CHAPTER IV

FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT.

4.1. MANIPUR DURING 1947 - 72.

4.1.1 Merger of Manipur With Indian Union. The adult franchise, the mass participation, the right to self determination or self-Government are the basic features of democracy. It is universally accepted as one of the basic political right of every people. It can be considered as one of the most important preconditions to facilitate political participation and bring about political development. This right can be exercised through having a popular Legislative Assembly and a government of their own. Manipur had a popular Legislative Assembly at one time earlier, under the provision of the Manipur State constitution Act. 1947. Manipuris thus had already been enjoyed a certain degree of the right to self government before She become a part of India on 15th October, 1949. However, the status of certain freedom already been enjoyed was pulled down to the lowest. People of Manipur were ignorant in one way for their future. Taking the advantage of ignorant and blindness about their own future the government of India negotiated for Merger into Indian union. The Manipuri king was one of the few rulers who refused to sign the agreement but later he was reportedly coaxed and compelled to sign on 21st September, 1949. Following which, he ceded to the Dominion Government with all his administrative power.¹ On September 21, 1949 an agreement was arrived for merging

the state of Manipur with the dominion of the Indian between the Maharaja and V.P. Moron, Adviser to the government of India in the Ministry of states on behalf and with the authority of governor general of India, with Shri Prakash, the then governor of Assam, as witness.2

The signing of the merger agreement endorsed the formal Merger of Manipur into the dominion of India in October, 1949 and this day marked an important day in the history of Manipur, as its administration was taken over by the government of India on that day itself. The Manipur state congress had been demanding the abdication of the Maharaja and immediate integration of the state with the centre.3 The congress stand was vehemently opposed by the Royalist group who propagated against abdication. The popular sentiment of Manipur has been that the Maharaja was forced to sign the 'Merger Agreement' in Shillong. The Maharaja and his brother captain Joy Singh of Assam Rifles with the help of other MLAs and Ministers made and all out efforts to highlight the 'evil-effects' of integration and the tribal chiefs were told that the lost of privileges along with abolition of chiefship would be the inevitable consequence of integration.4 It is reported that Maharaja was under duress when he signed the agreement. In his massage to the people of the state inter alia the late Maharaja Budhachandra said 'this day, the 15th of October 1949, sound full note for a new era. I am confident that it will be the sincer and

4. Ibid. p.125.
constant endeavour of the Indian government to look to the best of the people of Manipur. The transfer and the abdication of the state to the dominion government had created a deep scar in Manipur politics and the surrender by the Maharaja had also many to weep. Consequently and with the enforcement of the constitution of India on January 26, 1950, Manipur become a part "C" state of the Indian union hence it remains under the direct control of the central government.

When India attained her independence the political unit of the country was classified under four categories according to the stages of their political development as part 'A', state who were former British Indian provinces; part 'B' state which was mostly big princely states; part 'C' states who were petty states and which were very backward and far behind the other states and part 'D', state which was comprised of the islands of Andaman and Nicobar.

Manipur thus become a part 'C' state within the union of India. It became a curse for the whole people of Manipur. In place of the abolition of the council of Ministers and the Legislative Assembly under 1947 constitutions, the president of India constituted an Advisory council. The council had a chief commissioner and fourteen other members nominated by the central government in consultation with the chief

The chief commissioner thus nominated the Advisers representing from different parties like Praja Shanti, Manipur State Congress and some other local hill area parties. It was inaugurated on 9 October 1950. The first general election on the basis of adult franchise was held in 1952 for two member of the Lok Sabha and 30 member of the electoral college. These members recommended the names of five advisors for the advisory council of the chief commissioner.

When the first general election was held in 1952 January, Manipur was not allowed to have Legislative Assembly like other part ‘C’ states. The administration was run at the level of a district. The appointment of the District magistrate and District judge proves it.

The Chief commissioner of a part C state possessed an immense administrative power. Unlike the governors of part ‘A’ and part ‘B’ states, he could interfere in the administration of the state. In fact, the real power of the administration of the state was in his hand. He was not bound by the advice of the advisory council. He acted as an agent of the central government.

### 4.1.2 Demand for a Legislative Assembly

After having a bitter experience of the part ‘C’ status, people started agitation against the bureaucrat rule and demanded for a full fledged Legislative council. In July 1952, a meeting of the socialist party of Manipur was

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held in Wangkhei paradise hall. The meeting resolved to demand a Legislative Assembly on a fully responsible government for Manipur. On July 20, 1952 a meeting of the Mehila Samelani was held and attended by a good number of women and they also resolved to joint for achieving the same demand. On 22nd October, 1952 while visiting Manipur, the then prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru assured the people that a democratic form of government would be established in Manipur and Tripura.

On 24th October, 1952 people from the hills numbering about 1000 met the prime Minister and expressed their views against the advisory council. Nine political parties, including five from the hills also submitted a memorandum to the prime Minister expressing their dissatisfaction over the chief commissioner’s rule and demanded a Legislative Assembly and a council of Minister responsible to it. The Manipur Democratic Front also submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister. In that memorandum, the Front said:

“Our immediate demand is the establishment of responsible government in Manipur by setting up a council of Ministers responsible to the Legislative elected on adult franchise. Because, without the representation of the people and their willing

14. Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India by Democratic Front, Manipur. dated 23, October, 1952, Imphal.
co-operation, a government cannot be run peacefully and to the entire inter faction of the people. During the year of the chief commissioner’s rule in Manipur, we have seen worst things which never happened during the British ruled. The economic crises and food scarcity are to a large extend due to the lack of local and popular representation.

Thus, all political parties unanimously demanded a Legislative Assembly on 19 April 1953, a big public meeting was held at the Pologround, Imphal, for demanding a legislative Assembly. They formed (two local parties viz. National union and Gandhi Savel Sabha) a revolutionary party. This party took an extreme step of demanding a Legislative Assembly within 15 days. If the demand was not granted, the party said, Manipur would be declared as an independent state. The praja socialist party sent a delegation to Delhi led by its MP, Rishang Keishing. After that on 21st October, 1954, Rishang Keishing announced in a public meeting that his party would start a peaceful agitation. There were many cases of rathis, kicking with boots, hitting with rifle butts and dragging along the road by the police to disperse the Satyagrahis. Chief Commissioner’s gate was the picketing centre. There were also picketing at Ukhrul and Tamenglong. All communities irrespective of hill and valley participated in this process.

4.1.3 Grant of Union Territory. The government of India passed the 7th Amendment to the constitution in the year 1956 which permit the creation of Legislative
Assembly by passing the Territorial council Act. 1956. Manipur was granted the status of a Union Territory in 1956.

It was considered that the introduction of Territorial council would satisfy the aspiration of the people. The territorial council comprised of thirty elected and two nominated members. The central government also had the power to nominate the first chairman of the council who would hold office not exceeding to one year. The working of the territorial council was conducted by the formation of many committees. The chief commissioner of the union territory could attend and addressed any of its meetings, and preside over the meeting. The Territorial council had powers over all subjects transferred to it by the general administration. But the centre had the power to supervise and give direction over its use.\(^\text{16}\) As such, both in theory as well as in practice the entire territory continued to be governed by the centre through the chief commissioner.\(^\text{17}\)

In a public meeting held in June, 1957, at BT park, the leader of the Manipur Praja Socialist Party Rishang Keishing, said that his party would launch an agitation for a Legislative assembly in 1959 or 1960.\(^\text{18}\) The party also passed a resolution on 17th October, 1957, saying that though it welcomed the security of the majority by the non-congress members in the Territorial council, it doubted the ability of the council to

satisfy the urges of the people. People also come to know the non removable system of the territorial chairmen before one year even his party fall to minority, high level posts of Manipur administration were occupied by the non Manipuris, etc. The people resented and wanted to have a responsible government.

Thus, an Assembly Demand co-ordinating committee (A.D.C.C) was formed on 26th March, 1960. It started agitations, like picketing, rally and followed by a number of memorandum submission Resolutions were adopted by the various political and social organizations. On 9th December, 1961, Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then union Home Minister visited Manipur. The congress submitted memorandum demanding “Some positive steps in the form of introducing responsible government and raising the political status of Manipur.”

4.1.4 Grant of Legislative Assembly. Under the union Territories Act 1963 Manipur was granted a Legislative comprising 30 elected and 2(two) nominated members with the council of Minister having 5 Ministers. The Legislative Assembly was inaugurated on 22nd July, 1963. It still short of the people’s aspirations. The arrangement proved to be a “diarchy in which elected representatives formed a groups of Junior partners.” This

19. Resolution passed at the Executive Committee meeting of the P.S.P., Manipur, held at Kakching on 16 and 17 October 1957.

20. Memorandum submitted by the Manipur Territorial Congress to the Union Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, when he come to Imphal. 9-11-1961.

government also could not implement any plan without prior permission of the centre. The chief commission still enjoyed powers and influences which were not compatible without the functioning of a popular government.22

4.1.5 Birth of full fledged statehood. The all Manipur statehood demand committee (AMSDC) was constituted on 30th March, 1968 in an all party conference convened by the preparatory committee in Imphal.23 This committee’s initiated for a number of steps which were taken up for granting a full fledged state. The committee fixed October, 15, 1968 as the mass struggle day. On 16th March, 1969, a meeting of the representatives of the MPP, PSP, CPI and CPI(M) was held at Imphal. The meeting decided to start movement for demanding statehood. Methods like civil disobedience, bandh, picketing, demonstration etc., were also decided to be adopted.24 In a session held on 4th and 5th January, 1970 the Congress decided to boycott any midterm or general election.25 To study the political situation in Manipur, a team of 10 MPs visited Manipur on 9th May, 1970, they strongly recommended to the central government the granting of statehood to Manipur. Mrs.Gandhi’s government at the centre announced on 3rd September, 1970, that the centre had agreed to grant statehood to Manipur and Tripura in principle. Mrs. Gandhi’s government retained in 1971 election too. The State Minister of Home Affairs, K.C.Pant, introduced the

23. Statement issued by the AMSDC, appeared in Anauba Samaj. p.3.
North-East Area (reorganization) Bill on 9th December, 1971. The Bill was passed by Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on 15th December, 1971, and on 22nd December, 1971 respectively. Manipur, a full fledged state was inaugurated by the Prime Minister on 21st January, 1972. It was indeed a turning point in the political history of the small political unit of the Indian union.

Thus, one man wronged suffered thousands for more than 20 years. The political history of Manipur, right from 1947 till 1972 was a gradual transformation from one types of “state” to another. At first it was a princely state having a responsible cabinet with its own constitution, then a part “C” state, than a Union Territory and finally a full-fledged state. The attainment of statehood in 1972 was not come in a good platter. It was only after a series of demand in the form of Hurtle, Satyagraha etc. by the mass of Manipur that actually changed the attitude of the centre towards Manipur. Thus, to see a government of her own Manipur had walked for a long walk on the fuzzy political scenario.

4.2 FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT IN 1972.

4.2.1 Formation of Government, 1972. The first general Election to the Legislative Assembly, after Manipur was granted statehood with a Legislative Assembly of 60 members was held in the month of March, 1972. The state was divided into 60 single member constituencies of which 40 are situated in the central valley, 19 in the hills

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and one in the Barak basin. All 19 constituencies in the hills are reserved for scheduled tribes. One constituency in Sekmai, is reserved for schedule caste. The remaining 40 constituencies -39 in the valley and one in the Barak Basin, are unreserved general constituencies. In this first general elections to the Legislative Assembly, no party was able to obtain an absolute majority in the Assembly.

The Congress(I) secured 17 seats, the Manipur People's Party (MPP) 15, C.P.I.5, SSP 3, Congress(O) 1, and independent 19, a total of 60. Though the congress(I) secured 17 seats, the largest number of seat, the M.P.P. which entered the electoral field for the first time as a regional party made a determined attempt to form the government. It was able to secured the support of 17 others 13 of the Independents, 3 from the S.S.P. and the lone congress(O) at a heavy cost. This combination was known as the United Legislative Party. The leader of the coalition was Alimuddin, the leader of the M.P.P. 27

The Alimuddin Ministry consisted of 12 ministers including himself. Thus any one who could secure the support of two members of the Legislative Assembly could become a minister. Of the 13 Independents, who entered the coalition, eight were appointed ministers. Of the three from the Samyukta Socialist Party, one was appointed as Minister. Even the lone Congress(O) got somethings, the Deputy Speakership, whereas the 15 members of the Legislature belonging to the M.P.P., the biggest partner in the coalition got

only three seats in the cabinet including Alimuddin, the leader of the coalition and of the M.P.P. Thus the M.P.P. had to make a tremendous sacrifice for the formation of coalition government. After the formation of the council of ministers, two members of the Congress defected to the M.P.P. and still later on two Independents joined the United Legislative Party.

The Alimuddin Ministry had three layers. There were five cabinet ministers, Alimuddin himself, Yangmaso Shaiza, Y.Yaima Singh, Ngurdinglieng and Kh.Chaoba. Excepting Kh.Chaoba, who was the deputy Speaker for some time, all others were new to the job. Besides the five cabinet ministers, there were four ministers of state. There were three Deputy ministers, H.Nilamani Singh, H.T.Thungam and R.Vio. Of the 12 members of the Alimuddin council of Ministers, one was Muslim, five were Hindus and six were Tribals. Thus there was parity in the representation of Hill and Valley. All these years, the principle of parity was not maintained. In the cabinet there was no parity. The tribals secured two out of four seats excluding the chief minister, in the ministers of state, the tribals secured two out of four and among the Deputy ministers, they secured two out of three. It appears that there was over-representation of the tribal areas in the ministry if the population is taken on the basis of representation. The Meities constituted two-third of the total population but they got fifty percent representation in the Council of Ministers. The Meities felt it deeply. Alimuddin, a man from the valley, was primarily responsible for this. This situation generated opposition to the ministry.28

28. Ibid., p.125.
The Alimuddin ministry was in power for one full year. There was discontent in the M.P.P. itself. This was taken advantage of by the opposition to attempt to unseat the Alimuddin ministry. Since a lion’s share of the Seats went over to the Independents, there were defections in the M.P.P. When the Assembly met for the discussion of the budget, nine members and the Deputy Speaker, defected to the opposition and formed into a separate Legislative party – the Progressive Independents. There were further defections. On the 22nd March, 1973, a no-confidence motion signed by 31 members was introduced in the House. The speaker admitted the motion and it was taken up for discussion on 26th March, 1973. The house spent three days in discussing the motion. Alimuddin tried to win over some of the defectors to save his ministry. But he failed. On the 28th March, the House adjourned for lunch. When the house met at 2.30 p.m to continue the discussion, the speaker announced that the ministry had resigned. All those who were against the Alimuddin ministry joined the Democratic Alliance. The alliance met the governor and requested him to allow it to form the government. But the governor was convinced that no stable government would be formed by the alliance. So he recommended to the President the imposition of the Presidential rule. The president accepted the recommendation of the governor and Manipur come under Presidential rule for one year.29

4.2.2 Formation of Government, 1974. The mid-term election to the Legislative Assembly was held in February, 1974. This time too no party was able to obtain a decisive majority

29 Ibid., p.126.
in the House. But there was the M.P.P which won 15 seats in 1972 tared better in 1974 when it won 20 seats in the house of 60. The congress on the other hand showed sign of weakening. In 1972, it obtained 17 seats and was the biggest group in the legislative. But in 1974, it secured 13 seats. A new regional party called Manipur Hill Union was formed just before the general election to safeguard the interests of the tribals and of the tribal area in Manipur. This party was able to win 11 seats. The SSP which had five seats in the previous Assembly got only two seats whereas the CPI improved its position by securing one more seat in the previous election. But the strength of the Independents declined from 19 to 8. Though the M.P.P. was the biggest group in the Legislative Assembly, it had no absolute majority in it, yet it was anxious to form the government. So Alimuddin carried on negotiations with other parties for support. He held discussions with the S.S.P., Independents and the Hills Union. All the members of the three groups did not like to support Alimuddin. Only 2 from the S.S.P., 7 Independents and 6 from the Tribal Union extended their support to Alimuddin. Thus Alimuddin applecart consisted of four links. They constituted themselves into the United Legislature Party, an old name, and come back to power with Alimuddin as its leader.

The Alimuddin ministry consisted of 12 ministers -- 8 of the cabinet rank, 3 ministers of state and 1 Deputy Minister. The Deputy Minister was subsequently promoted as a Minister of State. Of the eight cabinet minister, five were from the valley and three from the hill areas. The eight cabinet ministers were, Alimuddin, Y.Yaima Singh, Kh.Chaoba, Salam Tombi Singh, L.Chandramani Singh, T.P.Kuilungpao, N.Gauzagin and
Haokhalal Thangjom. Three of them – T.P.Kuilungpao, N.Gauzagin and Haokhalal Thangjom – never had any experience as ministers. Salam Jombi Singh also was never a minister, though he was one of the senior members of the assembly. But he was a member of Lok Sabha for a term. Alimuddin was not only the senior most member of the Assembly, but also had a vast experience in practical politics from 1948.

As regard the Ministers of state, there were three in number – H.T.Thungam, K.Barthakur Sharma and Ngulkhohao. Of the three H.T.Thungam was a Deputy Minister in the previous Alimuddin ministry. The other two entered the council of Minister for the first time. Though Barthakur Sharma like salam Tombi Singh was one of the oldest members of the Assembly. The lone Deputy Minister who was subsequently promoted as a minister of state was also new to the job. Thus of the twelve members of the second Alimuddin Ministry, five were old horses and one of them was a veteran in practical politic.

In his second ministry, Alimuddin dropped Yangmaso Shaiza because it was said that Shaiza would left support to the ministry provided he was not made the Chief Minister. Alimuddin did not agree to his condition and therefore he was left out.

Of the twelve members of the Alimuddin ministry, five belonged to the M.P.P., four to the M.H.U., two were Independents and one to the S.S.P..

The essential characteristic of Manipur politics is defection. The politicians of Manipur seem to attach certain ethical values to defection. They do not considered it a political
immorality. The secured Alimuddin ministry remained in power just for four months. It was due to defection. Almost immediately after the formation of the second ministry of Alimuddin, defections began, Yangmaso Shaiza and some of his supporters left the U.L.P. on the ground that Shaiza was not made the chief minister. Those who left the United Legislative Party, formed the Progressive Democratic Front. When the budget session was going on, four members of the Alimuddin ministry crossed the floor and joined the Progressive Democratic Front. When the House met on 8th July, 1974 to consider the Appropriation Bill, the Treasury Benches were empty except one. The appropriation bill was defeated by 31 votes to one. While this drama was going on Alimuddin who had realized that he had no following in the House went to Rajbhawan and handed over the resignation of his ministry to the governor. Thus fell the second ministry of Alimuddin.

The Progressive Democracy Front consisting of three parties, the Manipur Hills Union, the C.P.I. and the Congress formed the government on the 10th July, 1974 with Yangmaso Shaiza as the Chief Minister. He took immediately Salam Tombi Singh and T.P.Khuilengpao as his colleagues. These two persons were in the Alimuddin ministry and crossed floor. Similarly all the three Ministers of state in Alimuddin Ministry were also taken as Ministers of state by Shaiza. He also took Birmani Singh. Birmani Singh was new, and had never been in any ministry. There was also one Deputy Minister, Jangamlung. He too was new to the job. Thus, the first Shaiza ministry consisted of eight ministers. From an

30. Ibid., p.128
analysis of the membership of the ministry we come to the conclusion that the ministry was dominated by the tribals. Of the three cabinet ministers, two were tribals, of the four Ministers of state, two were tribals. The lone Deputy Minister was also tribal.

On 1st August, 1974, Shaiza reconstituted his ministry. It consisted of ten members - four cabinet rank, five minister of state and one Deputy Minister. Thus the ministry was expanded by the addition of one cabinet minister and a minister of state. The Shaiza ministry consisted of six tribals and from the valley. Of the four cabinet ministers, two were tribals, of the five ministers of state, three were tribals and the lone Deputy Minister was also tribal. After the formation of the ministry members of the United Legislative Front, the main opposition party left it and joined the Progressive Democratic Front and thereby strengthened the Shaiza ministry. But the congress threatened Shaiza with defection because the Shaiza ministry did not include even one from the Congress though the Congress was a constituent partner of the Progressive Democratic Front. The congress demanded that a person nominated by the party should be appointed minister. Since the Congress did not get what it wanted, it coined on negotiation with other parties in the opposition, particularly the United Legislative Party. The U.L.P. was able to secure the support of 31 members, met the Governor and requested him to allow it to form the government. The Governor was not satisfied with the arguments advanced by the party because its total strength was just fifty percent of the total strength of the Legislative Assembly plus one then the Congress complained to the Governor that three of its members were forcibly kept in the Shaiza camp. They were contacted by the officers of
the Legislative Assembly. They declared that they would support the Congress. Then the governor advised the Chief Minister Shaiza to resign which was accordingly done. On 7th December, 1974, Shaiza ministry resigned. It was in office for four months and 25 days.

The Congress - United Legislative Party coalition assumed the name of Democratic Legislative Party and elected Dorendra Singh as its leader. Dorendra Singh was summoned to form the government on 16th December, 1974. Immediately he took Gouramani Singh as his colleague. Thus Chief Minister and a Minister constituted the government for three months. It was in March that the minister was expanded. It was the biggest of all the ministries so far formed. L.P.Singh, the governor, advised the Chief Minister to have a small compact ministry. But Dorendra Singh had to take political factors into account. So his ministry consisted of nineteen members of three layers. There were eight ministers of cabinet rank. Of the eight, the Chief Minister Dorendra Singh was the speaker for some time. Y.Yaima Singh, L.Chandramani Singh, Kh.Chaoba, Haokholal Thangjam and T.P.Kiulengpao were in the Alimuddin ministry in 1974. But Rishang Keishing and R.K.Ranbir Singh were new to the job. The nine ministers of state were N.Gouzagain, Barthakur Sharma, Th.Chaoba Singh, Kh.Nimaichand Singh, Halkhoman, S.Joy Kumar Singh, Md. Jalauddin, O.Joy Singh and Thoi Thoi Singh.

Of the 19 members of the Dorendra Singh ministry, as many as 14 were Meities
and five were tribals. Of the eight ministers of cabinet rank, as many as five were Meiteis and three tribals. Of the nine ministers of state, eight were Meiteis and only one was tribal. Of the two Deputy Ministers, one was Meiteis and the other are tribal in terms of population, the tribals were under-represented. In term of areas, the Meiteis were over-represented. However, the fact remains that the Dorendra Singh ministry was the biggest ever formed. Every third man in the Legislative Assembly was a minister, that is, if one could secure the support of two M.L.As he became a minister. For a small state like Manipur with limited resources the Dorendra Singh ministry was a heavy burden on the common man.

In order to strengthen its position, the Dorendra Singh ministry admitted any one into its fold. It admitted three from the Manipur Hills Union and four from the M.P.P. This behavior on the part of the Congress was resented by the other partners in the coalition. Therefore, the Congress and its allies were not on speaking terms. Each tried to outwit the other. Ultimately the Congress succeeded in its game. When Dorendra Singh realised that the congress had gained enough strength to form a Congress ministry independently of any other party, he along with one of his colleagues Rishang Keishing met the governor and requested him to allow them to form a Congress ministry. The governor was not happy with the new development that had taken place. He therefore advised Dorendra Singh to seek the co-operation of the C.P.I. which had a following of six in the House. Dorendra Singh, after assuring himself that he would be called upon to form the ministry,
submitted the resignation of his ministry on 23rd July, 1975. On the same day he was sworn in as the Chief Minister.32

The Congress - C.P.I. coalition ministry formed by Dorendra Singh consisted of five ministers of cabinet rank and one more was added on 14th August, 1975. All the six were ministers. They have had experience as ministers. Rishang Keishing, R.K.Ranbir Singh, T.P.Keulengpao were members of the first Dorendra Singh ministry. Bijoy Singh was Deputy minister of any grade. He had to wait to become represented the C.P.I. T.P.Keulengpao was in both the Alimuddin and Shaiza ministries and also in the first Dorendra Singh ministry.

After the formation of the Congress - C.P.I. coalition ministry there was a general exodus from the unprofitable opposition to the treasury bench. On 12th January, 1976 the ministry was expanded. Of the ten that were added, N.Gouzagin was of the cabinet rank. It may be remembered that Gouzaging was a cabinet minister in the second Alimuddin ministry. The ministers of state were Birmani Singh, R.K.Thekho and H.T.Thungam. They were also ministers of state in the first Shaiza ministry. Holkhamang, Gouramani Singh and Kh.Nimai chand Singh were also Ministers of state in the expanded Dorendra Singh ministry. The other two M.Ibotonbi Singh and Kh.Raban Singh were new faces. The C.P.I. congress ministry formed by Dorendra Singh was not bigger than the previous

32. Ibid., p.131.
Dorendra Singh ministry. The first coalition ministry of Dorendra Singh consisted of 19 members while the second consisted of 17 members. By the end of February 1976 the strength of the Congress increased to 42 and by February 1977 it was 54. Dorendra Singh continued to be in power from July 1975 to May 1977. As a matter of fact he was made Chief Minister from 16th December, 1974 to May 1977.

The Lok Sabha election held in February, 1977, resulting in the miserable defeat of the Congress and the formation of Janata government at the centre, upset the applicant of the Congress Legislative Party in Manipur. On the 2nd May, 1977 as many as 26 members of the Congress Legislative Party left it and joined the Janata Party. Yangmaso Shaiza who was elected to the Lok Sabha on Congress ticket was one of them. On 6th May, 1977 the strength of the Congress in the Legislative Assembly, Manipur was reduced from 54 to 22. The strength of the Janata, on the other hand, was 53. Therefore, on 13th May, R.K. Dorendra Singh resigned and on the 16th May, the President Rule was imposed, and the Congress party was completely liquidated. But the defectors did not form the government because the state Janata Party decided that the State Assembly should be dissolved and fresh election should be held. It also resolved that the defectors must first join the Janata Party. Thus, there was a fight between the two wings of the Janata Party, Organisational and Legislative. Further there was one issue, the leadership issue. There were two candidates, Salam Tombi Singh and Yangmaso Shaiza. To settle this issue two general secretaries of the Janata Party were sent to Imphal. They did not agree with the state Janata Party for the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly. So there was a deadlock and
the President Rule was imposed. As regard leadership of the Janata Legislative Party, the
issue was not settled for 59 days. Again, all those that defected from the Congress were
not admitted. Only 41 members were admitted to the party. A meeting of the Janata Party
was held on 26th June, 1977. It was attended not by all the members of the party, but by 34
members. It elected Yangmaso Shaiza as the leader of the party. On 29th June, President
Rule was revoked and Yangmaso Shaiza was invited to form the governments. On the
same day, Shaiza was sworn in as Chief Minister and alimuddin as a Cabinet Minister.33
on 16th July, 1977 the governor administered the oath of office to three more cabinet
ministers. They were salam Tombi Singh, Kh.Chaoba and Ngurdingliyen. Besides the
cabinet ministers, the oath was administered to five ministers of state. The Ministers of
state were Asraf Ali, Thekho, Kh.Nimai chand Singh, W.Komal Singh and W.Nipamacha
Singh.

Yangmaso Shaiza was elected to Lok Sabha and not to the Legislative Assembly.
He had no seat in the state Legislative Assembly. So he had to resign his Lok Sabha
membership and seek election to the Legislative Assembly; he was elected to the
Assembly in December, 1977. There were attempts at the change of leadership of the
Janata Legislative Party but the central leaders did not permit any change in the
leadership of the Janata Assembly Party. On the other hand Shaiza was advised by the
central leaders to expand the council of minister. In October the ministry was expanded by
the addition of the speaker in the cabinet and another tribal in the council of Ministers.

33. Ibid., p.133.
But there was discontent in the party. All did not get what they wanted. So on 9th October, 1978, nine members of the Janata legislative Party led by R.K. Dorendra Singh resigned from the Janata Legislative Party and the Janata Party and joined the Congress party. Thus, the strength of the Congress increased to 12 and that of the Janata was reduced to 43.

Dorendra Singh accused Shaiza for not implementing the agreement entered into and for another reason. The C.P.I. also demanded the resignation of Shaiza for declaring the whole of Manipur valley as a disturbed area. The Congress launched the satyagraha movement on 11th September, 1978, demanding the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly. To express their discontent the opposition members belonging to the Congress(I) and the C.P.I. boycotted the governors address to the Assembly. All the opposition parties submitted a memorandum to the President demanding the dissolution of the ministry.

The governor reported the political situation in Manipur to the President and recommended President Rule in the state. The President was convinced that the political situation in Manipur was sufficiently bad to warrant the imposition of President Rule. So on 14th November, 1979 President Rule was imposed in the state.

Before the imposition of the presidential Rule, a no-confidence motion was
introduced in the Assembly by Rishang Keishing. Rishang Keishing accused Shaiza that law and order broke down completely; that authoritarian trends were visible; that portfolios were concentrated in the and of Shaiza; appointments were made irregular and on adhoc basis.

4.2.3 Formation of Government, 1980. Election to the Manipur Legislative Assembly were held in January, 1980 to elect 60 members. For the 60 seats there were 401 candidates. Nine parties contested the election. Bo party was able to obtain a majority in the House. Congress(I) secured 13 seats; Congress(U) 6; Janata 10; C.P.I. 5; M.P.P.4; J.N.P. nil; C.P.I.(M) 1; K.N.A. 2; Independents 19; two independents from Churachandpur joined the Congress(I). Th. Chaoba and M.Ibotombi Singh from the Janata joined the Congress(I) and thereby increased the strength of the Congress(I) to 17. Since no party was able to obtain an absolute majority in the House coalition government became inevitable. The political parties. As a result of these negotiations a coalition government was formed. The partners in the coalition were, the Congress(I), the Congress(U), the M.P.P. and the K.N.A.. They agreed a 23 points programme. It elected R.K.Dorendra Singh as the leader of the coalition. On January 14, 1980, three persons were sworn in, R.K.Dorendra Singh as the Chief Minister, Rishang Keishing and . Ngurdinglien as Ministers.34 On 31st May, 1980, R.K.Dorendra Singh expanded his ministry by the inclusion of I.Tompak Singh, Sosho Lorho, Muhammed Jalaiuddin as members of the council of Ministers, these five were cabinet rank.

34. Ibid., p.135
The number of ministers of state was eleven. They were Th.Chaoba Singh, Dorendra Singh and others. So the total strength of the Dorendra Singh council of Minister was 17, cabinet rank 6, minister of state 11. In areawise there was parity in distribution between the valley and the hills as far as cabinet rank was concerned, that is, three from the valley and three from the hills. As regard ministers of state, four were from the hills and seven from the valley, one was Muslim and the other two were Meities. Of the three from the hills, one was Tangkhul Naga, one Anal and one Mao Naga. So far as the Ministers of state were concerned, three non-Naga and one Kabui were appointed as Ministers of state.

This Ministry of R.K.Dorendra Singh did not enjoy stability. On 23rd August, 1980, L.Maobi Singh, the President of the M.P.P. announced the withdrawal of his party's support from the coalition on the ground that it did not implement the 23 Point Agreement. The M.P.P. then joined hands with the Manipur Nationalist Democratic Party. But this development could not undermine the strength of the Congress(I). On the other hand, the M.P.P. Ministers in the coalition refused to resign and revolted against the Party directive. Thus, the two M.P.P. representatives in the coalition continued to support the Dorendra Singh led coalition government.

In November, 1980 R.K. Dorendra Singh resigned. There were three aspirants for the office of Chief Ministers, Rishang Keishing, Ngurdinglien and Y.Yaima Singh. Ngurdinglien and Y.Yaima Singh did not like to contest. Therefore Rishang Keishing was
elected by a unanimous vote as the leader of the Legislative Party and he was called upon
to form the government on 27th November, 1980.35

The Rishang Keishing ministry consisted of eight cabinet ministers and ten
ministers of state. Of the eight cabinet ministers, three were from the hills and five from the
valley. Of the ten Ministers of state, there was parity of representation of the two regions,
hills five and the valley five. In the formation of the council of Ministers, Rishang Keishing
accommodated most of the members of the Dorendra Singh ministry.

In February 1981, there were defections. Ten MLAs including a minister of state,
left the party in power. Rishang Keishing had no majority in the House. The opposition
party led by Kh.Chaoba introduced a motion of no confidences in the Council of Ministers.
But the Assembly was prorogued upto 11 AM. of 27th February, 1981. The M.P.P., the
C.P.I., the Congress (U), the C.P.I. (M) and Janata came together and formed the People's
Democratic Front led by Kh.Chaoba. The total strength of the P.D.F. was: defectors 10;
M.P.P. 11; C.P.I. 5; Congress (U) 1; C.P.I.(M) 1; Janata 2; a total of 30. The P.D.F.
requested the governor to form the government. But the governor came to the conclusion
that the P.D.F. would not be able to form a stable ministry. Further the total strength was
just fifty percent of the total strength of the House. Therefore, the governor recommended
the imposition of the Presidential Rule and this was done. Thus, Manipur came under the
presidential Rule on 28th February, 1981.

Rishang Keishing did not lose heart at the development in Manipur politics, because it was a normal feature of the state politics. Five of the ten defectors made an unhonourable retreat to Congress(I). On 19th June, 1981, the Presidential Rule was revoked and Rishang Keishing again formed his second ministry.36 He took K.Radhabinod Kojam, Th.Chaoba Singh, Th.Dorendra Singh, Haolkhomang Haokip, Ngurdinglien, Halaluddin Khan as cabinet ministers and Lokhon Singh as a minister of state.

The Rishang Keishing Ministry was expanded on 19th June, 1981. It consisted of 16 cabinet ministers and eleven ministers of state, a total of 27. It continued to exist till the next general elections held in December 1984.

4.2.4 Formation of Government, 1984. These elections were held in December, 1984. Many national political parties like the Indian National Congress, Indian National Congress(Socialist), C.P.I., C.P.I.(M), B.J.P., J.P. and Lok Dal contested the elections. Besides, a number of regional political parties like M.P.P., K.N.A. and a number of Independents also joined in the electoral battle.

The Congress party, securing 30 seats, was the single largest party. It formed the ministry with Rishang Keishing again as the Chief Minister. The Council of Ministers led by Rishang Keishing was sworn in on 4th January, 1985.37 This ministry of Rishang Keishing

36. Ibid., p.237.
consisted of 10 cabinet Ministers and seven Ministers of state. His ministry continued to remain in power till 1988 when it was replaced by the Joychandra Ministry.

There was an acute political crisis in the congress Legislative Party. Several Congress M.L.A.s demanded the removal of the Chief Minister, Rishang Keishing. The governor put pressure on the leader of the Congress, Rajiv Gandhi for the removal of Rishang Keishing. The congress President advised the Chief Minister to step down. And the centre sent R.K.Jaichandra Singh, who was not a member of the Manipur Legislative Assembly, a former Union Minister of state for chemicals to replace Rishang Keishing. The Congress Legislature Party Manipur was summoned on 4th March, for the election of new leader of party. There was intense political activity. Jaichandra Singh was elected as the new leader of the party on 4th March. He formed the government on 5th with three members and expanded, it on the 7th March, consisting of nine ministers. His council of Ministers consisted of Soso Lorho, I.Tompok Singh, Y.Irabor Singh, Muhammad Mahamuddin Shah, M.Ibotombi Singh and L.Lalit Singh as Cabinet Ministers. H.T.Thungam, K.Beren Singh, W.Jagol Singh, Gaurachandra and Dr.Nimaichand Luwang as ministers of state. This ministry remained in power till the next general elections in 1990.

4.2.5. Formation of Government, 1990. Elections were held in 58 of the 60 Assembly constituencies in February, 1990. The polls were countermanded in two Assembly segments Thangmeiband and Ukhrul due to the death of candidates. Seven political
parties and independents contested the election. Just before election, a six-party alliance was formed to contest against the congress. The Congress did not enter into any alliance and contested all the sixty seats by itself. It won the largest number of seat (26) but not an absolute majority. The M.P.P. won ten seats, Janata Dal 10, Congress(S) 6, C.P.I. 3, K.N.A. 2 and the National Political conference 1. All the parties excluding the congress(I) formed the United Legislative Party with 32 members. The leadership of the United Legislative Party became the bone of contention. The M.P.P. with ten members and the Janata Dal also with ten members claimed the right to form the government, ultimately the M.P.P. won the game. R.K Ranbir Singh was elected as the leader of the United Legislative Party and he formed the government. The Congress(I) also demanded that since it won the largest number of seat, it should be invited to form the government; but the governor invited R.K.Ranbir Singh to form the government since his party had a following of 32 members. He formed a five-member council of Ministers.

The Ranbir ministry was expanded. There were 15 cabinet ministers, 10 Ministers of state for which 4 were given independent charge. Uncertainty prevailed over the Ranbir ministry. The ULF-strength of 32 against the Congress of 26 provided too narrow a margin in a state like Manipur where factionalism and defections are such hallmarks of politics. Five Janata Dal legislators deserted the Front in January, 1992, thus bringing the ULF

government to a minority and subsequently President Rule was imposed in the state on 7th January, 1992.39

During the president Rule, the leaders particularly R.K.Ranbir Singh and R.K.Dorendra Singh tried to form government by getting majority on their side. As R.K.Dorendra Singh had more supporters, he requested the governor to allow him to form the government. The President Rule was revoked on 9th April, 1992 and a popular ministry of Congress(I). Government under the Chief Ministership of R.K.Dorendra Singh was installed on the same day.40 On 20th June, 1992 the ministry was expanded, consisting 19 cabinet ministers and 5 state Ministers.

Differences began to develop within the ruling party of the ministry. Many undesirable incidents also took place in the state. Law and order and the political situation of the state necessitated president Rule in the state. As such the state was placed under President Rule again on 31st December, 1993. After almost one year the President rule was revoked on 13th December, 1994 from the state, and another congress ministry under the Chief Ministership of Rishang Keishing was installed in the state. Rishang Keishing expanded his ministry on 10-1-1995 listed of 13 cabinet ministers and 12 Ministers of state. This Rishang Ministry continued to remain in power till the next Assembly elections in February, 1995.

4.2.6. Formation of Government, 1995. The Assembly election was held in two phases on February 16th and 19th, 1995. Polling took place in 39 of the 40 Assembly constituencies in three valley districts as one of them (Lamsang Assembly constituency) was countermanded due to the killing of the M.P.P. candidate of that Assembly constituency.

The counting of the votes in 59 Assembly constituencies began on 21st February, and the final result showed that no party secured an absolute majority in the elections. The Congress Party emerged as the largest single party securing 21 seats. The congress and the hastily formed United Legislature Front (U.L.A) staked their claim to form the government. The U.L.F comprised of six parties -- the M.P.P. with 18 seats, Janata Dal 7, C.P.I. - 2, Samata - 2, U.N.P - 2 and the Congress (S) - 1. The congress showing its political skill managed to lure as many as eleven legislators and finally formed the ministry Chief Ministered by Rishang Keishing. Rishang Keishing was sworn in as Chief Minister of the state on 25th February, 1995.41 Two other Congress leaders were also sworn in Radhabind Kojam was appointed as Deputy Chief Minister.42 The Rishang Ministry was expanded on 26th March, 1995. It was further expanded two times.

After the formation of Rishang Ministry on 25th February, 1995, a great tussle for political power between the ruling party and the opposition aroused about leadership. On 1-7'95 T.Phungzathang, President of M.P.C.C. issued a press release announcing the

41 Oinam Kulabidhu Singh, op.cit., p.293.
42 Oinam Kulabidhu Singh op.cit., p.294.
merger of 9(nine) MLAs from other political parties to Congress(I). On one side, 9(nine) MLAs including ministers had withdraw support from Congress(I) Ministry of Rishang Keishing and they formed another legislative party called United Democratic Front and it was supported by R.K.Ranbir Singh, leader of the United Legislative Front.

Rishang Keishing claimed that he had the support of 33 MLAs and R.K.Ranbir Singh also claimed that he had the support of 32 MLAs. The Governor of Manipur asked the Chief Minister, Rishang Keishing to seek vote of confidence on July 31, 1995 on the floor of the House. In the trial of strength, Rishang Keishing got 27 votes and the opposition 26 votes. Two MLAs and five disqualified MLAs abstained from voting.43

In the month of August, 1997, Keishing’s cup of woes brimmed to the full in the wake of the declaration of cease fire agreement between the Indian Government and the Naga underground group of NSCN(IM) with effect from 1st August, 1997. There were apprehensions among the people of Manipur, particularly among the Meities that the territorial integrity of Manipur was at stake with this development. Rallies, precessions, dharnas were organised by different organisations to protects the territorial integrity of the state. The final blow to the Keishing ministry came when it was reduced to minority following a split by 23 legislators under the leadership of the speaker W.Nipamacha Singh. Nipamacha hurriedly formed a new political party the Manipur State Congress Party(MSCP)

and with the support of Federal Party of Manipur (FPM) and CPI, Nipamacha dislodged the Congress ministry and took oath as Chief Minister along with 25 other cabinet Ministers. Nipamacha had created a sort of history by forming/heading the biggest ever cabinet in the state. The jumbo size had belied the aspirations of the people and in these state where political leaders changes their colours like chameleon, Nipamacha had indeed shown his political astuteness as the head of a four-party coalition government by holding office till the next Assembly elections held in February, 2000.

4.2.7 Formation of Government, 2000. Manipur want to Poll to constitute its 7th assembly on 12th and 22nd February, 2000 for hills and valley respectively and the counting was done elsewhere in the country, booth-wise counting was done and this according to the official sources was to avoid delay and ensure proper figures booth wise.44

No party was able to obtain an absolute majority in the Assembly. Yet the M.S.C.P. emerged the single largest party, securing 23 seats. Other parties, FPM secured 6, INC - 11, MPP - 4, JD(S) - 1, BJP - 6, JD(U) - 1, NCP - 5, RJD - 1, SMT - 1 and Independent - 1.45

After the final result came and as the process of government formation unfolded, the United Front of Manipur could gained a majority and thus making the coalition tally

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44. Kshetrimayum Kennedy Singh, op.cit., p.122.
increased to 39 without the BJP. Of these, 23 are from the MSCP, six from its coalition partner, Federal Party of Manipur (FPM), three from the break away National Congress Party (NCP), one from the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD), one from the Janata Dal (Secular) and Independent. After they jumped the fence, the MPP MLAs had formed the MPP(K). Similarly the three MLAs of the NCP announced the formation of NCP(O). The remaining NCP MLAs Chungkhokai Doungel, in a quite interesting development, had then joined the Ruling MSCP. Thus, shifting loyalties and changing the political colours have not only become the principle activities of the political leaders, it also at the same time exposes their lust for power which ultimately led to the formation of Jumbo size ministries at the cost of the public money.

On 2nd March, 2000, Nipamacha took oath as Chief Minister along with jumbo ministry and high drama and against the wishes of the Governor Ved Marwah initially postponed the swear-in ceremony due to differences over the size of the ministry. This may strain relations between the Chief Minister office and the Raj Bhawan. Marwah did not smile even once during the 90 minute ceremony. Battling for survival, Nipamacha Singh has inducted a 34 member council of ministers the biggest ever cabinet in the state’s political history in a bid to gain stability. He has given the ministerial post to 34 of the 39 of the United Front of Manipur (UFM) legislators. Of the 34 ministers, 23 are of cabinet rank, 5 are the ministers of state with independent charge and 6 are ministers of

state. Of the 23 MSCP legislators 22 were made ministers five of the six Federal Party of Manipur (FPM) legislators, three of the break away NCP legislators and the two of the three break away MPP legislators got ministerial berth. An RJD legislator and a woman independent member also found place in the ministry.

A political crises began to develop in the Nipamacha-led United Front ministry. Six ministers and the deputy chairman of planning resigned from their respective posts and they including an another MLA had withdrawn their support from the United Front ministry led by Nipamacha in February, 2001. As his ministry was shrunk to minority, Nipamacha resigned from the post of Chief Ministership on 13.2.2001. An MSCP statement termed the Chief minister Wahengbam Nipamacha's decision to step down from the Chief ministership as a patriotic and selfless sacrifice for the motherland. It said that Wahengbam Nipamacha stepped down from the coveted post to prevent abuse of democracy and imposition of President's Rule in the state. The statement further said that the Chief minister's action was a lesson to the infringers of democracy and selfish person.

Wahengban Nipamacha, however, remained as the care taker Chief Minister till a new government was formed.

A new government called People's Front under the leadership of Radhabinod Kojam was installed in the state on 15.2.2001.48 It may be noted here that Radhabinod Kojam

defected from the Congress(I) and joined the Samata Party along with other nine MLAs under the name of Manipur Regional Congress Party in January, 2001 when Nipamacha was the Chief Minister.

The Radhabinod Kojam Ministry consisted of 24 cabinet ministers and 9 state ministers. It is interesting to note that Rishang Keishing of Congress(I) was the only opposition member in the state Assembly under the ministry of Radhabinod Kojam. Thus Rishang Keishing made a history in the Manipur State Assembly.

A deep political crisis appeared in the Kojam-led ministry following the dismissal of seven ministers from their respective posts in the ministry and the subsequent withdrawal of support constitutes of the People's Front form its earnest; they were Federal Party of Manipur(FPM) and the Nationalist Congress Party(NCP). Those ministers dropped by the Chief Minister belong to these two parties. This development ultimately led to the fall of the Kojam ministry on 21st May, 2001. The Imphal Free Press says, "The Samata Party-led People's Front government has fallen at 2.45 pm today having lost 17 votes to 39 in the vote of confidence on the floor of the Assembly."^49

"A majority of the 26 strong BJP state until went against the directive of its central leaderships and voted against the motion, which led to the fall of the government. Other voted against the wishes of party leader were 10 MLAs of the MSCP which was in two factions. Both

leaders of the two factions, Wahengbam Nipamacha and Th. Chaoba had pledge their party’s support to the fallen government, but only Nipamacha ended up voting in favour of the motion. Those who voted for the motion were: Samata party - 13, MPP - 1, Independent - 1. Two MLAs namely R.K. Dorendra Singh of the BJP and the lone Congress(lI) MLA, Rishang Keishing abstained from voting... one MLA Thangminlien Kipgen was not allowed to vote as per the order of the speaker Dr. Sapam Dhananjoy Singh on the strength of the disqualification ruling against him under 10th Scheduled.

Following the defeat of the motion for vote of confidence in his government in the state Assembly, Chief Minister Radhabinod Kojiam submitted his resignation. The Governor accepted the resignation with immediate effect, but asked Radhabinod to continue in office until an alternative arrangement were made.

Manipur had plunged into a major political crisis when the Samata Party led People’s Front ministry was defeated on the floor of the assembly with almost all MLAs of its ally BJ voting against him in an act which was termed by Chief Minister Radhabinod Kojiam as betrayal; and back stabbing by BJP.

After losing the trust vote, the Samata Party insisted that its government be reinstated with the support of BJP supporter else President’s rule must be imposed. However, the 26 BJP MLAs formed a new grouping, the Progressive Democratic Alliance,

50 Ibid., p.1.
claiming support of 41 legislators and sought to form an alternative ministry. But the proposal was turned down by BJP central leaders. The BJP MLAs were also made to withdraw from the alliance, following which the second largest group, the MSCP, also pulled out the PDA, rendering the alliance as virtually defunct. As these developments were taking place, speaker S. Dhananjoy Singh staked claim to form an alternative government, submitting a list of supporters which he subsequently withdrew in view of the BJP deciding not to have anything to do with government formation. When he finally gave up his claim, governor Ved Marvah sent his report to the Home Minister, giving his assessment of the political situation in the state. Immediately after the union cabinet recommended Presidents rule in Manipur, the President, K.R. Narayan issued the official notification for the same. Thus Manipur came under President rule on 2nd June, 2001. This is the seventh time President's Rule has been imposed in the state ever since it attained statehood in 1972.  

4.3.1 DEFECTION IN MANIPUR POLITICS.

"Different terms were used when a legislator keeps an open mind and changes it for a consideration. They are crossing the floor, carpet crossing, political turn coatism, the politics of musical chair competition, the politics of opportunism and the politics deflections. But these terms do not carry the same meaning. The traditional term is floor crossing, a British term. It is the result of seating arrangement in the House of Common. It
is inapplicable to Indian conditions. We use the term horse trading. The term carpet
crossing is also not applicable in this country but in the Nigerian Parliament, where
there are separate carpets of different colours for the treasury and opposition benches.
A person may change his loyalty by crossing the carpet where he is sitting to another
carpet where he wants to sit. Other terms seem to be imprecise and meaningless. Turn
coatism is applicable to any one who changes his philosophy and his principles.
Defection or desertion is a military terminology when a soldier runs away from the
battle field he is called a deserter. If he joins the opponent he is called defector."52

In democracy defection is not an unusual phenomenon. It is an inevitable
concomitant of party system. Parties consist of factions. Each faction tries to dominate
others. If it fails to do that, resort is made to defection. Every party consist f three
categories of persons, hard care, fringe and waverers. Of the three, waverer behaviour
is unpredictable. They may abandon their leader at any time without notice ; they may
support the opponent ; they may severe their connection with the political party that set
them up. They may repudiate the party that set them up. But it is difficult to analyse the
notices of these persons.

"Defection are of two kinds : Progressive and Regressive. The first is desirable and
the second undesirable. When there is a long gap between profession and practice of a
party and it does little what it professes, an individual or a group of individuals has the right to,

52. V.V. Rao, T.S. Gangte, Ksh.Bimola Devi, op.cit., p.139.
and in some cases, the duty to separate from the party and association. So on grounds of principle defection is necessary. But when a man deserts a party for a consideration, defection is retrograde and therefore condemnable.\textsuperscript{53}

Some conflict of personalities and temperamental in compatibilities may induce one to defect. If a senior and the most loyal member of the party is not nominated to contest an election, such persons may leave the party and form another party. Under these circumstances, defection is justified.

\checkmark But in Manipur, most if not all, defections were of retrograde type. Temptation of office, money, status, or denial of status induced persons to defect. But curiously enough, they say that they acted according to the dictates of conscience. No ideology was involved in these cases.

"There was good deal of discussion on defection by all on this matter. The Presiding Officers conference, 1967, and the All India Whips conference, 1967, declared that floor crossing were morally improper. One of the members of Lok Sabha tabled a motion to prohibit defections. The Lok Sabha resolved that a High Power Committee, consisting of representatives of all political parties and constitutional experts be set up to consider the problem of defection. Accordingly a committee was set up. In 1985, the

\textsuperscript{53} V.V.Rao, T.S.Gangte, Ksh.Bimola Devi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.140.
Anti-Defection Bill was passed. Defections at present is illegal and the speaker may disqualify the defectors from being members of the Legislative Assembly.  

Defection in Manipur began in 1957 when the election of the Chairman of the Territorial Council was held on 3rd September, 1957. Although Congress won 17 seats in the general election held, there were defections. Two candidates of the Congress contested the election. Dwjamani Dev Sharma was elected by 16 votes and defeated Koireng Singh. Some of those that supported Sharma deserted him and he was removed by a nonconfidence motion.

In 1963, the general election to the Territorial Council was held and Congress won 15 seats. The two nominated members, five independents and two socialists jointed the Congress and thereby increased its strength, and the Congress remained in power till 1967.

The next general election was held in 1967, the Congress won 16 seats in a House of 30. Of the nine independents seven defected to Congress and thereby increased the strength of the Congress to 23 and the Congress was in power. But the struggle for power continued. The Speaker Salam Tombi Singh and the Deputy Speaker Kh. Chaoba left with other Congress members and joint the opposition.

reduced the strength of the party in power. Koireng Singh had to resign. The united Legislative Front of the opposition led by L. Thambau Singh formed the government on 13th October, 1967. But defections began and the Thambau Ministry fell. All the Congress members who defected to the United Legislative Front left the Front and rejoined the Congress except S. Tombi Singh and Kh. Chaoba Singh who were expelled from Congress. Even the Chief Minister Thambau Singh also joined the Congress. Soon there were defections in the Congress and Koireng Singh was defeated.  

\(^{56}\) In the 1972 general election no party was able to secure an absolute majority in the House of 60. There were 19 independents for horse trading. Alimuddin who was in the Congress left the party and joined the M.P.P. The M.P.P. was successful in securing the support of the independents and formed the government but at a heavy price. There was discontent in the M.P.P. because a lion's share went to the independents. So there were defections. By defections the M.P.P. was able to form the government and some defectors killed the M.P.P. led government.

Let us go a little deeper into this matter. the M.P.P. had a following of 15 members in the legislature. It was able to secure the support of 2 SSP, one Congress(O) and 13 independents. The ministry consisted of 3 out of 15 M.P.P. members, 10 out of 13 independents, one SSP and one Congress(O). This created discontent in the ranks of M.P.P.

The Congress did not keep quite. It was able to secure the support of independents, six in number. The Naga Integration Council was not able to get some positions in the Alimuddin ministry so they merged themselves with the Congress. Two members of the Congress defected and joined the M.P.P. Thangkhalal and T.Bira Singh. N.Iborncha Singh and Haokholal Thangjom who were in the opposition joined the Alimuddin United Legislative Party because they did not get what they wanted from the Congress P.D.F. Thus, crossing the floor went on.

When the budget session was going on nine members of the U.L.P. of Alimuddin left the party and formed the Progressive Independent Group on 15 March 1973. Of the nine three – I.Tompok Singh, L.Sarat Singh and Tomba Singh belonged to the M.P.P., three Independents and three Congress(I) and (O) joined the U.L.P. Thus the strength of the opposition increased and Alimuddin ministry was in minority. The opposition moved a vote of no-confidence. Seeing that he had no majority in the assembly, Alimuddin resigned. Finding the formation of a stable government not a possibility the Presidential rule was imposed.

The political behaviour of the defectors in the state Legislative Assembly of Manipur from 1972-1973 is shown below:

"1. T.Bira Singh was at first a Congressman, left it and joined the M.P.P., left the M.P.P. and joined the P.D.A. and finally the Progressive Independent group."
2. L.Rongman was originally in congress then defected to United Legislative party.

3. T.Thangkhanlal was originally in the Congress, defected to U.L.P. and then to P.D.A. through P.I.G.

4. Atomba Ngarenbam was also originally in the Congress(O), went over to U.L.P. because he was given the Deputy Speaker’s post, left it and joined the P.D.A. formed by the Congress to improve his political status.

5. Rishang Keishing was elected on Naga Integration Council ticket, joined the United Legislative Party and then the Congress.

6. K.Envy and P.Peter were elected on the Naga Integration Council then joined the United Legislative Party and finally the Congress.

7. O.Tomba Singh, I.Tomplok Singh and L.Sarat Singh were elected on the M.P.P. ticket but left the M.P.P. and joined the P.D.A.

8. L.Amujou Singh was elected independent, joined M.P.P., left M.P.P. and joined the P.D.A. through P.I.G.

9. N.Ibomcha Singh, H.T.Thungam, Yangmaso Shaiza, R.Vio, S.P.Henry, N.Pocheu, T.P.Keiulengpao, N.Gouzagin and Haokhalal Thangjom were elected as Independents but joined U.L.P.

10. Abdul Latif, L.Manaobi, L.Chandramani Singh, and Nilamani Singh were elected as independents but joined M.P.P Chandramani Singh was elected Speaker.

11. N.Gurdinglien and Holkhaomang Haokip were elected as independents, joined U.L.P., left it and joined the P.D.A. through P.I.G. Thus in 1972-1973 as many
as 26 M.L.A.s of the 60 shifted themselves from one place to another in search 
of better status.\textsuperscript{57}

Now let us consider situation after the 1974 election. In 1974 also no party was 
able to secure an absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly. The M.P.P. secured 20 
seats, the Congress 13, the Hill Union 11, SSP 2, C.P.I. 6 and Independents 8. Since 
coalition was inevitable, horse trading also was inevitable. The 2 SSP, 6 of the Manipur Hill 
Union and seven independents, a total of thirtyfive, and formed the U.L.P. The M.P.P. 
formed the government. It did not live long. Just before the swearing in ceremony Yangmaso 
Shaiza left the U.L.P. After the formation of the ministry, Jangamlung of the M.H.U. 
(Opposition) joined the M.H.U. (ruling) and joined the U.L.P. on 18\textsuperscript{th} April, 1974. S. Ibomcha 
Singh an independent also joined the U.L.P. on 27\textsuperscript{th} March, 1974. Halibur Rahman, a 
Congress MLA defected to the U.L.P. on 25\textsuperscript{th} March, 1974. These defections increased 
the strength of the U.L.P. to 38 and Alimuddin through that his position was secure. But the 
jackals at his political graveyard were busy planning his downfall. The Congress, the M.H.U., 
the C.P.I. and some Independent formed an alliance called Progressive Democratic 
Alliance Front and lured several from the U.L.P. to cross the floor promising lucrative 
positions. They were successful and the Alimuddin ministry fell within four months after its 
formation. The defectors were:-

"I.T.P.Kiulengpao was elected on M.H.U. ticket, joined the U.L.P. left it and joined 
the P.D.F. He was a cabinet minister in the Alimuddin Ministry.

\textsuperscript{57} V.V. Rao, T.S.Gangte, Kashimola Devi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.143-144."
2. Ngulkhohao, a Minister of state, originally an independent, joined the U.L.P., deserted it and joined P.D.F.

3. Barthakur Sharma, a Minister of State in the Alimuddin Ministry, election on the SSP ticket, joined the U.L.P. deserted it and joined P.D.F.

4. R.K.Doreandra Singh, Speaker, elected on the M.P.P. ticket, joined Congress, S.Birmani Singh elected the U.L.P. Nimaichan Singh, elected on the M.P.P. ticket, and S.Ibomcha Singh, elected as an Independent defected U.L.P., left the U.L.P. supported the P.D.F. though they did not join the P.D.F. S.Tombi Singh who was in the Congress, but expelled from it, joined and elected on the M.P.P. ticket tried to defect but did not get a favourable reply from the P.D.F. All these defectors simply sat in the opposition and voted along with the P.D.F. and defeated the Appropriation Bill. The Alimuddin Ministry fall.  

The defectors came together and formed the ministry. The P.D.F. consisting of the Congress, a section of the Hill Union and the C.P.I. elected Yangmaso Shaiza as its leader. Shaiza was elected on the Manipur Hill Union ticket, joined the U.L.P. and demanded that he be elected as the Chief Minister, but he was not elected, Alimuddin was elected. Shaiza left the U.L.P. and joined the P.D.F. and was called upon to form the ministry when Alimuddin resigned. Shaiza formed the government. It consisted of Salam Tombi Singh, who was elected on Congress ticket in 1967, but expelled from the congress, joined the M.P.P. and

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election on the M.P.P. ticket, became Finance Minister in the Alimuddin ministry, tried to go over to the P.D.F. but did not and joined the Shaiza ministry as Finance Minister.

T.P. Kiulengpao was elected on the M.H.U. ticket, joined the U.L.P. ministry as P.W.D. minister, left it and joined the P.D.F. and become a cabinet minister.

Meghachandra Singh was elected on the C.P.I. ticket, joined the P.D.F. and become a cabinet minister. Similarly, Barthakur Sharma Singh, all Independents and R.K. Thokho of the M.H.U. joined the P.D.F. after leaving the U.L.P. and were appointed ministers of state.

Jangamlung was elected on the M.H.U. ticket, joined the U.L.P., left it since he did not get any thing and joined the P.D.F. and became deputy minister.


There was further exodus from the U.L.P. to the P.D.F. On 25th July, 1974, T.Gauzagin, Syama Singh, Asraf Ali and Abdul Wahid migrated from the U.L.P. to the P.D.F. On 16th August, N.Chaoba Singh and M.Kunja Singh migrated from U.L.P. to P.D.F.

Although the Congress was a constituent part of the P.D.F. no member of the party
was included in the ministry. So some section of the Congressmen left the P.D.F. and joined hands with the U.L.P. This combination was able to secure the support of 31 members. But they were not allowed to form the ministry. However, Shaiza was asked by the governor to resign which he did reluctantly.

The Congress U.L.P. coalition designated as Democratic Legislature Party, elected R.K. Dorendra Singh as its leader. R.K. Dorendra Singh formed the Government consisting of 8 cabinet ministers and 9 ministers of state and 2 deputy ministers. They were:

1. Rishang Keishing, in 1972 he was elected on the Naga Integration Council ticket, in 1974 on Congress ticket and was taken as Finance Ministers. He was not a defector.
2. T.P. Kiulengpao was elected as an independent in 1972, joined the U.L.P., first and second Alimuddin Ministry as a Cabinet Minister, then shifted to the P.D.F. Ministry of Yangmaso Shaiza, and then D.L.P. as a Minister.
3. R.K. Ranbir Singh, Y. Yaima Singh, Kh. Chaoba also migrated to the D.L.P. These were nineteen ministers. Most of them were defectors."^59

Congress with a view to get rid of the U.L.P from the Council of Ministers, admitted any body and every body into the Congress. As a consequence, H.T. Thungam, T. Gougin and Sahavi Adeni from the Manipur Hill Union, Kh. Pishak Singh, H. Syama Singh,

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M.D Chaoba and T. Sanajao Singh were admitted from the M.P.P. into the congress with promises to provide them with lucrative portfolios.

When the Congress gained sufficient strength in the Assembly, Dorendra Singh dissolved his first ministry and formed the second ministry consisting of Congress and C.P.I. on 23rd July, 1975. On 17th September, 1975; L.Chandramani Singh, N.Gouramani Singh, W.Komal Singh, K.Mangi Singh, Abdul Wahid from the M.P.P. and N.Gouzagain, Kh.Thekho and K.N.Benjamin Banee from the Manipur Hill Union joined the Congress. All these persons were promised berths in the ministry. So on 17th January, 1976, the ministry was expanded and some of the defectors were accommodated.

When some of the defectors were accommodated, those who were still in unprofitable position decided to defect. On 28th January, 1975, Md. Abdul Latif defected from the M.P.P. to the Congress. The result of all these defections was that in 1976 the Congress strength in the Assembly was 42 out of a total of 60 M.P.P. 5, Manipur Hill Union 3, C.P.I. 5 and Independent 4.

Defections began on 26th March, 1976, Th. Chaoba Singh defected from M.P.P. and joined Congress. L.Rongman, N.Paoheu, Haokholal Thangjom and Jangamlung defected from the M.H.U. to join the Congress. Two independent members, Zamu Kipgen and Ngukhohao joined the Congress. Yangmaso Shaiza and Somi Shimray defected from M.H.U. to join the Congress. Thus, the M.H.U. completely disappeared from the electoral map of Manipur.
Two members of the C.P.I., M.Meghachandra Singh and M.Hera Singh defected from the parent party to join the Congress. Both of them were expelled from the party and the C.P.I. withdraw its support from the Doren德拉 Singh ministry. As a result of all these defections, the party position in the assembly was Congress 51, M.P.P. 4, C.P.I. 4 and one Independent. The Independent member was Salam Tombi Singh. Later on he claimed that he belonged to the Janata.

Janata came to power at the Centre in March, 1977. The impact of the formation of Janata Government in New Delhi on Manipur politics was immense. In May 1977, twenty six members of the Congress left the party and joined the Janata. Later on some more members of the Congress joined the Janata. On 6th May, 1977 the party position in the Manipur Legislative Assembly was Congress 23, Janata 23, C.P.I. 4 and one seat was vacant. Since the Congress had no absolute majority in the House, the leader of the Congress - C.P.I. coalition R.K.Doren德拉 Singh resigned. Ultimately all the members of the Congress Legislative Party left Congress and joined Janata. On 16th May Presidential Rule was imposed. On 26th June the Presidential Rule was revoked and the Janata formed the government with Yangmaso Shaiza who had already defected from the Congress to the Janata. The party position in July, 1977 was Janata 55, C.P.I. 4 and one seat was vacant. All other parties had not even one seat in the house.

In 1972, the Congress was able to win 18 seats, M.P.P. 15, C.P.I. 5, S.P. 3, Independents 19. Thus no party was able to secure and absolute majority in the house of
60. Naturally defections began. In 1972-14, there were 26 defections. Of the 26, four belonged to the Congress, they defected to the U.L.P. and one of the four left the U.L.P. and joined the P.D.A.\textsuperscript{60}

Three members of the M.P.P. crossed the floor and joined the P.D.A. The C.P.I. and the S.S.P. did not practice defections. All the members of these two left parties did not leave their parties. But all the 19 Independents very freely changed their minds for some consideration and crossed the floor. All the 19 Independents defected to the U.L.P. Three of the 19 left the U.L.P. and went over to the P.D.A.

Let us now consider the situation in 1974-1980. Chronic instability induced the central government to impose the Presidential Rule. In the midterm election held in 1974, no party was able to secure an absolute majority. The Congress secured 13 seats, M.H.U. 11, M.P.P. 20, C.P.I.6, S.S.P. 2 and Independent 8. The situation was very favourable to defection. As many as 52 of the 60 members of the Legislative Assembly defected. Of the eight that did not defected 4 belonged to M.P.P. and four to the C.P.I. All the 13 Congress, all the 8 independents, all the 11 of the M.H.U. and both the 2 S.S.P., 2 C.P.I., 16 M.P.P. defected and some of them defected more than once.

Of the 13 members of the Congress, one defected from the Congress to the M.P.P, came back to the Congress and then went to Janata. The remaining 12 defected to Janata.

\textsuperscript{60} V.V.Rao, T.S.Gangte, Ksh.Bimola Devi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.151.
Of the 11 members of the MHU, one defected more than once, from MHU to INC, from INC to MHU, from MHU again to Congress and finally to Janata. Two of the CPI migrated from the CPI to Congress and then to Janata. The two SSP also migrated to Congress and then to Janata. All the independents defected and some of them more than twice. One defected six times and another five times and the remaining six two times.

Thus, the period from 1974-1980 was a period of immense defection. To quote V.Venkata Rao, T.S.Gangte and KSH.Bimola Devi, "We interviewed a number of people who had nothing to do with politics and also practising politicians. The practising politicians defend it and assert that it is the best means by which democracy can be protected. But academicians consider that defection was always based on a consideration for money status and power. The latter's view is more correct than of the former."

The consequences of defections are serious. Democracy was undermined, resulting in political instability and the consequent imposition of Presidential Rule. Presidential Rule has been imposed seven times in the state after the first general elections of 1972 to 2001. It is largely due to the instability of ministry caused by defection of the MLA's in the Assembly. In the state of Manipur, the average tenure of each Chief Minister has been just one year or so due to defection. Defection becomes an unavoidable and has one evasive effect on the state politics. Defection is the product of various socio-political complexes under which we operate and have to be accepted as an

unavoidable political evil. The root causes lie in the nature of our political parties. As the society is entering into new era, acute conflict in social, economic and political sphere are formed. There is no conscious on fundamental. Political groups are competing for political power and the coalitional politics in India is a state of flux, uncertainty and change. So every political party whosoever comes to power made an effort to use the resources provided by the state for their sustenance. Permutation-combination game has been very important in Manipur where politicians are known to their purchant for shifting loyalties. Commenting on defection and frequent changing of sides by the MLAs, one national daily news, "In Manipur .... MLAs change their party more often than they do their underwear." 


The sociological factors for the chronic political instability in the character of the Manipuri is particularism. The Manipuri politicians have not developed a scientific outlook. They did not learn to subordinate their particular interests to universal. So long they do not subordinate their particularism to universalism, political instability will continue. This particularism is responsible for defection. It is true that law has been enacted against defection. Defections are prohibited but defections within the party have come into existence. And defections of whatever kind are not considered a crime. 

The second factor responsible for political instability was the ethnic differences.

62 The Indian Express, April, 11, 1973.
The Manipur state is not a homogenous state. It has two distinct regions, the valley and the hill areas. Both the regions are not homogenous. There is intra and inter regional conflict. The hill areas are inhabited by two classes of tribals, Naga tribes and Kuki tribes. In the valley there are various groups. The Meiteis themselves are not a homogeneous community. They themselves are divided into several groups.64

The third factor responsible for political instability was the absence of a strong party system with dominating leaders. The parties including the national parties are not organic entities but an aggregation of independent individuals. The members of the parties are like particles in a sand heap with no common consciousness of a common end. They lack ideological basis. They are not bound together by the silken thread of common good. Many have taken to politics without any philosophical basis but to promote their particular interests. The leaders did not have the spirit of sacrifice to promote common good.

Further all the ministries were male dominated ones. The members of the fair sex found no place in them. This is a surprising feature. Any one who visits Manipur will at once see the role of women in social matters, in business, in education and in civil services. But in politics they are absent. One of the means by which political stability can be maintained is by the involvement of women for political activity.65

CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON GOVERNMENT FORMATION

In the formation of the first government 1972, though the Congress (I) secured 17 seats as the single largest party, the M.P.P. which secured only 15 seats made a determined attempt to form its led coalition government. The M.P.P under the able leadership of Md. Allimuddin could get the support of majority in the house at a heavy cost. But his government could not last long due to defection of its members. This seed of evil defection had been sawned right from that time. As a result of the selfish interest of the legislators, the defection from ruling to opposition happened and ultimately the United Legislative Government had collapsed on 28th March 1973.

The second Manipur Legislative Assembly election 1974 brought more strength to Alimuddin as M.P.P. won 20 seats. He formed the next government under the U.L.P. Here also with the unrestricted defection and crossing floor from U.L.P to Shaiza led Progressive Democratic Front. The U.L.P government was in power for only four months. Shaiza's government also lasted from 1st August 1974 to 17th December 1974. It was due to Congress (I) demand for more ministerial berths followed by its defection. Then Democratic
legislative Party under the leadership of R.K. Dorendro came to power. On 16th December 1974 which lasted till may 1977. In so far as the matter in the passed experinence is concerned the small state Manipur solely depended on the political wave of the centre. Thus, with the coming of Janata government at the centre, the Congress (I) government was completely blew out from our state and brought the Janata government under the leadership of Y. Shaiza on 29th June 1977. It lasted till Nov. 1997. The fall of Shaiza Ministry was not just a result of defection. It was the first issue based difference. The C.P.I. demanded the resignation of Shaiza Ministry for declaring the whole Manipur as a disturbed area.

There was also no party who could secure the absolute majority in 1980 Assembly election. Therefore, the formation of government became another problem of all parties. People did not want to place their confidence to one particular party as a good party even though, R.K. Dorendro negotiated with other parties and formed a congress led coalition government on 14th Jan. 1980. His government resigned in Nov. 1980, due to resignation demanded by the
constituent partners for non implementation of the 23 points agreement which was made during the formation of government.

Rishang Keishing replaced as the chief Minister on 27th Nov. 1980. After a short period of presidential rule, he came back as chief minister again on 19th Jan. 1981 and ruled till the next general election, December 1984. He again formed the next government and lasted till 1990. We must appriciate his leadershio for he had been the only leader who could provide a stable government for such a long period in the political premature state. He was replaced by R.K. Jaichandra for a while.

There was a of change of ruling party among the people. Most of the parties and the public of Manipur wanted to bring an altitnative goverment in the state for different reasons. Therefore, a six party alliance was made just before the election to overthrow the Congress. They could obtained 26 seats. Thus M.P.P. with only 10 seats made an alliance with other parties and formed the government under the leadership of R.K. Ranbir Singh. It is also good for
the people as well as for other parties to have a change of leadership. But still they did not forget about the test of defection. As such, 5 Janata Dal Legislators deserted from the U.L.F. in Jan. 1992 and the government was reduced to minority in Jan. 1992. Then the presidential rule was imposed later on 9th April 1992, R.K. Dorendro Singh formed the govt. and the state was placed under President’s rule again on 31st Dec. 1993. The P.R. was revoked on 13th Dec. 1994 and another Congress ministry under Rishang was installed and lasted till 1995, and continued his government till 1997. It can be understood that the fall of his government was nothing but for communal interest of the people. His government was just pulled down in the wake of the declaration of Indo-Naga-ceasefire on 1st August 1997 for peace talk. The apprehension of the Non Nagas on the matter was that the territorial integrity of Manipur was in danger. As a matter of fact, they wanted a change of leadership to a non Naga. Thus, most of the legislators came back to traditional footstep of defection and created the M.S.C.P under the leadership of W. Nipamach the then speaker as their Chief Minister. His government ran till 2000. The M.S.C.P. formed a jumbo size Ministry after 2000 Assembly election
for his survival forgetting about the huge financial involvement. Inspite of the
cost his government could not last long due to political and various other
crisis. The State was again placed under presidential rule. Sometimes later,
Radhabinod Koirjam got the support of the majority. He formed a Janata led
coalition government in Jan. 2001. During this period the former chief min-
ister Rishang Keishing of Congress (I) was the only opposition member in
the 60 member assembly seats. Unluckily a deep political crises appeared
in Koirjam Ministry. People as well the legislators lost confidence in him to
solve those problems. Thus he was defeated in the floor on 21st May 2001.

We can also take into account the defection in our analysis. Defection is
an unavoidable feature in the political game of Manipur right from inception.
In fact, defection may also be considered as usual in democracy. In other words
progressive defection is in some way desirable. Defection may be justified on
ground of principle, issues etc. Suppose if a reasonable leader is not nominated
to contest an election he may just leave the party and formed another. In such a
case defection is justified. Defection began in 1957 in the context of Manipur.
If we analyse this case in acadamical point of view, the politicians of Manipur did not have devoted principle, political vision and sacrificial spirit for people’s prosperity. We also find ethnic differences and absence of strong party system or loyalty to party. All these are the reasons which lead to the causes of this rampant defection. Weakness of government which turnish the image of democracy and faced consequently imposition of several presidential rule int the state of Manipur.

From the above analysis, we can clearly assess the nature of the game played by the so-called politicians of Manipur. Most of them are coming in the political field with a purpose to earn as much as he or she can during their one time opportunity in life. They play political game as the highest platform for collection of wealth both from the public funds and individuals. We also see that the capacity of a candidate is determined by his or her financial capability and not by the real sense of the term. Money has been their primary concern. As such, they became the servants of money. As the matter of fact money can pay any number of legislator from any party at any time. This cheap behaviour
of the legislators give birth to frequent defection and crossing floor. Rishang Keishing of Congress (I) was the only opposition member of the 60 member Legislative Assembly in 2001. The ultimate result of defection was the frequent imposition of President rule in the state. Therefore, no party could prove a stable government. The instability of government means lack of development and public welfare. In every formation of government a huge amount of money has been spent. The size of ministries were also much higher than the prescribed number. Thus, there has been not in good term between the titular and the real head of the state. In order to get rid of all these traditional evils, the legislator must have party loyalty and the principle of public welfare. So that a stable government can be formed in the state.