CHAPTER-III

ELECTORAL POLITICS
Any political analysis of Manipur must acknowledge the significant role played by political personalities, who often seem to be more important than their parties. And it is for this reason that the electoral performance of political parties and the process of government formation need to be understood so as to ascertain a clear picture of the political culture of the State. Thus, it is towards this end that the five Assembly Elections of 1984, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2002 have been picked up for the sole purpose of understanding the politics of this small but politically fragile state of Manipur.

A] The Assembly Election, 1984

As per the notification issued by the Election Commission of India, the Fourth Manipur Legislative Assembly Election was held on the December 27,
1984. The total electorates was 10,13,678 of which 5,09,308 and 5,04,370 were males and females electorates respectively.¹

I] Participant Political Parties

Various national and regional political parties contested in the election. The national political parties were – the Indian National Congress(I), The Indian National Congress (S), the Communist Party of India (CPI), the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Janata Party and the Lok Dal. Of the regional political parties, the Manipur Peoples’ Party, the Kuki National Assembly and a number of Independent candidates participated in the election. Altogether 354 candidates contested in the elections.² Among the candidates five were women. They were (i) Aribam Bimola Devi (IND), (ii) Ningthoujam Shyama Devi (IND), (iii) W. Joymati Devi (INC), (iv) Ngainu Vaiphei (IND), and (v) Manlianning (IND).

II] Election Manifestoes of the Various Political Parties

a] Indian National Congress

The manifesto of the Indian National Congress (I), Manipur Pradesh for Parliamentary and Assembly Elections consisted of four pages. The manifesto highlighted on the formation of coalition government led by the Congress Party in the post 1980 Assembly Election. Further, it mentioned the work programmes taken up by the Congress Party like:

a] Establishment of Manipur University;

b] Making of Manipuri language as an official language of the state;

c] Reorganising Kangla Sha as official emblem of the State;

² Ibid., p. 13.
d] The increase of districts in the valley, \textit{i.e.} Bishnupur and Thoubal Districts;

e] Implementation of 20 point Work Programme;

f] Establishment of industries \textit{viz.}, (i) Hundung Cement Plant, (ii) Mechanised Dye House, (iii) Kabowakching Sugar Mill, (iv) Takyel Industrial Estate, etc. In the manifesto, the Congress Party pledged to the people of Manipur to take up the following measures:\footnote{Indian National Congress (I), Manipur Pradesh, \textit{Election Manifesto}, Imphal 1984, pp. 1-4.}

i] To abolish corruption and to establish stable government;

ii] To provide adequate funds to Municipalities, Town Committees and District Councils;

iii] To supply sufficient water and electricity;

iv] To improve irrigation system for agriculture;

v] To construct school and college buildings;

vi] To raise the standard of education;

vii] To remove pay anomalies;

viii] To provide facilities for employment;

ix] To implement tourism facilities etc.

Further the manifesto criticised the Communist Party, the BJP, the MPP and the Congress (S). At the end of the manifesto, the Congress (I) made an appeal to the people to vote for Congress Party.

b] \textbf{The Communist Party of India}

The Communist Party of India criticised the Congress Government in the Manifesto for the 1984 elections. Some of the promises and proposals are the following:
i] Abolition of corruption;

ii] Removal of the Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;

iii] Inclusion of Manipuri language in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution;

iv] To protect the rights, culture and language of the hill people;

v] To give more powers to the hills Autonomous District Councils, Panchayats;

vi] To provide old-age pension;

vii] To give allowance to the unemployed youths;

viii] To provide sufficient water and electricity;

ix] To improve roads and interlinked railways to Manipur;

x] To improve the quality of the athletes;

xi] To open retail price shops;

xii] To protect the rights of the workers and to improve the standard of handloom industry.4

c] The Manipur People’s Party

The Manipur People’s Party mentioned 22 programmes to be taken up in their manifesto of the 1984 Assembly Election. Most of the programmes are more or less the same with those of the 1980 Assembly Election Manifesto. However, we can mention some of them as listed below.5

i] Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;

ii] Development of industries like paper mill, cement factory, tsar factory, sugar mill, electronic industry, watch making, rubber industry, film industry, etc.

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iii] Establishment of an Agricultural University;
iv] To provide opportunities for one member of a family to get a job;
v] To upgrade Manipur University and Medical College into a high degree of academic standard;
vi] Inclusion of Manipuri language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India;
vii] Development of Arts and Culture;
viii] Construction of Legislative Assembly and High Court in the Kangla;
ix] Regular supply of electricity, old age pension and opening of Lok Pal;
x] A separate Governor and a separate High Court for Manipur;
xii] Improvement of Tourism and Sports;
xii] Opening of a separate Geological Department, etc.

d] Common Issues

A study of the manifestoes of the various political parties, both the National as well as the Regional, we see some common issues of the people during those days like – abolition of corruption, inclusion of Manipuri language in the 8th Schedule, improvement of water supply, electricity, irrigation, industry, tourism, sports, employment and removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958.

e] Results of the 1984 Assembly Election

The total number of electorates was 10,13,678. The total number of valid votes polled was 8,64,508. The total number of invalid votes polled was 20,631. Grand total of votes polled was 8,84,869.⁶

Table No. 7  
Party-wise Performance in the 1984 Assembly Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>% of success</th>
<th>Valid votes</th>
<th>% of votes polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>2,57,809</td>
<td>29.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>35,852</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI(M)</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6,208</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>52,452</td>
<td>6.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lok Dal</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3,653</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC(S)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>28,156</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPP</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>93,421</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNA</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>13,367</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>3,72,800</td>
<td>43.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>8,64,508</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows the electoral performance of the different parties and people’s response. The INC got the highest number of seats, 30 seats out of 60 seats contested. The second position went to the IND. It is interesting to know that among the elected candidates in the valley K. Bira Singh of Oinam Assembly Constituency secured the highest number of votes of 7,450 while Th. Babudhon Singh of Kumbi Assembly Constituency got only 20 votes. In the hills Ng. Luikang of Tadubi Constituency got the highest number of votes i.e. 8,169 whereas K.A. Shimray of Kangpokpi Constituency got only 12 votes.  

7 Government of Manipur, *Results of the Assembly Election*, 1984, Published by D.I.P.R., Imphal, 1985, p. 11.
f) Observation

It is clearly seen from the election result of 1984 Assembly Election that the electoral participation level went upto 80 to 90% even in the hill constituencies. It is because of the people's consciousness of their political rights and democratic values. In spite of the inclement political weather, political parties in general and contesting candidates in particular, honoured the election code of conduct prescribed by the Election Commission of India.

B. The Manipur Legislative Assembly Election, 1990

The Manipur Legislative Assembly Election, 1990 was performed only for 58 seats and was held on 12th and 14th February, 1990 in both the valley and the hills respectively. The poll for Thangmeiband and Ukhrul Constituencies were countermanded as M. Punyabati Devi, a contesting candidate from Thangmeiband and Longshim Shaiza, a contesting candidate from Ukhrul expired on 2-2-1990 and 27-1-1990 respectively. So, the elections for these two constituencies were held on 17th May, 1990.

The total number of electorates was 11,80,615 of which 5,87,662 were males and 5,92,951 were females. There was an increase of 1,66,935 votes in this election from the previous 1984 electorates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Electorates</td>
<td>10,13,678</td>
<td>11,80,612</td>
<td>(+)1,66,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Contestants</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>(-) 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Votes polled</td>
<td>8,64,508</td>
<td>10,92,279</td>
<td>(+) 2,27,771</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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a] The Indian National Congress(I)

The Indian National Congress(I) in the 1990 Assembly election blamed the Communist Party, the Janata Party, the BJP, the MPP and the Congress (S) for their non-creative role in the politics of India. The party put up 27 programmes. Some were already implemented when it came to power. Some of the programmes were as follows:⁹

i] Inclusion of Manipuri language in the VIIth Schedule of the Constitution of India;

ii] Introduction of Meitei Mayek up to Class VIII;

iii] Construction of Stadium;

iv] Establishment of Hundung Cement Plant, Mechanised Dye House, Sugar Industry (Kabowakching), Electronic Plant (Takyel), etc.

v] Housing loan to Government employees; and

vi] Old age pension scheme, etc.

The manifesto also mentioned for implementation of the following programmes:

i] To abolish corruption;

ii] To provide financial help and job opportunity to suitable athletes;

iii] To construct schools and colleges wherever necessary;

iv] To maintain academic standard;

v] To construct roads and provide irrigation facilities;

vi] Establishment of an Agricultural University;

vii] Improvement of industry and tourism departments;
viii] To provide adequate funds to Municipalities, Town Committees, etc.;
ix] To give more powers to the Panchayats, and
x] To provide medical facilities to needy persons.

b] The Manipur People’s Party Election Manifesto, 1990

The Manipur People’s Party published its election manifesto on the eve of the Assembly Election, 1990 with following notable features:10

I] Political Programmes

i] Safeguarding the territorial integrity of the state;
ii] Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;
iii] To include Manipuri language in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India;
iv] Effective implementation of three language formula;
v] Reservation of the 100% of the post of the state government for the indigenous people;
vi] More autonomy to states;
vii] Greater decentralization of power to the local bodies;
viii] Removal of Foreigners’ Territorial order, 1963;
ix] Political settlement with insurgents;
x] To increase one more Lok Sabha seat for valley.

II] Economic Programmes

i] Strengthening of State Planning Board with fulltime member;
ii] Formation of Hill Areas Development Authority, and State Board of Environment Pollution Control;

10 MPP, Election Manifesto, Imphal, 1990, p. 3.
iii] Formation of State Export Promotion Council to look after commercialisation and export;

iv] Formation of State Price Control Board and supply of rice at Rs. 2.50 per kg;

v] Facilities to the sportsmen, allowance to the educated unemployed;

vi] Fifty percent of the resources to be earmarked for rural and hill development;

vii] Providing one job to one family;

viii] Improvement of road, transport and communication, regular water supply, power, sanitation, etc.

ix] Industrialisation of Manipur by having one industry in each of the districts of Manipur;

x] Introduction of agricultural and old age pension scheme, and

xi] Improvement of industry.

As Manipur was suffering financially during the period in the process of overall development, inclusion of economic programmes in the manifesto of the MPP meant the party gave importance to this area for getting more votes.

A comparative study of the manifestoes of these two major contending political parties shows that many of the programmes are common. Some of the burning issues which are common to both are given below:

i] Inclusion of Manipuri language in the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution;

ii] Protection of Territorial integrity of Manipur;

iii] Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;

iv] Abolition of corruption;

v] Development of agriculture;
vi] Water supply;

vii] Sports;

viii] Electricity;

ix] Tourism;

x] Strengthening District Council;

xi] Panchayats;

xii] Removal of Foreigners.

iii] The Assembly Election Results, 1990

The Congress (I) had a fairly commendable performance in this election too. The party again emerged as the single largest party by scoring 25 seats out of 60 contested. The second position goes to MPP and Janata Party by securing 11 seats each. The Independent comparatively got a heavy downfall by winning only 1(One) seat out of 40 in the fray. The Table-9 shows the party-wise seat contested, elected and the percentage of votes polled, etc.¹¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Votes polled</th>
<th>% of votes polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>INC</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,58,236</td>
<td>12.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>INC(S)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>1,37,124</td>
<td>12.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>JD</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,14,524</td>
<td>19.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>14,635</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>CPI(M)</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>MPP</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,24,866</td>
<td>20.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>MHPC</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8,820</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>KNA</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>25,867</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>43,385</td>
<td>3.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>29,453</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>N.P.P.</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>7,762</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10,92,279</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iv] **By-Elections of Thangmeiband and Ukhrul Constituencies**

The countermanded elections to 9-Thangmeiband and 44-Ukhrul Assembly constituencies were held on May 17, 1990. Of the three candidates contested in the Thangmeiband Constituency Shri Ng. Kumarjit Singh, MPP was elected while of the four contestants in the Ukhrul Constituency, Hangmila Shaiza, Janata Dal was elected.

In this 5th Legislative Assembly Elections Dr. H. Borbabu Singh, MPP candidate of Wangkhei Constituency secured the highest number of votes *i.e.* 11,487 among the valley constituencies while N. Ibohal Meitei, Independent candidate of Keirao Constituency got the lowest number of votes *i.e.* 9 votes. Of the hill constituencies, Karong constituency candidate K.S. Benjamin Banee, Congress(I) got the highest number of votes of 12,272 while S. Tungzachin, Congress(I) of Thanlon constituency secure 17 votes only, the lowest number of votes.

C. **The Manipur Legislative Assembly Election 1995**

The term of the 5th Legislative Assembly of Manipur expired on the 1st of March, 1995 and the people of Manipur went to poll to elect new members of the 6th Assembly of Manipur on 16th and 19th February 1995 for the valley and the hills respectively. Schedule of the election is as follows:12

- Last date of filling nomination: January 23, 1995
- Date of scrutiny of nomination: January 24, 1995
- Last date of withdrawal of candidature: January 27, 1995

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Other details are as follows

Number of electorates:
- Male: 6,31,597
- Female: 6,36,307
- Service voters: 1,096
- Total: 12,69,000

Number of polling stations: 1977
- Largest Polling Station: Valley – Wangkhei (25,572 voters)
- Hill – Mao (36,091 voters)

Smallest Polling Stations:
- Valley – Thanga (15,572 voters)
- Hills – Tipaimukh (12,790 voters)

No. of polling personnel utilized: 9,885
No. of security personnel deployed: 26,900

Election to 17-Lamshang Assembly Constituency was countermanded due to the death of a contesting candidate, Mr. M. Deben Singh, MPP and its countermanded election was held on May 27, 1995. In the 6th Legislative Assembly Elections polling stations were categorised as under:13

Table No. 10
Different Categories of Polling Station in the 6th Legislative Assembly Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Hyper sensitive</th>
<th>Sensitive</th>
<th>Less Sensitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Imphal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bishnupur</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Thoubal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Chandel</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ukhrul</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Senapati</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tamenglong</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Churachandpur</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>323</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 Ng. Ngalengnam, n. 11, p. 113.
I. Party-wise Manifestoes (for the 6th Assembly Election, 1995)

a) Indian National Congress(I)

The policies and programmes of the Indian National Congress(I) mentioned in the manifesto of the Assembly Election, 1995 are:

i) The party stands for the preservation of the territorial integrity of Manipur state and unity of the people;

ii) To remove corruption and to establish stable government;

iii) Inclusion of Manipuri language in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India;

iv) Division of Imphal into two districts;

v) To remove the Assam Rifles from the Kangla;

vi) To develop the infrastructure for various games and to give more incentive to the athletes and sports persons;

vii) Refusal of the demand of homeland by certain groups of people in the state;

viii) Negotiation for the solution of the insurgency problem;

ix) Employment policy;

x) To improve the educational system;

xi) Development of agriculture, irrigation, industry, etc.;

xii) Increasing of Manipur Rifles Battalion and Blocks;

xiii) Introduction of railway system;

xiv) Introduction of Zilla Parishad and Nagar Palika Election within 6 months;

xv) To endeavour for the protection of minority groups.

b) The Communist Party of India (CPI)

The policies and programmes included in the CPI manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1995 were as follows:

i] To provide a stable government;

ii] To remove corruption in Manipur Government;

iii] To uphold and protect the unity and territorial integrity of Manipur and to protect the feeling of the brotherhood among the hill and plain people;

iv] To solve the insurgency problem of Manipur through meaningful dialogue;

v] To provide employment to the unemployed youths;

vi] Development of arts and culture and encouragement to athletes;

vii] To provide facilities for water supply and electricity;

viii] To provide encouragement to agriculturists, government employees and other sections of the people;

ix] Respect for caste, creed and religion; and

x] To improve the educational system in the state, etc.

c] The Janata Dal Manifesto, 1995

The following are some of the policies and programmes of the Janata Dal in the Manipur Legislative Assembly Election, 1995:16

i] To clean the Nambul river;

ii] To open a bio-technology research centre at Manipur University;

iii] Providing facilities for electricity, water and supply;

iv] Development of the Loktak lake;

v] Reservation for women about one third in the government and public sector undertakings;

vi] Construction of a bicycle velodrome in Imphal;

15 CPI, Manifesto, Imphal, 1995, p. 3.
vii] To give free and compulsory education to children below 14 years;

viii] To broaden the National Highway No. 39;

ix] Introduction of the VI\textsuperscript{th} Schedule in the hill districts of Manipur.

d) **BJP Manifesto of the Assembly Election, 1995**

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Manipur Branch published its election manifesto for the Assembly Election in 1995. Some of the programmes mentioned in the manifesto are:\textsuperscript{17}

i] To control the price rise in petroleum, kerosene and other essential commodities, etc;

ii] To save and protect the territorial integrity of Manipur;

iii] Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;


v] To increase the number of seats in the Parliament;

vi] Announcement of DPC results;

vii] Establishment of police station for women;

viii] Appointment to be made through Public Service Commission;

ix] To provide job facilities;

x] To provide medical facilities;

xi] To provide old age pension scheme;

xii] To give emphasis on art, culture, sports, etc;

xiii] Development of Manipuri language;

xiv] Tourism should be developed into an industry;

xv] To develop the educational system;

xvi] Improvement of industries;

\textsuperscript{17} BJP, Manipur, *Election Manifesto*, Imphal, 1995.
xvii] To improve the Loktak Hydro Electric Power System.

e] The CPI(M) Manifesto, 1995 Election

The CPI(M) published the following programmes on the eve of the 1995 State Assembly Election.\(^{18}\)

i] To defeat the Congress Party and to form a left democratic secular government;

ii] To bring communal harmony and territorial integrity;

iii] To abolish corruption and granting of right to work;

iv] Free and compulsory education upto secondary level;

v] To provide job opportunity to women;

vi] To connect railhead to Imphal;

vii] To arrange security personnel at National Highway No. 39 & 53, etc.

f] The Samata Party

The Samata Party published 15 point programmes on the eve of the Assembly Election, 1995. Some of which are summarised hereunder.\(^{19}\)

i] Establishment of Manipur Regiment in Place of the Assam Rifles;

ii] To solve the ethnic clashes in the hills;

iii] Formation of a Minority Commission for the protection of the minority;

iv] Protection and improvement of historical monuments;

v] To check the entry of foreigners;

vi] Improvement of handloom and handicraft;


viii] Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur, etc.

g] Samajwadi Janata Party Manifesto in the 1995 Assembly Election

The SJP also published their election manifesto for the 1995 State Assembly Election. Some of the programmes are mentioned below.\textsuperscript{20}

i] Political Policy: The party promised to face the political problems through democratic means. They stand for territorial integrity. Fights and liberty of the people;

ii] Social Policy: The party stands for peaceful co-existence, protection of arts and culture, compulsory free education to children, etc.;

iii] Economic Policy: The party promised the establishment of a large number of industry and development of trade and commerce, old age pension, etc.

h] The Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee (S)

The MPCC(S) in their election manifesto, 1995 pledged to take up the following programmes:\textsuperscript{21}

i] The party committed to provide a clean and efficient government;

ii] Improvement of medical facilities in hospitals and dispensaries;

iii] To safeguard Tribal Customary Law and Tradition;

iv] Development of Manipuri language and scripts;

v] Equal participation of women in socio-economic and political reconstruction of the nation;

\textsuperscript{21} MPCC(S), \textit{Election Manifesto}, Imphal, 1995, p. 2.
vi] To provide good drinking water;

vii] To provide financial and technical assistance to forestry and horticulture;

viii] Effective implementation of new education policy;

ix] Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;

x] Solving the insurgency problems and ethnic crisis;

xi] Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur.

i] The Manipur Hill and Plain Socialist Council (MHPSC)

The MHPSC published their 20 point programmes in the 1995 election manifesto. Some of them are:22

i] Fixing of the price of rice at Rs. 4/- per kg;

ii] Solution of insurgency problems in Manipur;

iii] Implementation of inner line permit system;

iv] Abolition of corruption;

v] Improvement of roads and hospitals;

vi] Connection of rail-link between Manipur and other parts of India;

vii] Free supply of Rs. five lakhs with housing, plot, car, TV and VCR;

viii] Upgradation of Imphal Air Port to International Air Port;

ix] Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;

x] Payment of unemployed allowances to unemployed youths.

j] MPP Manifesto of the Assembly Election, 1995

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On the eve of the Manipur State Assembly Election, 1995 the Manipur People's Party (MPP) published its policies and programmes mentioned in their manifesto as given hereunder.\textsuperscript{23}

i) Review of the Merger Agreement, 1949 and the transfer of Kabo Valley to Manipur;

ii) The spirit of the Article 370 (in respect of Kashmir) and Article 371(A) dealing with the autonomy of Nagaland should be combined to provide autonomy for Manipur;

iii) To uphold and protect the territorial integrity of Manipur;

iv) To solve the insurgency problem through political dialogue;

v) Withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 and TADA from Manipur;

vi) The party demands an additional Lok Sabha seat for Manipur;

vii) To resolve any ethnic conflict in Manipur;

viii) To develop the public distribution system with transparency;

ix) Development of industries in Manipur;

x) Encouragement of agricultural policy and industrial policy;

xi) Improvement of Imphal Jiribam Road;

xii) To raise the standard of education;

xiii) Development of Power Generation Project;

xiv) Development of transport and communication;

xv) Framing of a Cultural Policy;

xvi) Development of Games and Sports;

xvii) To solve the problem of unemployment;


The FPM participated in the Assembly Election, 1995 on the following issues:\(^{24}\)

i] Restructuring of the Indian polity on federal principles;

ii] Equal representation of the states to Federal Parliament;

iii] Abrogation of Article 356;

iv] Autonomy for Manipur;

v] The party stands for decentralisation of power and empowerment of people which are the foundation of democracy;

vi] Strengthening of Finance Commission and Planning Commission;

vii] To protect the integrity and unity of Manipur;

viii] Negotiation for solution of revolutionary movements without precondition;

ix] Protection of Human Rights;

x] Autonomous status for Akashvani and Doordarshan;

xi] Preservation and protection of social and cultural identity of various social and cultural groups;

xii] Establishment of one Indian Institute of Technology for Manipur;

xiii] Development with Social justice;

xiv] Development of transport and communication;

xv] Development of tourism;

xvi] All possible efforts should be taken up for preserving the environment and ecological balance in the state;

xvii] Rehabilitation of people affected by Loktak Project;

xviii] Addition of Lok Sabha seat for Manipur in the future and

delimitation of Parliamentary Constituencies.

Observation

An observation of the manifestoes of both the national and regional political parties shows the following common views:

i] Preservation of territorial integrity;
ii] Solution of insurgency problems;
iii] Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;
iv] Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;
v] Development of education, language, industry and agriculture;
vii] Abolition of corruption;
vii] Solving unemployment problems, etc.

Result of the Assembly Election, 1995

As per the result declared by the Returning Officer for 59 Assembly Constituencies, no party got the absolute majority. The Congress emerged as the single largest party securing 21 seats. The following table shows the party position excluding the Lamsang Constituency.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{25} Ng. Ngalengnam, n. 11, p. 124.
Table No. 11
Result of the Assembly Election, 1995

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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

D] The Manipur Legislative Assembly Election, 2000

Many political parties, from both the national and the regional parties, fought the electoral battle. The following are the manifestoes of some major political parties:

a] The Indian National Congress(I) Manipur[^26]

i] To bring peace and harmony;

ii] Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur;

iii] Economic development;

iv] To solve the unemployment problem;

v] Development of agriculture;

vi] To encourage small scale industries like handloom, handicraft, etc.

vii] To provide sufficient electricity;

viii] Improvement of transport and communication;

ix] Development of the villages and to give more powers to Panchayats;

x] Development of the hill areas;
xii] To protect the minority;
xiii] To improve the public health;
xiv] To provide welfare facilities to the needy persons;
xv] Welfare activities for widows;
xvi] All possible efforts should be undertaken to preserve and protect the environments and ecological balance, flora and fauna of the state;
xvii] To fix the price of the basic amenities;
xviii] To improve the education system;
xix] To develop the language of the state.

b] Communist Party of India (CPI) Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000

The CPI manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000 summarised the following programmes:

i] To protect the unity and territorial integrity of Manipur;
i] Announcement of the assets and liabilities of the elected candidates before the public;
iii] Greater autonomy to the states;
iv] To increase the number of seats in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha;
v] Solution of insurgency problem;
vi] Women empowerment;
vii] To promote social scheme for youths and to give more emphasis on arts, culture and sports;

---

viii] To endeavour to give pension schemes to the farmers and widows;

ix] To provide Crop Insurance Scheme to farmers;

x] Educational infrastructure and new facilities;

xi] Improvement of medical facilities and hospitals and dispensaries;

xii] To protect and preserve the environment and ecology;

xiii] To provide the facilities for the development of Manipuri language included in the VIIth Schedule;

xiv] Withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;

xv] Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;

xvi] Establishment of a High Court in Manipur, etc.

C] Janata Dal Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000

On the eve of the State Assembly Election, 2000 the Janata Dal, a partner of the Secular Democratic Front led by the Congress, the CPI, the MPP, etc., published its important programmes:\n
i] To protect the territorial integrity and unity of Manipur;

ii] Announcement of the assets and liabilities of the elected candidate before the public;

iii] To provide more autonomy to the state;

iv] To increase the number of seats in the Parliament;

v] To solve the insurgency problem;

vi] Reservation of seats for women in the Parliament;

vii] To give more emphasis on arts, culture, sports and to establish the social scheme for youths;

viii] To provide the Crop Insurance Scheme to the farmers;

\[28\] Ibid.
ix] Free and compulsory education to the children upto the age of 14 years;

x] To provide ten percent of the union budget and thirty percent of the state budget in the field of education;

xi] To provide more facilities for higher education;

xii] Improvement of medical facilities in hospitals and dispensaries;

xiii] To make a state policy for the development of environment and ecology;

xiv] Development of Manipuri language;

xv] Withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958;

xvi] Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;

xvii] To establish a separate High Court for Manipur, etc.

d] **BJP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000**

The Bharatiya Janata Party as a partner of the Manipur Democratic Alliance (MDA) announced common programmes which are summarised below:\(^{29}\)

i] **Law and Order**
   (a) Solving insurgency problem through meaningful dialogue;
   (b) To endeavour to change the mind-set of the security forces;
   (c) To improve the working conditions of the police;

ii] To uphold and protect territorial integrity of Manipur;

iii] To remove the Assam Rifles from the Kangla and the 1st Manipur Rifles from the compound of Lainingthou Sanamahi temple, Imphal within 2000 A.D.;

iv] To devolve such process and authorities on the District Council by amending the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Council Act, 1971;

v] To remove corruption in Manipur Government and at high places in public life in Manipur;

vi] To devolve all powers and authorities listed in the Eleventh Schedule to the Constitution of India on the Gram Panchayat and Zilla Parishad by amending the Manipur Panchayati Raj Act, 1994;

vii] To establish a National Highway Protection Force for the National Highway Nos. 39 and 53 to solve frequent economic blockade and other blockades;

viii] To endeavour to give compensation to the farmer whose crops were affected by the Loktak Multipurpose Hydro Electric Project;

ix] To endeavour to increase the number of M.P. both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha – (a) 2 MP’s (Lok Sabha) for the valley area dividing it into two Parliamentary Constituencies and 1 MP for the Hill areas, (b) 2 MPs (Rajya Sabha) – one General another reserved;

x] To divide Thoubal Revenue District into two districts – Thoubal and Kakching;

xi] To establish separate Police Station for women in all districts;

xii] To provide economic and other securities for the helpless widows and orphans by a suitable legislation having provision for pension and maintenance;

xiii] To establish Working Women’s Hostel in all districts;

xiv] To provide free education to the girls upto the degree level including technical education;

xv] To establish more Indo-Myanmar trade centres in Manipur;

xvi] Youth and Employment facilities;

xvii] Improvement of agriculture;

xviii] Adoption of Land Policy;

xix] Improvement of Public Health;

xx] To increase Human Resource Development;
xxi] Improvement of industry;
xxii] Improvement of irrigation and flood control;
xxiii] Proper utilization of hydro electric power of Loktak Lake;
xxiv] Improvement of drainage and sewage schemes.

e] The MPP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000

The MPP’s policies and programmes in the Common Minimum Programme of the Secular Democratic Front are as follows:30

i] To protect the unity and territorial integrity of Manipur;

ii] Announcement of the assets and liabilities of the elected candidates before the public;

iii] Autonomy for Manipur;

iv] To increase the number of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha seats;

v] Solving the insurgency problems;

vi] Women empowerment;

vii] To provide social scheme for youths and to give more emphasis on arts, culture and sports;

viii] To endeavour to give pension schemes to the farmers and widows;

ix] To provide Crop Insurance Scheme to the farmers;

x] Educational Infrastructure and new facilities’

xi] Improvement of medical facilities in hospitals and dispensaries;

xii] To protect and preserve the environment and ecology;

xiii] To provide the facilities for the development of Manipuri language included in the VIIIth Schedule;


xv] Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;

30 SDF, n. 27, pp. 2-8.
xvi] Establishment of a High Court in Manipur, etc.


The main features of the MSCP Manifesto of 2000 Election can be summarised as follows:\(^{31}\)

i] Territorial integrity and unity of Manipur;

ii] Maintain law and order;

iii] Autonomy for Manipur;

iv] District and village autonomy;

v] Resolution of ethnic conflicts;

vi] To solve the insurgency problem;

vii] Conversion of Manipur University to Central University;

viii] Development of transport and communication;

ix] Establishment of Police hospital;

x] Development of tourism;

xi] To preserve the environment and ecology;

xii] Creation of special fund for rehabilitation of the areas and people affected by the Loktak Project;

xiii] To increase the number of seat in the Lok Sabha;

xiv] Creation of 45 member Legislative Council with one third representation for women and unrepresented communities of Manipur;

xv] Development of fishing project at Loktak;

xvi] Establishment of playground at every village;

xvii] The creamy layer of OBC will remain suspended for 10 years in Manipur;

xviii] To provide free medicine;

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\(^{31}\) Agenda of United Front, Imphal, 2000, pp. 2-5.
xix] To raise the standard of education;
xx] Declaration of Polo as State Game;


The policies and programmes of the FPM highlighted in the Agenda of the United Front on the eve of the Election, 2000 are as follows:

i] Unity and territorial integrity of Manipur;
ii] Improvement of law and order;
iii] Autonomy for Manipur;
iv] Decentralisation of power and empowerment of people;
v] Social harmony and peaceful resolution of all ethnic social conflicts;
vi] Negotiation for solution of revolutionary movement;
vii] Preservation and protection of social unity and cultural identity;
viii] Conversion of Manipur University to Central University;
ix] Development of transport and communication;
x] Construction of police hospital;
xi] Development of Tourist Centres and relaxation or abolition of the Restricted Area Prohibition (RAP);
xii] Preservation of environment and ecology;
xiii] Rehabilitation of people affected by Loktak (Lake) Project;
xiv] To increase the number of seats in Lok Sabha;
xv] Creation of a 45 member Legislative Council with one-third representation for women and unrepresented communities of Manipur;
xvi] Fishing project at Loktak;
xvii] To provide a playground at every village;

32 Ibid., pp. 5-15.
The creamy layer of OBC will remain suspended for 10 years in Manipur;
Free medical supply to ailing public and poor patients;
Economic well being of the people;
To raise the standard of education;
Declaration of Polo as State Game, etc.

The Kuki National Assembly (KNA) Manifesto, 2000 Election

On the eve of the Assembly Election of 2000, the Kuki National Assembly (KNA) highlighted their policies and programmes mentioned in the manifesto and Agenda of Manipur Democratic Alliance (MDA). The programmes are summarised as follows:

i) To solve the insurgency problem of Manipur through meaningful dialogue;

ii) To protect the unity and territorial integrity of Manipur;

iii) To remove the Assam Rifles from the Kangla and the 1st Manipur Rifles from the compound of Lainingthou Sanamahi Temple, Imphal within 2000 A.D.

iv) To devolve such powers and authorities listed in the Eleventh Schedule to the Constitution of India on the Gram Panchayat and the Zilla Parishad by amending the Manipur Panchayati Raj Act, 1994;

v) To devolve such powers and authorities on the District Council by amending the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Councils Act, 1971;

vi) To remove corruption in Manipur Government and at High places in public life in Manipur;

vii) To establish a National Highway Protection Force for the National Highway Nos. 39 and 53 to solve frequent economic blockade and other blockades;

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viii] To endeavour to give compensation to the farmers whose crops were affected by the Loktak Multipurpose Hydro Electric Project;

ix] To increase the number of MPs both for Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha;

x] Division of Thoubal District into two;

xi] To establish separate police station for women in all districts;

xii] To provide economic and other securities for the helpless widows and orphans by a suitable legislation having provision for pension and maintenance;

xiii] To establish working women’s hostels in all districts;

xiv] To provide free education to the girls upto the degree level including technical education;

xv] To establish more Indo-Myanmar trade centres in Manipur;

xvi] To solve the unemployment problem in Manipur;

xvii] Development in agriculture;

xviii] To review and amend the present land laws and land tenure systems in Manipur to serve the interests of all the people of Manipur;

xix] To provide medical facilities to the people of Manipur;

xx] Human Resource Development;

xxi] Development of industries in Manipur;

xxii] To develop the irrigation and flood control system in Manipur;

xxiii] Development of Loktak Multipurpose Hydro Electric Project;

xxiv] To recast the present drainage and sewerage system in Imphal City and other towns in Manipur to make them more effective.

**Pre Election Scenario**

In spite of the poll boycott call given by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), people turned out as usual in this election too. So the boycott had very little impact. D.S. Poonia, Chief Electoral Officer of the State said: “Surprisingly the polling in the Naga-dominated areas was more than 70 percent”. The NSCN, supported by the UNC, Naga Hoho, ANSAM and other Naga bodies
had given a call to boycott the Assembly Elections in Manipur on the ground that “Nagas want a solution.”

Under a significant development, to defend the ruling MSCP, the Congress(I) led six party “Secular Democratic Front” (SDF) put up common candidates in 24 constituencies and had “strategic seat adjustments” in 29 constituencies. To defend its position the MSCP also had an election understanding with the FPM which the BJP and the Janata did not like.

Poll Violence

Elections were held in two phases due to the arrangement of security force. In one incident, the escort party of the BJP candidate for the Chandel Assembly Constituency, Thongkholun was ambushed killing three party workers and two personnel of the Manipur Rifles. In another poll related incident, armed Kuki militants were reportedly paid by different candidates and political parties, struck at two different places at Churachandpur and Chandel districts, killing six and injuring several others. Every political party has connections with some militant group or the other to seek protection.

Polling

The elections were free, fair and peaceful in Imphal urban areas. In the rural constituencies of the valley there were acts of booth capturing by armed men. In the hills too candidates from large villages did not allow candidates from other villages even to campaign in their respective areas. A Janata Dal (U) candidate S.S. Songte was killed by extremist on January 31st and the election was

35 Frontline, February 18, 2000, p. 36.
36 Decan Herald, February 16, 2000, p. 2.
37 Ibid.
38 The Decan Herald, February 13, 2000, p. 2.
countermanded in Tipaimukh constituency. But if we go by Bihar’s standard, it was comparatively a peaceful election.\textsuperscript{39} While Henglep and Tipaimukh Constituencies were countermanded, elections for 58 constituencies were held in peace.

The Result of the Assembly Election, 2000

The result has routed Kuki National Assembly (KNA), the NPP, and the CPI from the state politics and brought the Nationalist Congress Party and the RJD for the first time. The following table shows the clear picture.

\textbf{Table No. 12}
Results of the 6\textsuperscript{th} State Assembly Election, 2000.

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The Manipur Legislative Assembly Election, 2002

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{The Telegraph} (Calcutta), February 25, 2000, p. 6.
Many political parties from both the National and Regional Parties, fought in the Assembly Election, 2002 the following are the manifestoes of some major political parties.

a) The Indian National Congress(I) Manifesto, 2002

On the eve of the 8th State Assembly Election, the Indian National Congress (I) launched its manifesto which is summarised in the following form:40

i) Economic improvement by having a new look into the schemes and projects being taken up now, industries to be installed newly and industrial units to be revived;

ii) Improvement of communication:
   a) construction of railway projects;
   b) Improvement of National Highways;
   c) Proposal for super National Highway upto Tamu via Imphal valley;
   d) Connection of District Head Quarters by ring roads, etc.
   e) To make the public benefited by the Pradhan Mantri Sarak Yojana;

iii) To install power projects:
   a) Loktak Down Stream Hydel Project;
   b) Increase the number of Hydel power projects;
   c) Micro-Hydel Projects;

iv) Tourism Improvement programme at places like Loktak, Dzuko Valley;

v) Rural Development:
   a) Proper implementation of Panchayati Raj rules and other rural development schemes in the schedule areas;
   b) To take up all central and state schemes for development of rural areas properly;
   c) To emphasise on water supply schemes in villages;
   d) Development of minor irrigation and watershed.

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40 INC(I), Manifesto, 2002, Imphal.
vi] Agriculture:
   a) To take up proper measure to check encroachment of paddy field;
   b) To make effort to have multi-cropping in areas with suitable irrigation facilities

vii] Improvement of Horticulture/Medicinal plants;
   a) Plantation of fruits: orange, pineapple, lemon, banana, etc. in the hills;
   b) Plantation of seeds: ginger, turmeric, pepper, clove, etc.;
   c) Plantation of coffee and tea.

viii] Improvement of Lakes:
   a) Development and preservation of lakes in Manipur;
   b) To develop pisciculture.

ix] Development of sericulture project;

x] Improvement of public distribution system:
   a) To make basic needs available at cheap price to people below poverty line;
   b) To handover the public distribution system to the elected members of the Panchayats or Municipal Councils and women organisations;
   c) To make available all facilities of storage at the district and subdivision levels;
   d) Opening of Kerosene depots in the sub-divisions and facilities for home delivery of gas;
   e) To prepare list of families below poverty line (BPL) and above poverty line (APL) by the Gram Sabhas and local authorities.
   f) Establish public grievance cells through Pradhans/Chairpersons for executing public distribution system.

xi] Improvement of Health and Hygiene:
   a) To take programmes to fight HIV/AIDS and awareness programmes;
   b) To give priority to Primary Health Centres;
   c) To take up family welfare programmes properly.

xii] Social security:
   a) Old age pension;
   b) National Family Benefit Scheme;
   c) National Maternity Benefit Scheme;
   d) Increase of Old Age pension amount.
xiii] Housing:
   a) Scheme for construction of house at low cost by using new technology;
   b) To properly select beneficiaries of Indira Awaz Yojna;
   c) To grant loans for housing through government and cooperatives in a free and fair way.

xiv] Development of Cities/Towns:
   a) To upgrade Imphal Municipal Council to Municipal Corporation and to include areas of District Head Quarters into Municipal Council area;
   b) To pursue for having one Municipality in every District Headquarter;
   c) To improve the city water supply system and use of meter system in utilizing water.

xv] To take up programmes for women:
   a) Increasing of the number of women employees in the primary schools, police force and government institutions;
   b) To establish special courts for women cases;
   c) To establish Manipur State Women Commission;
   d) To grant credit loan to women for self-employment in handloom and agricultural sector;
   e) To take up programmes to stop actions to violate women’s rights.

xvi] Minority, OBC and SC/ST:
   a) To establish a state Minority Commission;
   b) To have proper representatives of the minorities in making appointment in the public service commission, boards and corporations.
   c) Minute discussion on recruitment and promotion quota at the time of reservation;
   d) To look after the rules for appointment of Grade III & IV employees;
   e) To give special coaching facilities to the students of backward families;
   f) To have a special view on the development programmes of people in the scheduled areas;
   g) To look into the matter of resource and function of Manipur SC/ST Development Corporation.
xvii] Children, Youths and Students:
   a) To implement properly all schemes of Integrated Child Development Service and Anganwadi Schemes, special schemes for small children and pregnant women;
   b) To spread National Mid-day Meal Programme to every primary school;
   c) To establish NCC units in schools, colleges, etc.
   d) Special view on programmes for employment of youths;
   e) To convert Manipur University into a central one and to raise the standard of RIMS;
   f) To pursue the central government to open a centre for examination for admission to National Institute of Higher Studies and professional courses in Manipur;
   g) To pursue the central government to take examination in Manipur in recruiting to the Central Government services and Public Enterprises and to open a recruitment centre in Manipur;
   h) To open training centres for employment of youths under Information Technology Sector;
   i) To make effort to give adequate and enough training to trainees and other professionals.

xviii] Games and Sports:
   a) To construct playground in the localities, nearby schools or Panchayats;
   b) To construct mini stadium in District Headquarters;
   c) To open classes to teach all kinds of sports;
   d) To open reservation in government employment for players;
   e) To open fund for benefiting excellent players/sportspersons;

xix] Administrative and judicial reforms:
   a) To reorganise government departments and to look into the Secretarial administration. To make bureaucrats servants of the people;
   b) To keep fixed rules for posting and transfer;
   c) To consult with the National Institute of Rural Developments in taking up programmes related to development;
   d) To make the non-Manipuri Officers and other staff learn Manipuri language for handy transaction of State Government Services;
   e) To declare the property of the elected Congressman to the public before assuming office;
   f) To pass Lok Adalat Bill;
g) To put up bills for Freedom of Information and Right to Information;
h) To exercise timely checking of funds released by Central Government;
i) Review of Manipuri Legislative Assembly Rules and Procedure to observe decorum of the house, improvement of the working of Committee system, to increase the number of sitting of the house;
j) To let N.G.O’s and voluntary agencies clearly take share in social reformation;
k) To reach out justice to the poor people in the villages and hills. To make them clearly aware of their duties in the judicial systems of the Nyaya Panchayat and village authority;
l) To strengthen Human Rights Commission and make them aware of the rules necessary in protecting human rights;
m) Review of police administrative system and to frame rules to defend from outside interference;
n) To deploy National Highway Security Forces on the National Highways;
o) To attract attention to the reports of the Commission of Enquiry;
p) To attract special attention for looking after the condition of the prisoners in the jail or elsewhere.

b) Communist Party of India Assembly Election Manifesto, 2002

On the eve of the 8th Manipur Legislative Assembly Election, 2002 the CPI declared their policies and programmes in their manifesto. The programmes are summarised as follows:41

i] Territorial Integrity;
ii] Economic development and removal of unemployment;
iii] To improve the quality of education;
iv] Empowerment of local bodies;
v] Special programme for social security of the handicapped persons;
vi] Women’s empowerment and separate directorate for minorities;
vii] Special policy for sports and culture;

41 CPI, Election Manifesto 2002, Imphal, pp. 3-5.
viii] Protection of environment;
ix] Protection of political administration;
x] Maintenance of law and order;
xi] Removal of Corruption;

xii] Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958 and black laws like POTO etc. and protection of Human Rights and Democratic Rights.

c) **The Manipur People’s Party Election Manifesto, 2002**

The Manipur Peoples Party (MPP) came out to fight in the 8th State Legislative Assembly Election, 2002. In its manifesto the party highlighted on different issues and programmes to be taken up by putting the blame on the MSCP and Samata led coalition ministries for bringing in President’s rule in the state. Some of the important programmes in their manifesto are summarised hereunder.\(^{42}\)

i] Territorial integrity of Manipur;
ii] Removal of corruption;

iii] Declaration of the properties of MLAs to the public;
iv] To check the rise in the price of essential commodities;
v] To increase seats in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha;

vi] To remove black laws from Manipur;
vii] Greater autonomy to Manipur;

viii] Improvement of the condition of the farmers;
ix] Improvements of economic condition of the state;
x] Enhancement of the resource of the state;

xi] To take over the Loktak Project by the State;

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xii] Improvement of industries and establishment of new industries;

xiii] Development of horticulture;

xiv] Development of sericulture;

xv] Enhancement of all wages of labourers;

xvi] Employment for the educated youths;

xvii] Development of games and sports;

xviii] Opening of Art and Culture Centre in every district;

xix] Compulsory elementary education, provision of free mid-day meal upto primary school level and supply of free text books, conversion of Manipur University to Central University, etc.;

xx] Empowerment of women and establishment of Women’s Commission for the state;

xxi] Solution of insurgency problem through meaningful dialogue;

xxii] Improvement of public distribution system;

xxiii] Land reform programmes;

xxiv] To establish a “Staff Selection Board”;

xxv] Reforming of “Anti-Defection Law”;

xxvi] Separate High Court for Manipur;

xxvii] Improvement of National Highways by implementing National Highway Protection Scheme;

xxviii] Opening of Manipur Regiment;

xxix] Improvement of Imphal City;

xxx] Improvement of water supply schemes;

xxxi] Prevention and cure of HIV/AIDS.


On the eve of the State Assembly Election, 2002 the Federal Party of Manipur emerged as the largest regional party of Manipur in the Assembly of
2002. Of the programmes to be taken up by the party and highlighted in the manifesto, mention may be made of the following:

i] Restructuring of India Polity specially in the Centre State Policy;

ii] Equal representation of the federal parliament of India;

iii] Division of powers to be Restructured;

iv] Repeal of Article 356;

v] Unity and Integrity of Manipur;

vi] Autonomy for Manipur;

vii] District and village level Autonomy;

viii] Solution of the insurgency problems;

ix] Protection of the Human Rights;

x] Preservation and promotion of social and cultural identity of Manipur;

xi] Harmony on the basis of social federalism;

xii] Inter-ethnic council;

xiii] Framing of cultural Policy;

xiv] Regulation of entry of foreigners;

xv] Shifting of Assam Rifles from the Kangla;

xvi] Development with Social justice;

xvii] Strengthening of Manipur University;

xviii] Consolidation of Government College of Engineering;

xix] Development of infrastructures of schools and colleges with the separation of Directorate of Schools for Hills and provision of mid-day meals in the schools;

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Improvement of transport and communication system with the opening of railway lines and creation of National Highway Protection Force;

Development of Power Generation project;

Employment to the unemployed;

Making of employment policy;

Full implementation of Fifth Pay Commission;

Review of the working of public sector undertakings;

Action plan for fiscal and financial reforms;

Police Hospital;

Development of Tourism;

Protection of Environment and Ecology;

Rehabilitation of areas and people affected by the Loktak HE project; Creation of a Special Fund;

Demand for a 3rd Lok Sabha seat for Manipur;

45-Member Legislative Council for Manipur;

Development of the infrastructure of games and sports and giving of incentive and employment to the distinguished athletes and sportspersons.

c] Manipur State Congress Party Election Manifesto, 2002

The Manipur State Congress Party with a firm faith in democracy published their manifesto for the Assembly Election, 2002. Important headlines of the programmes mentioned in the manifesto are the following:44

i] Territorial integrity and emotional integration;

ii] Law and Order;

iii] Tapping of financial resources;

iv] Railway and Road communication (infrastructure);
v] Telecommunication system;
vii] Welfare policy for the youths;
viii] Welfare policy for women;
viii] Creation of Manipur Regiment;
ix] Land Reforms Policy;
x] Health;
xi] Education;
xii] Agriculture;

xiii] Industry;

xiv] Devolution of powers on Gram Panchayats and Zilla Parishads;
xv] Welfare policy for Scheduled Tribes in the valley;
xvi] Facilities, amenities and privileges to the media persons or pressmen;
xvii] Approach to development in hill areas;
xviii] Welfare policy for the Meitei Pangals;
xix] Re-delimitation of the outer Manipur Parliamentary Constituency;
xx] Anticorruption Policy.

f] Democratic Revolutionary Peoples’ Party Election Manifesto, 2002

The Democratic Revolutionary Peoples’ Party (DRPP) with affirm faith in democracy and federalism published their manifesto on the eve of the Assembly Election, 2002. The following are the headlines of the programmes incorporated in the Manifesto.45

a] Reconciliation amongst the people;
b] Sustainable Economic Development;

c] Conflict Resolution;
d] Human Rights;
e] Women Empowerment;
f] Centre-State Relations;
g] A New Education Policy;
h] HIV/AIDS;
i] Environment;

g] **MNC Election Manifesto, 2002**

The Manipur National Conference also published Manifesto for Assembly Election, 2002.46

i] Territorial integrity and unity of Manipur;

ii] Safety and security of citizens;

iii] Resolution of the Revolutionary Movements in Manipur;

iv] Ensuring of Social Justice and Empowerment;

v] Framing of a State Agriculture Policy to enhance quality and quantity of agriculture and allied industries;

vi] To make Lpktak and Pumlen Lakes attractive tourist spots.

vii] To enhance the progress of Indo-Myanmar Border Trade;

viii] To constitute an Administrative Reforms Commission;

ix] To ensure quality education by framing a policy of transfer of teachers; entrusting the recruitment of teachers to an autonomous body; expediting the conversing of Manipur University to a Central University and solving the problem of appointment of teachers;

x] Improvement of Transport and Communication;

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xi] To generate more power by implementing Loktak Down Stream Project and Tipaimukh High Dam Project;

xii] To construct major and medium irrigation projects;

xiii] Improvement of Games and Sports in Manipur by setting up one Sports Academy, one Sports Council and by providing one playground to each and every village;

xiv] To eradicate and prevent HIV/AIDS;

xv] To promote Information Technology Activities;

xvi] To emphasize on Women’s Empowerment through an empowered State Women Commission.

xvii] To solve problems and conflicts through public dialogue.

Result of the Assembly Election 2002

The result of the 8th State Assembly Election, 2002 is shown in the following table.\(^\)\(^47\)

Table No. 13
Result of the 8th Manipur State Assembly Election, 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Name of party</th>
<th>Seat(s) won</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01.</td>
<td>INC</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02.</td>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03.</td>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04.</td>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05.</td>
<td>MPP</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06.</td>
<td>FPM</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07.</td>
<td>MSCP</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.</td>
<td>DRPP</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09.</td>
<td>MNC</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>NCP</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Selection of Candidate and Decision for Voting to a Candidate

Most of the voters took time in selecting or deciding their own favourite candidate or candidates. Voters observed the electoral trends changing from time to time, from one constituency to another, the attitude and activities of the candidates and their workers. Most of them usually decided to cast their votes to a particular candidate or candidates on the eve of elections. The decision by the voters in the Assembly Election, 1995 is shown in Table No.14.48

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01.</td>
<td>Own judgement</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02.</td>
<td>Influence of youngster to family</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03.</td>
<td>Head of the family</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04.</td>
<td>Influence of others</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that 60% of the voters followed their own judgement while 25% of them were influenced by the youngsters of the families and another 10% of them cast their votes on the advice of the heads of the families. The percentage of votes influenced by others was only 5 percent.

Election Campaigns

A candidate cannot reach the electorate personally. It is generally assumed that the electorate which has been exposed to election campaigning in good measure would turn up for voting to a great extent. Campaigning can assume a concentrated form in urban areas and such media as public meetings,

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election procession, demonstration and the like can be more effectively used here than in rural areas.

Campaigning constitutes a vital phase of the electoral process. It arouses voters’ curiosity, identifies issues of debate, spreads information, mobilises voters into the system, helps their politicisation, facilitates voters’ choice and performs an educative function. Exposure to campaign leads to high score of political information, political efficacy and participation in campaign. 49

Election campaign is designed to make a voter believe that his interest can be best served by the party, the candidate of the party contesting from his constituency. Election campaign is a kind of strategy and tactics involving a two-way process in which negatively, the adversaries or opposite party candidates are to be pulled down and given a smashing blow, and positively, to build up his success and emerge victorious.

In a campaign the issues are articulated by party leaders, and they are the stuff in terms of which a democratic political campaign is rationalised, in both senses. 50 Campaign can test the candidate’s skill is democratic politics, his ability to work with other political actors, to grasp the political “facts of life”, and to make the best use of available resources. Campaigns vary greatly according to the nature of specific electoral systems. 51 There are many methods of election campaign. Some of the common methods of election campaigns are the following:

a] House to house campaign;

b] Flag-flying contest;

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50 Ibid., p. 112.
c) Public meeting;
d) Community feast;
e) Election procession;
f) Role of media;
g) Personal contact;
h) Printed materials (wall posters/small flags);
j) Wine and intoxicants.

a) House to House Campaign

This is a very effective technique for eliciting voters. The candidates along with their party workers usually indulge in house to house campaign in order to get votes. The candidates even bow before the old voters and try to win their hearts by giving them false promises. Besides, the party workers and the candidates usually carry manifestos and leaflets and personally distribute them directly to the voters. Appeals are made in the name of the party. Each party tries to convince the voters that its candidate is the best by mentioning the personality and capability of the candidate. Sometimes, they clear the doubts of the voters by interacting with them. This method of campaign has a great influence on the voting behaviour as it involves direct contacts between the candidates and the electorates. Voters' participation in the house to house campaign is clearly shown by the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether participated or not in the campaign</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[52 \textit{Ibid.}, p. 120.\]
The above table was based on a sample questionnaire on 100 voters, each in the urban, rural and hill areas respectively. The percentage of voters exposed to the house-to-house campaign was much in the urban areas than in the rural and hill areas.

b) Flag Flying Contest

This is also another important method of election campaign. The house owner, who condescends to raise a bamboo pole with a party flag on the top, is usually identified as the supporter of the party concerned. The active members of the parties put such flags on their shops and house tops. The party vehicles also carry the flags. It is understood that the house where flag-hoisting ceremony is done by a particular party, other parties' workers may not enter into the house for canvassing. One gauges the popularity of the party or its candidate on the basis of this flag-flying contest. The following shows voters' participation in the flag-flying contest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether participated or not in the contest</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table was based on a sample questionnaire administered 100 persons each in urban, rural and hill areas respectively. The percentage of the flag flying contest is higher in the urban areas than in the rural and hill areas. The reason is that the electors are mostly educated and politically conscious.

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Ibid., p. 120.
c) Public Meetings (Election Meetings)

Election Meetings form a forceful technique of campaign. It is generally organised by the party workers and other social organisations. In the meeting the candidate and the party workers express their party’s ideologies, the aims and objectives, etc. to influence the voters. Election meetings are addressed by both local and national leaders. They assured the electorates their sincerity and devotion for the welfare of the people. The following table shows the percentage of voters’ participation in the election meetings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether participated or not in the meeting</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table was based on a sample questionnaire administered on 100 selected voters representing the urban, rural and hill areas respectively. The table shows that the percentage of participating voters is lower than that of the non-participants.

d) Community Feast

It is another method of election campaign. In this campaign the candidates and their campaigners throw feasts to the voters during the election days. Some of the voters of a constituency are invited to a community lunch where food is served in traditional Manipuri style. Before or after the lunch the candidate tries to woo the members in a very congenial social setting. Some

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54 Ibid., p. 129.
voters regard election times as free lunch days. However, this method is very expensive. The following table shows the percentage of voters' participation in community feasts thrown by the candidates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether participated or not in the Feast</th>
<th>Valley Urban</th>
<th>Valley Rural</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table was based on a sample questionnaire put 100 voters each from the urban, rural and hill areas respectively. The table shows that the percentage of "No" is higher than that of the "Yes". Thus, this method has become less effective now-a-days.

c) **Election Procession or Rally**

This method is very popular in the valley area. It is organised mainly just before a week of the date of election. The aim of the rally is to show the strength of the voters as majority in the constituency. In the procession, voters carry flags, symbols, festoons, etc. and appeal the public to vote for their party candidate. This method is very close to election meetings in intent and purpose. Propaganda is done through loud speakers fitted on vehicles – jeep, van, rickshaw, etc. The following table shows the percentage of voters' participation in the election procession on rally.

Table No. 19  
Voters’ Participation in the Election Procession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether participated or not in the Rally</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that the percentage of voters participating in the election procession is higher than that of voters who do not participate.

f) Role of Media

The use of mass media and the adoption of new technologies has become a common feature in election campaign. Mass media has brought the politicians closer to the people. All voters can actually see their candidates and hear them with the help of television. Television can bring it all into the living room: the debates, the political advertisements, daily news from the campaign trial, political discussions programmes, and most recent political shows. Recently, the development of computers and cable and satellite television has contributed to professionalizing of the campaign process.

The newspapers can play a great role before or during the election. Some of the political parties have their own daily newspapers. Politicians gear their daily campaign activities to meet the constraints and deadlines of the news. Radio is also a major source of political information to the public specially in the rural areas. Generally political parties use to appeal the voters through the radio. The following table shows electorate’s getting of information from the mass media at the time of election campaign:

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56 Ibid., p. 118.
Table No. 20
Voters’ Exposure to Mass Media\textsuperscript{57}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether the voters were Influenced by the mass media or not</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table was based on the questionnaire administered to the sample electorate of 100 voters each in the urban, rural and hill areas respectively. The table shows that voters in the valley are influenced by the mass media more than those in the hills.

\textbf{g) Personal Contact}

Personal contact is also a forceful technique of election campaign. Through it is more effective in campaigning than other techniques as it gives personal touch campaigning, but due to the size of the electorate and its scattered character, limited resources in terms of time and money at the disposal of the candidates and difficulties of the means of communication, it is not possible to make use of this technique on a wider scale.\textsuperscript{58} Through personal contact various candidates make promises either to the individuals or groups. Sometimes, a voter’s decision of choice of candidate is conditioned by such personal promises. The following table shows voters’ knowledge of candidates’ personal contact as a means of campaign.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 133.
Table No. 21
Voters' knowledge of Personal Contact\textsuperscript{59}

| Whether exposed to Personal contact or not | Valley | | | | | | Hill | | | | Percentage | | |
| | Urban | Rural | | | | | | Urban | Rural | | | | | |
| Yes | 37 | 43 | 39 | | | | | | 39.7 | | | | | |
| No | 40 | 32 | 32 | | | | | | 34.7 | | | | | |
| No response | 23 | 25 | 29 | | | | | | 25.6 | | | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | | 100.0 | | | | | |

The above table was based on the sample questionnaire put on the sample electorate of 100 voters each in the urban, rural and valley areas respectively. The table shows that the number of personal contact is much higher in the rural areas than in the urban and hill areas.

h) Printed Materials (Wall Posters/Small Flags)

To ensure a better spread of the message, written materials are issued by each of the candidates. Some other agencies also participate in the process. Thus, local, regional and national dailies, weeklies and monthlies included items pertaining to election. In the urban areas printed materials such as posters and hand-outs are distributed. Thousands of printed materials carry party symbols, political cartoons and slogans. Party manifestoes are also widely distributed. Space is purchased in local dailies and journals by the candidates for publishing campaign articles and slogans. Hundreds of small flags are also distributed both in the urban and rural areas.

Very often we see posters bearing photos of candidates along with the photos of the national leaders appearing on the wall. Sometimes, the posters bear a long list of supporters of the candidate. Political contenders utilize available appropriate wall space in the town to inscribe the election message.

\textsuperscript{59} M. Sureshkumar, n. 47, p. 127.
Election symbol and name of the candidate are prominently displayed. These inscriptions are made by professional painters who also use stencils to facilitate quick duplication and available wall space is also utilized for pasting the posters and leaflets. Sheets of cloth in the form of banners carrying the request for vote to the relative candidate are hung across the road. The following table shows the percentage of voters who have come across any printed material in connection with the election.

Table No. 22
Voters' knowledge about the Printed Materials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether the voters had seen printed materials or not</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table is based on a sample questionnaire put on 100 voters each in the urban, rural and hill areas respectively. The table shows that voters have seen printed materials in the urban areas more than in the rural and hill areas.

i) Wine and Intoxicants

Wine plays an important role of enticing voters at election times. The candidate even if he does not drink, has to buy liquor for his voters. The consumption of wine is much higher among the youths. The sample electorate comprising 100 voters each in the urban, rural and hill areas respectively were asked whether they consumed wine or not at the time of election. The following table shows their response to the question.

Table No. 23

Voters' Knowledge about the consumption of Wine<sup>61</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether voters consumed wine or not</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th></th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table it is known that consumption of wine at the time of election is much higher in the rural areas than in the urban and hill areas.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 135.