 CHAPTER II

POLITICAL PARTIES

There is a very close connection between democracy and political parties and in fact political parties may be considered as the gift of democracy. It is obvious that people had nothing to do with the government under monarchy and as such no party was found in this system. Further, no party was formed in the days of direct democracy. If we look at the fascist regimes the only party of the state was used by the rulers as an instrument of perpetual exploitation over the ruled. Political Parties therefore, play an important role as a mouldier of public opinion only in representatives government. No representative government can function without a party system and therefore, a representative government is said to be a party government. Modern democracy has procreated the system of Political parties and it organised interest groups as an indispensable factor in its operation. The reason behind is that the representative system lays stress on the maximization of political participation by enjoying upon the members of a political elite to take the people, as much as possible, in confidence either for the sake of demonstrating their faith in the myths that "the voice of the people is the voice of God," or to justify the very legitimacy of their leadership and authority.

2.1.1 Meaning of Political Party. A number of definitions of political party have been put forwarded by eminent thinkers. Michael Curtis says, it is a notoriously difficult to define
accurately a political party. The reason is that the views of the liberal and Marxist writers differ sharply on this point. Not only this, even the views of the English liberal differ from their American Counterparts. To make it clear, we shall have a glance about their different views. The most celebrated view among the English leaders and writers is that of Burke who holds that a political party is a body of men united for promoting their joint endeavors the nationals interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed. Thus, Burke has described a political party in terms of its purpose which, in his judgement is "the serving of National interest." Reiterating the same view, Disraeli defined political party as, "a group of men banded together to pursue certain principles." Benjamin constant said, a party is "a group of men professing the same political doctrine." The key in all these definitions relates to the issues of ‘principles’ of public importance on which the members of a party are agreed.

But the American view is different in the sense that the political party is taken as an instrument of catching power. No significance is attached to the key point of ‘principles’ of national or public importance in which ‘all are agreed’. A party is just a supporter at the time of elections; it is an instrument for the aggregation of interests that demand their vociferous articulation.

2. Ibid., p.216.
3. Ibid., p.217.
The English and American views are basically different from the Marxist view on
the term of political party as elaborated by Lenin. Here a political party is taken as a
‘vanguard’ of the social class whose tasks is to create class on consciousness and
then to prepare the proletariat for a bloody and violence revolution. Every party is a
class organisation. Thus, the party has its aim at to the overthrow of the existing system
and its substitution by a new system in which power would be in the hands of the working
class. As Lenin says, “the communist party is created by means of selection of the best
most class conscious, most self sacrificing and far sighted workers. Thus, political
party for the communist is like a voluntary force or a device for social change.

Some of the definitions given by the eminent writers or political parties are as
according to R.G. Gettell is of the views that ‘a political party consist of a group of
citizens more or less organized, who act as political unit and who by the used of their
voting power, aim to control government and carry out their general policies. According
to WB.Munro, political party means groups of people thinking alike on public questions.
It expresses more an ideal than the realities of political life. A political party is first of all
an organized attempt to get power.7

Schattschneider goes on to define power as central of Government and to point out

5. B.B. Tayal, op.cit., p.218
that the aim to get control of government is what distinguish a party from pressure
group. Mc.Donalds considers, political parties as "a kind or class of social formation
and regards them as determinant organization." In his words, to regard political parties
as determinant organization with reasonably capable as formations of taking over
construction task is a rather natural way to consider such a social formation.\(^6\)

Ostrogorski, in his pioneering work, "Democracy and the Organisation of political
parties" he regards parties ideally as bodies deliberately organised to mobilize and
express mass opinion in connection with public questions. In one sense the term may
refer to a group of, one or less professional political workers or at times party denotes
groups within the government. "A fundamental difficulty about the term political party is
that it is applied without discrimination to many types and near group."\(^9\) Thus, the
meaning to be given to the term political party is extremely varied. As a matter fact,
Duvergers did not like to defined the Political parties and that he limits himself to saying
"a party is a community with a particular structure."\(^10\)

\(\checkmark\) Political parties are thus defined in various ways. However, in the overall analyses,
by a "political party, we mean an organized body of people which stand for certain

9. V.O.Key Jr. Politics, Parties and Pressure groups, New York Havard University, Thomas Y.Crowell
10. Maurice Duverger, op.cit., p.XV.
principles, programmes and policies in the political life of a country as a whole as stated by Burke.

Political parties and election go hand in hand. No election can be held without a political party. Political party is a basic element of democracy, for without this the democratic machine cannot operate. It generally organized on the basis of ideological consideration. It is a means for maximization of political participation. We can safely put forward that the modern democracy is a political game which struggle for power. People try to capture legitimate power in election through parties.

In fact, what may be the definition and whatever differences among to writers may have, the generally acceptable meaning of political party is that it is a kind of instrument or machinery for capturing a legitimate power in representative government or democracy. The representation or democracy and the political parties are the both side of a coin. Which is an indivisible. People express their opinion and principles only through party. Every political party have some basical characteristics, such as;¹¹

(i) a certain organisation and structure;
(ii) Unity of Purpose.
(iii) a commitment to adhere to constitutional means i.e. seizing power through 'ballot';

(iv) when returned to power to try to implements its policies and programmes and
(v) Close relationship among all members of the party.

‘Political parties’, ‘Electoral politics’ and ‘Elections’ are an integral and indispensable process of a democratic system of government. The process mainly consists of

(i) Enlisting of candidates who have reached the age of 18 years.
(ii) Affiliation of such members to a political party
(iii) Joining in the process of selecting or conversing for a candidate of one’s choice during elections.
(iv) Actual voting
(v) Whether once candidate is elected or defeated, accepting the verdict of the majority gracefully.
(vi) Not changing alliance-midway according to one’s whims and fancy (opportunity politics)
(vii) No harping on of attitudes of vendetta and revenge after the completion of the electoral process, etc.

2.1.2 Characteristic of Political Party. To cite the characteristics of a political party in general we have the following points to keep in mind;

(i) Membership; the size of political parties are not homogenous. They are vary in size. The members of a party can be placed under three categories, (a) tax paying
ordinary member (b) whole times worker and (c) notable or the real leader or the elite.

(ii) Every political party is a group of people who are properly organised. Political parties have their different levels of organisation. An organised group of people is called 'crowd or mob.'

(iii) There must be unanimity of opinion among the members of a political party about their problem and solution.

(iv) A political party must be interested in capturing political power.

(v) A political party concern itself with the broader interest of social welfare.

(vi) The members of the political party must have faith in the top leadership.

2.1.4 Emergence of Political Parties. The term political parties emerged in the nineteenth century with the development of representative institution and the expansion of suffrage in Europe and United state. The emergence of political parties can be seen as a useful institutional index of the level of political development. Political development implies among other thing a measure of political participation by large number of people who do not belongs to the dominant political elite. Lapalombara and Weiner suggested three types of theory of party origins, firstly the institutional theories focussing on the

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relationship between early parliaments and the emergence of parties; secondly historical situation theories that focus on the historical crisis on task which systems has encountered at the moment in time when parties developed; and thirdly developmental theories that relate parties to the broader processes of modernization. However, Duverger emphasize on a particular origin of parties and suggest that party grow out of political assemblies as their members felt the need of a group to act in concert. As the vote was subsequently extended these committee began to organize the elections. Thus, Duverger's theory, is the final analysis postulates stages in party development. First there is creating of parliamentary groups then the emergence of electoral committees and finally the establishment of permanent connections between the two elements." Duverger also observed that parties originate from two distinct aspects of the electoral process viz. parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. DB. Brogan termed it as 'interior' and 'exterior' parties. 

Thus, political parties emerged with a view to participation by a large number of people in the government. Further it emerged with the development of representative government. In addition to these we can also discussed the various determinants which influence in this development.

2.1.4. Determinant of Political Party. It may be asked as to why political parties emerge

14. Maurice Duverger, op.cit., p.XXIV.
15. Maurice Duverger, op.cit., p.VII.
in the society. For this we have a glance into the following point:

I. Human Nature: People have different temperaments. If some are moderate, others are extremists, if some are radical others are reactionary. The inborn temperamental differences incline the people toward differences of parties. Thus some people want to retain and maintain their old institution and form conservative party, but those who desire a change even rapid and sudden change in the organisation or in society form radical parties.

II. Religious Communal Sentiments: People have very strong sentiment for their religious and communal order. Thus, different political parties came into existence like Eokka Gakkai of the Buddhists in Japan, Christian democrats in Switzerland, Hindu Maha Sabha, Muslim League in India. Moreover, some people have very strong attachments with this community or caste for political parties on that basis such as Mizo National Front, Jharkhan parties, etc.\textsuperscript{16}.

III. Environment. Environment also play an important role for establishing and determining of political party. People establish political parties base on their prevailing environment.

IV. Economic Interest. Economic is the most important factor. People have their divergent economic interests and so they form and joint different parties. If some desire economic freedom, other prefer more and more state control and some advocate for Laissez-faires other desire socialism.

\textsuperscript{16} J.C.Johari, \textit{Dreit, Rises}.
V. Ideology: Ideology also play a very important role in the establishment of political parties. Differences of ideology among the people lead to formation of different political parties. Say for example those people who want to protecting and promoting the interest of the capitalists formed the Fascist and the Nazis. While those people who want to give benefits to the unprivileged sections of society form socialism or communism. Thus, ideology play an important role in forming and determining of political parties.

2.2.1. GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN MANIPUR.

Before the British conquest, the state of Manipur was under Monarchical system with the King as the head. History records Manipur as an independent princely state from 33 AD to 1949 having rich tradition and culture. In pre-British period the people were completely ignorant of their political and civil right due to lack of education and communication. In 1819 Manipur lost her independence and was placed under Burmese Suzerainty for seven years. This period is popularly known as “Chahi-Taret-Khuntakpa” (seven years devastation) The Burmese occupation ended in 1826 by the Treaty of Yandaboo signed between East India Company and the Manipuri Raja and this treaty left him as a semi independent ruler of Manipur. This was the beginning of the end of the Sovereignty of the Manipur monarchs and thus the region was incorporated to British India only after 1826. It was in 1891 that it surrendered its independence to the British rulers that also in the most befitting and honorable manner.17 By then the whole

17. Ng.Kumarjit Singh. Emergence of Regional Parties vol.1 North East India. Published by MPP, Imphal,1988, p.16
administration of Manipur was taken over by the British. However, Manipur was ruled by a prince, its administration was handed over to a Durbar consisting of eight members with the Maharaja as its head/president. It made a drastic reduction in its status or rather Manipur was put on an entirely different footing. The revival of Lallup, Pothang etc. during the period from 1904-1913 (compulsory labour) led to outbreak of violent and widespread agitation proceeded the development of organized political movements and parties in Manipur. In the 1930's with the struggle for freedom by the Indian National Congress against the British suzerainty the people aware of their political rights and thus led to the growth of their political consciousness. There was no political organisation in Manipur before 1934. The formation of an organisation called the Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha under the presidency of Maharaja Churachand Singh in 1934 marked a turning point in the political history of Manipur because the agitation for the constitutional reforms emanated from the same platform. The Mahasabha was initially a social organisation but after the “Chinga session” in 1938 it becomes the first political party in Manipur. However, the Mahasabha followed the ideology and policy of the Indian National Congress, but the programme had to be modified to suit the local conditions. Nikhil Mahasabha had become the most important political organisations Manipur of under the leadership of Irabot Singh. Later Krihsak Sabha, the Praja Sangha, the Praja Sammilani

22. RK.Jhalajit Singh, *op.cit.*, p.115
and the Anouba Nongpok Maram, etc. came to appear as political parties. The Communist Party of India (CPI) was also formed in 1948. Then came the Socialist Party. There were many regional parties such as the Manipur People's Party (MPP), the Praja Santi Party (PSP), the All Manipur National Union, the All Manipur People's Convention (AMPC) the Ireipak Leishem Party (ILP) the Progressive Independent Front (PIF) etc. In the hill areas, there were the Naga Integration Council (NIC), the Kuki National Assembly (KNA). Some major Regional parties are discussed below.

2.3.1 THE MANIPUR PEOPLE'S PARTY.

The Manipur People's Party was born out of extreme necessity to have a regional political party to safeguard the ethnic identity of the people to protect the territorial integrity, to check economic condition and to promote the regional interest in general. Thus, the main purpose of the formation of MPP was to safeguard and uphold the interest of the people and for their advancement in socio-economic and political spheres. The party stands for regionalism and greater autonomy of the state. In fact, the MPP was an offshoot of the defectors from the Indian National Congress. The party was formed on the 26th December 1968 at a meeting convened by Shri Chaoyaima Singh, Shri Nilachandra, Y. Yaima Singh and S. Tomba Singh. The constitution of the party defines as, it is a voluntary organisation of the people who lie in Manipur and who expenses the course of

Manipur. The goal of the party is to establish by democratic and peaceful means the well-being and advancement of the people of Manipur and to established an egalitarian society based on democratic socialism. The MPP, therefore, stands for safeguarding the interest of Manipur people for their political, economic, social upliftment and preserving its cultural and racial identity with the framework of the Indian constitution.

The first conference of the party was held on 27th January 1969 in Imphal at the Aryan Hall. The MPP being a regional party is interested with certain group's welfare. It is very much regional party and is sort of represented only in the valley areas and failed to reach in the hill areas in its initial. The non-Manipuris businessmen and trader viewed the party as an anti-outsider. It demanded greater autonomy for the state so as to enable it to struggle for safeguarding the identity and culture of the Manipuris. In fact, the party belongs to all sections of Manipur irrespective of hill and valley. The party adopted its constitutions in the year 1969. The preamble of the constitution read as follows:

The goal of the Manipur People's Party is to establish by democratic and peaceful means an egalitarian society. The Manipur People's Party shall bear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of India as by law established and to the principles of

Socialism, Secularism and democracy and would uphold sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.

2.3.2 Objectives of Manipur People’s Party (M.P.P.). The objectives of the MPP are to achieve politically, socially and economically by democratic and peaceful means the well being and advancement of the people of Manipur and to establish an egalitarian society based on democratic socialism and in particular,

(i) to safeguard the territorial integrity of Manipur and ethnic identity of the people.

(ii) to safeguard the interest of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, and other minorities of their development according to their own capabilities.

(iii) to preserve and promote the different arts, culture and traditions of the hill and valley people of Manipur.

2.3.3. The Manifestoes of the Manipur People’s Party (M.P.P.). The manifesto of the Manipur People’s Party promised maximum autonomy by amending the constitution, the improvement of agriculture, development of Manipuri language, establishment of cordial relations between the hills and plains, electrification of all villages, release of the youths now in jail, connection of Manipur by railways lines with other parts of India, removal of Manipur Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958 and establishment of one Regiment for Manipur. The party also stands for development of industries like paper mill, cement factory, tasar, sugar mill, electronic industry, rubber industry, film industry, upgradation of academic standard of university and college.
Improvement of tourism and sports. The party also promised to review the merger agreement, 1949 and to transfer kaboo valley to Manipur, increase of Lok Sabha Seats from Manipur 2 to 3, Political solution to the insurgency problems, etc. are the main manifestoes of the Manipur People’s Party.

Thus, the Manipur People’s Party come into existence as one of the greatest regional political parties in the state. S. Tomba was the first president with the recognition given by the election commission as a political party, along with a permanent symbol of bicycle, they claimed it as the real alternative to the Congress(I) and had a good beginnings.

2.4.1 THE FEDERAL PARTY OF MANIPUR.

Federalism and federal spirit have been accepted as basic ethos of the Indian democracy. Federalism is a basic features of the constitution of India. The constitution review Commission has given emphasis on the centre-state relation and autonomy for the states. The Federal Party of Manipur (F.P.M.) is a regional party with a national outlook with deep commitment to federalist and autonomy. FPM takes cognizance of the change in Indian political thought, but think that the idea has yet to be translated into action. The central government has not been changed into the “federal” government as it is still controlled by the hegemonic and centralist forces representing the upper classes and higher castes of the mainland who are compelled by the electoral needs to come to terms with regionalism which has taken deep roots in many state of the Indian union. Federal
party of Manipur stands for regionalism within the Indian nationalism and it fits well into Indian pluralistic social fabric. The party stands for:

(i) Federalism
(ii) Regionalism with commitment to autonomy and self government
(iii) Social federalism
(iv) Protection of Human rights
(v) Development with social justice.\(^{29}\)

The Federal Party of Manipur was established on the 21st October 1993 as a political party of Manipur under the presidency of Prof. Gammumei kamei. It is a regional party based on national outlook. The first meeting for the establishment of this party was held on the 21st October, 1993 at Major khun Community Hall. The meeting minutely discussed about the rapid growth and development of the party with the high vision based on federalism and autonomy in the state of Manipur. The constitution drafting committee drafted its constitution and the same was approved by a special session of general Assembly of the federal party of Manipur on the 9th November 1993 Imphal.\(^{30}\)

The constitution clearly specified the objectives of the party formation and organizational structure at various levels viz., the state level, the District level, etc. The party also have the working committee, District and Kendra Committee. The constitution Specify the office bearers and the general Assembly with their power and functions.


\(^{30}\) Interview with the Secretary, Federal Party of Manipur, Imphal, 18-6-2002.
2.4.2 Objective of the Federal Party of Manipur. The Federal Party of Manipur (FPM) stands for the following objectives:

(i) To build up a free and democratic society with over all development of the political social, economic and cultural life of Manipur.

(ii) To create a political and administrative structure in Manipur so as to facilitate the participation of all social and ethnic groups in the democratic process and national building task in the state.

(iii) To restructure the relationship between the union Government and the state of Manipur, based on federal principles and more autonomy for the state.

(iv) To promote economic development through planning, free from exploitation, with social control over the natural resources, encouragement of private enterprises, involvement of foreign capital and with full participation of the people in the process of planning and implementations of development process of the state.

(v) To promote the common heritage of the various sections of Manipur’s population and protect their cultural and ethnic identity and territorial integrity of the state.

(vi) To promote the welfare of the tribals, minorities and other weaker sections of the society including women and physically handicapped persons.

(vii) To take up suitable steps for the attainment of the objectives by social and political action through democratic, constitutional and peaceful.

(viii) To establish fraternal contact with other regional parties of the country and with those groups and organizations which believes in the federal base of Indian policy. 31

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The Federal Party got its registration with the election Commission of India under the section 29-A of the representation of the people Act, 1951 as a political party with effects from 22,12; 1993 vide No.56/164/93/J.S.H dated the 23rd December, 1993.\(^{32}\)

The party convent its first convention on 21st October, 1994 at Gandhi Memorial hall, Imphal. More than 1100 delegates from different levels of its organizations attended the convention. Prof.Gammumei Kamei presided over the function. The convention adopted the following resolution;

(i) Equal representation of the state in the parliament,
(ii) More power for the states in the union list, concurrent list and states list,
(iii) Abolition of Article 356,
(iv) Strengthening of Finance commission, National Development Council and planning commission,
(v) Autonomy for the State, District level, Zilla Parishad and Gram Panchayat,
(vi) Establishment of Inter Ethnic Council for peace, Human rights commission, New Economic policy, trade and commerce, and
(vii) Equality of status, cultural identity social harmonization, protection of ethic minorities and Human rights etc.

2.4.3 The Manifesto of Federal Party of Manipur. I. Restructuring of India polity specially in the context of state policy. India is a union of states and since federalism is a

\(^{32}\) Ibid., p.83.
basic feature of the constitution, the rights and autonomy of the federating states should be strengthened.33

II. Equal representative of the federal parliament of India. The FPM wants the equal representation of the states to the union in the upper house of the parliament known as the council of the States (RAJYA-SABHA) irrespective of their size and population.

III. Division of power to be restructured. The FPM wants the restructure of the division of power between the states and the centre that the subject contained in the state list should be vested in the states. The concurrent list should be transferred to the state list.

IV Repeal of Art 356. F.P.M. stands for the repeal of Art. 356 of the Constitution which is an instrument of Central intervention in the states to suit the interests of the ruling party in the centre. F.P.M. is against the misuse of Art.356.

V. Unity and Integrity of Manipur. FPM stands for the common testify of the people of Manipur. The party believes that the people of Manipur will stand united to meet any challenge. FPM stands for the unity of the people and integrity of Manipur state. FPM is committed to create a new social order in which every man and woman of any community irrespective of ethnic affiliation, religion, profession, language and culture will feel secure, free, equal and proved of belonging to the ancient country.

VI. District and Village Level Autonomy. FPM stands for decentralization of power to Zilla parishad, Gram Sabhas, Autonomous District Councils, etc. A new law for the administration of the hill villages will be introduced to give more powers to the people as given in the 73rd Amendment.

VII. Negotiation for the solution of the insurgency problem without any precondition. The FPM proposes negotiation between the Government of India and the various Revolutionary group and Insurgent of Manipur and North Eastern Region without any pre-condition from both sides.

VIII. Harmony on the Basis of Federalism. The FPM stands for social and peaceful co-existence of all communities on the basis of Federalism.

IX. Regulation of Entry of Foreigners. FPM will strictly ban entry of unauthorized foreigners in the state.

X. Shifting of Assam Rifles from the Kangla. FPM stands for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments both in the hills and valley. The Assam Rifles should be shifted from the Kangla Fort.34

XI. Development with social justice. FPM stands for equitable development of the state hill-valley, rural-urban, middle class, working class and peasantry and tribals.

In addition to these the FPM also proposes the following programs as their manifesto;

(i) strengthening of Manipur University.

(ii) consolidation of Government college of Engineering.

(iii) Improvement of Education system and Administration to bring Equality of Education.

(iv) Transport and communication.

34. Ibid., p.7.
(v) Development of power generation project.
(vi) Employment to the unemployed.
(vii) Full implementation of Vth pay Commission
(viii) Review of the working of public sector-undertakings.
(ix) Police Hospital
(x) Tourism
(xi) Environment and Ecology
(xii) Rehabilitation
(xiii) 3rd Lok Sabha Seat for Manipur
(xiv) 45 Member legislative council for Manipur and
(xv) Games and sports.35

Thus the Federal Party of Manipur has been grouping up gradually from its
tender state to an active key political party in the state today. The party became an
important regional party in the state of Manipur. The Federal Party of Manipur enter into
the election arena in the state of Manipur and contested the tenth Assembly election held
in 1995 for the first time.

2.5.1 THE MANIPUR STATE CONGRESS PARTY.

The Manipur State Congress party (MSCP) is an offshoot of the Indian National
Congress(l). It is obvious that in December, 1997, the then Assembly Speaker, W.Nipamacha

35. Ibid., p.12.
Singh left the congress (I) party on the issue of leadership. He then with the support of other legislators formed the “Manipur State Congress Party” as a regional party. With this split, the faction-ridden congress(I) with a strength of 15 legislators in the state Assembly lost its ability to work as a cohesive force and in the process lost its status.\(^\text{36}\)

Thus the Manipur State Congress Party came into existence as a regional political party in the state.

2.5.2 The Constitution of the Manipur State Congress Party. We the members having subscribed our signatures hereto, having resolved to constitute a political party in the state of Manipur, do hereby enact and give this constitution to ourselves to achieve the aims and objects herein under incorporated.

This political party shall be called “THE MANIPUR STATE CONGRESS PARTY” with its registered office at Babupara, Imphal.\(^\text{37}\)

2.5.3 The Objects. The party shall be committed;

(i) achieve honest and true faith and allegiance to the people;
(ii) to secure harmony and co-existence of all people;
(iii) to bring welfare and Socio-economic justice to the people irrespective of caste, tribe, religion creed, etc.

\(^{36}\) *Front line*, February 4, 2000, p.43.

(iv) to propagate and bear true faith and allegiance to the constitution;
(v) to uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India and also the principles of socialism and democracy.\textsuperscript{38}

The party have a flag of three vertical colours viz. (i) "Saffron", to represent sacrifices and service above self. (ii) "White" to represent peace and harmonious co-existence of all the people and (iii) "Green" to represent peace and harmonious towards maximum welfare of the people.\textsuperscript{39}

The flag shall bear of a central emblem of the territorial map of Manipur a "wheel" and a "plough" in the centre of the wheel; the central wheel represents the industrial revolution for the labourers and the "plough" represent the agricultural revolution for the welfare of the tillers.\textsuperscript{40}

The Manipur State Congress Party has its clear cut organizational structure. It has the primary member, and active member. The party also have various levels of committee, viz. (i) Unit Committee, (ii) Kendra Committee, (iii) District Committee, (iv) MSCP state Committee and (v) Central Executive Committee. Thus, the party have 10 District committees and 60 Kendra committees.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p.2.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p.2.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p.2.
Composition of the party. The Executive body of the Manipur State Congress Party shall consist of a president, one member each from the 60 Assembly constituencies, president of all the District M.S.C.P. committees and the four percent of the party’s sitting MLA.

2.5.4 The Manifesto of the Manipur State Congress Party. The party having firm faith in democracy invariably publishes its manifesto to broadcasts its objectives or political and economic planks to the people and with this purpose in view, the Manpower state congress party wishes to highlight a few agenda in its manifesto.

The five tenets of the party,

(i) Territorial integrity is our identity
(ii) Peaceful co-existence is our Heritage
(iii) Our youths are our future
(iv) Our women are our inner strength
(v) Social integration is our zeal.41

I. Territorial integrity and emotional integration. The ancient sovereign kingdom of Manipur had a clear defined and demarcated territorial boundaries. When it was conquered by the British and annexed to the British Empire in 1891 the territorial boundary of manipur was honoured and kept intact.

When India attained Independence on the 15th August, 1947, the princely state of Manipur having the boundaries was not disturbed. Thereafter, at the time of its merger into the Indian Union on the 15th October, 1949 also no question was raised in regard to the integrity of Manipur. On the 19th June, 2001 Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the Prime Minister of India said, "There will be no changes in Manipur's boarders. It will remain what it is now."42

Thus the Manipur State Congress Party solemnly pledges to protect and preserve the territorial integrity and emotional integrity of Manipur.

II. Law and Order. With determination and foresight the Manipur State Congress Party will devote to improve the law and order establishment in the state by strengthening the district police stations, the intelligence services and women police wing.

It is also overdue to replace the Assam Police Manual, now in forces in Manipur, by our police manual as a full-fledged state.43 The party gave the topmost importance and priority with sincere and pragmatic efforts to initiate direct and meaningful talk with the leaders of the militant outfit.

42. Ibid., p.3.
43. Ibid., p.3.
III. Tapping of Financial Resources. In view of the financial constraint in the state the MSCP wishes to adopt the following measures:

(i) to bring down revenue expenditures by reducing office establishment expenditure.
(ii) to realise all revenues and taxes to achieve the target within time-limit.
(iii) to plug pilferage taxes on powers, land, shop, building, vehicle, etc.
(iv) to boost production of fish by developing the resourceful lakes.
(v) to adopt new measures for advancing liberal loans to the handloom weavers.

(vi) to legalise plantation of Ganja

(vii) to introduce income earning lottery

(viii) to revise land revenue rate etc.

IV Railway and road Communications. (i) To convert National Highway No.53 into three-lane road.

(ii) To upgrade Imphal-Tipaimukh road to the Status of National Highway to link Imphal with Aizwal-Mizoram.

(iii) To construct railway linking Imphal with Silchar via Churachan, Vangai range and Jiribam.44

V Telecommunication. As the world has become a global Village due to information technology revolution and the fast growing telecommunication network worldwide, the MSCP

44. Ibid., p.4.
mentioned in this manifesto that the party will urge the Central Government to enhance the facilities of telecommunication to cover all Assembly constituencies in Manipur.

VI Youth Welfare Policy. (i) To evolve a policy for talent-search in sports and provide more felicities for game and sports.

(ii) To provide appointment to government services to all Gold Medallists in National and international.

(iii) To create more employment opportunity

(iv) To implement special schemes for educated unemployed youths.45

VII Women Welfare Policy. The Manipur State Congress would like to take up the action plans as a welfare policy for women as to reserve certain percentage of posts for women and to make available some liberal loans.

VIII Raising of Manipur Regiment. The Manipur State Congress Party pledges to the union government be urged to raise Manipur Regiment.

IX Land reform Policy. (i) Aerial survey will be made to identify various topographies of Manipur.

(ii) the existing Manipur Land Revenue Act 1960 shall be reviewed and amended wherever necessary to serve the interest of all sections of the people.46

45. Ibid., p.4
46. Ibid., p.5
X Health. (i) to adopt intensive scheme for providing good drinking water to the public
(ii) To enhance facilities in the rural and hill Areas
(iii) To adopt intensive measures for AIDS control.

XI Education. (i) To improve infra-structure of the existing government and raised Colleges and Schools.
(ii) To encourage privatisation of Educational Institutions.

XII Agriculture. (i) To take up massive expansion of horticulture in the hill areas to increase production of cashcrops.
(ii) To increase the agricultural facilities such as river left irrigation. 47

XIII development of powers on gram panchayats and Zilla parishads.

XIV Welfare policy for scheduled tribes in the valley.

XV Facilities, Amenities and privileges to the media persons or pressmen.

XVI Approach to development in the Hill Areas. (i) Priority will be given to all Sub-divisional Head Quarters in the hill area motorbike roads with the state highways as National Highways.
(ii) The existing Autonomous District Councils Act 2000 will be reviewed and amended wherever necessary. 48

47. Ibid., p.6.
48. Ibid., p.7.
XVII  Welfare policy for Meitei Pangals.

XVIII  Redetermination of the outer Manipur parliamentary constituency and

XIX  Anti corruption policy.

Thus the Manipur State Congress Party becomes a very important regional political party in the state. The Manipur State Congress Party is one of the strongest local parties in Manipur, which could compete and even defeated the traditional ruling Indian National Congress(I) in the state. "The most remarkable achievement of this government is the complete halt of the ethnic violence between the Zomi and the Kuki in the Churachanpur District."49

2.6.1 THE KUKI NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (KNA).

The Kuki National Assembly is a regional political party of the Kukis of Manipur. It was established in 1947 under the name of the Kuki National Assembly. The KNA as a regional political party was recognised by the election commission with a reserved symbol of two leaves since 1964.50 The Kukis live in majority in the Southern part of Manipur. Since its formation, the party participates in the political process of Manipur.

The party stands for preserving and improving the culture of the Kukis freedom.

49. General Secretary MSCP "The Objectives and Achievement of Manipur State Congress Party," in 2 August 1999, Imphal, Manipur, p.3.
from external exploitation and unification of their geographical areas into a political homogenous political party. The party was established solely to protect the interest of the ethnic community. The party stands for regionalism. Thus the party contested in both the parliamentary and Assembly elections since 1952.

Thus, the party i.e. Kuki National Assembly (KNA) contested elections particularly in the hills of Manipur since 1948 till date. It may be mentioned that the Kuki National Assembly is able to survive as a regional political party till to-day while most of the other regional political parties appeared on the eve of elections and disappeared just after the election.

Further, the Kuki National Assembly in early 1969 was thinking politically about the implication of Manipur Hill Areas Act 1967, the creations of new district in Manipur, the Manipur Panchayat Raj Bill 1967, the Manipur Nyaya Panchayat Bills 1969 and about the Kuki refugees from Burma By the end of the year 1969, the Kuki National Assembly discussed about the Kuki state. In the meeting held on 9th to 11th October, 1969, Mr. Haokholet Ngailut the then general secretary move a motion to revive the demand for Kuki State within the union of India, thinking that the Kukis are landless people of India having been ignored and neglected. They observed that the kukis have suffered enough in the hands of other arms group. It should be therefore, compensated by granting separate

51. Seminar paper, "The Changing Political Demographic Trends in North-East India," organised by Department of Political Science Manipur University, April 10-12, 1985, pp.10-12.
state to the Kuki peoples so that they can live a peaceful life. Hence, the Assembly unanimously resolved to revive and push forward the demand of the Kuki people for kuki state within the Indian union.⁵²

Actually, the KNA is a regional political party which has the unique distinction of being the only government recognised tribal political party in Manipur. However, due to lack of clear cut or consistent policy and leadership, it is unsuccessful as it should be. Hence it has become only a means of electioneering for the Thadou Kukis.

In addition to the given some major regional political parties, some other regional political parties are found in the state. However, they are comparatively very weak and not influential as it ought to be. Inspite of the fact, I would also like to mention a few political parties of that kind of the state as given below.

2.7.1 THE MANIPUR HILLS UNION.

In 1972, the M.P.P. formed the United Legislative Party (U.L.P.) for the formation of Government. The formation of the U.L.P. induced the Hill tribes to come together and formed the Manipur Hills Union. The leader of the party was Shri. Yangmaso Shaiza. With a view to bring the U.L.P. active and to strengthen his position, Shaiza brought into existences the M.H.U. Originally it consisted of seven MLAs from the Hill Areas. As in

1974, it contested the mid term election to the Manipur Legislative Assembly and won 11 seats.53

2.8.1 THE MANIPUR NATIONALIST PARTY.

Salam Tombi, who was expelled from the Congress, formed the Manipur Nationalist Party. But in 1974 he himself along with the leader of the party joined the MPP and left it and become an independent and finally join the Janata. It ceased to exist from 1974.54

Besides these regional parties, several parties were formed and reformed in Manipur. They were the All Manipur People's Convention, the Manipur National Union, the Kanglei Leagüe and the Eribok Laishem Party formed in the year 1978. The aim and object of these parties are to protect the identity of Manipur, to safeguard the interests of Manipur, and to obtain more powers for the state of Manipur. And rapid industrialization of the state of Manipur. Although their objects were laudable and praise-worthy these parties were formed just before elections by those who wish to contest the election and a seat for themselves in the Assembly. After the election they disappear like the morning mist before the raising sun.56

Thus in both the hills and valleys many local parties were formed and promised

several thing but could not achieved. The left parties are extremely weak of all the parties, the INC is stronger than other parties. It has its root in all parts of Manipur. Therefore, the regional or local parties could not be able to make headway in Manipur.

2.9.1 SOME MAJOR NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES.

Among the National Political Parties, there are few major parties. viz. Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, C.P.I., Janata Party and Samata Party which play a dominant role in the political arena in the State. We can study them in brief.

2.10.1 THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (I) INC.

The Congress Party was organised by a retired British civilian, Alla Octavian Hume by name. The Indian National Congress is the oldest political Party of the Country. The Congress cannot be compared with a political party in the western sense of the term. As Krishna Menon put 'it has got a mystique; it is a movement still.' It has been its privilege to be a vanguard of the country. The historic foundation year of 1885 is invariably mentioned in all its Election manifestoes. It project freedom struggle.

The Indian National Congress was thus founded in the year 1885. At its inception it was a non-political organisation as Hume meant. It was a middle class organisation. After first World War MK.Gandhi joint the Congress and the Congress came under his...

57. BB.Teyal, op.cit., p.247.
leadership. Gandhi was successful in enrolling members from the all communities irrespective of caste, class and people from all walk of life participated in it and struggle for Indian Independent. The struggle Culminated on 15th August, 1947 when India became a free Country. The Congress, winning independence for India, took the rein of administration in its hand and assumed responsibility for shaping a modern nation-State comprising of diverse people. This was done against the will of Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, who did not like that the Congress should hold power. In fact, the Indian National Congress is the strongest political party so far in India. The Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee was at the first a part of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee. It has been functioning since 1945.

2.10.2 Ideology, Policies and Programmes of Indian National Congress. The INC is strictly committed to Socialism, Secularism absolute and unshakable faith in Democracy. The Congress(I) laid stress on the following policies and programmes;

1. The Political Programme. The party pledge to provide a strong and stable government to the country.

(i) It is committed to bring the Panchayati Raj to hand over "Power " to the people;

(ii) To tackle the problem of corruption;

60. V.V. Rao, TS. Gangte, Bimola Deriksh, *op. cit.*, p.155.
(iii) It stands against the misuse of Government Offices etc;

II. Economic Programme. (i) It stands against the unreasonable price rise in essential commodities.

(ii) Creation of new jobs.

(iii) The party promised to introduce insurance scheme, decentralization of planning etc.

(iv) To establish a Pension Trust Fund and fund to village under J.R.Y. 62

III. Social Programme. (i) To protect the interests of the minorities and the rights to every communities.

(ii) Measure for ST/SC, including reservation in jobs.

(iii) To establish Rapid Action Force to quell communal riots.

IV. Foreign Policy. (i) The party reaffirmed its commitment to pursue the objectives of peace and disarmament. The party pledge to safeguard national security and territorial integrity.

(ii) The Party stands for friendly relation with other nations.

2.10.3 Manifesto. The Manifestoes of the I.N.C. in elections;

(i) To bring an equal society;

(ii) To protect the interest of the weaker sections;

(iii) To eliminated corruption in administration;

(iv) To remove unemployment

(v) To achieve rightful status of mother's tongue.
(vi) To provide adequate necessary facilities to the minorities;
(vii) To supply sufficient water and electricity;
(viii) To construct school and college building
(ix) To give more power to panchayats
(x) To provide medical facilities to the needy persons.
(xi) To provide employment opportunity,
(xii) To construct road and irrigation.

The Indian Nation congress(I) play the main role in the political senerio in the state of Manipur ever since the state of Manipur come into appear as a full fledge. State in 1972. Though the Congress(I) a national political party, it looks after interest of the people of the state as suited in the national outlook. The congress(I) party can be undoubtedly regarded as the most successful party among the nation parties in the state of Manipur.

2.11.1 THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

The communist party of India is the political party of the Indian working class. It is a voluntary organisation of workers, peasants, toiling people in general, intelligentsia and other devoted to the cause of socialism and communism.

The communist party of India was established on 26 December, 1925 by the

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ardent young patriot inspired by the socialist revolution in soviet Russia. The emblem of the party is a "crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white; "communist party of India." 64

2.11.2 Principles and Programme. The communist party of Indian remains firmly to the goal of a socialist society in which equal opportunities for all ending all forms of exploitation of man by man. To achieve this goal the C.P.I. believes hard struggle and a firm commitment to democratic norms and values. The C.P.I. Organises itself on the basis of democratic centralism. The party believes in free and frank debates, it fights for national unity, a just society, social justice peaceful co-existence, national unity, a just society, social justice, etc. The party also bear the true faith and allegiance to the constitution of India. The pledge of the C.P.I read as "I accept the aims and objectives of the party and agree to abide by its constitution and loyalty to carry out decisions of the party.

"I shall shine to live up to the ideals of communism and shall selflessly serve and fight for the working class and the toiling masses and the counting always placing the interests of the party and the people above personal interests." 65

The communist party of India has its organisation at various level viz., Village level, District level, State level, and National level.

64. Constitution of the Communist Party of India, 2000 New Delhi, p.3.
65. Ibid., p.4.
Some programmes of CPI are:

(i) The party stands for freedom of press;
(ii) Implementation of land reform measures;
(iii) Opposition of bank credit for wholesales purposes;
(iv) Encouragement of wholesale trade in food-grains;
(v) Nationalisation of jute, textile, sugar and the other industries;
(vi) To reduce taxes;
(vii) Maximum wages, guaranteed bonus, collective bargaining;
(viii) Protection of minority Rights;
(ix) Improvement of peasants, workers, etc.
(x) The party stand for non-alignment, friendly relation with foreign countries etc.

Before 1984, there was no communist party in Manipur, though some persons believed in communism. It was established in 1984. The CPI, was strong in the valley and not in the Hill areas.

The main objective of the communist party in Manipur is the establishment of a socialist society in Manipur. It also propagates Marxism. The election results indicate that it is somewhat more popular than other left parties.

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2.12.1 BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY (BJP).

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) come into being on 6th April, 1980 as a result of the split in the Janata party. But the historical roots of the party lie in the Bharatiya Jan Sangh. The Bharatiya Jan Sangh was formed as a political party on 21st October, 1951 under the leadership of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji. In 1977 Jan Sangh played a significant role in the formation of the Janata Party, whose other constituents were the Congress(O), the Bhartiya Lok Dal, the socialist party and other minor groups. However, the Jan Sangh Party leaders like Charan Singh, Ray Narain raise the issue. Both the Bhartiya Lok Dal and Jan Sangh made it an issue and left the Janata Party in 1980.

The Bharatiya Janata Party come into being as a result of the split in the Janata Party in April, 1980 on the issue of dual membership. This led the erswhile Jana Sangh members of Janata Party and some other to leave the Janata Party with Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its president.

2.12.2 Objectives and Ideology Manifesto. The philosophy of the Jana Sangh the mother party of B.J.P. was root to the vedic age. It stood for “one country, one nation, one culture and the rule of law.” The B.J.P. is committee to furthering national Integration,

democracy, positive secularism, Gandhian socialism and value bases politics. The party stands for decentralisation of economic and political power. For the B.J.P secularism and Democracy stands for eradication of corruption, cheap and speedy justice. It believes in independence of judiciary, nationalisation of Industries, mining. Cordial relationship with other neighbour countries and peaceful means of settlement and co-existence.

Further, the ideology, policies and programmes of the B.J.P. also released in its manifesto on April 30, 1991. It deals separately with four broad based issues a clean political system, economic growth with social justice, a vibrant social order and world fraternity.

The document declared; "from the Himalaya to Kanya kumari, this country has always been one. We never had a theocracy, with a state religion, in India. ...This being our tradition there is no room for discrimination against any body on grounds of caste, creed, language or region." The party believes in ‘Positive secularism and ensures justice to all, but appeasement of name’ In its 1989 election Manifesto the party rejected” exploitative capitalism and suppressive communism” In 1991, the BJP declared that it stood “as the party of Nationalism and Integral Humanism” It would up lift the poor and the down trodden.

Following the National Ideology the state unit B.J.P has also come out with a clear
cut ideology to give a new government for the people of Manipur. The B.J.P. agenda is a sincer and solemn covenant aimed at freeing from the triple curses of Hunger, fear, and corruption. The party in the state criticises the congress the ruling party after India Independence as a blind inherited the colonial legacy and the psychology as colonial master to control the slave.

The common agenda of the BJP Manipur unit are;

(i) Integrity of the country,

(ii) Integrity of the state is sacred,

(iii) The sacrament and sacrosanct of the B.J.P.,

(iv) The Territorial Integrity of Manipur will be protected at any cost.70

The party has a serious concern on fiscal deficit of the state, establishment of National Highway protection forces, compensation to effected farmer by Loktak project etc.

Regarding law and order, the party would like to bring solution to insurgency problem.

They also concern to give more power to Panchayati Ray. B.J.P. encourage small scale industry and cottage industries, the Japanese aided sericulture, the paper mill,

Tourism industry to be fully developed. The party also stands for land policy. Agriculture, Human Resource Development, Hydro power, irrigation and flood control drainage, youth and employment, women development programmes, by giving credit facility, free education upto degree level, primary health centre, hoster, etc. and the Bharatiya Janata Party also stands for public health through various programmes as mass medical insurance, to make available of safe drinking water, to control from HIV/AIDS to strengthen the existing Hospitals in hill Districts etc.

The performance of the Bharatiya Janata Party was best in the 7th Legislative Assembly election 2000. The party won in six constituencies out of the 38 contested. Thus the position and the electoral performance of the party has remarkably improved in this small hill state of North East India.

2.13.1 JANATA PARTY.

The Janata Party was formed on the eve of the sixth parliamentary election, 1977 with the blessing of Shri Jaya Prakash Narain. During the dominion of Congress(I) under Smt. Indira Gandhi, the opposition parties viz. the Bharatiya jana Sangh, The Bharatiya Lok Dal, the Congress(O) and some other minor parties formed a front against it. Then the Janata formed a government at the centre defeating the Congress(I). However it could not last long and fell the government much before the expiry of the five year term due to differences among its leaders.
2.13.2 Manifesto. The main programmes of the Janata Party are to protect the fundamental rights of the people, to uphold independence of judiciary and freedom of press. They promised to look into the matters of reducing the election costs and to find out the possibility of reducing voting age from 21 to 18 years of age. The party favoured the right to work and decentralisation of economy. Janaty Party stressed on employment, agriculture industry, irrigation facilities, introduction of family planning programme. Further the party worked for the abolition of corruption and safe guarding the weaker section of the society. In foreign policy, the party opposed colonialism and racialism. The party tried to developed friendly relation with foreign countries.

The Janata Party Manipur unit published its manifesto in the Assembly election 1980 the party declared the following programmes; i.e., the preservation of the traditional culture and important historical places of Manipur. The inclusion of Manipuri Language in the VIII schedule of the Indian constitution greater autonomy for the states, implementation of Anti Defection Bill, solution of unemployment problem, establishment of a full fledged university and an Engineering college in Manipur.\(^7\) In the manifesto 1995 the party highlighted the following points programmes;

(i) Cleaning of the Nambol river
(ii) opening Bio technology research scheme at manipur university
(iii) Regular supply of electricity and water.

(iv) 1/3 job reservation for women in government and public sectors.
(v) Free and compulsory education of the children upto the age of 14 years.
(vi) Adoption of social forestry scheme.
(vii) Introduction of Sixth Schedule in the hill districts of Manipur.
(viii) To broaden the National Highway etc.
CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON POLITICAL PARTIES.

There are various Political Parties of both National and Regional in the State of Manipur. However, a few Political Parties can enjoy the support of the people. We can broadly say that the Congress Party is the choice of the majority in respect of Manipur among the National Political Parties. One of the reasons of the fact is that there are a good number of dynamic leaders of the Party in the State of Manipur and with high ideology of the Party.

Manipur also has regional Party with much regional interest. It is because of her isolation from the rest of India in respect of her Geographical location. Though small in size, Manipur is a State of unity in diversity. People have different religious, Communal, Socio-economic interest. Therefore, a number of regional political Parties came into existance. they want to capture political Power so as to fight against the grievances of the region. Among other smaller parties, the Manipur people party (MPP), the Federal Party of Manipur (FPM) and the Manipur State Congress Party (MSCP) are the main regional political parties
of Manipur. We can analyse them one by one as under;

Almost all the regional parties usually are established with a view to protecting the interest of their respective regions. The MPP is also not an exceptional. The principles or objectives of MPP are to protect the territorial integrity of Manipur, advancement in Socio-economic condition, regional autonomy, establishment of an egalitarian Society etc. Since 1968 the year of MPP formation they started an attempt to capture political power in the State so as to fulfil their aims and objectives. This leads to a good response from the people in 1972 Assembly elections and which won 15 seats out of 20 seats in 1974 mid-term pall. But in the subsequent election of 1980 and 1984 the party got a heavy downfall. In those two elections party captured only 4 and 3 seats respectively. During those years the interest of the peoples turned toward independent and national political parties. Off course, the popularity of the MPP has been fluctuated. It revived in the 1990 Assembly election and the party won 11 seats. But again in 1995 only 2 seats were captured. The MPP at once was a very strong and influential party. But in 2000 Assembly election only
4 seats were captured. During those periods the MPP had been over shadowed by other regional parties like the MSCP, FPM etc. For example, the hill peoples do not like the party, as they thought that MPP is valley oriented political parties. Some also interpreted M.P.P. as Manipuri Peoples Party. The Congress was very strong during the end of the 1st half of 1990’s and the coming up of M.S.C.P. in the year 1997 led to nearly uproot the one time brightest regional party, M.P.P. from the state political arena. Thus, the changes of peoples interest and issues led the fluctuation of the public response. It is not because of anything wrong in the party but as usual case, most of the regional parties can not survive permently like that of a national party. We can thus note that the Manipur Peoples Party M.P.P is one of the best and the longest surviving regional political party in Manipur.

Federal Party of Manipur - The FPM is a young regional political party of Manipur; which was established in 1993. Like other regional political parties the F.P.M. also established with a view to bring a federal principle in the state. As mentioned earlier in their objectives, the FPM want to build
up the strong ideological based relationship between the union government and the state of Manipur. According to this objective party men thought that the state should be given a greater autonomy, so that the small like Manipur could also freely go ahead to her constructive and development works. The F.P.M. also emphasized on the establishment of fraternal contact with other regional parties. It shows the unique objective of the party, which draws people’s support. It denotes their love for the region. They wanted to fight joining hand with other parties against any evil and blockade in the socio-economic development of the people. In Manipur, as per my research, the F.P.M is a far sighted regional party. People’s response in the past two assembly elections were also cooperatively very good and it performed very well.

The Manipur State Congress Party: The M.S.C.P. was borned in the year 1997 as the youngest regional political party of Manipur. As per my knowledge the so called M.S.C.P. has neither a pre-structure, pre-planned and distintctive principle nor objective but abruptly came into existed out of leadership crisis within the Congress (I) party. There was no specific issues at
all. The party captured political power from the congress (I) and ruled till 2001. Like other regional political parties, the M.S.C.P. stands for regional interest such as construction of railway line to connect Manipur, road communication, enhancement of telecommunication and various other welfare programmes. Thus the M.S.C.P. worked hard for the welfare of the region. We can also see that inspite of their hardwork, they committed a great mistake regarding the management of public funds. The financial condition of the state became the worse ever in the state after 1972. During their ruled government could not even pay the salary of the government employees regularly, another cruel result was that in view of the financial condition of the state the succeeding government had signed an MOU with the central government for total ban of recruitment of job. The impact of the agreement was faced by the million of young educated youth. Thus in public observation, the MSCP inspite of bringing some welfare programmes to the people, their government could not even solved those problems they had created. As a matter of fact, the educated youngster of the state could not just forget the past political game of the party. To speak frankly, the financial paralysis of Manipur started since the coming of
MSCP government. Which lead to a withering away of the MSCP in the State.

I am proud to say that the Congress party deserves the credit of getting the long dreamt independence of India without any bloodshed. It worked the untiring effort to win her independence. Even after independence also, it got the opportunity of shaping the future of the nation. Under the Congress party the country has achieved progress reasonably in the fields of agriculture, industry, commerce, economic, science and technology, education, public health and in any essential fields. Its five year plan of economic policy, peace loving policy in relation with other countries, institution of Panchayat Raj etc. enable the party to secure an honourable political status. Thus, the Congress party is the oldest surviving party in India. It based at the grass root level is also desirable. India has been being ruled by the Congress party for more than 40 years at the centre since her independence. The Congress is the choice of the people of almost all over India in general and Manipur in particular. It is cleared that out of the approximate 30 years of political game in Manipur since 1972, the Congress party had ruled for about 18 years and
the rest years were divided by different parties. It shows that the people of Manipur have been interested in Congress party. Therefore, if we look at this angle the Congress party is very much successful in Manipur. We can even say that this is the best political party for the people of Manipur which draws the highest response from the people.

It is also unforgettable that every good thing also has its own shortage or weakness. Thus, inspite of all those goodness we must also analyse its shortcoming. We all know that during those periods of Congress ruled, we find different types of corruption and nepotism in India. We also see misuse of power and excesses committed by the highest office of the nation. Thus, it tarnished the one time shining image of the National Congress. Though, the Indian national Congress is regarded by the people as an embodiment of non-violence and truth, we have now come across the different kinds of malpractices, corruption, bribery and scandals in different forms and not even a single leader of the party, the so-called politician in Manipur also is free from these charges in one form or other excluding only some exception. Therefore,
though people believe in their principles, they lost their hope, faith and courage because of their bad experience. In spite of these facts, the Congress (I) is still alive, and enjoying the support of the people of Manipur. When we measure between the goodness and badness of the party, the conclusion will be given more weightage to its goodness.

The Communist party of Manipur is one of the oldest political parties in the State which is existed since 1948. As we all know that its basic principles are to fight for the working class and the toiling masses and devoted for the establishment of socialism and communism. Though some people were very keen and interested, the Communist party is not influential in the state and it also operates mainly in the valley areas.

If we came to a minute examination, we see the Communist party's activity as not so strong. Even though the C.P.I. sometimes got the opportunity to joint in the ruling coalition government. So far the party's political behaviour in the State is concern, it has a strict party loyalty. Most of the leaders of the
party are good an comparatively less selfish. They work hard for strengthening their power in the State with a committed principle. Most of the members in the State are also devoted marxism. They can not be convinced easily by other party. The C.P.I is free from the most unwanted traditional practices of crossing floor in the Assembly as done by the various other political parties in Manipur. Inspite of their goodness, the C.P.I. is over shadowed by the other national as well as regional political parties in the State.

As mentioned earlier, the Janata Party was formed on the eve of the sixth parliamentary election 1977 with a view to over throwing the Congress from the power. It is appriciated that the Manipur unit of Janata Party struggled for inclusion of Manipuri Langauge in the eight (8th) schedule of the constitution of India. Their demand for introduction of sixth schedule in the hill areas of Manipur also denotes their desire for balance development in the state. It also fought for job reservation for women, infrastruture and various other public welfare programmes. Inspite of all these efforts, we can just say that the party is not successful in the state of Manipur.
The Janata Party has not been the choice of the people of Manipur.

We can also a glance on the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which existed in 1980 as a national political party. Under the able leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee the B.J.P received a good response in Himachal Pradesh, Madhia pradesh, Rajashtan, Utter Pradesh and sometimes in Assam. The said party performed very well in the 7th Legislative Assembly election of Manipur 2000 by winning 7 seats out of 38 seats contested. But they could not contribute much for the welfare of the people of Manipur on account of their tender age in the state. As such, we can not say much about their badness or goodness in so far as their activities in the state of Manipur is concerned. The important agend- dum of the B.J.P unit of Manipur, which we ought to know is their principle to protect the territorial integrity of Manipur and to overthrow the Congress from the power with the support of other anti Congress parties. We observe that the Congress is their greatest rival not only in national level but also in the state of Manipur too.
Thus, from the above analysis, it is obvious that no political party from both regional and national could enjoy the status of complete dominion over others since 1972. Though, much regional interest, the people of Manipur do not have their permanent party. They changed their party from one to another based on issue and convenience from time to time. As we analysed above, we can not regard anyone of the regional parties as un-put-dawn-able. In fact, our people do not have a firm stand and understanding on the principle of their regional party whatever it may be. If we cite an example the AIADMK and DMK in Tamil Nadu, that is their permanent party. The people have a strong regional feeling and stick to their principle. In the same way, though it is a national party, the C.P.I. in West Bengal has been their Chosen party with much regional interest, neither other national nor regional political party could defeat them in their state.

The causes for failure of regional party in Manipur are mainly due to lack of clear ideology, political vision of the leaders and political selfishness on the one hand and act of opportunism on the part of
the public. In so far as the political parties in Manipur is concerned the oldest national political party, the Congress can be termed as the most successful party in the state. Thé Congress can not be completely uprooted from the state in any circumstance as the past experience is concerned.