CHAPTER III
ELECTORAL POLITICS

The existence of the independent state Manipur goes back to ancient and unrecorded times. The land had been ruled by various kings. After the annexation of Manipur by the British in the last part of the 19th century the country fell under the control of British government. The rule extended till the middle part of the 20th century (1947). Manipur regained her lost independent kingdom in the year 1947 when India attained the same. However, Manipur merged into the union of India in 1949 and become apart of it. She was granted a part-c-state in 1947. She also got the status of union Territory in 1956 and finally attained statehood in the year 1972.

Thus history records Manipur as an independent princely state from 33 AD to 1949 having a rich traditional culture. Once described as a “flower on the lefty heights” by R.Constantine, it is now one of the most violent states, next only to Kashmir. Since 1972, a number of Assembly election have been held through party line, and a number of promises have been made by different parties to the people of Manipur. But the state remains as a hot bed for insurgency which resulted conflict and ethnic clash.

3.1. ASSEMBLY ELECTION 1972.

3.1.1 The Election Process. Manipur became the 20th state of the Indian union as She

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achieved the full fledged Status on the 21st January, 1972. The state was granted a unicameral legislature consisting of 60 elected members. No provision was made for nomination. The entire state has been divided into 60(sixty) seat constituencies. There are 40(forty) constituencies in the valley including 1(one) constituency for the Barak Basin. Out of 20 remaining constituencies, 19(nineteen) are reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, and the other 1(one) is for Sekmai Scheduled Caste.

The delimitation of the 60 constituencies had been worked out on the basis of 1961 census as the 1971 census figures were not available. As the election notice had served, the first election for the Legislative Assembly for the Hills were held on 6th and 7th March, while for the valley was held on 11th March, 1972. The total electorate in the contested Constituencies was 5,95,842 excluding Jiribam constituency. Out of which 2,87,563 were males and 3,08,279 females. The Jiribam constituency did not go for poll for Sinam Bizoy Singh of Congress(I) as the lone candidate was elected unopposed.

Constituency wise break up in the valley Districts.

**TABLE -1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Nos. of constituencies</th>
<th>Name of the constituencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imphal East</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Heingang, Khundrakpam, Andro,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khurai, Wangkhei, Khetragao,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thongju, Keirao, Lamlai, Yaiskul.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Nos. of constituencies</th>
<th>Constituencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imphal West</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mayang Imphal, Wangoi, Singjamei, Sagolband, Langthabal, Keishamthong, Uripok,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thangmeiband, Lamsang, Sekmai, Konthoujam, Patsoi and Naoriya Pakhanglakpa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishnupur</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nambol, Oinam, Bishnupur, Thanga, Kumbi, Moirang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barak Basin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jiribam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imphal East</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Constituency wise break up in the hills.**

**TABLE - 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Nos. of constituencies</th>
<th>Name of the constituencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tengnoupal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chandel, Tengnoupal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur East</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Phungyar, Chingai, Ukhral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur North District</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Saikul, Tadubi, Mao, Karong, Saitu, Kangpokpi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur West District</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tamei, Tamenglong, Nungba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur South District</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tepaimuk, Thanlon, Henglep, Singhat, Churachenpur, Saikot.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The member of electorate varied from constituency to constituency. The following table is the detail fact and figure of the electorate;

**Distribution of electorates 1972.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manipur Centre</td>
<td>190876</td>
<td>207145</td>
<td>398021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur East</td>
<td>15947</td>
<td>17292</td>
<td>33239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur North</td>
<td>28962</td>
<td>31670</td>
<td>60632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur West</td>
<td>10393</td>
<td>12701</td>
<td>23094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur South</td>
<td>29871</td>
<td>27884</td>
<td>57755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengnoupal</td>
<td>11514</td>
<td>11587</td>
<td>23101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As per the table given above, the number of electorates in the North District was the highest and the West district got the lowest number of electorate. Among the constituencies Karong in Manipur North with 15,586 electorates was the highest and the Phungyar constituency in Manipur East with 6,711 was the lowest electorates.

Altogether 287 nominations were filed for 60 seats of Legislative Assembly, out of which one of the nomination was rejected and 24 were withdrawn. One of the candidates had filed double nominations for 2 seats on the other hand one was declared elected unopposed and 260 candidates faced the battle for 60 Seats.

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Manipur Assembly: Nomination of candidates.\(^4\)

**TABLE - 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Nomination filed</th>
<th>Rejected</th>
<th>Withdrawn</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Filed in 2 constituencies</th>
<th>Elected unopposed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress(O)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.(M)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jana Sangh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P.P.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>287</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>262</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>262</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2 *Level of Electoral Participation.* The given account proves that the people of Manipur become convinced about their politics and democratic value while passing through different stages to reach their long dream full-fledged state. Thus, in the first Manipur Legislative Assembly election 1972, it claimed 72.28 percent of electorate participation. No political System could ensure hundred percent participation in the elections.

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Even in Britain and the U.S.A. turnout of voters has been approximately 70 percent and 60 percent respectively at most of the general election. In India the first general election continued for four months, from October 25, 1951 to February 21, 1952. Of the voters about 44.9 percent decided to exercise the franchise. Thus, the level of electoral participations in 1972 General election of the Manipur Legislative Assembly had a good beginning. The level of participation was higher than that of national level, and even higher than that of highly conscious western Countries like Britain and USA.

3.1.3 Political Parties and their Manifestoes. Many Political Parties participated in the first Manipur Legislature Assembly election 1972. The Political parties such as the Congress(I), the CPI, the CPI(M) the Socialist, the JanSangh & the Manipur People’s Party contested the election. Besides there were a large member of Independent candidates participated in the battle of ballot.

The political conditions in Manipur during 1972 elections were similar to the political situation of India during 1967 election in one way. All the political parties aimed to break the Congress party’s dominant rule. All most all the parties in Manipur threw a challenge to the Manipur Pradesh Congress and moved under a joint banner of anti-Congress.

6. Ibid., p.198.
As a matter of fact, all political parties published their manifestoes. The manifestoes of all the opposition parties tried to tarnish the prospects and image of the Congress. The Congress ignored the anti-Congress campaign of those political parties as prematual. The national political parties mainly based their electoral figures on national and local issues while the local political parties mainly based their campaigns based on the local issues only.

The common points of the manifestoes of all the political parties are:-

(i) **The establishment of a university and a Medical college.** As there was no full fledged university in the state, it became a burning issue in the state.

(ii) **Inclusion of Manipuri Language in the VIII Scheduled of the Indian constitution.** People had loud cry on this issue since their demand is reasonable as per the provision of the constitution.

(iii) **Free and compulsory education.** All political parties made promised to the people to give and compulsory education to the aged and the young upto primary level.

(iv) **Solution of unemployment problem.** All those parties gave assurance to the people to bring solution of unemployment by giving more job to the youths.

(v) **MLR and LR Acts.** The Manipur Land Revenue (MLR) and Land Reform (LR) Act, were also promised to be worked out to suit for the people of Manipur.

(vi) **Industrial development.** As there were no industry in the state, the people wanted to go for industrialisation in the state.

(vii) **Improvement of transport and communication.** The parties on their manifestoes
gave a clear cut discussion for construction of roads and bridges to connect Imphal with other Districts and blocks.

(viii) The parties also showed their wills to brings development in the hill areas. The hills are by nature comparatively weaker in many forms than the valley.

Thus all political parties in the Assembly Election in 1972 was based on the given points as the main issues.

3.1.4 The Assembly Election Result - 1972. The number of valid votes polled were 4,51,948. Of them 9744 were rejected. And the percentage valids votes polled were 74.28 and the percentage of rejected votes were 2.11 of the total number of valid votes polled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party-wise break up of Candidates elected.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Shri H.T. Thungam, an independent candidate from Chandel (ST) constituency securing 6,064 votes claimed the highest vote among the elected. Paolen from Mao (ST) constituency won the election with the smallest number of votes. Among the defeated candidates Paokhusei Kipgen Independent candidate from Saitu (ST) constituency got the least vote.

3.2 THE MID-TERM POLL 1974.

3.2.1. The Election Process. The Mid-term poll for the Manipur Legislative Assembly was announced to hold in February, 1974 on account of the desolution of the 1st Legislative Assembly on the 23rd March, 1973. Thus, Manipur went through a mid-term polling in early 1974 to elect her 60 member Legislative Assembly after a 10 month Long spell of the presidents rule. The Mid-term Assembly poll for the 60 constituencies of Manipur were announced to hold on 19th and 23rd February, 1974, for the hill constituencies and 25th February, 1974 for the valley constituencies. The new delimitation of constituencies were made on the basis of 1971 census. According to the new delimitation, the following changes had come into arrived for the 60 member of Assembly constituency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of constituencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Central District</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>East District</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>West District</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>North District</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>South District</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tengnoupal District</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is peculiar to see that the Sekmai constituency in the valley is reserved for the scheduled castes and one of the hill constituencies in North District namely Kangpokpi became a general constituency even though the constituency is almost surrounded by Scheduled Tribe constituencies.

As per the source, the total number of electors was 7,19,971 of which 3,57,142 were males and 3,62,829 females.\(^10\) There was an increase of 1,24,129 electors as against the electors of 1972. Altogether 256 candidates contested for 60 seats from different political parties both National and Regional, and also from Independent in the Mid-term poll 1972.

\(^{10}\) Election Commission of India *Report on the General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Manipur*, Nagaland, Orissa, Himachal Pradesh and Pondicherry, 1974, Delhi, 1975, p.5.
3.2.2 Political Parties. The followings are the political parties which participated in the Mid-term poll 1972.

National Political Parties.

(i) The Indian Nation Congress,
(ii) The Indian Nation Congress(O),
(iii) The Socialist Party of India,
(iv) The Communist Party,
(v) The Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Regional Political Parties.

(i) The Manipur People's Party,
(ii) The Manipur Hill Union,
(iii) The Kuki National Assembly,
(iv) Independent, etc.

3.2.3 The Manifesto: Expressing their views all parties from both National and the Regional criticised the former government. The Congress Party-called the last MPP led government unholy alliance, demonstrating the internal weakness of the Regional Party by indulging in massive corruptions, acts of nepotism and high handedness.\textsuperscript{11} Like that of 1972, the manifestos of the Mid-term poll 1974 were also found predominantly local issue.

\textsuperscript{11} M.P.C.C Election Manifesto, 1974, Imphal, pp.2-4.
The Party-wise Manifestos are given below:

(a) The Congress Manifesto.

(i) The establishment of a stable government,
(ii) Development of the regional language and tribal dialects,
(iii) To provide leadership guidance to the younger generation,
(iv) The establishment of a full fledged university,
(v) Inclusion of Manipuri language in the VIII scheduled of the constitution of India.

(b) The MPP Manifesto. In the manifesto of the MPP we find their love for socialist pattern of society and equality among the people. It further stated that during the short period of one year, the MPP. Government was able to fulfill some of the promises to the people. Thus the M.P.P. stands far;

(i) The establishment of a Medical College,
(ii) The establishment of a University Centre,
(iii) The establishment of Secondary Education Board,
(iv) The establishment of the Manipur Public Service Commission,
(v) The Law Commission,
(vi) The Spinning Mill,
Further, the manifesto assured the people to establish industries, factories, development of agriculture, to include the Manipuri language in the VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution, to develop friendly relation with the hills, electrification of the villages and to maintain integrity of Manipur.\(^\text{13}\)

Thus, the manifesto of the major political parties stands for the regional interest with national outlook. The well being and standardising their people is the primary concern of all political parties. The following results shows us as to how people response to their prayer.

3.2.4 Results of the Mid-tern Poll, 1974.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
<th>Seats Contested</th>
<th>Seats Secured</th>
<th>Votes polled</th>
<th>% of total vote polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Congress (I)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,64,717</td>
<td>27.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Congress (O)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8,764</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Socialist</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32,972</td>
<td>5.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>C.P.I</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33,039</td>
<td>5.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>C.P.I. (M)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,347</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>M.P.P</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,34,493</td>
<td>22.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>M.H.U.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52,389</td>
<td>8.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>K.N.A</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17,592</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>I.N.D.</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,49,108</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>266</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5,96,421</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{13}\) Ibid., pp.2-6.
Out of 49 seats the congress won in 13 seats the percentage votes polled by the congress was 27.62, valley. The communist got 4 seats by Securing second position among the national parties, with the percentage of votes polled 5.54.

The Socialist Party won 2 (two) seats out of 16 contested. The averages party vote poll was 5.53% while the Congress(O) failed to get even single seat out of the 14 contested.

The Manipur People's Party won the largest number of seats i.e. 20 out of its double number 40 seats contested. The M.P.P. secured 22.55 percent. The M.H.U. secured in 11 seats out of 15 contested. The vote polled was 8.78 percent. The Kuki National Assembly won 2 seats out of 6. The votes polled was 2.95% the Independent secured 7 seats out of 111 candidates contested for 43 seats.

Thus, altogether 266 candidates contested for 60 seats, of which 98 candidates even lost their deposits. Thongkhogen(IND) from Saikot in South District Secured only thirteen votes the lowest for a candidates in the entire state in this election.\textsuperscript{14} Total valid votes polled was 5,96,42 and 12,701 votes were rejected.

3.3 THE ASSEMBLY ELECTION, 1980.

The third Manipur Legislative Assembly election for the 59 seats were held on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 6\textsuperscript{th} January, 1980. As the Keishamthong constituency countermanded due to

\textsuperscript{14} R.P.Singh, \textit{op.cit.}, p.180.
shooting of a C.P.I. candidate, Th.Bira Singh, the polling was held on 12th March, 1980. In this election, the total number of electorates was 9,09,270 of which 4,37,620 were males and 4,71,650 were females. A tight security were displayed in all and most of the polling stations for a free and fair election.

3.3.1 Candidate and Political Parties. Both the national and the regional political parties frayed in the election. The national political parties are the Congress(I), the Congress(U), the Janata(S), the CPI & the CPI(M). The two regional political parties are the Manipur People's Party and the Kuki National Assembly. In addition to these a number of independent candidate had fought the election. As recorded altogether 401 candidates including seven women candidates, five of them from valley and two from the hills come into the election fray which is a remarkable in our political history. Gandhi once said that, "for us to consider is the degeneration of our women relatively to our men, and man has not always been fair and discriminate in performing that self appointed task."\textsuperscript{15} Thus Gandhi was emphatic on the issue of equality of women as integral part of a just society. The name of the women candidates with their parties and constituencies are given below;

### WOMEN CANDIDATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>T.Kholly</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>Saikot (ST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Athing (Lhing Janeng)</td>
<td>Janata</td>
<td>Saitu (ST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>A. Bimola Devi</td>
<td>Janata</td>
<td>Heingang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>R.K. Mukhara Devi</td>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>Keishamthong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Punyabati Devi</td>
<td>Congress(U)</td>
<td>Thangmeiband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the high caste Hindus, there were 10 Raj kumar candidate and 11 Brahmins contested. Kishore Thapa was the lone Nepali community. There were 26 Muslim candidates. The scheduled tribe candidate even contesting in 4 valley constituencies. They could not won the seat, Paokhathong, Paokhashei Kipgen (IND) in kangpokpi constituency and Gangmumei (IND) in Thangmeiband constituency save their deposits by securing second position.\(^{16}\)

### 3.3.2 Party wise Manifesto.

(a) The Indian Nation Congress. On the cover page of the manifesto published by the M.P.C (I) we find the following words:

- "To bring an equal society"
- "To protect the interest of the weaker section"
- "To eliminate corruption in administration"

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"To remove unemployment"

"To achieve rightful status of Mother tongue."\(^{17}\)

The Congress(I) criticized the Janata Government and called latter government as futile mixture which is incompatible with the people and the political groups in the party. The party had blamed the Janata Government for ruining the economic and political development which the Congress achieved through many year.\(^{18}\) The following pages mentioned 42 issues to be taken up by the party. Among the local issue, the following can be mentioned.

(i) The establishment of a special force for the maintenance of law and order (persons belonging to minorities, scheduled cast and schedule tribes will be represented in this force),\(^{19}\)

(ii) To make manipuri the official language of the state and to include it in the VIII schedule,

(iii) To establish a Primary Education Board,

(iv) To establish a full-fledged university,

(v) To promote sports and to build a stadium at Khuman Lampak,

(vi) To establish a sports council,

(vii) To remove the differences between the hill and plains,


\(^{19}\) *Ibid.*, p.2
(viii) To provide employment to the youths,
(ix) To establish industry centres like paper mill, sugar mill, etc.
(x) To provide regular supply of water,
(xi) To provide the facility for electrification in rural and urban areas,
(xii) To preserve Kangla and its surrounding,
(xiii) To implement the master plan of the Imphal city,
(xiv) To improve the Communication system,
(xv) To remove Special Armed Forces Power Act, 1958.
(xvi) To give employment to youths one to every family,
(xvii) To protect the independence of judiciary,
(xviii) To give more autonomy to the District Council and
(xix) To give powers to the Panchayat.

These are the important points issue based programmes contained in the

(b) The Congress (U). The election manifesto of the Manipur Pratist Congress
Committee(U) for 1980 election claims that this was the only party which can form a stable
government, and blamed Janata Government as partial and corruption. The Party put up
24 (twenty four) points programmes to be implemented if it comes to power.\(^\text{20}\)

Among them mention may be made as under:

(i) The establishment of a clean and stable government,
(ii) The protection of territorial integrity of Manipur,
(iii) The inclusion of Manipuri, Language in the VIII Schedule,
(iv) Land Reforms and Land Revenue Acts for both hill and plain,
(v) Reorganisation of the boundaries of Districts of Manipur,
(vi) Preservation of Kangla,
(vii) The immediate establishment of a university,
(viii) The establishment of industrial centres and rural electrification,
(ix) The arrangement of job facility to the youths,
(x) To implement the Manipur Panchayat Raj Act, 1975 and to increase the powers of the District Councils, etc.21

(c) The Communist Party of India (CPI) Assembly Election Manifesto 1980. In the manifesto the CPI described the last government as adhoc.22 In the manifesto the CPI promised to remove corruption at highest level and to establish a stable government, to oppose all forms of centralised administration, to emend the present system of election and to introduce propotionate representation in Legislative Assembly and Parliament, to curtail many power in election, to ament the present centre-state relation so as to give autonomy to states, to give full powers to district councils, Municipalities and panchayats.23

21. Ibid., pp. 6-7
22. C.P.I., Election Manifesto, Imphal, Irabot Bhavan, 1980, p.1:
23. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
(d) The Janata Party Assembly Election Manifesto 1980. The Janata party made assurance to a socialist society. The party programmes are:

(i) Preservation of the ancient boundary of Manipur,

(ii) Traditional culture and important historical places of Manipur,

(iii) The inclusion of Manipuri Language in the VIII schedule of the Indian constitution,

(iv) Greater autonomy for the state,

(v) Implementation of Anti-Defection Bill,

(vi) Solution to unemployment problems,

(vii) Establishment of a full fledged university and Engineering college in Manipur.24

(e) The Manipur People’s Party Assembly Election Manifesto 1980.

(i) The Manipur Peoples Party in their manifesto promised maximum autonomy by amending the Indian constitution,

(ii) The improvement of agriculture,

(iii) Development of Manipuri Language,

(iv) Establishment of cordial relation between the hills and plains,

(v) Electrification of villages,

(vi) Release of the youths now in jail,

(vii) Connection of Manipur by railways lines with other parts of India,


To regard the present students movement as political and promised to solve it politically. These are the few important election programmes of the Manipur Peoples Party in the Manipur Legislative Assembly Election 1980.

(f) The Progressive Independent Front. The Progressive Independent Front's programmes touched economy, education, village development, town planning, unemployment and black money, etc. The political programme includes sending of 5 representative to both houses of parliament, inclusion of state representatives to the central cabinet, to give full autonomy to Manipur, deportation of foreign nationals who illegally settle in Manipur after 1947 etc. the Progressive Independent Front described the extremist movement as a movement for independent.

From the given Manifestos we find the following points as their command programmes for the Assembly election 1980, they are: inclusion of Manipuri Language in the VIII Schedule, removal of Assam Rifles from Kangla, establishment of a full fledged university, to improve communication, industry, electrification, irrigation and agricultural facility, removal of Armed Forces Act, 1958, deportation of foreigners from Manipur after 1947, more power to District Council etc.

Thus, from all these point programmes contents in the manifestoes of different parties clearly show us the real need and issues of the peoples during 1980's.

3.3.3 Results of the Assembly Election 1980. Out of the total electorate 9,09,270 as many as 7,49,403 voters exercised their franchise. The valid votes were 7,31,022 in number and the invalid votes were 18,381.  

The Valid and Invalid Votes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Invalid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>2,78,791</td>
<td>307,416</td>
<td>5,86,206</td>
<td>4,74,379</td>
<td>12,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc</td>
<td>5,731</td>
<td>7,118</td>
<td>12,849</td>
<td>10,241</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>1,57,098</td>
<td>1,57,116</td>
<td>3,10,214</td>
<td>2,46,402</td>
<td>5,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,37,620</td>
<td>4,71,650</td>
<td>9,09,270</td>
<td>7,31,022</td>
<td>18,381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage of vote secured by political parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats contested</th>
<th>Seat won</th>
<th>Vote polled</th>
<th>% of success</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress(I)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,58,127</td>
<td>21.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress(U)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>69,319</td>
<td>9.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,45,036</td>
<td>19.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janata(S)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,667</td>
<td>2.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>53,055</td>
<td>7.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cont.
As per the result the number of votes, valid and invalid votes varied from constituency to constituency. The Mao constituency recorded the highest number of votes polled i.e. 19,414 and the Uripok constituency had the lowest number of votes polled of 8,215. Saikul constituency had the highest invalid votes of 555. Nombol constituency recorded the highest polling percentage i.e. 91.34. Helaluddin Khan Congress(I) who was elected from the Lilong constituency secured the highest number of votes i.e. 7,626 votes. M.Kumar Singh, M.P.P elected from Sagolband constituency secured the smallest number of votes i.e. 1,362 voters. Among unsuccessful candidates Mengzasoe, an Independent candidate from Saikot constituency got only 10 votes which is the lowest in the electoral history of Manipur.29

3.4 THE ASSEMBLY ELECTION 1984.

As per the notification given by the Election Commission the 4th Manipur Legislation Assembly Election was held on the 27th December, 1984. The total electorates

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29. ibid., p.199
of 10,13,678 of which 5,09,308 and 5,04,370 were males and females respectively. A good number of voters from both males and females were increased in the 1984 election. The increase in the number of electorate is shown below.

Number of Electorate in 1980 and 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of seats</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Electorate</td>
<td>9,09,270</td>
<td>10,136,78</td>
<td>1,04,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4,37,620</td>
<td>5,09,308</td>
<td>71,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4,71,650</td>
<td>5,04,370</td>
<td>22,720</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.1 Political Parties. A large number of both the National and the Regional parties contested in the election. The National Political Parties are the Indian National Congress, the Indian National Congress(S), the C.P.I Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India(Marxist), the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Janata Party, and the Lok Dal contested the election. Among the Regional Political Parties the Manipur People’s Party, the Kuki National Assembly and a number of Indipendents also joined in the electoral fray. Altogether 354 candidates contested in the elections. There were 5 women candidates.

31. Ibid., p.16
They were Aribam Bimola Devi (IND), Nenthoujam Shyama Devi (IND), W. Joymi Devi (INC), Ngainu Vaiphei (IND), and Manlianning (IND).

3.4.2 Election Manifestoes of the various Political Parties.

(a) Indian National Congress(I). The manifesto of the Manipur Pradesh Congress(I) for both the parliamentary and the Assembly Elections 1984 contained in four pages. The manifesto briefly mentioned the work taken up by the congress party. In the manifesto, the congress party pledged to the people of Manipur to take up the following measures.\textsuperscript{33}

(i) To abolish corruption and to establish a stable Government,

(ii) To provide adequate funds to Municipalities town committee and District councils,

(iii) To supply sufficient water and electricity,

(iv) To improve irrigation system and agriculture,

(v) To construct school and college building,

(vi) To raise the standard of Education,

(vii) To remove pay anomalies,

(viii) To provide facilities for employment,

(ix) Improvement of tourism facilities etc.

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

\textsuperscript{33} Congress(I), \textit{Election Manifesto}, Imphal, 1984, pp.1-4.
(b) The Communist Party of India. In the manifesto the CPI criticised the congress Government. The following are the proposals and promises made to be taken up:

(i) Abolition of corruption,
(ii) Removal of the Armed Forces Power Act, 1958,
(iii) Inclusion of Manipuri, Language in the 8th schedule of the constitution,
(iv) To protect the rights, culture and language of the hill people,
(v) To give more powers to the hill Autonomous District Councils and Panchayats,
(vi) To provide old age pension,
(vii) To give allowance to the unemployed youths,
(viii) To provide sufficient water and electricity,
(ix) To improve roads and interlinked railways to Manipur,
(x) To improve the quality of the Athletes,
(xi) To open retail price shops,
(xii) To protect the rights of the workers and to improved the standard to Handloom and industry.\textsuperscript{34}

(c) The Manipur Peoples Party, 1984. The Manipur Peoples Party in their manifesto of the 1984 election mentioned 22 programmes to be taken up. The manifesto was more or less similar to those of 1980. Assembly Election manifesto. However we can mention some of them\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34} C.P.I., \textit{Election Manifesto}, Imphal, 1984, p. 2.
(i) Removal of Armed Forces Special power Act. 1958,

(ii) Development of industries such as paper mill, cement factory, tasar factory, sugar mill, electronic industry, film industry etc,

(iii) To provide opportunities for one member of a family to get a job,

(iv) Establishment of an Agricultural industry,

(v) To upgrade Manipur University and Medical college into a high degree of academic standard,

(vi) Inclusion of Manipur Language into the 8th schedule of the Indian constitution,

(vii) Development of Arts and culture,

(viii) Construction of Legislative Assembly and High Court in the Kangla,

(ix) Regular supply of Electricity, old age pension, opening of Lok Pal,

(x) A Separate governor and a High Court for Manipur,

(xi) Improvement of Tourism and sports; etc.

**Issue.** From the given manifestoes of the various political parties from both the National as well as the Regional Parties, we see the clear cut issues of the peoples during those days. The common issues were; abolition of corruption, Manipuri language to include in the 8th schedule, improvement of water supply, electricities, irrigation, industry, tourism, sports, employment and removal of Armed Forces special power Act 1958.
3.4.3 The Assembly Election Results 1984. The total number of electorates was 10,13,678. The total number of valid votes polled was 8,64,508. The total number of invalid votes polled was 20,361. Altogether the number of votes polled was 8,84,869.36

Party and its Performance in the 1984 Assembly Election

Table - 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>seats contested</th>
<th>seats won</th>
<th>% of success</th>
<th>Valid votes polled</th>
<th>% of voted polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.N.C</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>2,57,809</td>
<td>29.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>35,852</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.(M)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.208</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.P.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>52.452</td>
<td>6.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOK Dal</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.653</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.N.C.(S)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28.156</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P.P</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>93.421</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.N.A.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>13.367</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>3,72,800</td>
<td>43.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>8,64,508</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this result we find the performance of the different parties and people's response. The INC got the highest 30 seats out of 60 seats contested. The second position was occupied by the IND. Among the elected candidates, it is interesting to know that in the valley K.Bira Singh of Oinam constituency got the highest votes of 7,450 while Th. Babudhon Singh of Kumbi constituency got only 20 votes. In the hill constituency Ng.Luikang of Tadubi constituency got the highest number of votes i.e. 8,163 whereas K.A.Shimray of Kangpokpi constituency got only 12 votes.37

Observation. During these periods, people were highly conscious about their political rights and democratic values. The electoral participation level up to 80 to 90% even in the hill constituencies. The fear psychosis prevailed in the mind of both the voters and the candidates and also in their workers' minds in view of the bad law and order situation in the state. However, political parties in general and contesting candidates by and large honoured the election code of conduct prescribed by the election commission. Thus the whole election process went in peacefully.

3.5 THE MANIPUR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION 1990.

After approximate of two decades experience in electoral politics the people of Manipur became fully aware of their political rights. People began to study the achievements and failures in relation to those various promises made during the last

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campaigns by both the national and regional parties. With well aware the electoral politics, the people of Manipur entered into the 5th Legislative Assembly Election in 1990.

The election for the 58 Legislative Assembly Seats were held on 12th and 14th February, 1990 in both the valley and the hill respectively. The poll for Thangmeiband and Ukhrul constituencies were countermanded as M.Punyabati Devi, a contesting candidate from Thangmeiband constituency and Longshim Shaiza, a contesting candidate from Ukhrul constituency expired on 2-2-1990 and 21-1-1990 respectively.38 Therefore, the election for these two constituencies were held on 17th May, 1990.

The total number of electorate was 11,80615 of which 5,87,662 were males and 5,92,951 females. The 66,935 votes is the overall increase from the previous election as shown below;

**Comparative Electorate Statement of 1984 -1990.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1984</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total electorate</td>
<td>10,13,678</td>
<td>11,80,612</td>
<td>1,66,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total contestant</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total votes polled</td>
<td>8,64,508</td>
<td>10,92,279</td>
<td>2,27,771</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though smaller in number many political parties nominated their candidates in the fray.

3.5.1 The Political Parties and Candidate. The followings are the national and the regional political parties which fought the 1990 Assembly election.

The National Political Parties.

(i) The Indian National Congress (INC),
(ii) The Indian National Congress(S),
(iii) The Janata Dal,
(iv) The communist Party of India,
(v) The communist Party of India (Marxist) and
(vi) The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

The Regional Political Parties.

(i) The Manipur People's Party (MPP),
(ii) The Kuki National Assembly and
(iii) The Manipur Hill People's Conference (MHPC).

In addition to these there were many IND candidates. Altogether 265 candidates contested in the election. Different community, category, and sex participated in this election. As per records there were 15 Muslims, 5 Raj Kumar, 6 Brahmīns and 9 Females

enter into the election. In support of the women participation in the electoral fray, I would just like to mention their names, constituencies and political parties as given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>R.K. Mukhra Devi</td>
<td>Keishamthong</td>
<td>INC(S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ph. Ishwari Devi</td>
<td>Wangkhei</td>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>M. Sahadev Devi</td>
<td>Khurai</td>
<td>B.J.P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>T. Ibemhal Devi</td>
<td>Hiyanglam</td>
<td>C.P.I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Hathoi Buansing</td>
<td>Churachanpur</td>
<td>I.N.C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>B.K. Rose</td>
<td>Thanlon</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>M. Punyabati Devi</td>
<td>Thangmeiband</td>
<td>I.N.C.(S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>K. Apabi Devi</td>
<td>Oinam</td>
<td>I.N.C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Hargmila Shaiza</td>
<td>Ukhrul</td>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again the Raj Kumarsare the higher class among the Meitei Community. Their forefather were the rural of Manipur. Five candidates of their descendence come in the electoral fray. They were:

1. R.K. Doreendra from Yaiskul - Indian National Congress
2. R.K. Sanaha Singh from Keishamthong - C.P.I
3. R.K. Ranbir Singh from Keishamthong - Manipur People's Party
4. R.K. Jaichandra Singh from Sagolband - I.N.C

5. R.K. Dhanachandra Singh from Bishnupur - M.P.P

The number of electorate varied from constituency to constituency. The wangkhei A/C got the highest number of electors i.e. 26,737, and Uripok A/C got the lowest of 14,549 electors. Likewise in the hill constituencies, the Mao (ST) A/C had the highest electors of 32,457 and the Tipaimuk(ST) A/C had the lowest number of electors i.e. 13,270.


The Indian National Congress Manifesto. The manifesto of the Indian National Congress in Assembly Election 1990 blamed the communist party, the Janata Party, the BJP, the M.P.P and the congress(s) for their non creative role in the politics of India. The party put up 27 programmes. Some were already implemented when it comes to power. Some of the programmes were as follows.

(i) Inclusion of Manipuri Language in the VIII Schedule of the constitution of India,
(ii) Introduction of Meitei Mayek upto class-VI,
(iii) Construction of stadium,
(iv) Establishment of Hundung cement plant etc.,

Programmes to be implemented.

(i) Establishment of an Agriculture university,
(ii) To construct roads and irrigation facilities,

40. Congress(I), Election Manifesto, 1990, pp. 2-3
(iii) To maintain academic standard,
(iv) To construct schools and colleges wherever necessary,
(v) Abolition of corruption,
(vi) To provide financial help and job opportunity to suitable athletes,
(vii) To provide medical facilities to the needy persons,
(viii) To give more powers to the panchayats,
(ix) Provision of adequate funds to Municipalities town committees, etc. and
(x) Improvement of industry and tourism department,

The Manipur People’s Party Election Manifesto 1990. The Manipur People’s party published its election manifesto on the eve of the Assembly election, 1990. Its stands for the following programmes.41

(i) The M.P.P promised for safeguarding the territorial integrity of the state,
(ii) Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958,
(iii) To include Manipuri language in the 8th schedule of the constitution of India,
(iv) Effective implementation of the three language formula,
(v) Reservation of 100% of the posts of the state Govt. for the indigenous people,
(vi) More autonomy to states,
(vii) Greater decentralization of power to the local bodies,
(viii) Removal of Foreigner’s Territorial order 1963,

(ix) Political Settlement with insurgents,

(x) To increase one more Lok Sabha seat for valley.

**Economic Programmes.**

(i) Strengthening of state planning board with full time member,

(ii) Formation of Hill Areas Development Authority, and State Board of Environment Pollution control,

(iii) Formation of the state Export Promotion council to look after commercialisation and export,

(iv) Formation of state Price Control Board and supply of rice at Rs. 2.50 per KG,

(v) Facilities to sportsmen, allowance to the educated unemployed,

(vi) 50% of the resources to be earmarked for rural and hill development,

(vii) Providing one job to one family,

(viii) Improvement of roads transport and communication, regular water supply, power, sanitation, etc.

(ix) Industrialisation of Manipur by having one Industry in each of the Districts of Manipur,

(x) Introduction of agricultural and old aged pension scheme, and

(xi) Improvement of industry.

During the period, Manipur was suffering financially in the process of overall development. The inclusion of economic programme therefore, meant important and it responses more votes for M.P.P.
The manifestoes of the two major political parties did not differ much from the last 2 or 3 Assembly election. Further, we find many common programmes of the parties. It shows that they all come together for the common burning issues, such as:

(i) Inclusion of Manipuri language in the VIII schedule of the constitution of India,
(ii) Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur,
(iii) Removal of Special Armed Forces Power Act. 1958,
(iv) Abolition of corruption,
(v) Development of agriculture,
(vi) Water supply,
(vii) Sports,
(viii) Electricity;
(ix) Tourism,
(x) Strengthening district council,
(xi) Panchayats etc.

Thus, we can safely conclude that people were highly conscious about the value of a vote to decide their fate.

3.5.3 The Assembly Election Results - 1990. The Congress(I) performance can not be ignored in this election too. The party again emerged as a single largest party by winning 25 seats out of 60 contested. The second position goes to MPP and Janata by securing 11 seats each. The Independent comparatively got a heavy downfall by winning only one seat out of 40 contested.
The party-wise seat contested, elected, the percentage of votes polled etc. are given as under:

Table - 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.no.</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Contested</th>
<th>Seats won</th>
<th>Votes polled</th>
<th>% of votes polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>I.N.C.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3,58,236</td>
<td>12.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>I.N.C.(S)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1,37,124</td>
<td>12.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>J.D.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,14,524</td>
<td>19.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14,635</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>C.P.I.(M)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>M.P.P.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,24,866</td>
<td>20.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>M.H.P.C.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8,820</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>K.N.A.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25,867</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43,385</td>
<td>3.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29,453</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7,762</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>288</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>10,92,279</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Ukhrul constituency, Hangmila Shaiza, Janata Dal, As.Arthur, Congress(I), K.Luithui, MPP and V.Weapon Zimik, M.H.P.C were the candidates.

As per the results declared by the returning officer, Ng. Kumarjit, M.P.P. secured 16,562 votes and occupied the Thangmeiband Assembly seat and Hangmila Shaiza was also declared elected for the Ukhrul Assembly seat.

To analyse in brief, in respect of the valley constituencies, Dr.H.Borbabu Singh, the MPP candidate secured the highest number of votes i.e. 11,487. On the contrary N.Ibohal Meitei an independent candidate from Keirao constituency got only 9 votes. He stood the lowest ever vote secured by a candidate in the electoral history of Manipur. In the same way, K.S.Benjamin Banee the congress candidate from Karong constituency got the highest votes of 12,272 among the hill candidates. S.Tungzachin, the Congress candidate from Thanlon constituency got the lowest votes of 17 only.

It can also be mentioned that the faith of the people keep fluctuating. People witnessed a quite different and contrasting outcome. There is not consistency in the electoral politics. No party could secure absolute majority. We can term the Congress(I) performance as the best for securing 25 seats which is the single largest party.


With the announcement of the election commission, for the 6th Legislative Assembly Election Manipur, the small state went to polls in two phases. The hill districts
were held on 16\textsuperscript{th} February, 1995, as the first phase of poll. The second phase of polling in the valley was held on 19\textsuperscript{th} February, 1995. There was a total electorate of 12,69,746, of which 6,31,368 males and 6,38,378 female.\textsuperscript{42} As many as 339 including 10 women contested in the election over 12,48,911 voters exercised their franchise from 59 constituencies excluding countermanded Lamsang constituency over 3,000 polling personal conducted the poll in 843 polling station in the hills, and out of which 293 polling stations had been declared as Hyper Sensitive polling stations for different threat had been coming from separatist. Polling station were categorised as under:

Table - 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sino</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Hyper sensitive</th>
<th>Sensitive</th>
<th>Less Sensitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Imphal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bishnupur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Thoubal</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Chandel</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ukhrul</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Senapati</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tamenglong</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Charachanpur</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>323</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Election to Lamsang Assembly constituency has been countermanded following the killing of DebenSingh, M.P.P candidate on 11th March, 1995. As per the directive given by the Election Commission the election for the Lamsang constituency was held on 27th March, 1995. The total electorate was 20,172 of which 9,810 were males and 10,260 females. 30 polling stations were opened, 19 polling station were declared as sensitive and the rest fell under hypersensitive category. There were eight candidates including one women candidate in the election.\(^{43}\)

3.6.2 Partywise Manifesto (for the Tenth Assembly Election) 1995.

(a) The Indian Nation Congress. The six pages manifesto of the congress(l) for the Assembly election 1995 highlighted their achievements. The manifesto also criticised the MPP, CPI etc.\(^{44}\)

\(\text{The following are the achievements quoted from the manifesto;}^{44}\)

(i) Establishment of central Agricultural university etc.

The programmes to be taken up;

(i) Abolition of corruption,

(ii) Inclusion of Manipuri script on currency,

(iii) Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur,

(iv) Division of Imphal District into two,

(v) Complete shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla,

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\(^{43}\) The Freedom, Imphal, 25.5.95, p.1.

\(^{44}\) Congress(l) Election Manifesto, Imphal, 1995, p.4.
(vi) Protection of Minorities,
(vii) Connection of rail link with Manipur,
(viii) Increase of Rifles battalion and block,
(ix) Development of agriculture, irrigation, industry,
(x) To give more grants to university,
(xi) Providing of employment opportunity,
(xii) Solution of insurgency problems, etc.

(b) The Communist Party of India. The manifesto of the Communist Party appealed to the people to give their votes for the Communist Party. The following are the programmes mentioned in the manifesto:45

(i) Promotion of academic standard in the state,
(ii) Respect of caste, creed, and religion,
(iii) Solution to insurgency problem,
(iv) To protect the rights, the integrity and feeling of brotherhood,
(v) Abolition of corruption,
(vi) Encouragement to agriculturists, government. employees and other sections of the people,
(vii) Providing Electricity and water supply facility,
(viii) Establishment of stable government etc.

45. C.P.I., Election Manifesto, Imphal, 1995, p.3.
(c) The Bharatiya Janata Party (B.J.P.). The manifesto of the B.J.P. for the Assembly election highlighted about the rising price in petroleum, Kerosine and other essential commodities. They appealed to people to vote in their favour with the following programmes. Some of the programmes are given.\textsuperscript{46}

(i) Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act. 1958,

(ii) Opening of Police station for women,

(iii) Immediate announcement of D.P.C. results,

(iv) Job facility to poor families,

(v) To solve insurgency problems,

(vi) To protect Territorial integrity,

(vii) Handling over Kangla to the people,

(viii) To increase number of parliamentary seats,

(ix) Free treatment to patient,

(x) To provide essential commodities at subsidised rate,

(xi) To encourage small scale industries,

(xii) To maintain academic standard,

(xiii) To give more emphasis on arts, culture, martial arts, polo, swimming and other sports,

(xiv) Improvement of Hydro electricity and

(xv) To encourage tourist industry. etc.

(d) The Janata Dal. The manifesto of the J.D. Manipur for 1995 Assembly election highlighted dissatisfaction about the former governments. The J.D. gave their programme of actions to be taken up. Some of their manifestos are.47

(i) Introduction of sixth schedule in the hill district of Manipur,
(ii) 1/3 job reservation for women in Government. and public sector undertaking,
(iii) Inclusion of Loktak lake into the scheme of National Lake Conservation Programme,
(iv) Free and compulsory education to children above the age of 14 years,
(v) To broaden the National Highway No. 39 etc.

(e) The Communist Party of India (Marxist). The C..P.I.(M) published the following programmes on the eve of the 1995 state Assembly election. Some of them are given below,48

(i) To defeat the congress party and to form a left democratic secular government,
(ii) To bring communal harmony and territorial integrity,
(iii) To abolish corruption, granting of right to work,
(iv) Free and compulsory education upto secondary level,
(v) To provide job opportunity to women,
(vi) To connect railhead to Imphal,
(vii) To arrange security personnels to National Highways No. 39 and No 53. etc.

47. J.D. Election Manifesto, Imphal, 1995, p.3.
(f) The Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee(S). The Manipur Pradesh Congress(S) in their election Manifesto 1995 pledged to take up the following programmes. 49

(i) The party committed to provide a clean and efficient government,
(ii) Improvement of medical facilities in hospitals and dispensaries,
(iii) Safeguard tribal Customary Law and tradition,
(iv) Development of Manipuri language and scripts,
(v) Equal participation of women in socio-economic and political reconstruction of the nation,
(vi) To provide good drinking water,
(vii) To provide financial and Technical assistance to forestry and horticulture,
(viii) Effective implementation of New Education Policy,
(ix) Shifting Assam Rifler from Kangla,
(x) To solve the insurgency problems and ethnic crisis,
(xi) Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur etc.

(g) The Samata Party. The Samata Party published a 15 point programmes on the eve of the assembly election 1995. Some of these are. 50

(i) Establishment of Manipur Regiment in place of the Assam Rifles
(ii) To solve the ethnic clashes in hills,

49 M.P.C.C(S) Election Manifesto, Imphal, 1995, p.3.
(iii) Formation of a Minority Commission for the protection of the minority.
(iv) Protection and improvement of historical movements,
(v) To check the entry of foreigners,
(vi) Improvement of handloom handicraft,
(vii) Formation of commission for improvement of spinning mill, sugar mill, cement factory,
(viii) Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur, etc.

(h) The Samaswadi Janata Party. The S.J.P. also published their election manifesto for the tenth Manipur Assembly election 1995. Some of the programmes proposed by the party are as follow:\textsuperscript{51}

**Political Policy.** The party promised to face the political problems through democratic means. They stand for territorial integrity, rights and liberty of the people.

**Social Policy.** Peaceful co-existence, protection of Arts and culture. Compulsory and freed education to children.

**Economic Policy.** The party promised the establishment of large number of industry and to develop trade and commerce, old aged pension etc.

(i) **The Manipur People's Party.** As a regional political party the M.P.P. too concerned mainly on regional interest. The following are the main point programmes published by the party as election manifesto 1995.\(^ {52} \)

(i) Review of the Merger Agreement, 1949 and transfer of Kabo valley to Manipur,

(ii) Declaration of Manipur valley as scheduled Area and granting greater autonomy to the state,

(iii) Preservation of territorial integrity of Manipur,

(iv) Political solution to the insurgency problem,

(v) Removal of Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958,

(vi) Increase of Lok Sabha seats for Manipur to 3,

(vii) To make provision for food security, control over price distortion and undue rise in prices,

(viii) Amicable settlement of ethnic conflict in Manipur,

(ix) To frame a new industrial and agricultural policy,

(x) Constitution of Staff Selection Commission,

(xi) Unemployment allowance,

(xii) Improvement of Jiribam road,

(xiii) Effective policy for food, health, Education, communication, irrigation and power,

(xiv) The Loktak Hydro Electric Project to be brought within state sector; etc.

(j) The Fereral Party of Manipur. Being the first time the Federal party of Manipur entered into the electoral politics in the year 1995, Assembly election. The party was organised in 1993 and the same was recognised by the election commission on 26th October, 1994. The election manifesto contained nine pages. On its cover page we find a rising sun as the party symbol and the words, “Autonomy for our identity.” The party promised the following.53

(i) Preservation of territorial integrity of Manipur,

(ii) Autonomy to Districts and villages,

(iii) Negotiation for solution of Revolutionary Movements,

(iv) Protection of Human Rights,

(v) Social unity and cultural identity,

(vi) Establishment of enter ethnic council to solve the communal problems,

(vii) Withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Power Act. 1958, TADA and Punjab security Act etc.,

(viii) Shifting of Assam Rifles form Kangla,

(ix) Expansion of National Highways,

(x) Development of tourism, expansion of education, central library, Achieve and Museum,

(xi) Massive animal husbandary programme in the form of piggery, duckering, poultry and daily development programme will be taken up,

(xii) Establishment of agro-forest industry, financial support and facilities to be provided to sports persons,

(xiii) Development of tribal languages of the state, Ban on entry of foreigners from Burma, Nepal and Bangladesh,

(xiv) Social programme for scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and OBC in Manipur etc.

(k) **The Manipur Hill and Plain Socialist Council (MHPSC).** The MHPSC published their 20 point programmes in the 1995 election manifesto. Some of them are,\(^{54}\)

(i) Fixing of the price of rice at Rs. 4.00 per Kg.,

(ii) Solution of insurgency problems in Manipur,

(iii) Implementation of inner line permit system,

(iv) Abolition of corruption,

(v) Improvement of roads and hospital,

(vi) Connection of rail-link between Manipur and other parts of India.

(vii) Free supply of Rs.5 lakhs with housing, plot, car, TV and VCR.,

(viii) Upgradation of Imphal Air Port to International Air port,

(ix) Removal of Armed Force Special Power Act. 1958,

(x) Payment of unemployed allowances to unemployed youths.

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3.6.3 Observation. The manifestoes of both national and regional political parties had a common view like,

(i) Preservation of territorial integrity,
(ii) Solution of insurgency problems,
(iii) Removal of Special Armed Act 1958,
(iv) Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kanglas,
(v) Development of academic language, industry, agriculture,
(vi) Abolition of corruption,
(vii) Solving unemployment problems etc.

In every election we come across the same point as their common point manifesto. The question is why it so? If the ruling governments were sincere enough and have a sense of sacrifice for the public cause they could have solved at least some of the proposed items in the manifesto and we will see no repetition.

The manifestos of the various political parties find very interesting. The 1990 manifesto promised one job one family. In 1995 manifesto we find review of 1947 Merger Agreement, solving political Solution to insurgency, fixing the price of rice at Rs. 4.00 per Kg. However, there are some people who do not take much interest in the election manifesto in view of the often forgetting when the parties come to power. Further when we study the election manifesto of national political parties, they expressed large concern on foreign issues. A national political party concern only wide issues which may appear in the
short run to be remote concern to common men. Thus one can not predict the accuracy of electorates responses based on the election manifesto in the electoral politics in respect of Manipur. Electors responses are always fluctuated.

3.6.4 The Result of the Sixth Manipur Legislative Assembly Election 1995. As all the process and polling were over, the counting of vote in 59 Assembly constituencies in Manipur began at 8.00 AM in all District Head quarter on 21st February, 1995. As per the result declared by the returning officer no party got the absolute majority. The congress got 21 seats as teh single largest party. The following figure shows the party position excluding Lamsang constituency.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Valley</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>I.N.C.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>S.P.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>M.P.P.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>N.P.P.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>F.P.M.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>J.D.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>I.N.C.(S)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I.N.D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Result of the Lamsang Assembly by-election 1995. In the Lamsang constituency by-election, eight candidates including one women contested in the election. The candidates of various political party swung into action with full lashing out of many power and muscle power to the maximum within the parameter of the so called by-election in Lamsang constituency. The counting of votes was held on 29th May, 1995. S. Rajen Singh, the Congress candidate defeated his nearest rival W. Brajabidhu Singh, an Independent candidate by a margin of 327 votes. Thus the number of Congress(I) in the Manipur Legislative Assembly was increased to 22.

3.7 THE MANIPUR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2000.

Whether one like it or not, virtually no one is beyond the reach of some kind of political system. Every one is involved in some fashion at some time in some kind of political system. Politics has become an unavoidable fact of human existence. For whether human kind will be blown to smitheries or will design political arrangements that enable our species to survive is now determined by politics and politicians. India has experienced every type of partyManipul did not exception, the election being, one of

the few bridges available for political traffic it mediates between political power and the people. 61

The state despite its small size, went to polls in a phase manner on 12th and 22nd, February, in view of the threat from separatists outfits to disrupt the exercise. 62 The 12th February was for the Hill constituencies and the 22nd February was for the valley constituencies.

3.7.1. Political Parties and their Manifesto. Many political parties from both the National and the regional fought the electoral battle. Among the National parties the Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India, Janata Dal(S). Janata Dal(U) Rastriy Janata Dal, Samaswati Party etc. and among the regional parties, the Manipur State Congress Party, The Federal Party of Manipur, Manipur People’s Party etc. and Independent candidate participated in the electoral battle. The following are the manifestos of some major political parties;

The Congress(I) Manifesto.

(i) To protect the territorial integrity of Manipur,

(ii) Abolition of corruption,


62. V. Venkatesan, "In election" Frontline, February 4, 2000, p.35.
(iii) Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla,
(iv) Protection of minorities,
(v) Solution of insurgency problems,
(vi) Connection of railway line to Manipur, etc.

(i) Territorial integrity of Manipur,
(ii) Social integration,
(iii) To improve law and order,
(iv) Tapping the financial resources,
(v) Women welfare policy,
(vi) Land reformation,
(vii) Construction of Railway line, etc.

(i) Repeal of Art. 356,
(ii) Unity and integrity of Manipur,
(iii) Restructuring of Indian polity, specially in the centre-state policy,
(iv) District and village autonomy,
(v) Protection of Human Right,
(vi) Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla,
(vii) Improvement of education, college and university, etc. were the main targets.

(i) To solve insurgency problems,
(ii) To protect territorial integrity of Manipur,
(iii) Removal of Assam Rifles from Kangla,
(iv) Job facilities to the poor, etc.

3.7.2 Pre-election Scenario. People turn out as usual in this election too. The poll boycott call given by the National Socialist Council Nagaland (N.S.C.N) had very little impact "Surprisingly the polling in the Naga dominated areas was more than 70 percent" state chief-electoral officer D.S. Poonia said.63 The N.S.C.N. Supported by the "united Naga Council of Manipur, the Naga Hoho, the All Naga Students" of Manipur (ANSUM) and other Naga bodies had given a call to boycott the Assembly elections in Manipur on the ground that "nagas want a solution."64 With the announcement of election schedule all the political parties started preparation and gear up for election.

In a significant development and yet a surprising to observe that the Congress(I), which ruled the state for more than three decades until 1997, has for the first time decided to contest the elections in alliance with the left parties in order to defeat the ruling MSCP.65 The Congress(I) lead six-party "Secular Democratic Front" (SDF) which

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63. Ibid. p.20.
64. Deccan Herald, February 16, 2000, p.2.
65. Frontline, February 18, 2000, p.36.
comprised of Manipur People Party C.P.I., C.P.I.(M), Janata Dal (S), and P.S.P. formed to put up common candidate in 24 constituencies and have “Strategic seat adjustments” in 29 constituencies. On the other hand, the ruling Manipur State Congress Party had an election understanding with the F.P.M. which the B.J.P and the Janata were flooded.

3.7.3 Poll Violence. The fact that people cannot exercise their franchise freely and fearlessly in the election without the backing of heavily armed security force which not only erodes the faith in the parliamentary system of government but also shakes the very foundation of our democratic policy. Thus, Elections were held in two phases due to the arrangement of security force. Even though, there is no guarantee that the massive deployment of the security forces would ensure free and fair poll. In one incident, the escort party of the BJP candidate for the Chandel Assembly Constituency, Thongkholum, was ambushed killing three party workers and two personnel of the Manipur Rifles; yet in another poll related incident, armed Kuki militants reportedly were paid by different candidates and political parties, which struck at two different places in Churachanpur and Chandel District, killing six and injuring several others. “Every political party has connections with some militant group or the other to seek protection.”

3.7.4 Polling. However, election were free, fair and peaceful in Imphal urban areas. In the rural constituencies of the valley, there were booth capturing by armed men. In the hill too candidates from large villages did not allow candidates from other villages to even campaign in their respective areas.\(^{71}\) SS. Songate a janata Dal(U) candidate was killed by extremist on January 31\(^{st}\) and the election was countermanded in Tipaimuk constituency. But if we go by Bihar's standard, it was comparatively a peaceful election.\(^{72}\) Thus election for 58 constituencies were held in peace. Henglep and Tipaimuk were countermanded.

Manipur went to poll on 12\(^{th}\) and 22\(^{nd}\) February, 2000, and was followed by counting through booth wise. "Else where in the state, polling was by and large peaceful" said the chief electoral officer D.S.Poonia.\(^{73}\)

3.7.5 The Result of the Assembly Election 2000. The result have routed Kuki National Assembly (KNA), the N.P.P, and the CPI from the state politics and brought the Nationalist Congress Party and R.J.D. for the first time. B.J.P tally of winning six seats of the 60 Assembly was its best ever performance in this state. The Manipur People's Party (M.P.P), once a very strong and influencial party, won only four seats. The Congress ever dominant party in the state returned only 11 seats. The detail results can be shown as under;

\(^{71}\) The Telegraph (Calcutta), February, 25,2000, p.6.
\(^{72}\) Deccan Herald, February, 16,2000, p.3.
\(^{73}\) The Telegraph Calcutta 23 February, 2000, p.12.
Table - 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seat contested</th>
<th>Valley seats</th>
<th>Hill seats</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.S.C.P.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.P.M.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.N.C.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P.P.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.I.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.D.(S)</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>01</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JD(U)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCP</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RJD</td>
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<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>364</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8. ELECTORAL BEHAVIOUR.

In a democratic country, the real political drama of the political parties is best manifested in the electoral behaviour. Election offers an important political situation to political actors. The successful working of democracy largely depends on the effectiveness of the various elements involved in the electoral behaviours. The role of the political parties, candidate's behaviour, ability, attitude in the election, the nature of the
party organisations etc constitute an important aspect of electoral behaviour. The second important point is the essential features of the election campaign conducted by various political parties and candidates. The last but not less important is the behaviour of the voters in choosing their candidates.

Before venturing to the electoral performance of the political parties, it is not worthy to study the electoral campaign in election. There are different ways and techniques to influence the electorates. The effectiveness of campaigning varies from place to place and person to person. In the valley election was influenced by the factors like party organization, personalities and influences of the candidate, ideology of the party whereas in the surrounding hills the voting behaviour was much effected by the class prejudices and preferences. The educated and enlightened voters are influences more or less by the policy issues, party ideology and manifesto while less educated and illiterate go by the help and assistance they get from the candidate and the direct contact with the candidates, Thus, all political parties including the Independent had under taken the task of political education to the electorates the means adopted were mainly depending on the financial position of the candidate and the party which nominated to contest election.

However, some important techniques are given as follows;

1. Wall - writing and flag - flying. The youth supporters of the parties undertook the task

of wall-writing. The name of the contesting candidate, name of their party and symbol etc. were printed on the walls of building shops etc. in their areas. Flags and posters of the candidates were put up at different public places. All these have not only the visual impact but also shows that a household if raised a particular party’s flag in the courtyard of the house with consent is regarded as a staunch supporter and sympathizer of that party. This tactics benefits the candidates in their popularity drive and thus able to draw the floating voters.

II. Door to door campaign. On the eve of the election the candidates along with party workers both male and female usually go for door to door campaign. They distribute party’s manifesto, leaflet and appeal to vote in their favour. This method enable the candidates to convince the voters better as he has direct contact with the voters. This method has been very popular since 1980 in the valley constituencies. However, the size of electorates scattered location and bad communication, it did not become a technique in the hills.

III. Public meeting. Public meeting play an important role in election campaign. It was generally organised by the party workers and other social organisations. In the meeting the candidate and the party worker express this party’s idealogies, his aim and object etc. to influence the voters. Public meeting were addressed by both local and national leader. They assured the electorates their sincerity and devotion for the welfare of the people. One does not come across usually with any untoward incident in this meeting.
From the early part of 1970 to the 1990s elections, the community feast were organised by most of the candidates and workers in traditional style. This method is very expensive. The candidate tried to touch the voter’s mind in group feast is one of them. The workers also contact a particular section of electorate for a lunch or a dinner and make an effort to touch the heart of the people present by presenting a positive image of the candidate. Thus, it also a good technique in election.

Election Procession or Rally. Election procession or rally is very popular in valley, and mainly organised just before a week of the date of election. The aim of the rally was to show the strength of the voters as majority in the constituency. In the procession, voters carried flag, symbol, festoons, and appealed to vote for their party candidate. The rival parties usually felt anxious about the majority of the voter. It is a collective technique for catching votes.

Mass rally were organised in 1980 in thanga constituency in support of Shri H.Kangjamba Singh. Similarly in 1995 Assembly Election in Naoriya Pakhonglakpa constituency, election rally was held in favour of W.Angou Singh, Congress candidate. Both of them were elected. Hence election rally is considered as an important way to win election.

Electoral Finance and Money Power. Manipur is no exception when it comes to charge of corruption and bribing during election. It is indeed an all India affairs. Before the nominations were filed the candidate started spending money as a major instrument to
win election. The rate of money in the election has assumed great importance not only for election campaign but to bride voters and the local influential leaders also. Candidates are alleged to have offered the voters money and materials in their bid to woo the electorates. What we really wonder in the recent time is that the voters also started bargaining for their votes in financial term.

The purchase of votes through money had become and open secret. Before 1980's elections voters were reported to have received money ranging from Rs 10 to 20 per votes, Rs 20 to 30 after 1980 and Rs 100 per vote in 1990s. But the money offered by candidate to the voters reported to have raised to even Rs 500/- per vote today. The seed to such a bad trend has already sown and become a political culture of Manipur. Though, good for catching votes the heavy investment during the election is of no good sign for a financially paralyse state like Manipur.

As Gehlot said, "consequently, money power which in most cases uncounted black money has deeply eroded the trust of voters that the people's will has been fairly recorded in the election.

VI. Mass Media. Most of the political parties have their daily paper or access to at least one daily news paper. For instance the Congress could propagate its view through the "Simanta Patrika" and the 'khalao' for C.P.I. and the "Ehou" for the Manipur People's Party. The party and the candidates published their political aims and objectives through News paper and appealed the voters to caste in their favour.
The Broadcasting through radio and T.V. the candidate and political parties dried at their best to win over the voters hearts. In Manipur for the first time the recognised political parties got the chance of appealing to voters through Radio in 1995. In 1996, parliamentary election, 15 minutes time was given to the contesting candidates of the recognised political parties for broadcasting through Television. Thus not much influential, some percents of votes might have come under the influence.

3.9 VOTING BEHAVIOUR.

Voting behaviour is a behaviour which indicate the voter's choices, preferences, alternative, agreements, concerns, ideologies, programmes and so on in respect of the various question or issues on which the various election of fought.75

This research work tried to assess the degree of political participation of voters in one of the last Assembly elections in Manipur. The degree of participation can be termed as 'A', 'B', and 'C',

75. R.T.Jangam, Political Sociology, Imphal 1960, p.199
### Table - 15

**1995 Assembly Election**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Degree of participation</th>
<th>Nature of political participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>'A'</td>
<td>Members of the party and those who cast their vote on the basis of ideology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>'B'</td>
<td>Those who cast their vote on the basis of personality and relationship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>'C'</td>
<td>Those who do not cast vote due to ignorance about the candidate.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the group voters, majority of the voters goes to "A" group as ideology oriented. The "B" group also not much less important so this trend gave rise to success of Independent candidates. Thus, 19 seats were occupied out of 159 candidates in 1980 Assembly election and 21 were elect out of 192 candidates in 1984 General Assembly. But the change has come now that in 1995 Assembly election, only three Independent candidates were elected out of 62. and only one out of 40 in 2000 Assembly election.

In the Assembly election 1995, 80 percent of the voters exercised their franchise. The reasons for the remaining 20% are given in the table;
Table - 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slno</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nobody approach</td>
<td>10 p.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Physical limitation</td>
<td>4 p.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>out of station</td>
<td>3 p.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Negligent</td>
<td>3 p.c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decision for voting to a candidate. Most of the voters took time to choose their favourite candidate. They usually decide a particular candidate on the eve of the election. The decision taken by the voters in the Assembly election 1995 are shown in table form as;

Table - 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>own judgement</td>
<td>60 p.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Influence of family</td>
<td>35 p.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Influence of others</td>
<td>5 p.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The electoral and the voting behaviour in the tribal belt find partly move on community line. The Tribal councils influence the voters and in many cases they filled their own candidates. Factors like religion, race, caste or clan etc. influence the voting behaviour. In some tribal areas church also partly played in shaping the voting behaviour.

of the people. Clan played a decisive role in the election behaviour in the hill areas. Majority of the women in the hills usually followed the voting pattern and behaviour set by the menfolk.

In the valley constituencies majority of the voters were committed voters. Most of the voters judge from the personal merit an images of the candidates. If we examine the overall behaviour, voters still have community behaviour. Thus, the minority like the Nepalis could sit only once in the Manipur Assembly seat in the electoral historical of Manipur. Further, there is discrimination on ground of sex in the electoral politics. As such only three women were found elected for one term each in the state assembly election held so far.

Thus, there are a number of factors which bears the responsible for determining the electoral politics. It is not only the merit and ability of the candidate, but the various factors also involve in the electoral political arena.
CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON ELECTORAL POLITICS

Part (XV) of the constitution of India deals with the elections of India. In the pre-independence days, franchise was a restricted affair. Moreover, franchise was highly vitiated by the arrangement of separate and communal electorarate system. The principle of universal adult franchise had been adopted by India after her independent. India is regarded as one of the largest democratic countries in the Afro-Asian region and even regarded as the largest democracy in the world. The arrangement for election has been made in the representation of the People Act of 1950 and 51 and was amended from time to time.

After a prolong struggle, Manipur achieved a full fledged State in 1972 as the 20th state of the union of India. She was granted a unicameral legislature consisting of 60 seats of elected member. People entered into the first electoral battle with a full hope and high expectation of achieving various regional interest. In 1972 the first Assembly election, only 44.9 percent of voters exercised their franchise. The developed country like Britain exercised more than 70% in their elections. Both regional as well as national parties participated in the
election. In this election people's favour went to non national parties which won in 34 seats. Behaviour of the voters showed that people of Manipur want autonomy. They wanted to make whatever they want by themseelve with less interference from the centre. They had more regional interest rather than the national interest. Majority of the parties stressed on state infrastructure. But the then government could not run its full term. It is obvious that such thing happens due to dirty and selfish political minded of the leaders.

Like that of the former election, the manifesto of the mid-term poll 1974 also found a pre-dominent of local issue and interest. Both the national and the regional parties stood for local issues specially for languange development, infrastructure or establishedment of University and Colleges. Manipur, being a young state, could not even manage themselves properly. One party criticised another. The Congress party termed the former government as unholy alliance. Though very strong at the centre, the Congress could not defeat the regional parties. Like M.P.P, M.H.U etc. We can say that this period was the shining time of M.P.P. It was their thought that the regional parties concern more to
their interest than that of national parties. Thus Md. Alimuddin and Yangmaso Shaiza could keep this young State under their control during those periods.

In the third legislative Assembly election of Manipur 1980, the strength of the national parties rose up. Only two regional parties viz, M.P.P and K.N.A could win only in 4 and 2 constituencies respectively. Independent secured in 19 seats, the rest 35 constituencies were divided by the national party. It shows that people’s interest gradually moving towards the national parties. They began to realise that the regional parties could not provide a stable government in the state. Most of the leader as well as the voters were convinced by the issue based political programmes of the Congress (I) and far all round socio-political-economic development in the state. Further, there was a period of revival of Congress (I) at the centre. Thus, regional parties could to little in the election.

It can be observed that though things are not changed, people’s faith keep on changing. As such the strength of the Congress reduced to 25 seats
only in 1990 Assembly Election. M.P.P again rosed upto 11 seats. A drastic change was seen in respect of Independents which won 19 seat in 1990. Another peculiar character of the people in that election was that 9 (nine) women were participated in the election. Out of which one Mrs. Hangmila Shaiza was elected Legislative Assembly of Manipur as the first woman member. This marked a new era for women of Manipur in political scenario in the State, and the equality of men and women appeared in our electoral politics. The M.P.P could also draw the attention of the people with their convincing power and issues like removal of foreigners, territorial integrity and various other economic programmes. Further, the Janata party could secured 11 seats in that election. An our analytical point of view we can also say that there was a great hope to come non congress government of the centre or a great wave of V.P. Singh’s government at the Centre.

In 1995 Assembly election, about 2/3 or 66% of the total seats were divided by Congress and M.P.P. The rest were divided by other national as well as regional parties. In our observation, it is clear that in every election,
both national as well as regional parties published the same manifesto which had already been seen in the past so many elections. It shows that the government could not perform their promises which were made during elections. Therefore, people's interest and faith did not remain unchangeable from one particular party. On the other hand, they even did not care for party's manifesto, ideology but made their choice based on candidates' personalivities.

The 7th Manipur Legislative Assembly election 2000 was indeed a blessing year for M.S.C.P. In fact, the M.S.C.P. which split from the Congress (I) with the help of certain organizations in 1997 was the ruling government. This party could draw a good response from the people by educating various issues like protection of territorial integrity of Manipur, construction of railway line etc. with a strong regional feeling. In addition to that a close partner of M.S.C.P, the F.P.M. could also won 6 seats. Uniting those two anti-congress parties pull down the congress to a heavy lost which won in only 11 constituencies. Though, good in the electoral performance, the M.S.C.P led coalition government could not run properly as it ought to be. Within a short period they
faced an acute law and order problem, and various other problems including misuse of funds which ultimately led to an early fall of its government.

If we analyse the overall electoral politics, we see different attitudes of the people and different factors which influence the voters, sometimes even certain underground groups also interfered in the electoral politics. Still there are people who did not cast their votes due to ignorance, while some others based on personal relationship. But majority of the voters caste their vote on the basis of party ideology. In addition to these features, the evil practice in the election were the use of money power. Therefore, the rich candidate has more chances of winning in most of the elections, which completely defy the quality of democracy in Manipur. Among other, money power is the worse enemy of democracy. People easily forget about the value of their vote and right to franchise.

Thus, the study of the electoral politics in Manipur is incomplete without a critical analysis of its strong and weak points. We can also see some
more points of its weakness that the carefully prepared election manifestos played no significant role. It neither widely publicises to reach the voters nor educates the masses. Elections are not contested on the basis of party ideology or principle but based on the personality of the candidate, monetary capability and availability of vote bank. Timely events and slogans also influenced and attracted the voters more than permanent values. Ideological flexibility of the politician tarnished the party image. Misuse of funds and official property in elections were also seen. Women were treated as in some way inferior to men in the field of politics. But fortunately 7 candidates fray in the electoral battle in the 3rd Assembly election and 9 in the 5th Assembly election. There are still nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America where women are yet to be emancipated enough to enable them to vote. The Indian women in general has been more fortunate, and Manipur women in particular.

In order to make the immature electorate politics of the people of Manipur to a mature and perfect, an electoral reform of the people is necessary. Each and every voter should know their political rights. They should exercise
their right to franchise in free and fair manner and avoid any kinds of external enterferance. Women should be treated equal to men on this matter. Political equality should be maintained among the voters indiscriminate of caste creed sex and status. People should be educated by the politician and political parties and made them clear about their principles, ideology and objectives. There are still people who neglect about their right to franchise. It is nothing but an ignorance and thus needs to educate them. Moreover, use of money power in elections should be stopped at any cost. The involvement of anti national elements in the elections should not be encouraged by the peoples. The elected leaders should work honestly for the welfare of the people. The motive to recuperate the lost money in the election as the prior purpose of most of the elected members and forgetting about the general interest of the electorals should be treated as anti peoples’. If all these acts of unfair means and irregularities are moved from politics, the high principle of democracy can be achieved in the small state of Manipur too.