives in the State.

Table 16

Industrial finance rendered by the Manipur State Co-operative Bank Ltd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars of assistance</th>
<th>Balance outstanding as on 30.6.64</th>
<th>Loans disbursed during 1964-65</th>
<th>Loans repaid during 1965-66</th>
<th>Balance outstanding as on 30.6.66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Short term loans</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>6.96</td>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>2.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Medium term loans</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cash credit loans incl.-dring handloom finance</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>10.80</td>
<td>17.76</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>17.80</td>
<td>17.76</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Assam State Financial Corporation:**

As stated earlier, Manipur has no State Financial Corporation of its own but she comes within the territorial jurisdiction of the Assam State Financial Corporation. The industrial units in Manipur cannot expect much financial assistance from it because while the Corporation's financial position is not very strong, the numerous small scale industries of Assam which come into existence during last decade or so have been making huge demands on the limited resources of the Corporation. The position of loans sanctioned and disbursed upto the 31st. March 1965 for the Union Territory of Manipur is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Amount in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Applications received</td>
<td>2  Rs. 70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Applications sanctioned</td>
<td>1   50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Applications rejected</td>
<td>Nil  -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Application treated as withdrawn</td>
<td>Nil  -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Application pending</td>
<td>1   20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Amount disbursed</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

48. For instance total assets or liabilities of the corporation was only Rs. 421 lakhs as on the last Friday of the financial year 1963-64, vide Statistical Abstract of India, 1965, p. 202.
So far of institutional finance for industries in Manipur. Most of the funds available go to industries in the organised sectors viz. the few registered small scale industries and the few industrial co-operatives. The proportion of finance available to the unorganised rural industries is very small. Upto 1962-63, the State Directorate of Industries did not grant any financial assistance to the rural industries and the amount granted to these industries in the later years was also very meagre. For instance in 1965-66 the total loans and grants made available to these industries by the State Directorate of Industries were only Rs. 1,90,000. The Manipur State co-operative Bank also does not grant any assistance to the unorganised industries. However, the unorganised sector occupies the larger proportion of the industrial scene of Manipur. On 31st March 1961, there were only 263 industrial co-operative societies and 61 registered factories in the State as against a total of 13,412 industrial units reported in the census of 1961. The large unorganised sector has to depend on own resources and/or loans taken from local money lenders who charge very high rates of interest as this sector does not have easy access to institutional finance. Therefore, the position of industrial finance in Manipur is in a sense very much similar to agricultural finance.

Business or Urban Finance:

There are some institutions providing finance to the business community in the urban areas of Manipur. These are the Imphal branches of the State Bank of India and the United Bank of India Ltd., the Imphal Urban Co-operative Bank, the Manipur Co-operative Bank, the Moirang Primary Co-operative Bank and to some extent the Manipur State Co-operative Bank. Besides, there are some employees' co-operative credit and thrift societies. But very little is known of the nature and scale of financial assistance rendered by these institutions.

(D) Social Overheads: Education and Public Health:

So long we have been discussing those aspects or ingredients of infra-structure which are purely economic. Now we have to take up another component of infra-structure which is extra-economic but which has got such a fundamental economic significance that economic development can hardly be thought of without it. This ingredient is the social overheads especially education and public health. Formerly, when economists talked of economic development, they were preoccupied with the problem of creation of wealth. But recently there has been a significant shift in the economists' thinking about the problem of economic development. It is now recognised that "the fundamental problem is no longer the creation of wealth but rather
the capacity to create wealth. Once the society has acquired this capacity to create wealth, the creation of wealth itself becomes almost incidental, it follows quasi-automatically."

Now, the capacity to create wealth essentially lies in the quality of the people, it consists of their brain power and physical health. Therefore, education and public health measures which help in developing the brain power and physical health of the members of a nation acquire the utmost economic significance in any study of economic development of a nation. And it is now generally agreed that investments in human beings are highly productive, sometimes even more productive than investments in physical capital and that education and public health have acquired the status of 'leading sector' par excellence since investments in these sectors create the foundation for creating the wealth of nations. It is proposed to examine here, the following aspects of social overheads in Manipur.

**Education:**

Education has to play some distinct roles in the economic development of a backward country or region. At the highest level education in the form of research will help in finding out new techniques of production and organisation and also in adapting techniques already known and developed in advanced

---

countries to the specific needs and circumstances of the poor countries. At the higher level education will have to create supervisory and administrative skills. And at the lower levels, it will have to create different grades of skill with a view to enabling an undeveloped country to absorb successfully the results of research and/or techniques borrowed from outside. Not less important than these, education will help in bringing about a favourable social climate conducive to economic advancement. It is a matter of common experience that the social, cultural and value systems of the backward peoples offer a strong resistance to the introduction of modern techniques of production and organisation and of new ideas and ways of economic life. One of the roles of education in backward economies is, therefore, to break the social rigidities and to recast the whole social system in order to make it more responsive to new ideas and methods of production, organisation and distribution.

If the system of education of a backward region or country has to play all these roles fully, it (the system of education) must be highly comprehensive and well-planned. It is to be noted here that as the plan for development of education is a part of the general plan for social and economic development, the former must not be isolated from but must be built into the latter as an integral of it. If this is done from start, and if the programme of educational development is continuously carried on as general social and economic development proceeds,
an adequate quantum of man-power will be available for each new project undertaken. Otherwise, it is very unlikely that the ultimate goals of development will be reached. Further, since education is both a means of expanding economic activity and an end towards which economic activity is directed, any plan for educational development should strike a balance between education for good life (as each separate individual understands it) and education designed to secure the material basis upon which such life stands. This necessitates what a UNESCO expert calls the "Community Structuring" of the educational system. Education should not only be 'Pupil Centred' but also 'Community Structured' i.e., the object of education should not simply and solely be development of the aptitudes of a particular boy or girl; the whole system of education should be so designed as to take due account of the means by which a country exists. In short, education must be closely linked with the needs of life.

Having laid down these few basic principles of educational planning in the context of backward region trying for accelerated economic development, we have to come to the problem of the content of education. It should be emphasised here that the system of education must have a broad base of Primary and Secondary Education. As a greater proportion of children continue beyond primary level, the education provided, particularly

in the latter years should be more and more vocationalised, and the study of science and technology should be emphasized. Along with this, due consideration should be given to the moral and cultural content of technical and vocational education. To achieve this end, the study of humanities and social sciences should not be neglected and the cultural content of technical and vocational education should be set at such a level that the inevitable specialisation in technical and vocational education does not stifle the broader interests. On the other hand, general education should not be limited to providing knowledge, but should also prepare every student for active participation in life by providing him with an understanding of the production and utilisation of goods created with the help of technology and with a better comprehension of the world in which he lives. Moreover, in view of the rapid evolution of technology in the modern world the need for a broad background of general education before specialisation at the University or equivalent level should be duly recognised. At higher levels, specialisation and research should be emphasized.

If all this cannot be achieved by an underdeveloped economy for want of necessary resources, the available funds should be devoted to certain selected items of education on a priority basis. An overall criterion for deciding whether expenditures on particular educational efforts should be made is whether it contributes directly to raising productivity.54

On the basis of this overall criterion, three particular areas may be suggested as deserving top priority for educational expenditure: (1) the provision for agricultural extension service and research (2) training in industrial skills and (3) training in supervisory and administrative skills.  

It is against the background of these considerations that we have to examine the existing position of education in Manipur as a component of the infrastructure of the economy of the State. It is a happy augury that during the last decade or so the growth of general education in Manipur especially at the primary level, has been phenomenal. While in 1951 only 11.4 p.c. of the population of Manipur were literate and Manipur occupied the 16th position among the Indian States in the matter of literacy, her position came up to the 6th in 1961 and the percentage of literacy rose to 36. This rate of growth compares quite favourably with the all-India rate which rose from 16.6 p.c. in 1951 to 28.3 in 1967. Further, while in some States like Bihar wastage of pupils due to dropping out of children after admission to schools is as high as 75% (or 86.8% in the case of girls), such phenomenon is more or less unknown to Manipur. Also, the number of institutions for imparting general education increased at a fairly rapid rate. While in

1951-52 the numbers of primary, junior basic, middle English and

high English schools were 554, 0, 85 and 12 respectively, the numbers rose to 1913, 265, 308 and 115 in 1962-63.\textsuperscript{58} For higher education, while in 1951-52, there was only one college in Manipur, there are today 12 colleges imparting education up to degree standard. It is gratifying to note that four of these colleges have science sections, that one has post-graduate section, that one is law college and that five of them are located in mofussil areas. For imparting education to teachers, there are 4 teachers' training institutes, excluding the B.T. Section attached to D.M. College, Imphal.

In addition to the above institutions there are a number of institutions which were started during the last decade for imparting technical education in various lines at the diploma and lower levels. There are 22 training centres and training-cum-production centres at the block and subdivisional headquarters to provide training facilities to artisans in different trades like carpentry, blacksmithy, foundry, weaving, dyeing, tailoring and cutting and bamboo and cane works. Of these training centres 15 are located in the hill areas while the remaining 7 are in the Valley.\textsuperscript{59} The Industrial Training Institute at Imphal imparts instruction in more than ten trades such

\textsuperscript{59} Govt. of Manipur: Directorate of Industries, Industrial Survey of Manipur, 1966, p. 29.
For fuller details see - "Institutional Training facilities in Manipur" issued by the Statistical Bureau of Manipur, 1961-62.
as carpentry, blacksmithy, fitting, surveying, draughtsmanship, electrical engineering, welding, stenography, motor mechanics etc. There is also one Handicrafts Design Extension Centre extending help to artisans, co-operative societies and training centres for improved designs with special reference to textile embroidery, bamboo and cane works, jewellery works and dolls and toy making. There are also private institutions imparting training in hosiery, motor mechanics and electrical mechanics.

To impart education at Diploma level there is one engineering institute - the Adimjati Technical Institute, Imphal, which imparts instruction in three branches of engineering - Civil, Mechanical and Electrical.

For imparting instructions in agriculture and animal husbandry there are one agricultural school at Lamphel Pat, Imphal, and one compounders' school attached to the 'Veterinary Department of the Government of Manipur. There are also one rice research Station at Wangband Farm and one nursing school attached to the Medical Department of the State Government.

Considerable progress has also been made in special types of education like N.C.C. and National Discipline schemes, physical education, adult education, study of Hindi and Sanskrit study of fine arts especially dance and music. Steps have also been taken to help a healthy development of education through extension library facilities, vocational guidance, audio-visual aid etc.
All this, however, does not mean that the educational base or foundation of the economy of Manipur is well-laid. Even in the field of general education in which she has made the best progress, Manipur lags far behind sister States in India. A few indicators, for instance the pattern of enrolments in schools, will substantiate this observation.

**Table 17**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes and age groups of pupils</th>
<th>Manipur</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Decennial growth rate</th>
<th>Manipur</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Decennial growth rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary stage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes I-V</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>104.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-11 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school stage, class VI-III</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>156.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-18 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary stage</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>198.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IX-XI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-17 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


N.B. Decennial growth rates are deduced from the figures of the number of pupils given the source.
A close study of the above figures indicates that while at the primary stage of education Manipur has exceeded the all-India rate of growth but lags behind the all-India proportion of school-going children, she has exceeded both the all-India rate of progress and the all-India proportion of school-going children at the middle school level. This is a hopeful feature of the trend of growth of education in Manipur because even at the primary stage where Manipur has not yet reached the all-India proportion, she is expected to catch up the all-India proportion within a short time as her decennial growth rate is higher than the all-India average. But at the secondary stage Manipur lags behind India in both decennial growth rate and proportion of school-going children to the total children population of the age-group. Comparable figures are not available for higher stages. But the trend of growth of secondary education suggests that Manipur's rate of growth would be slower than the all-India rate and that Manipur would fail to catch up the all-India proportion at the higher level also since secondary education constitutes the immediate basis of higher education. But from the point view of economic development, although education at the primary stage is essential, it is education at the secondary and higher levels that is more significant.

Further, although the numbers of schools and colleges are rapidly expanding the conditions of many of the schools and
colleges are disappointing. In many of the primary and middle schools, even ordinary teaching equipment like black-boards, chalk and duster are in short supply. Teacher pupil ratio is extremely low in many of the institutions, especially in the colleges. It is not uncommon to seat 250 or more students in a single class room in the first and second years of college education. Also, many of the educational institutions do not have their own building. It is not uncommon to run two schools in the same building and to house new colleges in the local high school buildings. These and similar state of affairs have heavily told upon the quality of students. The proportions of first divisioners have come down to dangerously low levels during the last few years.

The position becomes even more disquieting when we pass from general education to technical and vocational education. Up till now, Manipur has no institution to impart higher education in agriculture, veterinary sciences, forestry, engineering technology, medical science, business administration, public administration, co-operation etc.—subjects which are directly related to the betterment of the living conditions of the people. The few young men and women who are trained outside the State fall far short of the demand for technical man-power. Many vacancies in the nation-building departments of the Government of Manipur cannot be filled for want of suitable candidates. What is more, the Government of Manipur has not done anything in
certain lines of education which are closely connected with the economic development of the State. For example the Government has not sent out any student for training in industrial management and business administration although the demand for such type of technical personnel will be keenly felt the moment the Government takes up any scheme of industrialisation. Further, although research in basic sciences and technology and social sciences and humanities is an essential element of any system of education designed for the economic development of any country, the Government of Manipur has not granted even a single research scholarship.

Nor is the position much better at the lower levels of technical and vocational education. Although Manipur has some technical institutes and training centres for imparting education at the Diploma and lower levels the number of seats available in them is extremely limited. According to latest information (i.e. in 1966) the 22 training and training-cum-production centres had 300 seats, the Industrial Training Institute of Imphal had 184 seats in all the eleven trades, the Adimjati Technical Institutes had 150 seats in all the three branches of engineering and the Agricultural school at hamphelpat had 30 seats. All this means that even at the lower levels Manipur cannot produce sufficient number of technical personnel or even skilled worker and artisans.

The moral and cultural aspects of education have been neglected in Manipur's technical and vocational education, and general education, being limited to providing theoretical knowledge only, fails to prepare the students for active participation in life. Complaints are pouring from many quarters that many of the technically qualified young men are sadly lacking moral scruples and sense of social responsibility and that many of the degree holders in general education are misfits in many walks of life. To some extent these complaints may be exaggerated or even unfounded but there are reasons to believe that these complaints are not entirely without basis. For, how can one account for the phenomenon of young engineers getting rich overnight soon after they entered public service?

A closely related aspect is the relative neglect of humanities and social sciences. The neglect is manifested in the low teacher-pupil ratios in the arts and social science classes, the pattern of arrangement of departmental offices, accommodation for teachers for private studies etc. in many of the colleges in the State. From the point of view of social and economic development the neglect is too costly.

Public Health:

The importance of education as a component of the infra-structure of an economy has been examined. An equally
important item is public health. "Health" as the Planning Commission rightly observes "is a positive state of well-being in which the harmonious development of physical and mental capacities of the individual leads to the enjoyment of a rich and full life."61 It is fundamental to national progress in any sphere. In terms of resources for economic development, nothing is more important than the health of the people which measures their energy and capacity as workers. It goes without saying that in determining a worker's efficiency in agriculture, industry and any other occupation, his health is an essential consideration. Also in determining a nation's potential man-hours for productive work in relation to the total number of persons to be maintained the health of people has a large share. It is in this sense that public health constitutes a basis of economic development.

There is a two-way relationship between the health of the people and their economic conditions. The two act and react upon each other.62 Good health increases the efficiency of workers and thereby improves their economic condition. On the other hand, good economic conditions enable the people to live a relatively healthy life. Here we are concerned with the first aspect of relationship and a few related questions which are linked up with the increase of productive power and efficiency of labour.

From the standpoint of raising per capita real income, public health measures cut in two ways: they facilitate development by improving the qualitative composition of labour force, but they also make the need for development all the more urgent by increasing the size of the population, because, with improvements in health there will be a decline in death rates, and unless birth rate drops proportionately there will be an increase in the rate of growth of population. This urgency of an accelerated economic development is adequately recognised in many underdeveloped regions, and development plans have accordingly been launched. But there are definite limits to the degree of development that may practically be achieved. Therefore, to attain a high per capita real income within the limits of attainable growth rates, something must be done to control the size of the population. An essential item of public health measures attuned to economic development has therefore, to be a deliberate effort to reduce fertility so that the gap between natality and mortality rates will not become so large and the potential population explosion will be avoided. To this end public health authorities have to make adequate investments in applied medical research, propaganda and motivation necessary to provide effective and simple methods of family planning.

It is against the background of these considerations that we have to examine the public health measures undertaken and public health facilities available in Manipur. During the
last few years the Government of Manipur undertook some measures to provide health facilities for the people in the State. Among the steps so far undertaken by the Government special mention may be made of those directed towards increasing hospital facilities, control of debilitating diseases, urban and rural water supply and family planning.

By the end of 1963, the latest year for which detailed figures are available, there were 22 hospitals (including public health centres) and 84 dispensaries (including public health sub-centres) with 486 beds, 47 doctors and 300 nurses, midwives and dais etc. in the State. If these figures are juxtaposed with the population figure of the State, which was nearly 8 lakhs in 1961, the degree of shortages of hospital facilities in the State may be realised. Yet if we remember that in 1951 the State had only 14 hospitals, 9 dispensaries with 338 beds and 27 doctors and 11 nurses, midwives etc. the rate of growth of hospital facilities was not very disappointing.

Attempts to control debilitating diseases have also been fairly successful. Because of increase in general hospital facilities and planned programmes of eradicating common diseases, epidemics like malaria, chorela, small pox etc. have become things of the past. Serious efforts are also being made to control the more difficult diseases like tuberculosis, leprosy, venereal diseases etc.

An adequate supply of drinking water is an essential item of any comprehensive programme of public health. Some achievements have already been made in this direction. The first phase of the Imphal Water Supply scheme was completed by the end of the Third Plan and 3.24 million gallons of water would be available daily. For rural water supply 107 tanks were excavated and 20 existing ones were renovated during the First Five Year Plan. During the Second Plan another 227 new tanks were constructed and 49 old ones were renovated, 92 reservoirs, constructed and 12 small schemes for pipe-water supply in hill areas, implemented. Yet another 766 tanks and wells were constructed, 282 existing ones were renovated and 59 pipe-water supply schemes in hill villages were implemented during the Third Five Year Plan.

Some steps have also been taken up for provision of medical education. A few local young men were sent out to foreign countries for specialised studies, in different branches of medical sciences. A fairly large number of boys and girls have also been trained or are being trained in the various medical colleges in the country at the graduate and post-graduate levels. One nursing school is also being run by the State Directorate of Medical and Health Services.

64. Govt. of Manipur, Draft Outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan of Manipur, Chapter on Medical & Public Health Services.
65. Govt. of Manipur: The 1st. and 2nd Five Year Plans of Manipur.
66. Govt. of Manipur: Statements showing the progress of the 2nd Five Year Plan of Manipur.
67. (1) Dept. of Statistics, Govt. of Manipur: Statistical Abstract of Manipur 1965-66, p.120.
(2) Govt. of Manipur, Manipur Administration Report, 1964-65, P. 34 and 1965-66, p. 49.
In these and a number of other ways, medical and public health facilities have been gradually expanding in the State. But much remains to be done. Facilities available and services rendered so far are very unsatisfactory. Most of the small hospitals at the subdivisional head quarters and, the public centres and sub-centres and dispensaries in the State are sub-standard institutions. Even the Civil Hospital at Imphal, the largest and best hospital in State is not well-equipped. So also the Imphal Water Supply scheme cannot render satisfactory service; the scheme fails to supply sufficient amount of water to the consumers during dry months of year. Provision for rural water supply is even more unsatisfactory. Most of the tanks cannot supply good drinking water. These are only a few of the long list of unsatisfactory services, but they portray the type of the problems faced by the State in the matter of medical and public health services.

Family Planning:

An important item of public health measures which has got special significance and, therefore, deserves special attention in any study of economic development is family planning. Family planning has already made a small beginning in Manipur the and by/end of 1964-65, the State had 12 family planning centres including one organised a voluntary organisation. It is pro-

posed to expand the programme of family planning and it is expected that by the end of the 4th Five Year Plan the State will have 20 family planning centres.

Public Health Authorities in Manipur have not published any detailed report on family planning in the State. But a general impression that we gather from our field work is that the use of family planning techniques is so far confined to the middle class section of the society. In the course of our field work we found that most of the informants were not willing to say anything about the internal matters of their family. But fortunately, I found some friends in Imphal and Ningthoukhong (a village about 18 miles from Imphal) who tried the family planning techniques. However, the results are not quite encouraging. According to informants, most of the women who used contraceptives and mechanical devices, especially the 'loop' heavily suffered. They had, therefore, to remove the 'loop' after trying for some months. This had to be followed by expensive medical treatment. Therefore, public reaction to family planning is not favourable and some of the informants told me that they had decided to work harder to maintain their children rather than resorting to uncertain and risky methods of family planning. This reaction of the middle class people is very significant because it is this section of people who will demonstrate utility of family planning practices to the lower section of people in

69. Draft Fourth Five Year Plan of Manipur, Chapter on Public Health.
the society. In this context we feel that besides making extensive propaganda to spread the idea of family planning among the masses, something must be done to improve medical sciences so that the few progressive persons who adopt birth control techniques before other people do would be assured of success. If they are successful the propaganda for changing social outlook in favour of family planning will become easier. If they fail, implementation of family planning programmes will be extremely difficult. In short, the whole future of family planning movement lies with its success in the beginning.