CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

The geographical of Manipur is 22,327 Square Kilometers. It occupied only 0.7 percent of the earth surface of India. Manipur is one of the Eight Sister States of North East India. Manipur is a border state with an international boundary of 350 kilometres with Myanmar in the East. The land comprises of a small oval shape of valley at the centre and a large area of hills surrounding the valley. Manipur enjoys a pleasant, healthy and comfortable Sub-Tropical Monsoon climate. She also enjoys a sufficient amount of rainfall at the annual average of 200 cm. Different types of soil are found in Manipur. The Imphal valley is fertile and productive however, the quality of soil is less in the hills. About 15,154 square kilometres or 6767 percent of the land is covered by forests. Different types of forest are found in Manipur, which produces varieties of timbers like teak, uningthou, pine, etc. Firewood, cane, bamboo and plenty of other natural vegetation are found. Manipur is also rich in flora and fauna. Some of the rarest animals in the world the Brow antlered deer locally known as Sangai is found in Manipur. There are uncountable other species in the land.

Manipur is inhabited by different communities. It is a land of unity in diversity. Meities are the majority. There are 29 tribes in the state. Pangal and different communities locally names mayang are found. Together all these communities the total population of Manipur become 23,88,643 as per the 2001 census. Manipur is the
23rd rank by its population in India. The hill tribes, the Nagas and the Kuki Chin tribes profess the Christianity. The Meities belong to Hinduism and a few Islam are also found in the valley. Manipuri language is the lingua-franca of the state. The hill tribes have their own dialects. The average literacy of the state at the moment is 68.87 percent Due to poor in mineral, resources and the bottleneck in term of communication, industrially Manipur is listed as one of the backward states in India. There is no railway line connecting the state capital. The state is poor in its economy. Agriculture is the prime occupation of the people. Approximately 75 percent of the people depend on agriculture. Rice is the main crop occupying 82 percent of the total agricultural area in the state.

In view of the administration convenience the states is divided into 9(nine) Districts and 34(thirty four) Sub-Divisions. There are 8(eight) Municipalities and six Autonomous District Councils.

Politically the ancient history of Manipur is lost in obscurity, but there can be no doubt that the independent kingdom has existed from the early period. We cannot ascertain the exact form of government it had before 700 AD. However, Monarchy was believed to be prevailed at that time and after 700 AD. It was unfortunate that the Burmese invaded the valley in 1762. Anglo-Manipur relations started during Shri Jai Singh’s reign as he realised that the only effective measure to check Burmese inroads into Manipur was taking help from the British. In 1819 Manipur lost her independence under Burmese suzerainty. This period of Burmese rule is known as “Chahi-Taret Khuntakpa”
(seven years devastations) The Burmese occupation ended in 1826 by the treaty of Yandaboo between the East India company and the Manipur Raja. This treaty left the Raja as a semi independent ruler of Manipur. This was the beginning of the end of the Manipuri Monarch. It was in 1891 that Manipur Raja surrendered his independence to the British ruler. By then the whole administration of Manipur was taken over by the British and a form of administration known as “Native Rule” was established with the proclamation issued by the Queen Victoria with Churachand as the Raja. Even though Manipur was ruled by a Prince, its administration was handed over to a Durbar. The revival of the Lallup in 1904 under Pothang (Compulsory Labour) in 1913 led to widespread agitations against the systems. The formation of Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha under the presidentship of Maharaja Churachan Singh in 1934 marked a turning point in the political history of Manipur. It became the most important political party under the leadership of Irabol Singh. On the 15th August 1947 when India attained independence from the British rule, the Paramountcy of the British Crown over the native states also came to an end. Thus Manipur was free to accede to either Pakistan or India. The Maharaja declared that he would introduce a fully democratic and constitutional form of Government in Manipur. The constitution making committee was formed along with two Sub-Committee, one for drafting the constitution of Manipur and the other one was to draft the Hill Regulations known as the Manipur State Hill People's (Administration) Regulation Act, 1947. Thus the Constitutional Monarchy had already been established and had her own democratically constituted Legislative Assembly from August, 1947.
However, the constitutional Monarchy established under the Manipur Constitution Act, 1947 did not last long. Manipur entered a Merger agreement with the Government of India on 15th October, 1949. Since then the whole administration was taken over by the government of India. Manipur thus became a part 'C' State under the Indian classification of political unit. The administration ran under the dominion of the chief commissioner. After having a bitter experience of the part 'C' status, people started agitation against the bureaucrat ruled. The Government of India under pressure from different angles passed the 7th Amendment to the constitution of India in the year 1956 which permitted the creation of Legislative Assembly by passing the Territorial Council Act, 1956.

In the beginning it was considered that the introduction of Territorial Council would satisfy the aspiration of the people. However, both in theory as well as in practice the entire territory continued to be governed by the centre through the Chief Commissioner. Dissatisfaction with this method a number of social organisations under the guidance and initiation of various political parties demanded for a full fledged state. Eventually, Mrs. Gandhi the then Prime Minister of India announced on 3rd September, 1970 that the centre has agreed the grant of statehood to Manipur. Thus a full fledged State of Manipur was inaugurated by the then Prime Minister on 21st December, 1972. It was a turning point in her Political scenario.

There was a lot of suffering and dissatisfaction during her long walk for statehood. It was also their believed that Manipur which had never been a part of India till 1949 was
forcibly merged into Indian Union. They thought that the merger could not have any moral as well as legal validity. Education has not been properly democratised. Unemployment problem was worsening and rampant corruption led the emergence of various insurgent groups in the state.

People with well experience of the political developments and with well aware of the situation entered into a new era of self determination in a full fledged state of Manipur. Preparation were made for mass participation in the political arena. Regarding the political Parties, a number of political parties like Nikhir Manipuri Mahasabha, Krisak Sabha, the Praja Sangha, the Praja Sammilani, the Anuaba Nongpok Maram had already been appeared as a political party in the state since 1938. The communist party of India (C.PI) was also formed in 1948. Then came the Socialist Party and many regional political parties. Such as the Manipur People’s Party (M.P.P.), the Praja Santi Party(P.S.P), the All Manipur National Union, the All Manipur People’s Convention(AMPC), he Ireipak Leishem Party (ILP), the Progressive Independent Front(PIF), the Naga Integration Council, the Kuki National Assembly etc. Thus, both National and the Regional political parties were seen in Manipur during this transitional period.

The Manipur People’s Party was born out of extreme necessity to have a regional political party to safeguard the identity and interest of the people and to promote the regional interest in general. To achieve socio-political economy, territorial integrity, ethnic identity, establishment of egalitarian etc. by democratic means for the well being of the
people were the main objectives of the party. The Manipur People's Party is considered to be the strongest regional political party. The Manipur State Congress Party established in the year 1997 can also be considered as one of the strongest regional political party in Manipur. Their main objectives are to achieve honest and true faith and allegiance to the people, harmony and co-existence of all the people, to bring welfare and social justice. The party also stands for Territorial integrity, social integration, improvement of law and order, tapping of finance resources improvement of railway and communications, youths and women welfare policy, land reform policy, health care, raising of Manipur regiment agriculture and education, etc. were the main aims and objectives of the MSCP. The Federal Party of Manipur can be considered as the third strongest regional party. The FPM is deeply committed to federalism and regional autonomy. The party also establish with the objectives of building up a freehand democratic society with over all development of political, social, economic, culture and centre state relation based on federal principle. The FPM. also stands for territorial integrity, ethnic identity, promotion of welfare of the tribals, minorities and the O.B.C., District and Village level autonomy, solution of the insurgency problems, repeal of Art.356 of the constitution of India, restructure of division of power, regulation of entry of foreigners, shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla social justice, etc. There are many other comparatively smaller regional parties though they are regional in establishment they are national in outlook.

Of all the existing political parties, the Congress(I) is to be taken as the strongest party. Congress(I) played the dominion role in the passed 3(three) decades of her
statehood. The parties have its own political, economy and social programme. In its manifesto the Party Proposed to bring an equal society, to protect the interest of the weaker sections, to eliminate corruption, to removed unemployment, to improve mother’s tongue, to give more power to Panchayats, to improve schools, colleges etc.. Other National Political Parties like the BJP, the Samata, the Nationalist Congress, the C.P.I., the C.P.I (M) are comparatively much weaker. Thus the existence of different political parties of both the National and the Regional also signifies of a pure form of democracy in this tiny state Manipur.

Though small or big, strong or weak every Party have its own aims and objectives. They also have their own manifestos which help them to attrack the voters. Some of the party revives only on the eve of election. People enjoy with the multiparty system in the prevailing political scenario of Manipur.

With the grant of a full fledged state of Manipur on 21st January, 1972, the entire state had been divided into 60 seats constituencies. There are 40 constituencies in the valley for general, 19 seats were reserved for the tribals. The remaining one was for the scheduled caste of Sekmai. The delimitation of the 60 constituencies had been worked out on the basis of 1961 census as the 1971 census were not available. The first general election to the Manipur Legislative Assembly in the hill was held on the 6th and 9th March, 1972, while for the valley was held on 11th March, 1972. Jiribam constituency got single candidate and did not go for poll. Excluding this, 5,95,842 electorates participated in the
election. The number of electorate varied from constituency to constituency. The Karong constituency with 15586 electorates was the highest and the Phungyar with 6,711 electorates was the lowest. Altogether 287 candidates filed their nomination papers. The Congress(I) nominated in all 60 seats, M.P.P. in 43 seats, C.P.I in 25, Congress(O) in 10 seats, C.P.I.(M), socialist and Jan Sangha were also participated. Altogether 125 independent candidates filed their nomination papers. The first Assembly election claimed as good as 72.28 percent of electorate participation which is higher than the highly conscious western countries like Britain and U.S.A. with the average of 70 and 60 percent respectively.

All political parties tried to overthrow the Congress(I) dominant rules. The common issues and objectives of different political Parties focused on establishment of a Medical College, a full fledged University, inclusion of Manipuri Language in the VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution, solution to unemployment problems, to work out the Manipur Land Revenue (MLR) and Land Reform(LR) Acts, Industrial development, construction of roads and bridges etc. were the common point programmes and issues of the political Parties. In that result independent won 19 seats and among the Political parties the Congress(I) got the highest electorates responses winning 17 seats, which was followed by M.P.P. securing 15 seats. The electoral performance of the Congress(I) can be termed as the best in respect of the Assembly Election 1972. A good beginning however ended abruptly and imposed the President's Rule.
The mid-term poll for the Manipur Legislative Assembly was held in February, 1974 on account of the dissolution of Assembly in 1973. A new delimitation for 60 constituencies was made on the basis of 1971 census. As per the new delimitation, the central District got 40 seats, East and West Districts got 3 seats, each, while North and South Districts got 6 seats each and the remaining 2 seats went to Tengnaupal District. The total number of electors was 7,19,971. Altogether 256 candidates contested for 60 seats. Both National and Regional Parties as well as the Independent were in the fray.

There was a heavy criticism from the congress on the former M.P.P. led coalition government. The Congress to establish a stable government, development of regional and tribal dialects, inclusion of the Manipur language in the VIII Schedule of the Indian constitution. The Manipur People’s Party stands for socialist pattern of society, improvement of education, economy, inclusion of Manipuri language in the VIII Scheduled friendly relation between hills and valley, to maintain integrity of Manipur etc. M.P.P. thus achieved her greatest ever victory by winning 20 seats out of 40 candidates. Congress won in 13 seats only. The Manipur Hill Union Party under a dynamic leadership of Yangmaso Shaiza won in 11 seats out of 15 seats contested. With this result, it is cleared that the electorates trend was toward the regional Parties in the past two elections. It also shows people’s love for their region and regionalism.

The third general election was held on the 3rd and 6th January, 1980. Both the National and the Regional Parties frayed in the election. The Congress(I), the Congress(U),
the C.P.I., C.P.I(M), the Janata (S), the M.P.P., the K.N.A., and a number of Independent candidates fought the election. Altogether 401 candidates including seven women entered into the electoral battle. The women participation was a remarkable in our political history. The total number of electorate was 9,09,270. Each and every Political party tried with their best to capture power through democratic norms. They published their respective Party’s manifesto so as to influence the electorates. The congress in its manifesto declared to bring an equal society, and protection of the weaker section, to eliminate corruption to remove unemployment etc. The main issue based and common political stands of the various parties were to include the Manipuri Language in the VIII Schedule of the constitution of India, to remove differences between the hills and the valley, to remove Special Armed Forces Power Act 1958, to give more autonomy to the District Council, to work out the Land Reform and Land Revenue Act of Manipur preservation of Kangla. Connection of Manipur by railway lines, deportation of foreign nationals who illegally settle in Manipur after 1947 etc. were found as common in the manifesto of the Congress(I), Congress(U) the CPI; the Janata, the M.P.P. the Progressive Independent Party, etc.

Out of 9,09,270 electorates 7,49,403 voters exercised their franchise. As per the election results the M.P.P. got a heavy downfall, winning in 4 seats only. The Independent occupied 19 seats, Congress(I) 13 seats Janata won in 10 seats, Congress(U) won in 6 seats etc.

The 4th Assembly election was held on 27th December, 1984. The total number of
electorates increased to 19,13,378. As usual, both National and Regional parties as well as the independent participated in the election. Altogether 354 candidates contested in the election including five women. The common issues of the political parties were more or less similar to that of the previous elections such as inclusion of Manipur language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India, removal of Special Armed Forces Power Act 1958. The Congress stands for abolition of corruption, to supply sufficient water, electricity, provision of job facility etc. For the Communist Party to abolish corruption, Autonomy to District Council, improvement of communication, etc. The M.P.P. stressed on development of education, Arts and Culture, industry, agriculture etc. As per the results the Congress got the lion share of 30 seats Independent got 21 seats. Out of the remaining 9 seats, 5 seats went to National Parties and the other 4 seats were divided by two Regional Parties. Thus, the local parties got a heavy setback. They fail to gain the confidence of the people. Infact, people highly conscious about their political rights. The electoral participation leveled high upto 80 to 90 percent both in the hill and valley.

People with approximate 20 years experience and highly conscious about their political rights entered into the 5th General Assembly election in February, 1995. The electorate began to study the achievements and failures in relation to those promises made during the last elections. The number of electorate was 11,80,615. Altogether 265 candidates from both National and Regional Parties and Independent candidates were in the race. With a view to equality of rights 9 women candidates and difference communities and categories participated in the electoral battle. Ukhrul and Thangmeiband
were countermanded. The main issue during this period and upon which the electoral political game played were the issue of Manipuri language to include in the VIII Schedule of the India Constitution. Abolition of corruption, construction of school college wherever necessary. Removal of Special Armed Forces Act. 1958, development of Agriculture, water supply, electricity, industries, communication, sport, tourism, Price control etc. Through these issues the political parties and candidate tried their best to influence the electorates so as to draw their attention in their favour. The highest response was received by the Congress(I) which won in 25 seats, JD and M.P.P. won in 11 seats each only. The result show as that the people's faith, are always fluctuating. We got a contrast outcome. There was no consistency in the electoral politics.

The Sixth Assembly election was held in two phases. The hill Districts were held on 16th February and in the valley was held on 19th February, 1995. The total electorales was 12,69,746. As many as 339 including 10 women contested in the election. In view of security convenience polling stations were classified as Hyper sensitive, sensitive and less sensitive. Looking the public trend most of the political parties stressed on the issues like protection of territorial integrity of Manipur, shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla, solution to insurgency problems, Removal of Special Armed Forces Power Act 1985, Introduction of the Sixth Schedule in the hill districts, to bring Communal harmony, establishment of Manipur Regiment, Provision of a stable government abolition of corruption and many other socio-political and economics policies. As per the results, the
Congress (I) secured 21 seats, M.P.P. 18, J.D.7 as the three highest successful parties.

The 7th Manipur Legislative Assembly election also held in two phases on 12th and 22nd February, 2000 for both hills and valley respectively. Different political parties from both National and Regional including Independent were in the fray. All parties stressed on some programmes like Protection f territorial integrity of Manipur, shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla, connection of railway line to Manipur, improvement of law and order, etc. There was an alliance with the left parties in order to defeat the ruling MSCP. However though not absolutely majority, the MSCP by capturing 23 seats becomes the largest single majority. The Congress(I) got only 11 seats, F.P.M. 6 and M.P.P. won in 4 seats.

Voter were influenced in different ways In the valley the factors like the party organisation and ideology personality of the candidates etc. influenced the voters. Whereas, in the hills the voting behaviour was effected by the class prejudices and preferences. The educated enlightened voters are more or less influenced by its ideology and policy, issues and party's ideology. The important techniques applied in the elections were wall writing and flag flying, door to door campaign, public meeting, group feasting, Election rally, Money power, Mass Media etc.

As per the assessment of the voting behaviour, majority of the voters cast their votes on the basis of personality and relationship. In the Assembly Election 1995, 80 percent exercised their franchise based on these. Of the remaining 20 percent, 12 percent were not
approach by anybody, 4 percent as physical limitation, 3 percent as out of station and 1 percent went to negligent. Voters usually decide his/her candidate on the eve of the election. 60 percent of the voters in Manipur choose or decide on own judgement, influence of family got 35 percent and influence of others got 5 percent. The electoral behaviour in tribal belt also has community, religion, race, caste, clan etc. interest. Majority of the hill women followed the electoral behaviour of menfolk. If we examine the overall behaviour voters still have community behaviour Thus minority like Nepalis could sit only once in the Legislative Assembly of Manipur. Further there is a discrimination on sex in the electoral politics of Manipur. As such only three women were found elected so far in the Assembly.

Manipur was granted Statehood in 1972. The first Assembly election was held in March in the same year. The Congress(I) secured 17 seats as the largest. Though M.P.P. secured only 15 seats, being the second largest party got the support of 17 others consisting 13 from Independent, 3 from S.S.P. and 1 from Congress(O). A ministry headed by Md.Alimuddin under the name of United Legislative Party was installed on 20th March 1972. The ministry consisted of 11 ministers including Alimuddin himself as Chief Minister. However, the ministry could not last long due to defection. On the 22nd March, 1973 a no confidence motion was moved against his ministry in the budget session. Alimuddin tried his best to save the ministry. As his ministry reduced to minority, he submitted his resignation the next day. Subsequently the Assembly was adjourned Sine
die by the Speaker. The President Rule was imposed in Manipur and the Assembly was dissolved.

The midterm poll was held in February 1974. This time too no party could obtain absolute majority. The MPP again hold the dominant position by winning 20 seats. The Congress position was reduced to only 13 seats. The M.H.U. for the first time in the electoral field got a tremendous success by returning in 11 seat. Both the M.P.P. and the Congress tried to form Government. Alimuddin again aroused for negotiation with other parties. Latter the MPP enjoyed the support of SSP, MHU and some Independents. Alimuddin formed the government on 4\textsuperscript{th} March, 1974 under the old name. Interestingly the MHU led by Shri. Yangmaso Shaiza left the ULF. Eventhough, U.L.F. could survived with the joining of other MLAs. Shri. Shaiza's group formed a Progressive Democratic Front. On 8\textsuperscript{th} July, 1974, in the course the Budget Session six ULP crossed the floor and more defection were followed on the same day which led the resignation of the Alimuddin ministry. The U.L.P. ministry lasted only four months. The Progressive Democratic Front consisting of M.H.U., C.P.I. and the Congress formed the government on 10\textsuperscript{th} July, 1974 with Shri. Y.Shaiza as the Chief Minister. His Ministry consisted of 8 ministers for the first time. After few month the Congress withdrawn their support from the P.D.F.. As his ministry reduced to minority, Shaiza resigned on 7\textsuperscript{th} December, 1974. The Congress-United Legislature Party under the leadership of RK. Dorendra formed an alternative government on 16\textsuperscript{th} December, 1974 with a big size of 19 ministers. Soon after the formation of Janata government at the centre more MLA from Congress and others including Shaiza joined the Janata and Dorendra ministry reduced to only 22. He
resigned on 13\textsuperscript{th} May, 1977, and President Rule was proclaimed on 16\textsuperscript{th} May, 1977. A new Janata ministry under Yangmaso Shaiza was installed on 29\textsuperscript{th} June, 1977. His ministry lasted till 14\textsuperscript{th} October, 1979.

The third Assembly election was held in January, 1980. No party secured the absolute majority. 17 Congress with the support of Congress (U) MPP, KNA, etc formed a Coalition government on 14\textsuperscript{th} January, 1980. Due to differences among the Coalition partners Dorendra resigned in November 1080. Rishang Keishing succeeded as the Chief Minister on 27\textsuperscript{th} November, 1980. Due to defection, Rishang ministry also reduced to minority in February 1981. Manipur came again under President Rule. The President Rule was revoked on June 19, 1981 and Rishang Keishing formed again his second ministry. His ministry lasted till the next general election held in December, 1984. In this election, the Congress with the charismatic leadership of Rishang Keishing secured 30 seats as the single largest party. The Council of Ministers led by Shri. Rishang Keishing took the Oath on 4\textsuperscript{th} January, 1985. His ministry consisted of 10 Cabinets and seven Minister of State. His ministry remain in power till 1988.

There was an acute political crisis among the Congress in 1988. Some of them demanded removal of Rishang from Chief Ministership. With the advice of the Governor the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi advised the Chief Minister to step down and R.K. Jaichandra was made Chief Minister accordingly on 5\textsuperscript{th} March, 1988. The ministry remain in power till the next general elections in 1990.
The 5th general election was held in February, 1990. Congress secured 26 seats as the single largest, Janata Dal 10 and M.P.P. 10 etc. The leadership crisis among the Congress became a bone of contention. Taking the advantage, the M.P.P. under the leadership of R.K. Ranbir Singh claimed the rights to form the government. Governor invited RK. Ranbir Singh to form the government since the party had a following of 32 members. In January, 1992 five Janata Dal member deserted the Front and the ministry reduced to minority. Subsequently, the President Rule was imposed in the State on 7th January, 1992. R.K. Dorendra Singh with the support of majority formed the government on the 20th June, 1992. Many undesirable incidents took place in the State. Complete failure of law and order, Communal riot etc signified the weakness or inefficiency of leadership and it led the imposition of President Rule on 31st December, 1993. The President Rule was revoked on 13th December, 1994 and installed another Congress government under the Chiefship of Rishang Keishing. Rishang ministry continued till the next Assembly election in February, 1995.

In the Assembly election 1995, the Congress(I) secured 21 seats as the largest single majority. With the support of 11 other legislators, Rishang formed the new Congress led coalition government on 25th February, 1995. It is believed that Rishang is the gift of God to rule over Manipur who could provide a stable government. In fact, the politically talented Rishang ruled the state for the longest period in the political history Manipur since Statehood. However, surprisingly in the wake of the Indo-Naga Cease-fire
agreement of August, 1997, some of the Meitei M.L.A. withdrew their support to Rishang ministry only because of Rishang being a Naga. The Meitei fundamentalists felt that Meitei should rule Manipur to preserve its territorial integrity. Thus, with the split of 23 Legislators formed the M.S.C.P., under the leadership of the then Assembly Speaker W. Nipamacha. Rishang ministry collapsed and Nipamacha ministry sworn in and it lasted till 2000 election.

W. Nipamacha retained in power after 2000 election too. His government consisted of 23 MSCP, 6 FPM, 3 Nationalist Congress, 1 RJD, 1 JD and 1 Independent. On 13th March, 2001 Nipamacha resigned from Chief Ministrieship as he reduced to minority, for the withdrawal of many legislators. Taking the advantage, Radha Binod Kojam’s People’s Front government was installed on 15th February, 2001. A deep political crisis appeared in Radhabinod ministry and it ultimately led to the fall of his ministry on 21st May, 2001. As alternative government could not formed in the right time, the President rule was imposed on the advice of the governor.

Though undesirable defection is an unavoidable condition in Manipur. Defection in Manipur began in 1957. Most of the defections in Manipur were of retrograde type. Temptation of office, money, status and lust of power induced person to defect. One can easily acted according to the dictate of his conscience forgetting party’s loyalty. The fall of Alimuddin government in 1972 was nothing but due to defection of M.P.P. legislators. To
cite a simple example of defection from 1972-1973 as T. Bira Singh a Congressmen left it and joined the MPP, left MPP and joined the PDA and finally the Progressive Independent group.

Since 1972, most of the election no party could get absolute majority. Every formation of government involved defection. Justifying Newton's law of motion, every formation of government through defection falls through defection itself in the case of Manipur. This behaviour continued to exist even today that 23 legislators deserted from Rishang ministry in 1997 and formed the M.S.C.P. In 2001, Radhabinod Kojam left the Congress(I) and formed a Janata government. As such seven times of Presidential Rules had been imposed during the short period from 1972-2001. This work observed factors like particularism ethnic differences absence of strong party system etc. as responsible for defection and instability. Everyone ought to know that Manipur is not a homogenous State. It has two distinct regions, the Hills and the valley. As such in the study of politics in Manipur, one cannot ignore the political development in the Hill Areas of Manipur too.

The Hill peoples consisting of 29 tribes had a unique traditional Political System of their own. All types of Political Systems were found among them in the past. Each village was an independent republic of its own. Head-hunting was common to them. The Hills and the Valley were closely related with one another in many aspects. Their relationship
based on love affection, mutual understanding and friendship. There were many cases of inter marriage between the two. Following the defeat of Manipur in the Anglo-Manipuri war 1891 the hill administration was taken over to the President of the Durbar. A house tax of Rs.3/- per year was imposed to each houses. The entire Hills also were divided into three Sub-Divisions. Each Division was administered by respective S.D.Os.

When the British paramountcy lapsed India or Manipur in 1947, the Manipur State Constitution was introduced and extended in the Hills too. The Manipur Hill Peoples (Administrative) Regulation Act was enacted on 10th August, 1947. The Act provided for regulation and establishment of village Authority. A Minister incharge of the hill look after the administration under Maharaja’s supervision. Under this administration, villages were group into Circle and Sub-Divisions. The main function or duty of the village and Circle Authorities was to maintain law and order, settlement of disputes etc. The circle Authority tries all suits the value which did not exceed Rs.1000/- This arrangement continues till the merger of Manipur into the union of India.

The Parliament enacted the Manipur Villages Authority (in hill Areas) Act 1956 in Parliament and come into force in 1957. The Act determine the strength of village authority. The power and functions under the Act were the maintenance of law and order, arrest of any accused person, review of developmental works, etc. There was a village court at every village which had jurisdiction over criminal cases. The person convicted by the village court had no right of appeal against the decision of the court. Marung (Bachelor’s
Dormitory) was existed to defence the village, to train arts. It was also a centre for socio-religion and cultural life for them.

Looking the interest of the Tribals of Manipur and for administrative convenience, Parliament enacted the Manipur(Hill Areas) District Council Act, 1971. As such the hill were divided into Six Autonomous District Councils. Its main purpose was to give full autonomous to the tribals. It has its constitution. The power and functions of the District Council are maintenance of primary education, construction and repair of road bridges building etc. Though it is good in theory, there is no practical power in the Council. There is no autonomy in matters related to finances, judicial and executive. As a matter of fact, the tribals of Manipur boycotted the District Council since 1980s and proceeded to the demand for Six Schedule.

In the course of political development in the hill areas, there existed a number of insurgencies since early British period. The Thadou insurgency appeared against the British on the issues of Pothang means compulsory labour, restriction of fire armed possession, war service recuitement, and excessive harassment.

The Kabui Naga insurgency also appeared in the early 1920s under the leadership of Jadunang against the Pothang Kekari and Pothang Semkhi. Jadunang trained the boys and Gaidinlieu trained the girls, for unification of all Kabuis. They fought for Kabui Naga Raj. When Jadunang was executed on 29th August, 1931, his lieutenant
Rani Gaidinliu took up the ideas left by Jadunang for the same cause.

The Naga National Movement also emerged in the early part of the 20th century. Since time immemorial, the Nagas dwelt on a fringe of civilization. They were all independent and never had under one subjugation. The Nagas of North East India including the Nagas of Manipur were united in their move. The Nagas were preparing themselves politically in the event of India gaining her Independence from the British. They were anxious about their political future after the exit of the British. In connection with this they met Simon commission on 10th January, 1929 at Kohima regarding the issue. The Naga tribal council was established in 1945 and changed to Naga National Council NNC in 1946 and demanded immediate independent. In June, 1947 an Agreement known as Nine-point Hydari Agreement was concluded. However it could not materialized due to differences in interpretations between the two parties.

A Naga delegation led by AZ.Phizo met Mahatma Gandhiji in Delhi on 19th July, 1947 and accordingly the Nagas declared her independent on 14th August, 1947. India denied the same. Phizo conducted a plebiscite in 1951 that 99.9 percent voted in favour of independent. He formed a parallel Naga Central Government in 1956. The Manipur Naga Council was also merged with the NNC in 1957 there was much bloodshed in arms conflict. A cease-fire was agreed between the NNC and the government of India for peace talk. The promisingly started cease-fire ended with frustration for the Nagas stand nothing less than sovereignty. Mr.Suisa's suggestion for a little less than independent for a period
also turned down by the NNC. However an accord known as the Shillong Accord 1975 was arrived between the two parties which is fairly lesser than that of even Mr. Suisa's proposal. In the event of the agreement the Nagas of Manipur, Nagaland and other areas were in turmoil and even for eruption. As such a new movement group known as NSCN came into existence on 31st June, 1980. They termed the Accord as "Accord of treason of 1975."

The NSCN was headed by Isak Chishi Swu as Chairman and Khablang as Vice Chairman and Th. Muivah as General Secretary. Since 1980, the NSCN started working more actively in Manipur. Unfortunately Khablang group of the NSCN broke away for internal issue and formed the NCSN(K). However this faction is considerably weaker. On the other hand, NSCN(IM) of Isak-Muivah become one of the strongest of such groups in North-east India. The NSCN(IM) got support from many social organization as well as third countries. They became a member of the UNPO in 1993. The Indo-Naga Peace talk for political negotiation without any Pre-Condition was arrived and cease-fire was also declared accordingly on the 1st August, 1997. Thus the talks are in progress at the moment. In this course of their political development thousands of innocent peoples lost their lives.

In another development, tribals are moving on the demand for Sixth Schedule of the hill areas of Manipur. According to the SDCM, the main problems that leads to the demand are the relegation in all socio-economy, political and developmental works, which
demand are the relegation in all socio-economy, political and developmental works, which are all based on power politics, bias and neglected towards the tribals since Manipur attained her statehood. The idea for the demand was thus conceived in the early part of the 1970s. In support of the demand, the Hill Areas Committee Manipur have been recommending for the extension of Sixth Scheduled in the hill areas of Manipur ever since 1974. The State cabinet also had decided in support of the move. The tribal's demand for Sixth Schedule is a democratic means to maintain equality and balance development as provided in the constitution of India. A number forces, actions, movements, ideologies and organizations have emerged in the hill areas in the course of their political development. The government have also adopted different Acts and taken up several actions and developmental works. However, it is obvious that tribals are still lagging far behind the general peoples in all aspects.

Thus, in the study of politics in Manipur, during the period from 1972-2001, we come across several developments as well as many unusual and unexpected circumstances. A deep search and research on the subject is a must for future justification.