Chapter 2

POLITICAL PARTIES
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Political parties are instruments of democratic or republican regimes in which the chief governmental officials are chosen by election. It is a group that attempts to bring about the election of its candidates to public office and by their means to control or influence the action of the government. The struggle for power in a society takes place mostly through political parties. Sigmund Neumann writes, "Political parties are the life-lines of modern politics." Political parties are vital channels of political communication which transmit two way informations from people to the government and vice-versa.

The party organisation is the pivot round which the machinery of the democratic government is made to move. Political parties have become the dominating factor in the modern political life and democracy is inconceivable without them. In the absence of organised political parties democratic government is not possible. Democratic politics provides for the existence and functioning of various political parties. The freedom for the organisation of different political parties according to the choice of the people is not provided in the autocratic or the dictatorial states. The dictator may have his own political party for running the administration of the country.

Political parties were in the past distrusted, evaded and even deplored. One hundred and fifty years ago, their place and functions were generally unknown.

Political parties are said to have been born in the 17th century in England but as Prof. Duverger points out, modern party system with its well-oiled organisations and disciplinary regulation is essentially a 20th century phenomenon.

**Definitions**

The concept of a political party has changed from age to age. While Burke, for instance, defined it as a body of men, united for the purpose of promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some political principle on which they are all agreed. Laski viewed it as an organisation which seeks to determine the economic constitution of the state.³

According to Dr. Leacock, a political party is a more or less organised group of citizens who act together as a political unit. They share or profess to share to some opinion on public questions and by exercising their voting power towards a common end seek to obtain control of government. They constitute something like a joint stock company, to which each member constitutes his share of political power. They are thus collectively able to acquire the strength, which it would have been impossible for them acting singly to obtain.

Gettle defines a political party as a group of citizens more or less organised, who act as a political unit and who by the use of their political power aim at controlling the government and carrying out its general policies.

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According to McKeown party is an organized group of the electorate that seeks to direct some policies and furnish the personnel of government.4

Maclver defined political party as an association organised in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means it endeavours to make the determinant of government.

Dr. Gilchrist defined a political party as an organised group of citizens who profess to share the same political views and who by acting as a political unit try to control the government. The chief aim of a party is to make its own opinions and policy prevail.

Neumann defined political party as the articulate organization of society’s active political agents, those who are concerned with the control of government power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community.5

Finer defined a political party as an organised body with voluntary membership, its concerted energy being employed in the pursuit of political power.

Austin Ranney writes that politics is essentially a contest among human

groups for influence over the policies of government. Political parties are a kind of political groups. A political party is an autonomous, organised group that makes nominations and contests election in the hope of eventually getting and exercising control of the personnel and policies of government.

According to Beard, a political party is an organisation of citizens formed and maintained for the purpose of gaining possession of the government and expressing their will in legislation and administration.6

According to J. Blondel, political parties are groups that aim at taking powers. Political parties can be viewed as the only associational groups that are both open to all and have very wide interests.

According to Brewster, a political party in a free society is an organised group of citizens having the purpose of controlling the government through shared consent, by placing some of its members in public office.

According to Friedrich, a political party is a group of human beings, stably organised with the objective of securing or maintaining for its leaders the control of a government, and with the further objective of giving to members of the party through such control, ideal and material benefits and advantages.

William Godman writes that, a political party is an organisation whose members are sufficiently homogeneous to bind together for the overt purpose of

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winning elections which entitled them to exercise governmental powers in order to enjoy the influence, perquisites, and advantages of authority.

According to Max Weber, political parties are specialized associations whose purpose is to secure power within a corporate group for their leaders in order to obtain ideal or material advantages. They may spring up within trade union, corporations, universities, parliaments, or the state itself and in the latter case they are political parties.⁷

From the foregoing discussion of various definitions of political party, it is very clear that certain ingredients are essential for the organisation of a political party, which are discussed as follows :⁸

i) The members of the political party should have common agreement on certain principles.

ii) The political party must be duly organised.

iii) The political party should seek to carry out the goals through constitutional methods. It is the ballot box which should decide the fate of a political party and its claim to form the government.

iv) A political party must aim at capturing political power in the state for the purpose of implementing its policy and programmes.

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v) The leaders of a political party must endeavour and struggle for maximising their base of popular support and minimising their circle of decision-makers.

vi) The life of the political party should not depend upon the life of its leaders. The party is not a firm or company which ends with the death of its leaders. Thus, there must be a clear distinction between the 'principles' and 'personalities'.

vii) The members of a political party should formulate a clear and specific programme which they should place before the electorate to win their support and devise all possible means to maintain it.

viii) The political party should endeavour to promote national interest as against sectional or regional interest.

**Functions of Political Parties**

In the past it was fashionable to attack political parties as factions out to divide the polity. Even in the mid 20th century it was not uncommon to hear parties spoken of disparagingly in some countries. However, at present, this view is rarely held. Now it is an accepted fact that politics is too complex to be organised smoothly without parties. Partyless democracy might have been a feasible proposition in a small Greek City-State but it is nothing less then a utopia in modern democratic state.

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In a democratic country the significant role played by the political parties cannot be minimised. They are the very soul of democracy and it is not possible to think of a democratic government without the existence of political parties.\textsuperscript{10} Some of the important functions of political parties are briefly discussed as follows:

Political parties provide link between the government and the people. Mass suffrage demands that parties establish direct and intimate contact with their supporters and sympathizers. A party is required to reach every segment of society to broaden its base of support and to weaken that of its opponent.\textsuperscript{11} Political parties clarify government policies to the people and inform the government of the expectations and grievances of the people.

The party structures are recognised as powerful agents for political socialisation. The political party is one of the few social structures even potentially capable of involving large numbers of people in political action on a sustained and controlled basis. Involvement may encompass both communication and participation. Such political stimulation either reinforces existing political attitudes and beliefs, or inculcates new ones.\textsuperscript{12}

Political parties impart political education to the people. Without the political parties, the people would have been in the dark about several vital issues affecting their interest. Discussion within each party, culminating before elections in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} C.P. Bhambri, \textit{Bureaucracy and Politics in India} (Delhi : Vikas Publications, 1971), p. 1
\item \textsuperscript{12} G.A. Almond and G.B. Powell, Jr., \textit{Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach} (New Delhi : Amerind Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1972), pp. 120 - 121.
\end{itemize}
adoption of platform, brings certain issues to the front, defines them, expresses them in formulas which, even if tricky or delusive, fix men's minds on certain points, concentrating attention and inviting criticism. These create awareness among the people and enhance people's participation in the political process of the country. The apathy of the people towards the political process vitiates the political atmosphere in a country and the self-seekers and manipulators succeed in occupying the seats of authority. This would spell disaster for the country. Thus political parties carry a large part of the burden of education and debate incidental to the choice of governments by the electorate.

Each party tries to clarify its policies and programmes and contests the election. If the people approve their policies and return it with majority to the legislature, it forms the government. The ruling party tries to implement its policies and programmes as promised to the people at the time of the election. These are being formulated in the form of a Bill, which has to be passed by the legislature in order to get legal validity.

Political parties are essential for the successful working of democracy. These are needed both for the formation of the government as well as for criticising it. In both the cases, these are unavoidable. There is also need for opposition party in a parliamentary democracy. The opposition act like a watch dog of the government and criticise its undemocratic and unpopular policies and actions. It exposes its

loopholes and weaknesses of the government and checks its arbitrary and despotic tendencies. The opposition criticise the government and thus keep it vigilant. Due to the role of the opposition, the government is prevented from becoming despotic.

Party discipline in a legislature imposes a needed check on self-seeking and on the greater mischief of corruption. The absence of discipline, far from helping conscience to have free scope, may result in leaving the field open for selfish ambitions.

Social welfare functions are also performed by political parties. The different political parties work for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people during days of famine, drought, epidemic, wars, etc. They also work for the eradication of social evils like illiteracy, untouchability, caste, dowry system, etc.

Political parties help in the change of government from one party to the other. Otherwise, violent revolution also remains the method of changing the government. Political parties play a great role in the electoral politics of the country. As the electorate is very huge it is difficult in a modern democratic state for a candidate to contest in the election without proper support of the party.

Political parties manage public affairs in such a manner that emerging social groups are not debarred from sharing the exercise of political power. If entrenched groups resist the entry of new groups, the latter are alienated from the system and are a potential threat to the survival of the system.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16} C.P. Bhambri, \textit{Bureaucracy and Politics in India} (Delhi : Vikas Publications, 1971), p. 4
Political parties play a great role in a presidential type of government. Under the presidential system there is separation of power regarding the executive and the legislature. The political parties serve as co-ordinating factors between the executive and legislature.

Thus, without the active role of the political parties representative democratic institution cannot function. Political parties play a very important role even in a totalitarian state. Political parties guide the course of the democratic government, both presidential and parliamentary.

**Determinants of Party Structure**

The functions and the methods which political parties employ to realise their aim of capturing or retaining political power are related very closely to the structures of political parties. Thus, political parties which wish to widen their electoral support and operate at a parliamentary level will need a different structure from a party conducting guerrilla operations from a rural base against urban-centred political elites.

There are many determinants of the party structure. They vary from religious and social to economic and political. However, all the determinants may be grouped into three ideological, socio-economic and historical.

In the first place, ideological factors are of great importance in the determination of party structures. It is an important factor in how the party sees its relationship with the rest of the political system, and hence it has an important
bearing on the structure of the political party. Socialist and Communist parties are organised on the basis of a particular ideology.¹⁷

Secondly, the socio-economic factor has a significance of its own. The level of economic development influences the nature of the party competition and whether that competition endures and so affects the structure of the parties. There is a different response to urban and rural societies, and to those in which class conflict is a significant aspect of the political process. Nationalism and religious divisions may be more important than class in forming the basis of some political parties. Besides, the attitudes and values prevalent in society, the political culture, may be of vital significance in determining the types of political parties that emerge in any society. Parties with what are regarded as undemocratic structures may find difficulties in electoral competition in stable liberal democratic systems.

Lastly, historical factors are of the utmost significance in the determination of party structures. Parties are the conditions of modern political processes and their emergence presupposes a necessary degree of urbanisation and development of mass communications. Parties arise when historical changes occur, and these are not subject to scientific laws. Certainly particular changes are necessary, such as the need for the dominant political elites to seek wider political support, and for a significant change in political attitudes. It is the extension of franchise that leads to the creation of political parties. As the process of suffrage grows, the organisation of political parties has a wider and still wider base.

All these factors-ideology, structure of government, level of socio-economic development, political culture and historical accidents-are interrelated.

**Party Systems**

A typological illustration of the party systems as obtained in different political systems, whether developed or developing, even undeveloped, of the world is governed by several factors like the nature of social composition, economic divisions, religious and ethnic affiliations, cultural diversities and political differences over matters of internal and external policy of the state. The structures of political parties and the factors that assist in determining those structures are only one set of factors which guide us in determining how political parties function in the political system. The type of system have profound effects on party behaviour as parties operate within party systems. There are various classifications of party systems but it is difficult to classify party systems according to one single criterion. The most useful dimensions are: a) numbers of parties within the party system; b) the structures of parties within the party system and c) the relative strengths of the political parties within the party system. However, each of these taken as the sole criterion of classification reveals major weaknesses.\(^\text{18}\)

**Number of parties.** This is the most commonly used form of classification. But it should be noted that there are important differences amongst party systems with the same number of parties. Thus the American and British party systems have important differences inspite of the continued existence of two major parties at

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 87.
national level. However, using this method of classification we could distinguish between the following party system.

i) One-party systems. This system was prevalent in the former Soviet Union, former Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and many other East European countries. This category is characterised by the party in power either dominating all other groups, trying to absorb the political opposition, or in the extreme case suppressing all opposition groups which are regarded as counter-revolutionary or subversive of the regime as forces dividing the national will.\(^{19}\) This principal category has two sub-categories - totalitarian and democratic.

ii) Two-party systems. The bi-party or the two party system is considered to be the best among all the party systems prevalent in the world. It helps the successful functioning of democracy. A two-party system may be said to exist where there are only two parties sufficiently strong to take part in the struggle for power. There may be other parties, but the alternation of power remains between the two major ones. A two-party system may be said to have three sub-categories, namely, two-party system where alternation of power takes place between two major parties, ‘two-plus’ party system where some other party or parties may seldom have a chance to share power with either of the two major parties; and ‘two-party system in the midst of many’ where parties other than the two major ones have chances, now and then, to share power. The United States is the classic example of a nation with a two-party system. Control of the national government has alternated between the Republican and Democratic parties and their predecessors. Britain has a good

claim to be regarded as the political home of the two-party system. And despite the existence of more than two parties, only two parties played a prominent role at one particular time. After the decline of the Liberal Party in Britain, there are virtually two major political parties - Labour and Conservative. Beside these two countries, Canada, Australia and New Zealand also followed the two-party pattern with occasional exceptions.

iii) Multi-party systems. If more than two political parties are active in the political sphere in a country, it is called a multi-party system. It is a system in which no party is able to obtain majority in the legislature entitling it to form government. In a multi-party country, the formation of a government depends on the maintenance of a coalition of parties with enough total strength to form a parliamentary majority. The weakness of the ties that bind the coalition may threaten the continuance of a cabinet in power. Countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark and France have multi-party systems.

Party structure. In this type of classification of party systems numbers are less important than the organisational structures of the parties forming the party system. For example, the party systems of the United States, Eire, New Zealand and West Germany are all characterised by the dominance of two major parties. However, parties in the United States and Eire lack a centralised, hierarchical structure and lack mass membership, the opposite is the case with New Zealand and West Germany.

22. Ibid.
The relative strength of parties. In Sweden the Swedish Social Democrats often govern alone, opposed by the three right-of-cental parties, the Liberals, Conservative and Agrarian Parties. According to numbers represented in the Indian Parliament, the Lok Sabha, India has a multi-party system, but the Congress Party dominated Indian federal politics between 1947 and 1977. Thus it bore greater resemblance to a one-party system than a multi-party system, and this was reinforced when the State of Emergency was declared in June, 1975. The East German Communist Party allows other political parties to compete, even middle-class parties, but they are rigidly controlled by the Communist Party through a national front organisation which selects the party lists of all the parties; it is this that presents the East German example from being comparable to the example of India.23

Growth of Political Parties in India

India is a democratic country. The Indian political system, being a liberal democratic system and with a parliamentary form of government has been living with several political parties national as well as regional, which are actively engaged in the struggle for power. The political parties formulate the policies and programmes of government and implements them in furtherence of its objectives.24

During the ancient period, India had a rich cultural tradition and an elaborate administrative organization. But society and government were both authoritarian, inimical to free social mobility and political association. This situation provided

hardly any ground for the development of the party system from within. The development of the party system in India proceeded from an application of external stimuli.25

The second half of the 19th Century in India saw the emergence of several politically active groups. During the time of British Colonialism in India, there was a great interaction among the various communities of India to overthrow the British rule. However it, was only after 1870 that due to a combination of a number of factors, the country was permeated with serious political servants and the new social forces acquired appreciable political consciousness and economic and numerical strength and began to be politically articulated. The new development resulted in the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The Muslim League was formed in 1906. Later, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communist Party of India were formed in 1916 and 1924 respectively.26

When India attained Independence in 1947, the adoption of a full-fledged democratic constitutional system set the stage for the emergence of several political parties. In 1951-52 as many as 14 national and 50 state level political parties participated in the first General Election. However, only few political parties, Congress, Communist Party, Jana Sangha, etc. could gain recognition as national level parties. Since then the number of political parties has been increasing. The nature of party system has been changing continuously because of splits in the existing parties and the emergence of new parties.

The different political parties in India can be variously categorised as, national, regional, local and adhoc. A national party is one which has the support of 4% of the electorates in any four states, e.g., Indian National Congress (I), Bhartiya Janata Party, Janata Party, etc. On the other hand, a regional party is one which has its hold in a particular region, e.g., Akali Dal, Dravida Munnetra Kazagham, Indian Union Muslim League, etc.

The activities of a local party are confined to a particular area and does not spread beyond that e.g., Jharkhand Party, Manipur Peoples Party, Naga National Convention, etc. Then comes adhoc parties in which are covered parties like, Ram Rajya Parishad, Congress (O), Hindu Mahasabha, etc.

**Main Features of Indian Party System**

India being a land of cultural pluralism, has been a natural home for a multi-party system. Even before the dawn of Independence, there had appeared four political parties - Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and Communist Party. With the adoption of Parliamentary Democracy in India after its Independence, the stage was set for the birth of many new political parties. The increase in the number of parties is mainly because some of the leaders who get dissatisfied with the existing parties form a new party, though not with an absolutely new programme. Some political parties are formed around election time to have some share in political power. The variations in the origin and organization, size and strength, and beliefs and behaviours of the political parties are so wide and distinct that many are called parties only by courtesy.27

The members of most of the political parties do not observe strict discipline. The party members do not hesitate to become rebels whenever they find a decision unacceptable. There are always cases of taking disciplinary actions and expelling rebel members from the party. Indisciplined members of one party are happily accepted by the other. Lack of party discipline has been a source of defections, splits, factionalism, groupism and political turnoatism in Indian politics. Anti-Defection Act had to be passed to check the defections.

Another feature is that, in India, there is single party dominance in the electoral scene even though there are various political parties. It means that one party is so powerful that all other parties put together may make no match and may thus be in no position to pose a serious or meaningful challenge to its sway. This position was enjoyed by the Indian National Congress that had been in power at the Centre and in most of the states since Independence that India was often described as a one party dominant system. However this system looks broken down now.

A large number of regional political parties along with various national level political parties exist together in the Indian political system. The role of such regional political parties has considerably increased and many regional political parties have already come to power in several states of India.

Most of the political parties in India have similar ideologies. In fact, with few exceptions, the element of ideology cannot be traced in many political parties. The political parties do not hesitate to change their ideological stands whenever they find it essential or convenient to do so.

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There is exploitation of religion, caste, community and region by political parties during election times even though the Constitution of India prohibits such exploitation.

The political parties do not hesitate to use direct action like strikes, dharnas, gheraos, bandhs, boycotts, passive resistance etc., and violent means and pressure tactics like booth capturing, rigging, compelling the voters to vote in a particular way under threat of liquidation, pre-poll violence, poll-violence, post-poll violence, vendetta against opponents, forcible prevention from voting, etc.

There is less political consciousness in the rural areas and lack of interests in political areas by urban elites which has resulted in low membership of political parties. Many people look upon parties as undesirable organization, and they would like substitute for them other means for permitting popular expression and for implementing the peoples' will.29 There is great importance of the leader in every political party. A popular and dynamic leader can take the party to height of its glory.

Growth of Political Parties in Manipur

During the time of the British rule in Manipur, the growth of political consciousness in Manipur was very slow due to bad communication and other factors. There were five movements against the British Authority in Manipur, three in the valley and two in the hills, which greatly helped in raising the political consciousness of the people. These movements were (i) First Nupee Ial or Women's Movement in 1904, (ii) Agitation against the system of Potheang or Compulsory labour in 1913 (iii) The Kuki Rebellion, 1917 -

29. Ibid.
1919 (iv) The Zeliangrong Naga Uprising, 1927 - 32 and (v) The Great Women's agitation or movement in 1939. The basic objective of the movement was to bring a change in the system.30

Before 1934 there was no political party in Manipur. In 1934, under the presidency of Maharaja Churachand Singh, an organisation called the Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha was formed. The Mahasabha was at first a social organisation. But after the Chinga session of 1938, it became the first political party in Manipur. As political scenario changed throughout the country after the Independence, Manipur was also bound to be affected.

Now, there are various national and regional political parties in Manipur. These political parties have their separate programmes, aims and objectives. Some of the promising political parties in Manipur both national as well as regional are discussed as:

Indian National Congress (INC)

The Indian National Congress is the oldest among the political parties in India. The party was founded on December 27, 1885 in Bombay by A.O. Hume.31 During its initial years, i.e., during the British rule it became the vehicle of national movement. History of Congress Party can be broadly characterised as that of splits and divisions on the one hand and that of India's freedom struggle and nation's progress and advancement on the other. In its fold were people of all

31. Horst Hartmann, Political Parties in India (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1971), p. 41
shades and all sections of Indian society, who had conflicting and contradicting interests and view points.

After the dawn of Independence, the Congress kept on dominating, almost fully, the political scene of India for 30 years i.e., upto 1977 with a minor exception from 1969-70. It suffered two major splits in 1969 and 1979 and several mini break-offs from time to time. In May 1995 another split developed in it when a small group of Congressmen formed a new party, Congress (Tiwari). The emergence of several other political parties in India resulted from these splits and splinterisations. In a way the Congress party is the birthplace and generation place of almost all other political parties in India.32

**Policies and programmes.** The party decided in favour of planned economy, equality of opportunity for all, removal of concentration of wealth in few hands, maximum attention to agriculture and agriculturalists, encouragement in both small and large scale industries, decentralisation of economic and political power, employment to maximum number of people, eradication of poverty, self-sufficiency in basic industries, etc. In the field of foreign affairs, the party stands for non-alignment and remaining away from power-block. On Gandhian principles, the party believes in non-violence and encouragement to small-scale and cottage industries on the one hand and co-operative farming on the other. Further, the party aims to develop water supply, transport, electricity, to eradicate illiteracy, etc. Though basically, the party remains committed to this programme, yet some changes and stresses have come with the passage of time.

32. Ibid.
INC Manifesto of State Assembly Election, 1990. The Manifesto of the Indian National Congress declared during the State Assembly Election of 1990 is summarised as under:

i) Abolition of corruption;

ii) To construct school and college building;

iii) To raise the standard of education;

iv) To provide the job facilities to the athletes;

v) To improve irrigation system and to construct the roads;

vi) Establishment of an Agricultural University;

vii) Improvement of tourism facilities etc.

viii) To provide adequate funds to Municipalities, Town Committees, etc.

ix) To develop the Panchayat system and

x) Improvement of medical facilities in the State.

INC Manifesto of State Assembly Election, 1995. The policies and programmes of the Indian National Congress mentioned in the manifesto of the Assembly Election of 1995 are:

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

ii) To remove corruption and to establish stable government;

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

iv) Division of Imphal into two districts;

v) To remove the Assam Rifles from the Kangla;

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

vii) Negotiation for the solution of the insurgency problem;

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

ix) Employment policy;

x) To improve the educational system;

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

xii) Increasing of Rifles Battalion and blocks;

xiii) Introduction of railway system in Manipur;

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

xv) To endeavour for the protection of minority groups;

**INC Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000.** The manifesto of the Congress (I) for the 2000 Assembly election are as follows: 35

i) To bring peace and harmony;

ii) Protection of territorial integrity of Manipur;

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35. Congress (I) Election Manifesto of the Seventh Assembly Election in Manipur, Imphal, 2000, p. 6
iii) Economic development;
iv) To solve the unemployment problem;
v) Development of agriculture;
vi) To encourage small scale industries like handloom, handicraft, etc.;
vii) To provide sufficient electricity;
viii) Improvement of transport and communication;
ix) Development of the villages and to give more powers to Panchayats;
x) Development of the hill areas;
xi) To protect the minority;
xii) To provide welfare facilities to the needy persons;
xiii) To improve the public health;
xiv) Welfare activities for widow;
xv) All possible effort should be undertaken to preserve and protect the environment and ecological balance, flora and fauna of the state;
xvi) To fix the price of the basic amenities;
xvii) To improve the education system;
xviii) The development of games and sports;
xix) To develop the language of the state.

Performance of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress has been contesting the various election in Manipur since 1952. For the first time,
the Congress party contested the Electoral College Election of 1952 and emerged as the single largest party with 10 members in the Electoral College.36 The Congress Party did not participate in the electoral battle in the hills except in Churachandpur where its candidate was defeated by a Kuki National Assembly nominee. Most of the Congress candidates won their seats in the western part of the valley including the Imphal area.

In the Territorial Council election of 1957, the Congress Party contested all 30 seats but secured only 12 seats with 28.01 per cent of popular votes and 40 per cent of the seats in the Territorial Council. Congress candidates contested all 20 seats in the valley and 10 seats in the hills and secured 45 percent of the valley seats and 30 per cent of the hills' seats. The highest per candidate average vote was received by the Congress candidates.37

Manipur went to polls in 1962 to elect second time her Territorial Council, composed of 30 elected and two nominated members. The Congress Party's performance was the best among the political parties contesting the elections as they captured half of the Territorial Council seats with only 29.15 per cent of the votes in their favour. They contested all the seats except Tamenglong in the north-western hills of Manipur. The Congress candidates received the highest average votes, 2,666 per head and captured 50 percent of the Territorial Council seats. Yumnam Yaima Singh, a Congress candidate won the election with the highest

number of votes (6,151). On July 1, 1963, a popular government on the pattern of former Part C states was installed in Manipur under the Chief Ministership of Mairembam Koirang Singh, leader of the Congress Legislature Party.

In 1967, Manipur again went to polls to elect her 30 members of the Legislative Assembly. The Congress Party managed to get a working majority in the Assembly by securing 16 of 30 seats. It recorded 32.53 per cent of the popular votes and less than one-third of the Assembly by securing 16 of 30 seats. It recorded 32.53 per cent of the popular votes and less than one-third of the Assembly seats. The highest average vote per candidate was secured by the Congress nominee Salam Gambhir Singh, a Congress candidate who was elected to the Assembly with the highest number of votes (6,595). On the regional pattern of the contest, Congress fielded its nominees in all 20 constituencies in the valley and 8 of 9 constituencies in the hills. One of the Assembly constituencies - Mao-West-did not go to polls as the Congress nominee Sibo Larho returned unopposed from there. Thus, the Congress Party reached its zenith of popularity in this election. The party not only secured the highest percentage of popular votes but also the largest number of seats in the Assembly, strong enough to form a stable government. The Congress Legislature Party later on admitted two nominated members and 7 Independent members to its fold and formed the government, under the leadership of Koirang Singh.

The Congress Party remained in power in the State till 1969. As infighting in the party grew over the sharing of ministerial positions, the Koirang ministry collapsed. As a result, the centre had taken over the state. The dissident group left

the party and formed another political party called Manipur Peoples Party, on December 26, 1968. Such an expected development had thoroughly changed the political scenario of the state. The Congress party had become unpopular. The image of the party was also tarnished because of its late participation on the movement for statehood. It so happened, at a later stage, the Congress became instrumental in bringing home the statehood for Manipur, but it could not regain the lost image. Therefore, the election of 1972 proved to be the end of the Congress dominance in the state politics.

In the Assembly election of 1972, the Congress had to be satisfied with victory only in 17 of the 60 constituencies. Thus, the party membership was reduced to 25 per cent in comparison to 1967 elections. The Congress party contested all the seats of the State Assembly, however, of the contesting candidates only 16 Congress nominees got success, a bare 27.12 percent of their total strength. The party could not get even a single seat in the Manipur East District. Only one Congress (O) contestant, making 10 per cent of the party nominees, was elected to the Assembly. The Congress popularity was at such a low level that it lost all the direct contests either to the M.P.P. or to the Independents. Thus the Congress lost the battle of ballots in 1972 elections. However, it may be said that it was the only statewide party supported by the electorate.

In 1974, the state went through a mid-term poll to elect her 60-member Legislative Assembly. The Congress Party fought the election in alliance with the CPI in the valley. The Congress Party contested 49 seats and secured only 12 with

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27.62 per cent of the popular votes and 20 per cent of the seats in the State Assembly. The Congress and MPP had almost equal average votes per candidate, 3,362 and 3,337 respectively.\textsuperscript{41}

The Manipur Assembly election was again held in January 1980. The Congress (I) contested 58 seats and secured 13 with 21.63 per cent of the popular votes. Md. Helaluddin Khan, Congress (I) candidate, elected from Lilong constituency, polled the highest number of votes i.e. 7,629 votes. The Congress (I), which emerged as the single largest party in the Assembly, forged a coalition with the Congress (U) and MPP after admitting most of the Independents under its fold and formed the Ministry led by R.K. Dorendro Singh on January 17, 1980.

The next Assembly election was held in 1984. The Congress (I) contested all the 60 seats and secured 30 seats.\textsuperscript{42} The Congress Party with absolute majority formed the Government with Rishang Keishing as the Chief Minister.

In the next Assembly election of 1990, the Congress emerged as a single largest party by securing 25 seats out of 60 contested.\textsuperscript{43} In this election, a Congress candidate, K.S. Benjamin, got the highest number of votes i.e. 12,272 votes and got elected from Karong Assembly Constituency. The Congress and the MPP were the major forerunner to form the Government. However, the ministry was formed by the United Legislature Party, and the Congress (I) became the opposition party in the House.

\textsuperscript{41} Government of Manipur, \textit{Election Index Card and RO's Report}, Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, Imphal, 1974


Manipur again went to polls in 1995 to elect for the 60 Legislative Assembly seats. The Congress (I) secured 22 seats out of the 60 seats contested. No party got an absolute majority and a coalition government under the Congress (I) was formed with Rishang Keishing as the Chief Minister.\textsuperscript{44}

Soon, the internal bickering within the Congress Party had resulted to a split. Consequently the Rishang Ministry was collapsed in December 1997. The breakway group led by W. Nipamachana Singh formed a new political party called the Manipur State Congress, later on, this new party formed the government.

The next Assembly Election was held in 2000. In this election the Congress(I) could secure only 11 seats.\textsuperscript{45}

Thus, the Congress has been a major actor in the politics of Manipur since 1952. From time to time the Indian National Congress suffered electoral set-back due to splits or defections. However it still plays a great role in the state politics. Time has come to reorganised and consolidate the party.

**Communist Party of India (CPI)**

As a result of the success of the Russian Revolution of 1917, which was due more to the shift in the loyalty of the armed forces than to the insurrectionary invincibility of the industrial workers, Marxism, hitherto an imaginative blending of historic and economic realism with emotional humanism, had become a proven

\textsuperscript{44} Poknapham (Imphal), February 26, 1995.

prophecy. Like medieval Rome, Moscow in the contemporary world had risen to be the seat of a new religion and a new church promising the right of the Marxist converts over the globe as against the bourgeois pagans.\textsuperscript{46} Under the impact of the successful Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia, as well as under the influence of the growing popularity of Marxism, several socialist/labour organisations were formed in India. In December 26, 1925, some young men who were convinced of the new ideology organised themselves and formally founded the Communist Party of India (CPI).\textsuperscript{47}

The Communist Party of India advocated full faith in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Main aim of the Party was to uproot British imperialism from India and liberate the country from colonial rule. They were opposed to the philosophy of passive resistance and wanted to bring changes by violent means and methods.

After Independence, the CPI began to accept that peaceful and constitutional means can also be used for promoting the interests of the working class. It began to actively participate in the elections. It so happened in September 1964, the CPI got split into two parties, one called, the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the other, as the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

The split was the result of certain compulsions which arose out of Sino-Soviet schism. It gave a big set back to the CPI.\textsuperscript{48}

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\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 172.

\textsuperscript{48} Horst Hartmann, \textit{Political Parties in India} (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1971), p. 92.
In Manipur, the Communist movement was carried on under the initiative of H. Irabot Singh. Irabot was the architect of the left movement in the state but he did not establish a Communist Party of its own. May be this was mainly that the Communist ideology was not so popular among the people. At the same time, he did not even project the policies and programmes of the Communist movement. Perhaps, he might have thought that the time was not ripe. But it would be wrong to say that he did not propagate Communist ideas among the masses at his best. This is proved when he organised the masses from time to time.\(^4^9\) The organisation of the Manipur Students Federation as the Youth Front should be given as an example. Most of the prominent members of the CPI of Manipur were the members of this Students Federation. At last, the Communist Party of Manipur was established only on the 29th October 1948 on the Marxian principle.

**Policies and programmes of the CPI.** The split of the CPI into a 'right' and a left party did not sweep away all the ideological difficulties. In most of the cases, the political programmes of the CPI are almost all the same with that of CPI(M) even though there are some striking difference between the two. Ideologically, the CPI and CPM stand committed to the principles of secularism, democracy, Marxism-Leninism, Non-alignment and opposition to Imperialism and Colonialism. While accepting the importance of revolutionary methods, the CPM also accepts democratic elections as a useful and helpful means for securing the objectives of socio-economic and political justice in India. It also believes in the idea that revolution in India can be brought by working class and that the existing powerful class will not voluntarily give up power. The CPI on the other hand has full faith in peaceful

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means and believes that revolution in India can be achieved by co-operating with other democratic forces. According to Horst Hartmann, the two parties have no basic difference over questions of day-to-day politics except in foreign policy. The CPI (M) is more aggressive in its demands than the CPI, but less realistic in its assessment of the situation.\(^{50}\)

**CPI Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1995.** The following policies and programmes included in the CPI manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1995 were as such given below :\(^{51}\)

i) To provide a stable government;

ii) To remove corruption in Manipur Government;

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

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

v) To provide employment to the unemployed youths;

vi) Development of arts and culture and encouragement to Athletes;

vii) To provide facilities for water supply, electricity;


viii) To provide encouragement to agriculturist, government employees and other sections of the people;

ix) Respect for caste, creed and religion; and

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

**CPI Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000.** The CPI manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000 are enumerated under the following programmes:

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

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

iii) Greater autonomy to the states;

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

v) Solution of insurgency problems;

vi) Women empowerment;

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

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

ix) To provide Crop Insurance Scheme to the farmers;

x) Educational infra-structure and new facilities;

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xi) Improvement of medical facilities in hospitals and dispensaries;

xii) To protect and preserve the environment and ecology;

xiii) To provide the facilities for the development of Manipuri language included in the VIII schedule;


xv) Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla.

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

Performance of the CPI in Manipur. The CPI contested the Manipur Electoral College elections in 1952 for the first time. The Communists won two seats out of six they contested.53 Among the all India parties, the Communist ran second next to the Congress (I).

In the Territorial Council election of 1957, the Communist Party fielded their candidates in 17 constituencies but it could win only four seats. Its share of the popular verdict was 11.40 per cent and of the Council seats 13.33 per cent. The Communist nominees in the valley got over 25 per cent of 16 constituencies which they contested but in the hills their lone representative could not succeed.

The next Territorial Council election was held in 1962. The Communists were routed completely in this election. The party could not win even a single out of

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14 seats they contested. However the popular support in its favour was to the tune of 7.13 per cent. They got 1,350 average votes per head.\textsuperscript{54}

In the Assembly election of 1967, the CPI fielded their candidates in 6 constituencies. The CPI’s performance was still very poor, only one of its nominees could win the electoral battle by securing 5.47 per cent of the votes polled.

In the Assembly election of 1972, the CPI contested in 25 seats.\textsuperscript{55} This time they managed to secure 5 seats. However they could have done better if they had arrived at an understanding with the local unit of the Congress Party over the share of seats.

In early 1974, the state went through a mid-term poll to elect her 60 member of the Legislative Assembly after a 10-month long spell of the President’s rule. The CPI fought the election in alliance with the Congress in the valley. The CPI won six seats out of 12 it contested and registered 5.54 per cent of the valid votes polled in its favour. The average votes received by the party was 2,753.

After 5/6 years, Manipur went to polls again in January 1980. The CPI won 5 out of 23 seats contested. The average votes per candidate was 2,307 for the CPI.

The next Assembly election was held on December 27, 1984. The CPI secured 1 seat out of 17 seats they contested. In the Assembly elections of 1990,
the CPI fielded their candidates in 14 constituencies but secured only 30 seats. In the Assembly election of 1995 CPI won only 2 seats. However, in the Assembly election of 2000 the CPI could not secure any berth in the election. Thus, the election performances show that the party is on the way of decline.

To mention something about the performance, the CPI did the best in 1957s, when India was having good relation with China. It is only after the Indo-China border conflict of October 1962, the party has failed to win the hearts of the electorates. However the party is working very hard to regain its earlier position.

**Janata Dal (JD)**

The result of the Lok Sabha election of 1984 has proved that a divided opposition could in no way challenge the dominant position of the Congress (I) in the Indian politics. The resignations or expulsions of some of the Congress (I) leaders from the party in 1989 also gave an impetus to the formation of an alternative party to the Congress (I). On October 11, 1988, a new party known as the Janata Dal came into being with the merger of three parties i.e., Janata Party, Jan Morcha and Lok Dal under the leadership of V.P. Singh.

**Policies and programmes.** The policies and programmes of the Janata Dal include the eradication of corruption in politics; reforming the electoral system so to avoid money and muscle power; institutionalisation of the parliamentary and constitutional institutions and bringing them back on the track; marginalising the Election Manifesto of the Janata Dal; strengthening the Centre state relations; giving justice to the

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Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled tribes; giving special attention to the betterment of the women, recognising right to work as a legal right; providing autonomy to Doordarshan and All-India Radio; emphasising on communal harmony; stressing on non-alignment and friendly relations with neighbouring countries; curbs on the misuses of Art. 356 regarding President's power of imposing President's rule in the states, reorganisation of Panchayati Raj; prevention of concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, encouragement to small-scale and cottage industries; land reforms; maximisation of employment facilities; alleviation of poverty and indebtedness; social security for the physically handicapped people, etc.

**JD Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1995.** Some of the policies and programme included in the Manifesto of JD are given below:

1. To clean the Nambul river;
2. To open a bio-technology research centre at Manipur University;
3. Providing facilities for electricity, water supply;
4. Development of the Loktak Lake;
5. Reservation for women about one-third in the government and public sector undertaking;
6. Construction of a cycle velodrome in Imphal;
7. To give free and compulsory education to children below 14 years;

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viii) To broaden the National Highway No. 39;

ix) Introduction of the Sixth Schedule in the hill districts of Manipur, etc.

**JD Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000.** The policies and programmes of the Janata Dal (Secular) as highlighted in the Common Minimum Programme of the Secular Democratic Front led by the Congress, the CPI and the MPP, on the eve of the Assembly Election 2000. Some of the important programmes are: ⁵⁸

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

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

iii) To provide more autonomy to the state;

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

v) To solve the insurgency problem;

vi) Reservation of seats for women in the Parliament and Assembly and to establish the State Commission for women for their empowerment.

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

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

ix) Free and Compulsory education to the children upto the age of 14 years;

x) To provide more facilities for higher education;

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xi) To provide ten percent of the Union budget and thirty percent of the state budget in the field of education;

xii) Improvement of medical facilities in hospitals and dispensaries;

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

xiv) Development of Manipuri language;

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

xvi) Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;

xvii) To establish a separate High Court, etc.

Performance of Janata Dal in Manipur. The Janata Dal for the first time entered into the Assembly Election fray in 1990. In this election, the Janata Dal fielded its candidates in 52 constituencies. The Janata Dal and the MPP came next to the Congress by securing 11 seats each. The votes polled in its favour was 2,14,524 and the percentage of votes polled was 19.64. The Janata Dal took part in the formation of the government under the United Legislative Front.

In the next Assembly elections, which was held on February, 1995 the Janata Dal secured 7 seats, 3 in the hills and 4 in the valley. However, in the next Assembly election, which was held in 2000, the Janata Dal suffered a set back. Only two

seats could be captured, one seat by the Janata(S) and one seat by Janata (U).  

Thus, we can see that the performance of the Janata Dal in Manipur is not quite satisfactory for the time being, and it must initiate meaningful and positive steps to improve its position in the state.

Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP)

The Bhartiya Janata Party can be legitimately described as a successor to the old Bhartiya Jana Sangh Party. It was in October 21, 1951 that several leaders of the Rashtra Swayam Sevak (RSS) and Hindu Mahasabha, acting under the leadership of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee; founded the Bhartiya Jana Sangh.  
The Jana Sangh offers an internal philosophy of “Individual society and Nation and traces back its philosophical roots to the Vedic Age.” Its philosophical fundamentals are anathema to Christians and Muslims who are afraid of Hinduisation. In principle its conception of India as a nation based on Hindu culture remains unchanged.  
The RSS which is a cultural organisation plays an important role in providing the Jana Sangh with disciplined cadres and ideological formulations. The RSS is considered as the organisational backbone of the party.

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63. Ibid., pp. 118 - 119.
The Bhartiya Jana Sangh contested 94 seats in the first general election but could win only three. The electoral performances of the party were not well till 1967 and it merged with the Janata Party in 1977. However, within a short period there appeared a reaction within the Janata Party against the Jana Sangh members because of their links with the RSS. The Janata Party decided that the erstwhile Jana Sangh party members should sever all their connections with the RSS which the erstwhile Jana Sangh members and some others were totally opposed. Erstwhile Jana Sangh members had no other alternative but to leave the Janata Party. And on April 6, 1980, they formed the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) with Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its President. Whereas erstwhile Bhartiya Jana Sangh maintained that it was altogether a new party, its opponents vehemently propagate that the present BJP is nothing else but the other name of Bhartiya Jana Sangh.

**Policies and programmes.** The Bhartiya Janata Party is a cadre-based well organised political party with a definite ideology. It identifies itself with Hinduism but explains its meaning as Indianess. It expresses its commitment to five ideals - nationalism and national integration, democracy, positive secularism, Gandhian socialism, and value-shaped politics. The party stands for decentralisation of economic and political power. It is opposed to the political appeasements to any community. The party stands for compulsory education and believes in independent judiciary. It seeks immediate land reforms and eradication of poverty. It seeks to make India a Ram Rajya - a welfare state committed to secure the welfare of all the people of India. However, its several slogans like 'Indianisation of Muslims' and 'Hindu Rashtra' etc., have influenced several people to call it a communal party.
BJP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1995. The Bharatiya Janata Party, Manipur branch published its election manifesto for the Assembly Election in 1995. Some of the programmes mentioned in the manifesto are:\(^{64}\)

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

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

iii) Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;

iv) Withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958;

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

vi) Announcement of D.P.C. results;

vii) Establishment of police station for women;

viii) Appointment to be made through Public Service Commission;

ix) To provide job facilities;

x) To provide medical facilities;

xi) To provide old age pension scheme;

xii) To give more emphasis on art, culture, sports, etc.;

xiii) Development of Manipuri language;

xiv) Tourism should be developed into an industry;

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64. BJP, Election Manifesto, Imphal, 1995.
xv) To develop the educational system;

xvi) Improvement of industries;

xvii) To improve the Loktak Hydro electric system.

BJP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000. The Bharatiya Janata Party of Manipur branch highlighted some of the important points as a partner of the Manipur Democratic Alliance. However, the MDA announced a common programme. Some of the important programmes are as follows:

i) Law and order:
   
   (a) To endeavour for permanent peace, progress and prosperity through developmental projects by solving the insurgency problem of Manipur through meaningful dialogue.

   (b) The Congress, the ruling party, after Independence blindly inherited the colonial legacy and the psychology and duty of the security forces as a Colonial master to control the slaves. The MDA will endeavour to change this mind-set.

   (c) To improve working conditions of the police and make the public relation a people's friendly relation;

ii) To uphold and protect territorial integrity of Manipur;

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

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

v) To remove corruption in Manipur Government and at high places in Public life in Manipur;

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

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

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

ix) To endeavour to increase the number of M.P. both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha - (a) 2 M.Ps (Lok Sabha) for the Valley area dividing it into two Parliamentary Constituencies and 1 M.P. for the Hill areas, (b) 2 M.P.s (Rajya Sabha) - one General another reserved.

x) To divide Thoubal Revenue District into two districts - Thoubal and Kakching;

xi) To establish separate Police station for women in all districts;

xii) To provide economic and other securities for the helpless widows and orphans by a suitable legislation having provision for pension and maintenance;
xiii) To establish working Women’s Hostel in all districts;

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

xv) To establish more Indo-Myanmar trade Centres in Manipur;

xvi) Youth and Employment:

(a) To endeavour to create a separate Manipur Regiment in the Army,

(b) To introduce a special Employment Scheme for educated unemployed youths in Manipur with 90% Central Aid establishing proper independent monitoring agency to reduce corruption and nepotism. (C) All Central Government - aided projects to remove poverty like PMRY, IRDP and INY etc. should have an independent and credible agency to identify the beneficiary without the interference of the state Government. (d) To endeavour to complete Railway Projects for Manipur which the BJP demanded since 1983 and to give preference to the sons of the soil while recruiting for employment.

XVII) Agriculture:

(a) To utilise efficiently water resource of Manipur with proper water management for double cropping (b) To introduce the BJP’s National Crop Insurance Scheme in Manipur. (c) To make the BJP’s Kissan Credit Cards Scheme applicable to Manipur. (d) To introduce Compulsory Mass Insurance with a premium of Rs. 10/- only per year for five member Kissan family as Unit to get Rs. 1 lakh as beneficiary. (e) To encourage and to supplement the income of the farmers by introducing livestock rearing scheme as sericulture, pisciculture, piggery, horticulture, poultry and dairy farming.
XVIII) Land Policy:
To review and amend the present land laws and land tenure system in Manipur to serve the interests of all the people of Manipur.

XIX) Health:
(a) To provide free medical aid to all the people of Manipur, (b) To introduce Mass Medical Insurance Scheme with Rs. 5/- only as premium per year for a policy of Rs. 10,000/- (c) To make safe drinking water available to all people of Manipur, (d) To recast the State AIDS and DRUGS Programme to make it more effective, and for preventive measure (e) To encourage and streamline the age-old rich knowledge of medical system (Traditional medical Practitioner) practised by the Maibas and the Maibis. Proper registration of Maibas and Maibis will be done by the State Government to exclude fake practitioners. (f) To strengthen the existing reference Hospital (J.N. Hospital) by increasing number of beds, Casualty Ward and the Intensive Care Unit (ICU) to cater the needs of the state.

XX) Human Resource Development:
(a) To preserve and promote the rich heritage of Manipur including indigenous sports and performing Arts and to spread them all over the country (b) To introduce a sports policy of Manipur befitting the available sport talents (c) To introduce State Youths Policy (d) To impart primary education in the mother tongue and mother-scripts as a statutory right.

XXI) Industry:
(a) To review the State’s Industrial policy to make it employment oriented encouraging S.S.I. and Cottage industries with well-knit marketing opportunities. (b) To establish forest based industry like Paper Factory and other viable agro-
based industries. (c) To declare Tourism in Manipur as Industry (d) To encourage
the growth of information technology and electronic industry in Manipur.

XXII) Irrigation and Flood Control:

(a) To preserve and make maximum utilisation of rain water by introducing
rainwater harvesting schemes and the tapping of underground water which are
nature’s gift of Manipur (b) To recast the Maramba Maril Flood Control Scheme to
solve the inundation problem due to the flood caused by the Ithai Barrage of Loktak
M.H.E. Project on long term basis.

XXIII) Hydro Power:

(a) The Loktak Multipurpose Hydro Electric Project will be made more useful
by maximum utilisation of the existing infrastructures and revenue will be shared
by the state and the Corporation at an amicable ratio. (b) To tap the hydro electric
potential of state to meet the ever increasing demand of power.

XIV) Drainage and Sewerage:

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

Performance of the BJP in Manipur. For the first time in 1984, the BJP took part
in the Fourth Assembly Elections of Manipur. The BJP contested 13 seats but
failed to secure even a single seat. The total number of votes polled by the party
was 6,208 and the percentage of votes polled was 0.72. In the Assembly Election
of 1990 also, the Party failed to secure any seat though the party fielded 16

66. Government of Manipur, Election Index Card, Office of the Chief Electoral Officer,
Imphal, 1984.
candidates. The votes polled in its favour though was 29,453 and the percentage of votes polled was 2.69. The performance of the BJP improved a little in the Assembly election of 1995; the party got a seat in this election. However, in the Eleventh Assembly election, which was held in 2000, the performance of the party was better than before. The BJP could secure 6 seats in this election.67

The popularity of the BJP in the state is gaining strength day by day. However, the BJP has to work hard for improving its position further. It must take steps to prevent the image of being caste Hindu party and have to strengthen and popularise its secular and nationalist character.

**Regional Political Parties in Manipur**

Almost all the regional political parties in Manipur are always confined either in the valley or in the hills. Their social and geographical support base is very limited. All the regional parties could not extend their influences on both the valley and the hills. So all the regional political parties in Manipur may be divided as valley regional parties and hills regional parties. The life of these regional parties are very short. Except the Manipur People's Party in the valley and the Kuki National Assembly in the hills, none of the regional parties completed a decade.68 The reasons for the short duration is that after the existence of some months or some years, they got merged with a national party, especially the ruling national party in the state. The links of the regional parties with national parties of Manipur is also


68. *Commemorative Publication on the Changing Political and Demographic Trends in North-East India*, Seminar under Sponsorship of UGC, April 10 - 12, 1985, Organised by Department of Political Science, Manipur University, pp. 14 - 15.
very close. Theoretically and ideologically, no doubt, there is much difference between the two types of parties. But practically these differences mean very little.

There is in fact a very close link between the national parties and the regional parties in Manipur. A Minister of Cabinet rank can retain his ministerial post in different governments formed by the national parties and the regional parties by means of defection as the occasion demands. This is because most of the politicians are guided by their own interests and not by the political philosophy of the party. This is the main reason why the regional parties failed to give an impact on the politics of Manipur.

Some of the prominent regional political parties in Manipur are briefly analysed below:

**Manipur People’s Party (MPP)**

The Manipur People’s Party is one of the most important regional political parties in the state. The main reason for the formation of the Manipur People’s Party was to safeguard and uphold the interests of the state and to upgrade her politically, economically, socially, culturally, educationally and linguistically.

The necessity to form a regional political party in the State was felt among some Congressmen like Kh. Chaoba (Deputy Speaker), Salam Tombi (Speaker) and Yumnam Yaima and a meeting was held at the residence of Salam Gambhir at Sagolband to discuss the issue. At the meeting, it was resolved to set up a regional political party as it was considered that such a party would bring about
much development in the State. Afterwards, Kh. Chaoba put up the name of the party as the ‘Manipur People’s Party’, which was accepted by the other members. Thereafter, these three Congressmen quit the Congress and a second meeting was held at the shop of Salam Gambhir Singh at B.T. Road, Imphal on December 20, 1968. A formal announcement was made at the meeting that a local political party under the name and style of “The Manipur People’s Party” was formed. In this meeting, L. Chaoyaima Singh of Thoubal presided over the meeting. Prominent leaders like Mairembam Nilachandra and some others who favoured the existence of regional parties were also present in the meeting. Since then, the MPP had been playing an important role in the politics of Manipur.

Thereafter, the joining of the MPP by former leader of the Manipur People’s Convention Laishram Manaobi, and the defection of some prominent Congressmen like Salam Krishnamohon, Laishram Jugeshwor, Hidangmayum Dwijamani Sharma, Md. Alimuddin and Salam Gambhir to the MPP strengthened the party. The first Conference of the Party was held at Aryan Theatre at Imphal on January 27, 1969.

Policies and programmes of MPP The MPP stands for the upliftment and welfare of the people of Manipur. The party adopted its Constitution in the year 1969. The preamble in accordance with the Constitution reads as under:

The goal of the Manipur People’s Party is to establish by democratic and peaceful means an egalitarian society. The MPP shall bear true faith and allegiance

to the Constitution of India as by law established and to the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy, and would uphold the Sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.

The MPP is recognised by the Election Commission as a political party. Its election symbol is a bicycle. Salam Tombi Singh became the first President of the party.

**MPP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1990.** The MPP’s policies and programmes highlighted in the election manifesto of the Assembly Election 1990 are being summarised:73

i) To save and protect the territorial integrity of Manipur;

ii) Inclusion of Manipuri language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India;

iii) Withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958;

iv) To implement the three language formula;

v) Reservation of the indigenous people in the appointment of the Government job;

vi) More autonomy to the states;

vii) To devolve such powers and authorities on the District Council, Panchayats etc;

viii) To endeavour to increase the number of M.P.s both in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha;

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ix) To solve the insurgency problem through political dialogue;
x) To encourage the agricultural industry;
xii) Regular old age pension;
xiii) Establishment of industries in every district of Manipur;
xiv) Development of roads, transport and communication;
xv) To provide more facilities for water supply, electricity, etc.
xvi) Development of the resources;
xvii) Providing of employment opportunity;
xviii) Encouragement to Athletes;
xviii) Ban on the unregulated entry of unauthorised foreigners from neighbouring countries;
xix) Strengthening of the State Planning Board with full time members;
xx) The Public Distribution System will be implemented with transparency;

MPP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1995. At the time of Assembly Election 1995, the Manipur People’s Party published its policies and programmes mentioned in the election manifesto. They are:

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

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

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

iv) To solve the insurgency problem through political dialogue;

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

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

vii) To resolve any ethnic conflict in Manipur;

viii) To develop the Public Distribution System with transparency;

ix) Development of Industries in Manipur;

x) Encouragement of agricultural policy and industrial policy;

xi) Improvement of Imphal Jiribam Road;

xii) To raise the standard of education;

xiii) Development of Power Generation Project;

xiv) Development of Transport and Communication;

xv) Framing of a Cultural Policy;

xvi) Development of Games and Sports;

xvii) To solve the problem of unemployment etc.
MPP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000. The MPP's policies and programmes in the Common Minimum Programme of the Secular Democratic Front are as follows: 75

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

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

iii) Autonomy for Manipur;

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

v) To solve the insurgency problems;

vi) Women empowerment;

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

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

ix) To provide Crop Insurance Scheme to the farmers;

x) Educational Infra-structure and new facilities;

xi) Improvement of medical facilities in hospitals and dispensaries;

xii) To protect and pressure the environment and ecology;

xiii) To provide the facilities for the development of Manipuri language included in the VIII Schedule;

xiv) Withdrawal of Armed Force Special Power Act, 1958;

xv) Shifting of Assam Rifles from Kangla;

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

Performance of the MPP in Manipur politics. The MPP initially formed by the Congress dissidents, took in its fold dissidents from other parties. It engineered the toppling of the Koireng Singh Ministry in 1969. It owes much of its existence to its dynamic leader, Salam Tombi Singh, Member of the third Lok Sabha and a former Speaker of the State Assembly. Ever since its existence the MPP has been contesting all the Assembly and Parliamentary elections held in Manipur.

For the first time, the MPP contested in the State Assembly Election of 1972. The party contested 42 seats and secured 15 seats. 76 The MPP emerged as a popular alternative to the Congress by recording a decisive victory in the election arena. Its share of the popular votes was 20.17 per cent. The party secured second position in as many as six constituencies and its nominees lost their deposits in 13 constituencies. It contested five scheduled tribe seats in the hills without any gain. Its scheduled tribe candidates except two lost their security deposits. The MPP’s popularity lies in its local base and many other factors including regional appeal. Though the MPP had shown its superiority over other parties, its losses in some cases were really great. Two top leaders of the party, Salam Tombi Singh and Sibo Larho were defeated in the election giving way to Md. Alimuddin to lead the legislative wing of the party. Alimuddin later on became leader of the United Legislators’ Party

(ULP) and formed the government. Manipur thus, witnessed the break-down of the Congress party dominance in the 1972 elections.

In the mid-term Assembly Election of 1974, the MPP put up 40 candidates and secured 20 seats with 22.55 per cent of the popular votes. The average votes per candidate received by the MPP was 3,337. A non-congress government headed by the MPP was formed for the second time in Manipur.

Manipur Assembly election was again held in 1980. The MPP contested 40 seats and 4 were elected. Moirangthem Kumar Singh (MPP) was elected from Sagolband Constituency with the smallest number of votes i.e. 1862 votes. The MPP once again joined hands with other parties in the formation of the new government. In 1984, out of 34 candidates of the MPP contested in the Assembly elections, only 3 were successful. The total votes polled by the party was 93,421 and the percentage of votes polled was 20.58. The MPP again formed the government with the support of other parties. R.K. Ranbir Singh, the MPP candidate was made Chief Minister.

Again in 1995, Manipur went to polls. This time the MPP secured 18 seats. But, in the next Assembly Election of 2000, the trend was quite different. Unfortunately only 4 seats were won.

Thus, we can come to the inference that the MPP acted as an alternative to the Congress rule during the period 1972, 1974 and 1990 respectively. It would be worth to mention some of the achievements of the MPP, during its rule,\textsuperscript{79} e.g. Inclusion of Manipuri Language in the VIII Schedule; Establishment of the Manipur Public Service Commission; Establishment of the Regional Medical College at Lamphel; Establishment of the Board of Secondary Education; Establishment of the Spinning Mill; Establishment of the Centre of Post Graduate Studies of Jawaharlal Nehru University in Manipur, etc.

**Federal Party of Manipur (FPM)**

The Federal Party of Manipur is a regional political party formed under the Presidentship of Prof. Gangmumei Kamei on October 21, 1993.\textsuperscript{80} It is a regional party with a national outlook with firm commitment of federalism and autonomy which are basic features of the Indian political system which are being consistently and deliberately sidelined and eroded by the Indian ruling classes.\textsuperscript{81} In the context of the on-going nation building process in the country, the emergence of regionalism is a dialectical response to the hegemonic centralism of the Government of India controlled by the capitalistic and chauvinistic vested interests of the Indian upper castes and classes. Regionalism is a healthy and constructive force to protect regional interests in the body politic of a multi-nationality nation like India.\textsuperscript{81} The Federal principles and ideology and the policy and programme for regional development will be able to solve the problems and challenges faced by a pluralistic

\textsuperscript{80.} Prof. N. Joykumar, *Personal Interview*, October 17, 2002.  
state of Manipur which had a long and continuous history of more than two thousand years.\textsuperscript{82}

**Policies and programmes of FPM.** Federalism, autonomy and self-government, development with social justice, social federalism and protection and preservation of basic human rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution and International Covenants are the ideological frame of Federal Party of Manipur which has now emerged as an inevitable political forum of the people of Manipur to shape their future political destiny and secure for Manipur a “rightful and dignified place” in the Indian Republic.\textsuperscript{83} FPM reiterates its commitment to its well known objectives namely :\textsuperscript{84}

i) Federalism;  

ii) Regionalism with commitment to autonomy and self-government;  

iii) Social Federalism;  

iv) Protection of Human Rights;  
v) Development with Social Justice;  

With these ideological frames, FPM seeks the support of the people in the elections.

**FPM Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 1995.** The FPM participated in the Assembly Election of 1995 on the following issues: \textsuperscript{85}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{82} The Federal Agenda, Imphal, 2002, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{83} The Federal Agenda, Imphal, 1996, p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{84} Statement by Prof. N. Joykumar, Personal Interview, October 6, 2003.
\item \textsuperscript{85} The Federal Agenda, Imphal, 1996, pp. 1 - 6
\end{itemize}
i) Restructuring of the Indian polity on federal principles;

ii) Equal representation of the states to Federal Parliament;

iii) Abrogation of Art. 356;

iv) Autonomy for Manipur;

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

vi) Strengthening of Finance Commission and Planning Commission;

vii) To protect the integrity and Unity of Manipur;

viii) Negotiation for solution of revolutionary movements without precondition;

ix) Protection of Human Rights;

x) Autonomous status for Akashvani and Doordarshan;

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

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

xiii) Development with social Justice;

xiv) Development of transport and communication;

xv) Development of tourism;

xvi) All possible efforts should be taken up for preserving the environment and ecological balance in the state;
xvii) Rehabilitation of people affected by Loktak Project;

xviii) Additional Lok Sabha seat for Manipur in the future and delimitation of Parliamentary Constituencies.

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The FPM claimed that their policies and programmes mentioned in the Agenda of the United Front of 2000 were already successfully implemented because of the party's lone effort. They are as follows: 86

i) The Kuki-Zomi clash in Churachandpur had been successfully contained with the sincere effort of the government;

ii) The 5th National Games was not only hoisted by Manipur with success but also Manipur emerged as National Champion;

iii) National Highway namely, No. 150 will be constructed in addition to the former two namely, NH 39 and 53 which will also be broadened. A super Highway from Saurashtra will reach Moreh and all the Asian Highways and railways will reach Imphal and Moreh through Silchar which will connect Myanmar so as to enable Manipur to take part in international trade. The Silchar Jiribam railway line has been upgraded into broad gauge. The rail head at Diphu will be extended upto Karong in Manipur. Necessary action has also been taken up to take loans from world bank for construction and improvement of roads and transport for the hill and plain;

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86. Agenda of United Front, Imphal, 2000, pp. 2 - 5.
iv) A project namely, Vision 2020 has been taken up in consideration of a better future for Manipur. This project will greatly enhance the beauty of Imphal and change the environment of this city to a healthier one;

v) With the completion of 36 MW. Heavy fuel based power project at Leimakhong adequate power will be supplied to the people of Manipur in a short time. The Loktak down stream project has also been started at a cost of Rs. 575 crores;

vi) Various Schemes have been launched to supply good drinking water to the people. The Kiosk Integrated Water Treatment Package has been completed with the help of the French Government. In addition to this, the two projects with French Government help namely, (i) Augmentation of Kangchup Water Supply and (ii) Ground Water Exploration in North and West, Imphal District will be completed soon;

vii) An Engineering College has been established in this technologically backward State;

viii) The Khuman Lampak Sports Complex has been constructed with commendable success in the interest of the sports person of Manipur;

ix) The Manipur Human Rights Commission has been formed for the protection of human rights in Manipur;

x) The 5th pay Commission recommendation has been implemented in Manipur;

xi) Many schemes have been started to provide water to the fields, to improve the conditions of the scheduled tribes and castes, to protect the people from dreadful diseases, to better the environment and to increase the production of food grains and fish.
FPM Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000. The policies and programmes of the FPM highlighted in the Agenda of the United Front on the eve of the election are as follows: 87

i) Unity and Territorial Integrity of Manipur;

ii) Improvement of Law and Order;

iii) Autonomy for Manipur;

iv) The party stands for decentralization of power and empowerment of people which are the foundation of democracy;

v) Social harmony and peaceful resolution of all ethnic social conflicts;

vi) Negotiation for solution of revolutionary movement;

vii) Preservation and protection of social unity and cultural identity;

viii) Conversion of Manipur University to Central University;

ix) Development of transport and communication;

x) Construction of police hospital;

xi) Tourist Centres should be developed with Government of India's assistance. The Restricted Area Prohibition (RAP) should be relaxed or abolished;

xii) Preservation of environment and ecology;

xiii) Rehabilitation of people affected by Loktak Project;

xiv) To increase the number of seat in Lok Sabha;

87. Ibid., pp. 5 - 15.
xv) Creation of a 45 member Legislative Council with one third representation for women and unrepresented communities of Manipur;

xvi) Fishing project at Loktak;

xvii) To provide the playground at every village;

xviii) The Creamy Layer of O.B.C. will remain suspended for 10 years in Manipur;

xix) Free medicine will be supplied to the ailing public to help poor patients;

xx) Efforts will be made to create avenues for economic well being of the people;

xxi) To raise the standard of Education;

xxii) Declaration of Polo as State Game, etc.

Performance of the FPM The FPM fought the Assembly Election for the first time in 1995. The party fielded as many as 22 candidates but only 2 candidates got success.88 They were Prof. Gangmumrei Kamei and Dr. W. Thoiba Singh from the Nungba and Heingang Assembly constituencies respectively. The two elected members of the FPM could manage to get portfolios– one Cabinet post and the other Minister of State - in the Rishang Keishing led government. In the next Assembly Election of 2000, the FPM won 6 seats. This shows their improvement as compared to the previous election. The party made an alliance with the MSCP and formed the United Front Government.89 Thus, during this short span of time the performance of the FPM is quite commendably improved.


Manipur State Congress Party (MSCP)

The MSCP was formed by defected Congressmen under the leadership of Wahengbam Nipamacha Singh on December, 1997. The political crisis within the Rishang Keishing Ministry was the main reason for the split of the ruling Congress (I).

The Constitution of the MSCP clearly specify the Preamble of the party, the objectives of the party, formation of the organisational structure at the State Level, District Level, membership of the party, composition of the party, office bearers with its functions, election and removal of the President of the party, discipline and amendment procedure of the Constitution, etc.

The Preamble of the Manipur State Congress Party runs as follows:  

We the members having subscribed our signatures hereto, having resolved to constitute a political party in the State of Manipur, do hereby enact and give this Constitution to ourselves to achieve the aims and objects hereinunder incorporated.

This political party shall be called “The Manipur State Congress Party” with its registered office at Babupara, Imphal.

The objectives of the Manipur State Congress Party are as follows:  

i) to achieve honest and true faith and allegiance to the people;

91. Ibid.
ii) to secure harmony and co-existence of all the people;

iii) to bring welfare and justice-social and economic, to the people irrespective of caste, tribe, religion, creed, etc.;

iv) to propagate and bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India;

v) to uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India and also the principles of socialism, secularism and democracy.

Policies and programmes of the MSCP. At the time of the Assembly Election 2000 the party issued its policies and programmes which had already been accomplished mentioned in the Agenda of the United Front, Manipur were as follows:

i) Solution of Kuki-Zomi clash in Churachandpur;

ii) The 5th National Games was not only hosted by Manipur with success but also Manipur emerge as National Champion;

iii) Construction and improvement of roads and transport for the hill and plain;

iv) A project namely, Vision 2020 has been taken up in consideration of a better future for Manipur;

v) Heavy fuel based power project at Leimakhong, adequate power will be supplied to the people of Manipur in a short time;

vi) Various schemes have been launched to supply good drinking water to the people;

vii) Establishment of an Engineering College;

viii) Establishment of Manipur Human Rights Commission;

ix) Recommendation of 5th pay Commission;

x) Construction of the Khuman Lampak Sports Complex;

xi) Establishment of various schemes regarding, water supply, Schedule Tribes and Castes, food grains, etc.

**MSCP Manifesto of the State Assembly Election, 2000.** The main features of the 2000 Election Manifesto of the Manipur State Congress Party can be summarised as under: 93

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

ii) To maintain the law and order;

iii) Autonomy for Manipur;

iv) District and village autonomy;

v) Resolution of ethnic conflicts;

vi) To solve the insurgency problem;

vii) To protect the social unity and cultural identity;

viii) Conversion of Manipur University to Central University;

93. Ibid., pp. 5 - 15.
ix) Development of transport and communication;

x) Establishment of police hospital;

xi) Development of tourism;

xii) To preserve the environment and ecology;

xiii) Creation of Special Fund for rehabilitation of the areas and people affected by the Loktak Project;

xiv) To increase the number of seat in the Lok Sabha;

xv) Creation of 45 member Legislative Council with one third representation for women and unrepresented communities of Manipur.

xvi) Development of fishing project at Loktak;

xvii) Establishment of playground at every village;

xviii) The creamy layer of OBC will remain suspended for 10 years in Manipur;

xix) To provide free medicine;

xx) To raise the standard of education;

xxi) Economic development;

xxii) Declaration of polo as State Game.

**Performance of the MSCP.** Since the establishment of the MSCP as a political party, it has actively participated in all the political activities of the state. The first MSCP led ministry was sworn in on December 16, 1997 under the Chief Ministership
of W. Nipamacha Singh. Thus the MSCP led United Front Government of Manipur has successfully responded to the aspiration of the people to have a non-Congress government in the State at the end of the 20th Century.\footnote{Ibid., p. 1.}

In the Assembly Elections of 2000, the MSCP secured 23 seats and the second MSCP led Government was installed under the leadership of W. Nipamacha Singh.

The performance of the MSCP is quite satisfactory until now. The MSCP is the second regional political party next to the MPP which can establish a non-Congress Government in the state.

**Kuki National Assembly (KNA)**

Of the pre-world War II political parties in the hills of Manipur, the Kuki National Assembly (KNA) is the only party surviving till today. The KNA had its genesis as a regional political party in 1946. To meet the growing demands of the Kuki community and also with an objective to safeguard the interests of the Kukis in a rapidly changing political atmosphere in the hills, the educated elite groups of the Kukis gathered and founded the Kuki National Assembly on April 24, 1946. At first, it was a social organisation, but later it took the form of a political party. Since 1975 the KNA has been treated as an independent party. The KNA is the only tribal political party in Manipur recognised by the Election Commission of India.
Ideology. The party aims to bind together all the Kukis living in different states of India and establish a homeland for the Kuki tribes. It stands for composite culture of the Kukis and freedom from external exploitation. The party supports the idea of regionalism.

The Kukis are in majority in the southern part of Manipur. Since its formation, the party has been participating in the political process of the state. The party has a solid and stable support from the Kuki voters. In other parts of the state their support may be negligible.

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

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

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

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

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

95. Manifesto and Agenda of Manipur Democratic Alliance, Imphal, 2000, pp. 1 - 2
v) To devolve such powers and authorities on the District Council by amending the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Councils Act, 1971;

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

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

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

ix) To increase the number of M.Ps both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha;

x) Division of Thoubal District into two;

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

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

xiii) To establish working women's hospitals in all districts;

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

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

xvi) To solve the unemployment problem in Manipur.

xvii) Development in agriculture;
xviii) To review and amend the present land laws and land tenures system in Manipur to serve the interests of all the people of Manipur;

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

xx) Human Resource Development;

xxi) Development of industries in Manipur;

xxii) To develop the irrigation and flood control system in Manipur.

xxiii) Development of Loktak Multipurpose Hydro-Electric Project;

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

Performance of the KNA. For the first time, the KNA contested in the Electoral College Election in 1952. The party put up 7 candidates and could secure 2 seats.96 After 1952 elections, the party remained in a state of dormancy till the late 1960s. After the end of 1967 elections, the party was very much serious about the revival of its organisational activities. In the 1972 State Assembly Election, the party failed to retain any seat out of 2 seats they contested. In the next mid-term Assembly Election of 1974, the party entered into an election alliance with the Manipur People's Party and Manipur Hills Union. The result was quite positive. The KNA with less than 3 percent of the popular votes got one-third of its contested seats (2 out of 6) in the hills contiguous to the Central Valley. The average votes received by the KNA was 2,932.

In 1980 Assembly election the party had contested in 7 constituencies but retained only 2 seats. The KNA's share of popular votes was 2.81 per cent. The KNA received the highest average votes per candidate i.e., 2,943. In the Assembly election of 1984, the party had contested in 4 constituencies but only one candidate got elected. In the 1990 Assembly election, 8 candidates contested in the election. Two were elected. The KNA joined in the formation of the government and one candidate of KNA i.e., T.N. Haokip got a Cabinet berth. However, in the Assembly election of 1995, the party put up 6 candidates but none were elected. In the Assembly election of 2000, the party had contested in only one constituency i.e., Saikot Assembly constituency. The name of the candidate was D. Jôngkhongam Hangshing. The party however failed to retain the seat.