

CHAPTER – IX

Concluding Observations / Suggestions

CHAPTER - IX

CONCLUDING OBSERVATION/SUGGESTION

Since no authentic study of the 1995 polls has been made, the present work attempts to study the trends of electoral politics during the general elections to the Manipur Legislative Assembly 1995, participation of regional and national political parties, their electoral alliances, comparative analysis of their election manifestoes, issues and promises, reason for the success and setbacks of the participating parties and their overall performances and prospects in the context of the state politics. It also intends to throw some light on the socio-economic support-base of the constituency, political mobilisation, apathy and political awareness of the voters, voting turnout and role of ethnic and regional forces.

Election in a parliamentary democracy is a political means through which the political opinions and awareness of the masses are moulded and promoted. Election involves people into politics or public affairs through participation and mobilisation, provides political linkages, resolves conflicts and also brings about peaceful and orderly change of authority to the new leaders through the election. The right to govern is obtained by the contesting parties. The political parties, as per the rules of the representative democracy have also accept the election results. Hence, a good election system is regarded as the life-belt of genuine representative government serving an important function for the citizen and the political system as well. In India also, elections to legislative bodies are conducted on the basis of Adult Franchise, a single member constituency, one-voter-one vote, secret ballot, direct election and election by simple majority. Briefly, elections in India, however, appeared to be an increasingly integrative process.¹

Manipur, the erstwhile princely state, was amalgamated into the dominion of India after the signing of Manipur Merger Agreement on 21 September 1949 in Shillong between the Government of India and his Highness the Maharaja of Manipur Bodhachandra Singh. Manipur became an integral part of the Indian union with effect from 15 October 1949. After the integration of Manipur into the dominion of India, Manipur was made a part 'C state administered by a Chief Commissioner assisted by a nominated Advisory Council. A territorial council was set up in 1957 consisting of 30 elected and 2 nominated members. In June 1963, Manipur was elevated to the status of Union Territory under the Union Territories Act 1963 with a Territorial Assembly of 30 elected and 2 nominated members and a council of Ministers. With the passing of the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act 1971 by the Parliament, Manipur became a full fledged state of the Indian Union on 21st January 1972 with an Unicameral Legislature having 60 elected-members. Since then, the election to the legislative Assembly had so far been held six times including the one held in February 1995 of which the second Assembly election of 1974 was a mid-term poll.

The first Assembly elections in Manipur were held in 1972, which had experienced only one ministry headed by Md, Allimuddin of Manipur People's Party. The subsequent four terms were marred by defection and leadership crisis yielding more than one ministry in a term. The second Assembly constituted in 1974 after the mid-term poll witnessed the installation and fall of ever largest five ministries headed respectively by Md. Allimuddin of MPP, Yangmaso Shaiza (twice) and R.K. Dorendro Singh' (twice) of Congress Party. In the third term of 1980, three ministries were inducted under the respective leadership of R.K. Dorendro Singh and Rishang Keishing (twice) of the Congress Party. In the fourth

Assembly election in 1984, there were two Congress ministries of Rishang Keishing and R.K. Joychandra Singh, being the only term that witness the least number of ministries so far existed in Manipur till date. In the outgoing fifth Assembly constituted in 1990, had experienced three ministries led by R.K. Ranbir Singh (MPP) and R. K. Dorendro Singh and Rishang Keishing (Congress-I).

The state also had seen four remarkable features in the formation of successive governments by the political parties. First, it has been through defection of the legislators that most of the ministries since 1972 in the state have been formed and toppled even has before the normal dissolution of the state legislature. In true, there not been a single instances in Manipur where ministries were formed without defections. Second, the state has also experienced coalition governments led either by the Congress party or the MPP with the exception of a brief period of Janata Party government headed by Yangmaso Shaiza from 26 June 1977 to 14 November 1979.

Third, from 1972 to February 1995, Manipur state had formed 15 ministries altogether. Of these, the Congress had been in power for the longest period despite its failure to secure an absolute majority in all the six Assembly elections. The Manipur Peoples Party had formed the government three times and the Janata Party once. The other parties in the state had not been in a position either to form the government unilaterally or to lead the (coalition) government. Only they had been partners to any government formed either by Congress Party or Manipur Peoples' Party or the Janata Party.

Lastly, it may be noted that till today no political party could even secure a single party majority in the 60 member Assembly. Only in the fourth Assembly

election in 1984, the Congress Party performed best by winning 30 seats. The congress Party and the MPP had thus been managing respectively to form the government, with the support of other political parties (both national and regional) and Independents.

Geographically, the present state of Manipur is broadly divided into the hills and the plains regions encircled by ranges of high hills except the Barak Basin. Presently it comprise 9 Administrative Districts after the bifurcation of the then Imphal district into two district (Imphal East and Imphal West districts) in 1997 of which 4 district - Imphal East, Imphal West, Thoubal and Bishnupur are in the valley. The remaining five district - Ukhrul, Senapati, Tamenglong, Churachandpur and Chandel are the hill districts. In the hills, there are six autonomous hills districts councils, while in the valley, the Panchayati Raj system has been introduced.

Demographically, the state is heterogeneous and populated by different communities such as the Meiteis (schedule caste, Meitei Brahmins and OBC); the Meitei Pangals (Manipuri Muslims); the Kukis, the Nagas; the Nepalese; and the non-Manipuri communities (Bengalis, Binaries, Marawaris, Keralites, Punjabis, Tamilians etc.) living side by side culturally and speaking various languages and dialects. The five hill districts are populated by as many as 29 scheduled tribes who are mostly Christians. The Naga tribes constitutes the overall majority in these five hills districts. The Meiteis form the majority community in the state. In the four valley districts, the Meiteis dominate and constitute around 60 percent of the states' population. The Meiteis and the Kuki-Naga tribes are the original inhabitants of the state. Comparatively the living standard of the plainsmen is higher than that of the hillsmen. Though the majority Hindus, the Christians, the

Muslims and other smaller religious minorities live in the state, the state of Manipur is free from caste-stigma. The people in the state speaks different languages and dialects. But Meiteilon has been the dominant language in the state which is understood and spoken by the other communities in the state. Presently Meiteilon has attained the status of 'Lingua-Franca' in the state. Though there has been a harmony and peaceful co-existence among the different communities/ tribes, today differences and conflicts between the Meiteis and the Naga tribes, the Kukis and the Nagas, the Meiteis and the Muslims are experienced probably due to deteriorating socio-economic factors such as regional economic imbalances and under development as well as due to other factors like demands/movements for homeland, to protect identity, to achieve recognition; struggle for power and space. Today unemployment problem in the state is very acute which is considered as the root cause of insurgency and unrest in Manipur.

The Legislative Assembly of Manipur is unicameral. It has 60 elected seats. There are altogether 40 Assembly segments in the four valley districts of which one is reserved for scheduled caste in the Sekmai Assembly constituency. And the remaining 39 are General seats. Out of the 20 seats in the five hills districts, 19 are reserved for scheduled tribes and the remaining one is a General seat in the Kangpokpi constituency. Thus in 'all, out of the existing 60 seats, 40 are General seats, 19 are reserved for scheduled tribes and one for scheduled castes. The state Assembly have been represented by such communities of Nepali and Kuki-Nagas in the hills and the Meiteis.and Pangals in the valley.

In the middle of February 1995, the sixth State Legislative Assembly Election of Manipur was held in two phases without insisting on photo Identity Cards to the voters following the decision of the Bombay High Court and Supreme

Court of India. The election was conducted in the background of bomb-blasts, firing incidents, threats, intimidation, constitutional crisis, ethnic issues., boundary disputes between Nagaland and Manipur, attack on contesting candidates, killing of political leaders, etc. The first phase polling took place on 16 February 1995. On this day, the electors of five hill districts went to polls to elect 20 members. And the second phase of polling was held on 19 February to elect 39 members out of a total of 40 in the three valley districts. The Lamsang Assembly constituency in Imphal district was countermanded following the killing of the MPP candidate, only five days ahead of the poll schedule in the hills districts. So, the election were held for only 59 seats. The election for the countermanded Lamsang constituency was held on 27 May 1995.

For the February 1995 polls, there were a total of 12,69,746 electorates. Some 1977 polling stations were set up in the state dividing them into three categories- Hyper-Sensitive, Sensitive and Less-sensitive to enable to take up beforehand strict measures to prevent irregularities at the time of polling. Fourteen political parties (both national and local) entered the electoral battle. Besides, 66 Independent candidates also contested the election. Except Congress-I, MPP and Janata Dal, other parties could not put up their respective candidates in large numbers. Despite 14 political parties, the Congress-I and the MPP were the strong contender for power. A total of 388 candidates (including the election to the countermanded Lamsang constituency) filed their nominations; 2 candidates rejected in the scrutiny and 39 withdrew their candidature. So 347 candidates remained in the election fray including eleven woman contestants. The Congress-I was the only party that contested all the seats while the MHPC set up only one candidate. In this election some sort of pre-poll electoral understanding was made between the CPI, CPI-M and the Janata Dal. However, the post-election alliance was formed among the parties of MPP, JD, NPP,

Congress-S, SP and CPI. Most of the parties manipulated the process of nomination in many ways. This is mainly due to lack of internal democracy and existence of factional leaders in the party. Most of the parties, besides partymen, allowed non-partymen to apply for ticket. Except left parties, it seemed that no hard and fast rules were followed by other parties while giving party tickets, despite their own methods and principles to be observed at the time of selection of party nominees. In real practice, informal process prevailed over the formal procedures. Apart from other formal procedures, the criteria governing the award of tickets were - legitimacy of the ticket aspirant to the (factional) leader aspiring for the post of Chief Minister, huge amount of money to oil the palms of those handling the task (with the exception in the left parties), resourcefulness and ability of the candidate to win the election, etc. Since there was no exercise of democratic practices during the nomination process, right men were not selected as party nominees. Its consequences were far reaching, that many candidates lost the election as a result of wrong selection of candidates. As non-partymen were also allowed to apply for party ticket, it hurt the sentiments of the members who have suffered a long for the cause of his/her party. So, it would have been imperative to give party tickets only to those party men/members. Moreover, the selection process of party nominees should be on democratic lines and methods. There should not be any room for sabotaging the process. The principle criteria governing the issue of party ticket shall be - long-membership to the party; dedication and social work; observance of party's % integrity; ideology and principles; character and background of the person; educational qualification, etc.

Though the election was for the first time held under the strict supervision of central observers appointed by Election Commission and no official record on the violation of code of conduct was available, but there were various allegations, charges, complaints, etc. made by rival parties and candidates for violation of instructions, breaches of laws, intimidation of voters, attempted booth-capturing etc.,

though nobody knew the truth of these complaints. Moreover, no proper action was also taken up against any candidate. However, the Researcher witnessed many parties and candidates violating election codes by electing flag staffs, pasting posters, writing election slogans, etc., in the public places. Impersonation voting took place; candidates used vehicles more than the number prescribed by Election Commission. The election expenses of the candidates also shot up beyond the maximum limit of rupees fifty thousand. Most of the prospective candidates resorted to bribing the voters. In real practice, the model code of conduct was meaningless as no party and candidate observed it honestly. This is because of the fact that this 'code' had no legal sanction. To make the code "effective", it should be given a "statutory teeth." So that election process can be made clean and healthy.

The February 1995 election was quite different from the previous elections in the state as it was mainly issue-based on the line of ethnicity particularly between the majority Meiteis and the Manipuri (Tangkhu), Nagas, over the protection of territorial unity and integrity of Manipur following the Nagaland Assembly Bill passed in September 1994 to amalgamate all the adjoining Naga-inhabited areas under one 'Administrative unit' under the call for a "Greater Nagaland" or "South Nagaland." The issue was an important agenda for all the contesting parties as it threatened Manipur's territorial integrity. The main opposition party- the MPP, in order to defeat the Congress-I in the polls, harped upon the sentiments of Manipur's integrity card and mobilised the voters by picking-up the issue and reviving the Agreement concluded between UNIC-Congress in 1972. Because the Nagaland bill moved by the opposition was supported by the Congress Party of Nagaland. The opposition campaign was that Congress-I was mainly responsible for issues like 'South Nagaland' which may lead to disintegrate Manipur. However, the Congress-I said the party opposed any

kind of homeland demand by any community in the state which can destroy Manipur. The party denied Congress-I playing any role in trying to disintegrate Manipur. It assured to protect the unity and integrity of Manipur. The territorial dispute was further deepened by the Transporters strike launched against the NSCN (IM) faction for collecting illegal “vehicles and goods taxes” from the vehicles plying along the national highways in the state, leading to near communal clash between the (Tangkhum) Nagas and the Meiteis as the NSCN(IM) demanded to integrate into Nagaland challenging the unity and integrity of Manipur. Though the contesting parties released their respective election manifestoes reflecting the existing socio-economic and political situation in the state, and making tall promises, however, there was no fundamental differences in their policies and programmes. Their manifestoes were primarily dominated by the local issues and problems such as unemployment; insurgency problems; economic development; etc., confronting the state. The protection of unity and integrity of Manipur was a prime concern for all the contesting political parties. But it seemed that their manifestoes were guided by emotional appeals as the parties were not honest to deal with the existing problems of the state. After the election, manifestoes became hollow and false promises. People experienced a gulf-of-differences between their promises and programme implementation work. So, the general voters do not attach much importance to manifestoes. There lies the irrelevance of publishing election manifestoes by the parties during an election.

The contesting parties and candidates conducted election campaign during the election to educate the voters. They¹ adopted and used various methods and techniques such as door-to-door campaign, public and camera meetings, distribution of leaflets, pasting of symbols and posters, erecting of flag staffs, etc., in trying to win the support of as many votes as they can. While trying to strengthen the positions and prospects of

their respective parties, the election also witnessed heavy campaigning by the central leaders of many parties. But the election also experienced a shift away from old style of campaigning to new campaigning methods. The old style of campaigning like rallies, processions, etc. practiced during the previous elections, were rarely seen in this sixth election. Candidates hardly addressed public meetings. Posters, symbols, flags etc. were too few. The electioneering tempo was very low due to the insistence of a revised model code of conduct. The women, the mass organisations, the students and the youths enthusiastically participated in the elections campaign, though their involvement was minimal. The members and leaders of frontal organisations of various parties were very active¹ engaging in various election-related activities. Though maintained its neutrality, voluntary organisations also involved in the election with various motives. However, the mass media played little role during the elections in educating and influencing the voters. But it helped in provoking and moulding public opinions by furnishing election advertisements, informations in the columns, editorials, news items and conducting election analysis.

During the campaigning, the party line was divided between the ruling-Congress-I on the one hand and the non-Congress parties, on the other. There was keen competition between the Congress-I and the MPP. The non-Congress parties were aggressive and charged Congress-I as a party of corruption, and for selling out a large territory of Manipur. While the Congress-I was defensive. Parties attached much importance to local issues rather than national issues. Protection of Manipur's integrity became focal point for all the parties during the campaigning. It seemed that the appeal of ideology and programmes played little roles in the election. Due to increasing expenses on elections, to contest election and campaign successfully has become very expensive requiring huge amount of money. As such, the contesting parties and candidates depend on various sources for financial

support. Though it is very difficult to get proper information of their sources of electoral finance in the sixth elections in Manipur, it is learnt that they had vast financial resources. Besides party assistance they were funded by contractors, big businessmen, suppliers, government employees, particularly the officers, factional leaders of political parties, aspirants for the post of Chief Ministership, etc. Among the parties, the national parties had better resources than the local parties. Party funding was important for the candidates of national parties, though personal funding was more significant.

Today money power and muscle power play a very important role in elections. Both have become major components and considerations for winning a seat. The role of money power in influencing the vote choice of some voters cannot be undermined though it alone is not the only guiding factor for electoral success. During the sixth elections in Manipur, money power was used extensively both in the hills and the valley constituencies. However money power played a more significant role in the valley than the hills in terms of voters' bribing is concerned. The contesting parties and candidates bribed the voters. In the hills, the price of a voter ranged from Rs 50 to 100, while in the valley it was in between Rs 100 to thousands. In the procession average, candidates spent ranging from 20 to 50 lakhs of rupees though some other candidates incurred less than the amount. Some prospective candidates even reached nearly one crore of rupees. So, majority of the contesting candidates did not observed the ceiling on election expenses as fixed by the Election Commission. The use of muscle power (both overground and underground) by the prospective¹ parties and candidates was seen in this sixth elections though the scale of using muscle power was very low comparatively than other states in India. But it was more heavily used in the hills and remote areas

than the valley. Political leaders were gunned down. Contesting candidates were attacked. There were newspaper reports of kidnapping party workers. Many complaints were made against attempted election rigging and booth capturing particularly in the hills.

The elites in general could not play a very significant and extensive role in influencing the voters during the sixth elections. Moreover, campaigning on caste and religious lines also did not appeal the voters much. Instead, it seemed that communal forces appealed the voters. Voters were also influenced by regional and ethnic forces. To maintain the territorial Boundary of the state was an important slogan to the electorates.

The elections to the sixth Assembly was held in 59 constituencies as the Lamsang constituency was countermanded following the gunning down of a MPP candidate. It experienced “anti-Congress-wave” mainly in the valley and Kuki dominated area. A total of 347 candidates were in the election fray including 66 Independents. There was no straight-fight in any constituency. The contest ranged from three-corner to 12-cornered contest. In most of the constituencies, the Congress-I, the MPP and the Janata Dal were the main contenders for seat. Though there were mushroom growth of candidates in the election fray, many of them forfeited their security deposits. Only a few of them deserved to be the candidates. In many constituencies, the sitting MLAs were defeated while some of them could retain the seat again. The election saw the rise and fall of many prominent political leaders. The voters were influenced in their voting behaviour by many factors such as money power, muscle power, personality of the candidates, ethnic issues, party affiliation etc. The election saw the defeat of many sitting MLAs, ministers, and prominent leaders, and emergence of new faces. Not even a single woman candidate could return in the

polls. No political party secured a workable majority in the House. The results presented a reverse trend in both the hills and the valley. The Congress-I, which entered the election contest while in power, was voted out though it emerged as the single largest party with 21 seats. Against the prediction of the political analysts, the Congress-I secured less seat in the hills while more seats in the valley despite anti-Congress waves. On the other hand, the MPP which expected a good result in the valley, could not hit the target well. The party returned with 18 seats. The Janata Dal wrested 7 seats. The CPI could retain only 2 seats. The Congress (S) captured only one seat. For the first time, the BJP could open its first account in the state by securing one seat. The FPM, SP and NPP bagged two seats each. The Independents won three seats. Not a single seat was wrested by the rest of the political parties. The anti-Rishang Keishing wave, the selection of wrong men as Congress-I candidate by manipulating the nomination process, failure of the Rishang -led Congress-I government to solve the various problems facing the people on the eve of the election etc., were responsible for the poor performance of the congress-I in the polls. The MPP could improve its position from the previous elections because of the fact that, apart from others, the party promised to protect the integrity of the state at any cost, that swayed and won the hearts of the majority Meitei voters and the Kukis to some extent in favour of the MPP, Had the party been not prone to leadership crisis, its performance would have been much improved. Except Congress-I and the MPP, the performance of other parties were very poor. The main reason for the setback of Congress (S) was that those Congress MLAs elected in 1990 polls left the party and contested the 1995 polls under the tickets of other parties. There was no deserving candidates to substitute them in the 1995 elections. This weakened the party's position. We have yet to see the electoral performance of the newly formed Samata Party and Federal Party of Manipur in the following elections in the state. Still the future of BJP is not bright in the state though the party made its first electoral debut.

The electoral performance of CPI has been fast declining. The once powerful Janata Party is today on its extinction. Though the KNA party stands for the Kuki community, it seems that, the party has no longer its hold over the community, resulting in its total electoral failure. The Janata Dal also heavily lost in the polls. The electoral performance of NPP is still very bad. The SJP, MHPC and CPI-M also hit the dust in the polls. We cannot say much more about their electoral performance. Regional and district-wise variations of voting pattern was also visible. This was due to geo-political and cultural differences in the state. This was further strengthened by the absence of party Organisational set up either in the valley or the hills. Some parties concentrated their activities in the hills while some others in the valley only. If these parties have to survive as a party, they have to do a lot in order to improve and strengthen their positions. One imperative is that they have to expand the horizons of their party's organisational set up in both the hills and the valley with regular activities. Besides, at the time of nomination process, the parties must select only the right man as party candidates whose integrity and principles as well as works are known by the people. They must nominate those who are acceptable to the people. Those who have changed from one party to another at one stage or the other and dishonoured people's mandate should be dropped from the list of party candidates. However, the politics of Independents in the state has always seen ups and downs. Still their importance is being felt. People want a new political platform where there is no corruption, floor-crossing, unethical and immoral politics.

To analyse and understand voting behaviour of electors during the sixth Assembly elections, three Assembly constituencies were selected. The two constituencies of Langthabal and Keishamthong are from the Imphal district (plains) and the Ukhru (ST) reserved constituency is from the Ukhru district (hills). Keishamthong is an urban constituency while the Langthabal and Ukhru

constituencies has both urban-rural features. Except Keishamthong constituency, Langthabal and Ukhrul constituencies have mixed population. In all the three constituencies, majority of the voters are non party members despite their leanings either to a party or the other. A small section of the voters had their membership to different parties. Despite six-cornered contest in Langthabal constituency, there was keen competition between the Congress-I and the MPP. But the latter was defeated by the former. In this constituency, party programmes, ideology and personality of the candidate seemed to play less important roles in influencing the voting behaviour of voters. Rather, the long desire of the voters for a change in their leadership pattern effected a change in their voting behaviour leading to the success of Congress party. Collapse in the MPP's support-base and emergence of new leadership also attributed to MPP,s setback,. Since there was no winning prospects to other parties, Congress-I got the seat, for the first time in the post-statehood period. Voting behaviour was unstable in this constituency. In Keishamthong constituency, though no party or candidate could return again for the second time in the polls, the MPP wrested the seat again by defeating the Congress-I. The voting behaviour was stable. In this constituency personality of the candidate played a bigger role that influenced voting behaviour. Moreover, the importance of issue could not be ignored in winning the seat. The MPP exploited the sentiments of plainmen promising to protect the territorial integrity of Manipur on South Nagaland issue which the Congress-I could not defend. In Ukhrul district, the Congress-I defeated the Janata Dal. The voting behaviour of the voters was unstable. Apart from others party loyalty and personality of the candidates were the major considerations that influenced the voting behaviour. Division of voters was the main reason for the setback to Janata Dal. The MPP campaign on South Nagaland issue creating anti-Congress wave asking people not

to vote for Congress hardly swayed the voters. Since all the candidates are of the same community who are Christians, religion and ethnic loyalty did not play significant role in influencing the voting behaviour of the voters. In the three constituencies, caste and religious voting did not take place except in some pockets of Langthabal constituency here there was some influence of religion. The local issues and problems had a direct bearing upon the minds of the voters. The voting behaviour of some sections of the voters, particularly the floating voters, are instable while the committed voters remained mostly stable. In general, their voting behaviour was conditioned by such consideration like personality of candidates, party affiliation and lpyalty, private promises, role of money power, issues, etc. The ability of the voters to identify parties, candidates etc. reflects their level of political awareness and participation.

Though elections form the backbone of democracy giving a platform for people's participation in the affairs of the State, however, today we experienced no free and fair elections. The true character of free and fair elections is increasingly being marred by muscle power, money power, attempts at booth capturing, appeals to caste, community, ethnicity, impersonation voting, criminalisation of politics, misuse of governmental machinaries, violation of election codes, rules, instructions etc. in trying to capture power by hook or brook. Trie existing electoral system in the process has developed a great many distortions and negetivities during the last many years. As a result, it has become ineffective to deal with these unhealthy forces. It is in this background that the urgency of electoral reforms assumes important in order to maintain a healthy election trend. In the light of the above findings, some suggestions may be placed as remedial measures in order to improve and bring about a healthy changes in the election system in general as well as to help in the conduct of free and fair elections.

In terms of election expenses of a contesting candidate in the state, is concerned most of the party leaders feel that the ceiling on election expenses i.e., rupees fifty thousand as prescribed by the Election Commission of India is unrealistic. It is too less considering the price index at the time of election. The amount cannot meet the entire election expenses involved. Some leaders said that the amount cannot buy even the election materials. So it should be increased to a sizeable amount. Moreover, the election expenses between the candidates of the hills and the plains should not be equally fixed. Because, the valley constituencies are compact and small in area. A candidate can cover the entire constituency in a day or so. While the hill constituencies are fragmented and dispersed apart over a long distance. This automatically involves heavy expenditure in campaigning throughout the constituency.

The political parties should not be allowed to enter the election fray while in power. Only the Chief Minister can stay as 'Caretaker' till a new government is formed. Other ministers should resign at the time of filling nominations. This is because of the fact that during the elections, there were many allegation of misusing government machineries by the party in power.

The poll schedule in the country as a whole needs to be further compressed. The election time including campaigning period is too long. It may be reduced to around 10 days for the valley and 15 days for the hills. As elections are being conducted regularly voters are capable of assessing the political parties and their candidates easily in 10 days. The campaigning materials used by the parties/candidates be restricted to some considerable items. It should be limited to only party flags, symbols and posters of the candidate concerned. No other campaign literature/materials should be allowed to be used. Because, people know that which

party or candidate is the best. Unnecessary spending on campaigning in the name of election should be considered a 'crime' to the nation's developmental process.²

Today, election promises has become hollow promises in most case. So, any party when it comes to power, if unable to fulfil its election promises, must be disqualified from contesting the next elections on the ground of cheating and dishonouring the mandate of the people. The election dispute should be decided expeditiously and disposed off within a reasonable period of time say six months as in the case of bi-elections. Keeping election disputes on pending till the next election comes may strengthen the electoral malpractices. So quick disposal of election petitions are imperative. Otherwise, there is no meaning of lodging complaints. Special courts may also be constituted for this purposes.³

So long as elections are held and multi-party system exists in India, election alliances are unavoidable. However, law must restrict the formation of post-poll alliance considering the chances to form the ministry. Pre-poll-alliances is mandatory. Anti-Defection law should be amended to remove the lacunae so that any elected representative who leaves the party, be or she, must vacate the seat forthwith. Once a candidate contests and wins seat on the platform of a particular political party. He/she should not be allowed to change allegiance/affiliation throughout the term for which he or she has been elected. Any change in party affiliation would have tantamount to his/her disqualification. This will strengthen the stability in government. The law may provide for disqualification of the members going out of the parent party in any number.⁴

Law must also try to limit the number of candidates by placing certain criteria. There must be some specific qualification for the aspiring candidates to fight the elections. The law should prescribe a minimum educational qualification

for candidates - perhaps a University degree. This may reduce the mushrooming of candidates thereby reducing the electoral expenses to be borne by the state. One needs certain qualifications for holding a job, public office etc. Why not for the candidates who are suppose to hold a dignified post .A lay man or criminals playing politics cannot be the right and deserving proposition to hold such a prestigious post Moreover, many candidates desired to contest election simultaneously from more than one constituency to win the seat by hook or by crook. But in the event of victory/success from more than one constituency, he/she has to vacate the other seat necessitating by elections causing unavoidable strain on manpower and financial resources of the state. So no candidate should be permitted and allowed to contest election simultaneously from more than one constituency. It must be restricted by law in all's interest.⁵

It is also imperative to have a total ban on the Independent candidates. Since India has adopted party system, the election should be fought on party lines but not on an individual capacity. There is no justification for allowing independent candidates. Allowing Independents to contest election may undermine the character of party system. As well, it also creates a lot of problems in printing ballot papers; confusion to voters' choice of candidate, allotment of symbols etc.⁶ To eliminate the menace of independent candidates only registered political parties should be permitted to contest elections. The formation of various new political parties creates problems and burdens to the entire election process as well as instability in government. Possibly the mushrooming of political parties should be checked and prevented at the cost of the stability in government. Their number be drastically reduced by law, providing for a reasonably higher percentage of nation-wide or state wide vote being compulsory for recognition and registration as a national or state party.⁷

A Party must be at least more than five year old before it can contest any election to public office or membership to any legislature. For the registration and recognition of parties, it should function and organise its activities for not less than five years. The party must have a sizeable membership in all the territorial constituencies. Those parties which are unable to secure at least 50 percent votes in the polls for two consecutive election contest must also be derecognised and eliminated from the next elections. Once it has done, it cannot be revived again. Automatically the party will cease to exist. (Some eminent personalities like Subhash C. Kashyap proposed for a reasonably higher percentage of nation-wide or state-wide vote being compulsory for recognition and registration as a national or state party).

The elected members should represent the views of the majority of the people in the society. No candidate should be declared elected unless he/she has secured 50 percent of total votes polled. Only candidates securing more than 50 percent of votes polled should be declared elected. If no candidate secures that kind of support, immediately within a week's time, there should be a repoll to ascertain who gets the requisite number of votes. This condition would reduced the possibility of weak candidates getting elected. This system also will eliminate the weak and frivolous candidates from contesting the election.

It is said people are "sovereign and powerful." This sovereign power is however, limited to a few moment-the moment to seal the ballot papers to elect their representatives. For the rest of the period till the next election comes, they are powerless. They do not have control over their legislators/ representatives when the latter indulged in undemocratic practices such as defection, redefection (Floor-crossing), corruption, scams, scandals, etc. V.M. Sirsikar rightly pointed out that "The

general elections endow a temporary personality to the common citizens. They are crowned as “the sovereign voters.” In a sense this sovereignty is very real as the voters collectively decide upon the set of elite who would rule the next term of five years. But at the same time the sovereignty is very transient. It lapses the day the polling is over. No elite neither the elected nor the defeated feels concerned about “the sovereigns” for five years. The voters return to their daily drab routine without their ‘crowns’.⁹ So, today, there has arisen the necessity to adopt and introduce into practice the devices of Direct Democracy as prevalent in Switzerland as the only devices to check upon the unethical and irresponsible behaviour of the legislators. Only then they can be checked by due process when the situation arises. The Election Commission should be given “Statutory Power.” Law must empower the Commission to disqualify any candidate/party who violate the election codes, rules, instructions and laws, without enabling the political parties/ candidates to appeal to the judicial courts.

In the present context, considering the instability in government, it is high time to increase the required majority to form a government from simple majority to two-thirds majority. The government should be formed and removed by the two-thirds majority of the members of the lower House. It would help the government to work without the Damocles’ Sword of uncertainty hanging over its head. It is also necessary to consider the efficacy of certain proposed measures for curbing the influences of money power, such as making the submission of an audited account of income with the EC obligatory for every political party, and a complete ban on donations by companies to political parties, particularly in the present context of clandestine political deals in multicore financial scams of diverse sorts. Measure to make political parties function on democratic lines are worth our considerations. It is also necessary to evaluate the suitability and efficacy of the

following and also other measures to prevent booth-capturing and scientific rigging of elections and to make election free and fair, the issue of identity cards with photographs to every electors, the use of electronic voting machine, maintenance and revision of electoral rolls with accuracy and completeness; statutory sanction for the model code of conduct formulated by the EC; keeping out persons with proving criminal records from electoral contest as proposed by the EC; the voters right to recall; the voters right to reject undesirable and frivolous candidates. The criteria for registering and recognising political parties and de-registering and de-recognising them should be clearly stated and well established. The registration criteria should relate to clear objectives and representational character of the party, its non discriminatory activities and its commitment to public service.. No party which is based on religious, communal or caste appeal should be recognised as a political party. A political party which promotes communalism either before, during or after elections should be dereorganised and disqualified from contesting the elections. Only such political parties should be registered and continue to be recognised which practise internal democracy and adhere to the democratic process of regular elections of their office bearers from the grassroots to the state or national levels. The political party which does not follow the democratic norms within cannot be expected to adhere to these outsides.¹⁰ Prescribing of strict and reasonable ceilings through elections laws on expenditure that be incurred by contesting candidates, periodic revision of such ceilings and very strict enforcement of these laws and rules are essential to curb the growing menace of money power in elections. There should be limits on expenditure to be incurred on vehicles, publicity, literature, posters, hoarding, public address system, meetings, advertisements, etc, The use of muscle power has again become a menace in elections. It results in impersonation, intimidation,

booth-capturing and vote rigging. It is very important to remove the threat or use of muscle power by strengthening the polling and law and order machinery, by introducing the identity card system and by providing exemplary punishment for infractions. One of the suggestions is that no arms should be allowed to be carried by contesting candidates, their supporters or voters during elections. There should be a model code of conduct not only for political parties but also for the candidates. The model code of conduct should be strictly enforced and a breach of the code by a candidate should warrant severe punishment. The need for a massive national voter awareness campaign is both desirable and essential. The voter must be made aware of the importance of his right of franchise and its free and fair exercise. He or she must know the laws and rules of conduct and must be motivated to help the process of democracy by exercising his or her right of franchise in a free, fair and independent way.¹¹

The use of money power and muscle power in elections has corroded the very fabric of our body politics and political system. Competitive use of money and muscle power and escalating costs have also become a serious menace. To curb this, it will be desirable to supplement the present financial limits for election related expenses by physical limit also e.g. low cost specifications regarding number, size, material and colour of handbills, poster, hoardings and wall paintings, newspapers, radio and TV advertisements, number of vehicles and election campaigners used (to keep down money power) and also to ban large electioneering meeting needing use of more than one microphone, all election related procession and use of unregistered and unapproved election campaigners. All campaigners should be checked by an agency appointed by the Election Commission for their suitability and issued identity badges to keep out known

'goonda' elements (to keep down muscle power). Since all the informations that the voters really need is qualification, experience, party affiliation and objectives of the candidates, no costly, hi-tech and highly competitive publicity campaign is necessary. Every political party (as well as a candidate) seeking an election symbol must sign a pledge in writing that it (and he or she) accepts unreservedly the unity and integrity of India and adjures propaganda against any religious group or tribe or language and other fissiparous or chauvinistic action that can adversely affect national unity and integrity.¹²

Election law and procedures need to be reformed. Criminals, mafias, charge-sheeter, and those involving in scams/corruptions (whether convicted or cases pending against them in judicial courts for decision) should be debarred from contesting elections.¹³

Success of democracy depends on free and fair elections. In order to have free and fair elections, a consideration of strengthening the Election Commission with more power and its own cadre of officers to man its key offices in the states, the partial less list system as prevalent in Germany with a knowledge of certain difficulties in operationalising this in the Indian context; state funding of elections for the recognised national and state parties and their candidates as justified by the Indrajit Gupta Committee, Compulsory voting law, auditing of the accounts of political parties, and rules for ensuring inner party democracy and political parties are important measures. These measures will also go a long way in ensuring political reforms necessary for a healthier political life in the country. Such drastic steps would be needed to strengthen the system and avoid the chances of disunity and disintegration of the country and to cope up with new problems and

challenges. If these steps and reforms delayed further, may imperil the democratic foundation of our polity. They are the need of the hour.

The study of February 1995 Assembly polls in Manipur experienced growing intensity of political competition among the various political parties contesting the election. Still the power struggle has been between MPP and Congress-I. In this election too, the long domination of Congress party in both the government as well as politics in the state was also experienced heavily challenged by the non-congress parties particularly the Manipur Peoples party. Though the hill constituencies has been the strong bastion of Congress, it saw a sea change in this election. The Congress-I suffered a set back in the hills except in Ukhrul district. As in the previous elections, no contesting party could secure a workable majority in the election. It seemed that except, Congress-I and MPP, the future of other parties are fast declining with no bright future. The parties in their struggle for power started adopting sensitive issues, regional appeals, and emphasis to local problems to win the election. The MPP played with the sentiments of the plainmen to hit the electoral jackpot. During the election, the tentacles of ethnicity emerged for the first time in the political history of Manipur. The protection of Manipur's territorial integrity became the most important election propaganda during the election. The election also indicates that the majority section of the electorates were dissatisfied with the existing system in the state. They could not tolerate floor-crossing, corruption etc. So, many of them were rejected by the voters for dishonouring the peoples' mandate. Election promises has been hollow promises so far as socio-economic conditions and hardships of the people are concerned. The election also manifested that party politics in Manipur does not get deep-rooted. The successive election results also indicate that the electorates do

not have full confidence to any particular party as no party could secure a workable majority till date in the elections. In many cases, the voters cast their votes mainly on the line of candidates. Though the female voters outnumbered the male voters, still the electorate has no confidence to women candidates as none of them returned in the election. A denial to hand over the reins of the governance of State Affairs. Another aspect is that majority of the candidates were not upto the mark of the people. In the eye of the people both the parties and candidates are equally good or bad so far as their performance is concerned only a few of them deserved to be peoples representatives, so voted irrespective of their party affiliations. The election of many new and young candidates appears that the electorate do not like the old and seasoned politicians/leaders to be their life time representative. The election also shows that energetic, and educated candidates with personality won the seat. There are several reason for defeat of the existing MLAs and ministers in the election, disillusionment with them being the most common. Today, the electorate have become quite conscious of their voting rights, and mature enough of the electoral process and techniques as provided by the regular elections.

Thus, in the politics of Manipur we find the element of aggravation of regionalism and sectarianism. The need for a concerted and meaningful action in regard to political modernisation in the state is imperative. The party system needs re-structuring and re-orientation to make political competition healthy and genuinely democratic. At the same time, the political ethos among the electorate need to be modernised by education, and socio-economic improvement which would ensure better political awareness, stronger political efficacy and reasonable degree of stable political affiliations and relationships. Thus the political leaders, elites and social scientists have to apply their mind earnestly to the problems of

democratisation of the “developing society” in this part of the Indian Union.¹⁵ In fact, it is high time for all the political parties to review their political blunder to open new vistas in the politics of the state of Manipur.

References

1. R.N. Prasad and A.K. Agarwal, *Political and Economic Development of Mizoram*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Edition, 1991, p. 43.
2. See also, Sadasiva Reddy, *Electoral Processes : Case for Institutionalisation of Reforms*, in *Politics India*, October 1998, p.29.
3. See also Shivraj Patil, *Electoral Reform*, in *Politics India*, October 1998, p. 10.
4. Ibid, and See also Rabi Ray, *Electoral Reforms : Need of the Hour*, in *Politics India*, October 1998, p. 9.
5. See also, Subhash C. Kashyap *Electoral Reforms : A Perspective in Politics India*, March 1998, p. 45. And See also Syed Shahabuddin, *4 Charter of Electoral Reforms*, in *Politics India*, October, 1998, p. 15.
6. *Ibid*
7. *Ibid*.
8. See, no. 4.
9. V.M. Sirsikar, *Sovereigns without crowns*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, First Published, 1973, p. 152.
10. *Dynamic Administration*, Quarterly News letter of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, U.P. Regional Branch, A-25 Jawahar Bhavan, Lucknow, October-December, 1994, (20th issue).
11. *Ibid*.
12. *Ibid*.
13. R.N. Prasad, *Our Goals for 21st Century : (a) Economics (b) Social and (c) Administrative. Some Suggestions* (in) *Administrative Review, Annual Journal of the Indian Institute of Public Administration*, Mizoram Regional Branch 1998. p. 95.
14. R.N. Prasad, *Review of the Indian Constitution*, (This theme paper was presented at the Prelude Conference on Review of the Indian Constitution Organised by Indian Institute of Public Administration, Mizoram, Regional Branch on 20 September 2000); (unpublished).
15. R.P. Singh, "*Electoral Politics in Manipur : Spatio-Temporal Study*," New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, First Published, 1981, p. 173

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A] Primary Sources

- Election Commission of India's 'Notification' No. 464/MR-LA/95 (1), Dated 16 January 1995, fixing the schedule of the election.
- Election Commission of India's 'Notification' No. 464/MR-LA/95 (2), Dated 16 January, 1995 fixing the polling hours.
- Election Commission of India's 'Notification' No. 464/MR-LA/95, Dated 27 January 1995, making amendments in its notification No. 464/MR-LA/95 (1), Dated 16 January 1995 to hold the polls on two dates instead of one day.
- Manipur State Gazette, Extraordinary, 16 January 1995, regarding the notification on 16 January 1995 issued by the Governor of Manipur calling upon electors of all Assembly Constituencies to elect members for the Assembly.
- 'Press Note' Dated, Imphal the 16 January 1995, released by A.P. Sharma, Chief Electoral Officer, Manipur, regarding the notification to hold elections and asking the political parties and candidates to abide by the model code of conduct and the instructions of the EC; to maintain day by day account on elections expenses by the candidates etc,
- Election Commission of India's 'Order' No. 495/ES 010/94/5368, Dated 2 September 1994, regarding identification of likely trouble spots to avoid fresh poll due to booth-capturing etc.
- Secretariat of the Election Commission of India's Letter No. 576/11/94/J.S. II, Dated 6 February 1995 directing the respective Chief Electoral Officers of six states not to make the insistence on the production of identity cards as a prerequisite for voting.
- Election Commission of India's 'Notification' No. 492/MR-LA/95 (1) Dated 26 April 1995, fixing the schedules of the election to be held in the countermanded Lamsang Assembly Constituency.
- Manipur State Gazette, Extraordinary, 10 May 1995, regarding the list of contesting candidates in the elections to the countermanded Lamsang Assembly constituency.

Constituency wise photographed voters as on 7 February 1995, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

“In Lieu of Message Form” No. 2/ELEC-79/93 Vol.-VII, Dated 28. June 1994, from Chief Electoral Officer, Manipur, to the respective DCs, SDOs, EROs and Managing Director, Manitron, to discontinue distribution of Identity Cards to the voters on the spot due to law and order situation even though the photography Programme goes on, as a security measure.

“In Lieu of Message Form” No. 2/ELEC-79/93 Vol.-VII, Dated 25 June 1994, from Chief Electoral Officer, Manipur, to the respective DCs, DEOs, EROs and SDOs, not to issue Identity Cards to voters on the spot in view of prevailing law and order situation in the state and to make a separate programme later, for distribution of cards to the electors with the approval of CEO.

‘Fax Message’ No. 2/ELEC-79/93 Vol. VII, Dated 17 May 1994, from Chief Electoral Officer, Manipur to the Secretary, Election Commission of India regarding the taking up of photography works in Manipur.

Statement showing the cases of collection of Identity Cards from voters by armed personnels (as per official and newspaper reports); State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Statement showing the list of incidents occurred during the course of preparation and issue of Photo Identity Cards; State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

‘Press Note’ Dated nil, released by A.P. Sharma, Chief Electoral Officer, Manipur, informing the political parties, contesting candidates, and the public at large of the list of Election Observers appointed by the Election Commission of India.

Statement showing Data Relating to Electoral Rolls - Revised with 1 January 1995 as qualifying date, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Numbers of Electors, 1995 Rolls, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Revised Electoral Rolls, as on 23 January 1995, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Annexure-I, Number of Nominated candidates in Assembly constituency wise, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

List of woman candidates, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

‘Statement -1’ showing District-wise Assembly Constituencies, polling stations; electors; number of candidates who filed nominations, number of candidates, whose nominations were rejected; number of candidates who withdrew their candidatures and number of contesting candidates, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

‘Statement-2’ showing constituencies, number and name of contesting candidates, their party affiliation and symbols, and party-wise break-up of candidates; State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Details of General Election to Manipur Legislative Assembly 1995. State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Number of Polling Stations and its classification into three categories in District-wise, state Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Final List of Elected Persons and party-wise Position, State Election Office, Lamphel, Manipur.

Model code of conduct for the Guidance of Political Parties and candidates, Election Commission of India, Reprint 1995.

Sixth Manipur Legislative Assembly Election -1995, Results (Provisional) Published by Government of Manipur, Directorate of Information and Public Relations.

Assembly Election Manifesto '95, Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee-L

Election Manifesto, February 1995, Assembly Election, Bhartiya Janata Party, Manipur Pradesh.

Election Manifesto, February 1995, Janata Dal, Manipur. Assembly Election Manifesto, February 1995, Samata Party, Manipur. Election Manifesto, February 1995 Assembly Election, Janata Party, Manipur.

Election Manifesto, Sixth Manipur State Assembly Election, February 1995, Manipur State Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist).

Election Manifesto, February . 1995 Assembly Election, Manipur State Council, Communist Party of India.

- Election Manifesto, 1995, Manipur Peoples Party.
- The Federal Manifesto 1995, Federal Party of Manipur.
- Manifesto of Kuki National Assembly.
- Election Manifesto, Sixth Manipur State Assembly Election 1995, National Peoples Party.
- Election Manifesto, Manipur Assembly Election, February 1995, Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya).
- Election Manifesto, 1995, Manipur Hill Peoples' Council
- Manifesto, Assembly Election 1995, Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee (S),
- Constitution of Political Parties.
- Leaflet (Congress will protect the integrity of Manipur) Dated 29 January 1995, released by the Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee-I.
- Press Release, Dated 28 January 1995, by Smajwadi Janata Party (Rastriya) Manipur (W, Tomcha Group).
- Xeroxed copy of Annexure -8, Joint Agreement for the merger of the United Naga Integration Council (UNIC) with the All India Congress Party, made in August 1972, circulated by Manipur Peoples Party.
- Manipur Merger Agreement made on 21 September 1949 between the Governor General of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur.
- List of Mass media (Daily Papers, weeklies, Monthlies etc.); Government of Manipur, Directorate of Information and Public Relations.
- List of Members of Manipur (Both MPs and MLAs since 1947) Manipur Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Imphal, 1997.
- Governor of Manipur, V.K. Nayar's 'Report' No. GSM/LA-8/93 Dated 5 October 1993 to the President of India recommending Presidents' Rule in Manipur.

- Census of India, 1991 Final Population Totals, Manipur, Extracts from the statistical Handbook of Manipur, 1992.
- Statistical Handbook of Manipur 1992 Published by Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Government of Manipur.
- Economic Review 1994-95, Published by Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Government of Manipur, Imphal.
- Cultural Heritage of Manipur (A Profile), Published by Department of Arts and Culture, Manipur.
- Interview with T. Gunadhwaja Singh, Spokesman, Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee-I on 7 May 1999 and Bidyapati Senjam, General Secretary MPCC(I) on 10 May 1999.
- Interview with L. Lalit Singh, Candidate of Congress-1 in Keishamthong Assembly Constituency on 21 January 1999.
- Interview with K. Babudhon Singh, Congress-I Candidate in Langthabal Assembly Constituency, on 10 October 1995.
- Interview with A.S. Arthur, Candidates of Congress-I in Ukhrul (ST) Reserved Assembly Constituency, on 3 November 1998.
- Interview with W. Kullabidhu Singli, President, State Unit Janata Dal, Manipur, on 3rd May 1995.
- Interview with Danny Shaiza, Candidate of Janata Dal in Ukhrul (ST) Reserved Assembly Constituency, on 18 February 1997.
- Interview with Kh. Angangjao Singh, Chairman, Parliamentary Board, Samata Party, State Unit, Manipur, on 20 February 1997.
- Interview with Ako Shaiza, Candidate of Samata Party in Ukhrul (ST) Reserved Assembly Constituency, on 24 February 1997.
- Interview with N. Ram Singh, General Secretary, Bhartiya Janata party, State Unit, Manipur, on 28 April 1999.
- Interview with A. Hemchand Singh, Candidate of Bhartiya Janata Party in Keishamthong Assembly Constituency on 17 December 1998;
- Interview with L. Iboyaima Singh, General Secretary, State Unit Janata Party, Manipur, on 29 April 1999.

Interview with Ph. Parijat Singh, State Secretary, Communist Party of India, Manipur on 26 April 1999.

Interview with M. Shamu Singh (Secretary); N. Modhusudon Singh; Y. Ratan Singh- and Ksh. Shanta (Secretariat Member), Communist Party of India (Marxist) Manipur State Committee, on 10 May 1999.

Interview with O. Joy Singh, Candidate of MPP in Langthabal Assembly Constituency on 9 April 1999.

Interview with Ksh. Brajamani Singh, General Secretary Manipur Peoples Party, on 11 April 1999. He was also a candidate in Kshetrigao Assembly Constituency.

Interview with R.K. Ranbir Singh, Candidate of Manipur Peoples party in Keishamthong Assembly Constituency on 4 May 1999.

Interview with M. Jane Singh, President, Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya), State Unit, Manipur on 2 May 1997.

Interview with Sh. Gourachandra Sharma, Candidate of SJP (R) in Thangmeiband Assembly Constituency, on 10 May 1997.

Interview with R.K. Nokulsana Singh, President, Indian Congress (Socialist), Manipur, on 1 May 1998. he was also a candidate in Patsoi Assembly Constituency,

Interview with Jainson Haokip, President Kuki National Assembly on 1 May 1998.

Interview with N. Joykumar Singh, General Secretary, Federal Party of Manipur, on 3 May 1998.

Interview with Kh. Dhurbatara, Candidate of FPM in Langthabal Assembly Constituency, on 6 February 1996.

Interview with Zimik Weapon, President, Manipur Hills Peoples Council, on 7 January 1997. He was also a Candidate in Chingai (ST) Reserved Assembly Constituency.

Interview with K. Brajamohan Dev Sharma, President, National Peoples Party, on 1 May 1998.

Interview with H. Mukhai Singh, Independent Candidate in Langthabal Assembly Constituency, on 5 February 1999.

Interview with Sh. Gopal Sharma, Editor "*Poknapltam*," Manipuri Daily, Imphal, on 10 February 1999.

Interview with K. Modhumangal Singh, Seniormost Journalist and Editor, '*Prjatantra*,' Manipuri Daily, Imphal, on \% February 1999.

Interview with R.K. Ranendrajit Singh, Editor, '*The Freedom*' English Daily, Imphal, on 12 February 1999.

B] Secondary Sources

Assembly Elections: 1993, New Delhi, Shipra Publications 1994.

Agarwal S.P. *Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha Election : 1989-1990 : Process and Results with Comparative Study of Manifestoes*," New Delhi, Concept, 1990.

Akhil Bharat Serva Seva Sangh, *Elections and Democracy*, Varanasi, Akhil Bharat Serva Seva Sangh, 1967.

Annexation of Manipur - 1949, Published by Peoples Democratic Movement (PDM), Manipur, Fist Published, 1995.

Avasthi, A. and B.R. Purohit, *Dimensions of Election Campaign and Electoral Behaviour in Fourth General Elections in Madhya Pradesh* (mimeographed) Sakgar, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Saugar University, 1970.

* Agarwal, S.P. *Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha Elections, 1989-1990*; Process and Results with Comparative Study of Manifestoes, New Delhi, Concept, 1990.

* Bhalla, R.P. *Elections in India (1950-72)*, New Delhi, S. Chand, 1973.

Ball Alan R., *Modern Politics and Government*, London, Mac Millan, Fifth Editions, 1993.

Bhuyan B.C., *Political Development of the North East*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Omsons Publications, First Published, 1989.

Bailey, F.G. *Politics and Social Change : Orissa in 1959*, University of California, 1963.

- Brass, Paul R. *Caste Faction and Party in Indian Politics*, Delhi, Chanakya, 1984.
- Cheitharol Kumbaba*, (CK) 1606 A.D State Chronicles, edited by L. ibungoha. Singh and N. Kheichandra Singh with an Introduction by E. Nilakanta Singh, Imphal, 1967.
- Choudhry NK. *Assembly Election 1993*, Delhi, Shipra Publications, First Published, 1994
- Choudhry N.K. *Assembly Elections : 1994-95 : An Analysis and Results*, Delhi, Shipra Publication, First Published, 1995.
- Constantine R., *Manipur : Maid of the Mountains*, New Delhi, Lancers Publishers 1981.
- Chaube S.K. *Electoral Politics in North-East India*, Madras : University Press, 1985.
- Chopra J.K. (Forwarded by R.P. Dua), *Politics of Election Reforms in India*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Edition, 1989.
- Chandidad R. and others, *India Votes : A Source Book on Indian Election*, New York, Humanities Press, 1968.
- Chawla, D.D. *Elections: Law and Practice*, New Delhi, Bhari Brothers, 1967,
- Chowdhury, Bhawani Sankar, *Law of Elections in the Indian Republic*, Calcutta ; Eastern Law house, 1967.
- Dutta P.S. (ed.), *Electoral Politics in North East India*, New Delhi, Omsons Publications, 1986.
- Datta, Ray B. (ed.) *Electoral Politics in Meghalaya*, Shillong, North-East India Council for Social for Social Sciences Research, 1978.
- Dev Bimal J. and Lahiri Dillip K., *Manipur : Culture and Politics*, Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Published, 1987.
- Dube, S.C., *Tradition and Modernity*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1994.
- Dastur Aloo J. and others, *Studies In the Fourth General Election*, Bombay. Allied Publishers, 1972.
- Duwerger Maurice, *Political Parties - Their Organisation and Activity in the Moder State*, London, Methuen, 1978.

- Das Gupta, Biplab and W. Morris Jones, *Patterns and Trends in Indian Politics : An Ecological Analysis of Aggregate Data on Society and Elections*, Bombay, Allied, 1979.
- *Dastur, Aloo J., Kunjabala P. Modi and Rosebeh N. Billimoria, *Voting Pattern in Bombay : 1967* Bombay, University of Bombay, 1969.
- Eastern Frontier of British India* by Captain R.B. Pemberton (1835).
- Elders Veld, Sammuell and Vashiruddin Ahmed, *Citizens and Politics : Mass political Behaviour in India*; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- * Field, John Osgood, *Electoral Politics in the Indian States : The impact of Modernisation*, New Delhi, Monohar, 1977.
- * Fadia Babulal, *State Politics in India*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Radiant Publishers, First Published, 1984.
- Gassah L.S. (ed.), *Regional Political Parties in North East India*, New Delhi, Omsons Publications, 1992.
- Gopalakrishnan R., *Insurgent North Eastern Region of India*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., First Published, 1995.
- Gazetteer of Manipur* by Captain E.W. Dun, B.S.C. (1886), Calcutta, Reprinted 1975, Delhi, Vivek Publishing House.
- Goyal O.P., *Indian Political System*, New Delhi, Mac Millan, 1987.
- Gehlot N.S. *Elections and Electoral Administration in India*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, 1992.
- Ganguly, Bangenda and Mira, *Voting Behaviour in a Changing Society : West Bengal- A Case Study*, Delhi, Sterling, 1975.
- Ganguly B. and Mira Ganguly, *Dimensions on of Electoral Behaviour*, Calcutta, Pearl Publishers, 1983.
- Ganguly B. and Mira Ganguly, *Voting Behaviour in a Developing Society. West Bangui -A Case Study*, Delhi Stering, 1971.

Grover V. (ed.), *Elections, Electoral mechanism and Behaviour in India*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep, 1989.

Grover V. (ed.), *Elections and Politics in India*, New Delhi Deep and Deep, 1988.

* Iqbal Narain, *Rural Elite and Elections in an Indian State*, New Delhi, National 1976.

* Iqbal Narain, *Linkage, Elite and Elections*, Meerut, Meenakhi, 1978.

* Iqbal Narain, *et al, Election Studies in India*, Bombay, Allied, 1978.

International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Volume-5, New York, The Mac Millan Company and the Free Press, 1972.

International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science, Volume 15, New York, 1968.

Iqbal Narain and Associates *Election Studies in India : An Evaluation*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1987.

* Iqbal Narain (ed.), *State Politics in India*, Meerut, Meenakshi, 1976.

* Iqbal Narain, Pande K.C., Mohanlal Sharma (Mrs) Hansa Raj pal, *Election Studies in India : An Evaluation*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, n.d.

Jha, Shivachandra, *Indian Party Politics : Structure, Leadership, Programmes*, new Delhi Deep and Deep, 1989.

Jangam R.T. *Political Sociology*, New Delhi, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co-Pvt. Ltd., Fifth Printing, 1993.

* Krishna Mani, P. "Elections, Candidates and Voters, New Delhi; Sterling 1971.

* Krishna Mani, P.N., *Elections, Candidates and Voters*, New Delhi, Institute of Constitutional and parliamentary Studies, 1967.

*Kothari Rajni, "State Against Democracy : In Search of a Human Governance," Delhi, Ajanta Publications, 1988.

* Kothari Rajni "Politics and the People : In Search of a Human India," Delhi, Ajanta Publications, 1989.

Kothari Rajni, *Politics in India*, Delhi, Orient Longman, 1995.

- Kothari Rajni (ed.), *Party System and Election Studies*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers 1967.
- Kothari Rajni and others, *Context of Electoral Change in India : General Elections 1967*, New Delhi, Academic Books n.d.
- Kashyap Subhash C. (ed.) *Elections and Electoral Reforms in India*, new Delhi, Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, 1971.
- Khusro A.M. *Unfinished Agenda : India and the World Economy*, New Delhi, Wiley Eastern Limited, 1994.
- Kirti M. Singh, *Religion and Culture of Manipur*, Delhi, Manas Publications, First Edition, 1988.
- Lucy Abonmei, *Political Participation : A Case Study of Liangmei Tribe of Manipur (1947-1992)*; M. Phil. Dissertation (Unpublished), Department of Political Science, Manipur University, 1993.
- Maheshwari S.R. *Political Development in India*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, first Published, 1984.
- Malik Yogendra K. and Marquette Jesse F. *Political Mercenaries and Citizen Soldiers. A Profile of North Indian Party Activists*, Delhi, Chankya Publications, First Published, 1990.
- Mehta Prayag, *Election Campaign*, New Delhi, National 1975.
- Misra S.N. *Party Politics and Electoral Choice in an Indian State*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1989.
- Mirchandani, G.G. *State Assembly Election*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1980.
- Nilakanta Singh, E., *Aspects of Indian Culture*, Published by Jawaharlal Nehru Manipur Dance Academy, Imphal, First Published, 1982.
- Nayar V.K. *Threat From Within : India's Internal Security Environment*, New Delhi, Lancer Publishers Pvt. Ltd., First Published, 1992.
- Pathak D.N. *Political Behaviour in Gujarat with Reference to the Fourth General Elections*, in *Studies in the Fourth General Elections*, New Delhi, ICSSR, Allied Publishers, 1972.

- Prasad , R.N. and Agarwal A.K. *Political and Economic development of Mizoram*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Edition, 1991.
- Paul Sharda, *1989 General Election in India*, New Delhi, Associated Publishing House, 1990
- Palmer Norman D. *Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience* New Delhi, Vikas, 1976.
- Palmer Norman D. *India's Fourth General Elections*, Asian Survey Vol. VII No 5 (May 1967).
- Pattabhiram, M., *General Elections in India 1967*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1967.
- Prasad, R.C., *The Mature Electorate*, New Delhi, Ashish, 1975.
- Pai Pandikar, V.A. and Ramashray Roy, *Financing of Elections*, New Delhi, Centre for Policy Research, 1981.
- Quraisi Zaheer Masood, *Elections and State Politics of India ; A Case Study of Kashmir*, Delhi, Sundeep Prakashan, First Publication, 1979,
- * Rose Richard (ed.) *Electoral Participation : A Comparative Analysis*, London, Sage Publications, First Printing, 1980.
- Rose Richard, *Influencing Voters, A Study of Campaign Rationality*, London, Dther and Faber, 1967.
- Robert Hardgrave Jr., *India ! The Government and Politics in a Developing Nation*, New Delhi, Freeman, 1979.
- Raghava G N.S. and G. Balachandran *Forty Years' of World's Largest Democracy : A Survey of India Elections*, New Delhi, Gian Publishing House 1990.
- Rajagopalachari, C. *Rescue Democracy from Money Power*, Bombay, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1971.
- Singh L.P. *Electoral Reform : Problems and Suggested Solutions*, New Delhi, Uppal Publishing House, First Published, 1986.
- Schumpeter J.A. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, London, 1961.

- Swamy Dalip S *Multinational Corporations and the World Economy*, New Delhi, ALPS (International) Publishers, First Published, 1980.
- Singh R.P. *Electoral Politics in Manipur : A Spatio-Temporal Study*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, First Published, 1981.
- * Singh R.P. *The General Elections in Manipur L:I, 1972*, (Mimeographed), Imphal D.M. College, Manipur.
- Sanajaoba N. (ed.); *Manipur : Past and Present*, Vol. 3, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Editions, 1995.
- Seth D.L. *Partisanship and Political Development*, in Seth D.L. (ed.) *Citizens and parties : Aspects of Competitive Politics in India*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1975.
- Sirsikar V.M. *Sovereigns without Crowns*,” Bombay, Popular Prakashan, First Published, 1973.
- * Sirsikar V.M. *Political Behaviour in India*, Bombay, Manaktalas, 1965.
- Sanatomba Singh, S., *Voting Behaviour in Manipur (1948-1995) : A Case Study of Thanga Assembly Constituency*, Ph. D. Thesis (Unpublished), Department of History, Manipur University, 1998.
- Saroj Nalini Paratt, *The Religion of Manipur*, Calcutta, Firma KLM. Private Limited. First Edition, 1980.
- *Shakdher, S.L. *Electoral Reforms for India*, New Delhi, Council and Citizen for Democracy 1980.
- Singh V.B. and S. Bose *State Elections in India*, New Delhi, Sage, 1986.
- Shakir Mom, *Religion, State, and Politics in India*, Delhi, Ajanti, 1989.
- Singh Prabha Prasad, *Political Violence in India*, Delhi, Amir Prakashan, 1919.
- Singh V B *Elections in India*, New Delhi, Sage, 1984.
- Singhvi, L.M. (ed.) *Elections and Electoral Reforms in India*, New Delhi, Sterling 1971
- Smith, T.E. *Elections in Developing Countries*, London Mc Millan, 1960.

- “The Study of Dr. Prag Mehta, *Election Campaign*, New Delhi, National, 1975.
- *Tarapot Phanjoubam, *Insurgency Movement in North Eastern India*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Second Reprint, 1994.
- Verma, S.P. *Modern political Theory*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd 1982.
- Venkata Rao V., Gante T.S. and Bimola Devi Ksh. *A Century of Government and Politics in North -East India*, Vol. IV : Manipur, New Delhi, S. Chand and Company Ltd., First Edition, 1991.
- Verma S.P., Iqbal Narain and Associates, *Voting Behaviour in a Changing Society : A case Study of the Fourth General Elections in Rajasthan*, Delhi, National, 1973.
- Verma V.P., *A Study of the Mid-Term Elections in Bihar 1969*, Patna : Institute of Public Administration, Patna University, 1970.
- Verma Shanti Prasad and C.P. Bhambri, *Elections and Political Consciousness in India*, Meerut, Meenakshi 1967.
- Verma Shanti Prasad and Iqbal Narain, *Voting Behaviour in a Changing Society*, Delhi, National, 1975.
- *Vernon Bagdanor and David Butler (ed.), *Democracy and Elections : Electoral Systems and other Political Consequences*, Cambridge, Cambridge university Press, First Published, 1983.
- *Weiner Myron, *The Indian Paradox ; Essays in Indian Politics*, New Delhi, Sage, 1989.
- Weiner Myron and John C. Field, *Electoral Politics in the Indian States : Three Disadvantaged Sectors*, Delhi, Manohar, 1975.
- Weiner Myron and Rajni Kothari (eds.) *Indian Voting Behaviour : Studies of the 1962 General Elections*, Calcutta Firma, K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1965.
- * Zaidi A.M. (eds.) *Promises to Keep : A Study of the Election Manifestoes of Indian national Congress, 1937-1985*, New Delhi, Indian Institute of Applied Political Research, 1986.

C] Articles

- Abel, M. 'Money and Elections,' *Indian Review*, 66 :10 (10 January 1971) 57-60.
- Brajakumar Sharma, A., *Population Growth and Alien Influx*, in N. Sanajaoba (ed.) "Manipur : Past and Present" Vol. 3., New Delhi, Mittal Publication, First Edition, 1995.
- Bhambri C.P. *Introduction* In N.K. Choudhry, *Assembly Elections 1993*, Delhi, Shipra Publications, First Published, 1994.
- Bimola Devi, Ksh. *Manipur Peoples Party*, in L.S. Gassah (ed.) *Regional Political Parties in North-East India*, New Delhi, Omsons Publications, 1992.
- Dynamic Administration*, Quarterly Newsletter of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, UP Regional Branch, A-25, Jawahar Bhavan, Lucknow, October-December, 1994 (20th Issue).'
- Gangmumei Kamei, *Genesis of the Ethnoses of Manipur*, In N. Sanajaoba (ed.) *Manipur : Past and Present*, Vol. 3, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Edition, 1995.
- Joglekar K.G. *The Press, Radio, Television and the Villagers*, Kurukshetra, Vol. XLIV, Nos. 4-5, January-February 1996.
- Kumar B.B., *The Languages of State*, in N. Sanajaoba (ed.) *Manipur : Past and Present*, Vol. 3, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Edition, 1995.
- Subhash C. Kashyap *Electoral Reforms : A Perspective*, in *Politics India*, March 1998.
- Kothari Rajni and Tarun Seth, *Extents and Limits of Community Voting : The Case of Baroda East*, in Myron Wiener and Rajni Kothari (eds.), *Indian Voting Behaviour: Studies of 1962 General Elections*, Calcutta, Mukhopadhyay, 1965.
- Prasad R.N. *The Sixth General Elections to the Mizoram Legislative Assembly 1989*, in (Off Print from) *Punjab Journal of Politics*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1-2 (1990), p. 126 Department of Political Science, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.
- Prasad R.N. *Analysis of Mizoram State Assembly Elections of 1987* (IN) *Political Science Review*, 27 : 1-4 (January to December 1988), pp. 133-47, Quarterly Journal of the Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

- Prasad R.N. *Our Qoals for 21st Century : (a) Economic, (b) Social and (c) Administrative - Some Suggestions* (in) *Administrative Review*, Annual Journal of the Indian'institute of Public Administration; Mizoram Regional Branch 1998.
- Prasad R.N., *Review of the Indian Constitution*, (This theme paper was presented at the prelude conference on Review of the Indian Constitution organised by Indian Institute of Public Administration, Mizoram Regional Branch on 20 September 2000) (Unpublished).
- Rao G.R.S. *Election Reform : Touchstone of the Basic Process of Power*, in *Politics India*, October 1998.
- Rabi Ray *Electoral Reform : Need of the Hour*, in *Politics India*, October 1998.
- Soumen Sen, *Election Manifestoes of Parties in Meghalaya - Some Preliminary Observations*, in P.S. Dutta (ed.) *Electoral Politics in North-East Indians*, New Delhi, Omsons Publications, 1986.
- Shivraj Patil, *Electoral Reforms*, in *Politics India*, October 1998.
- Sunder Ram D. *Changing Face of Parliamentary Democracy : Decline in Standards*, in *Politics India*, May 1998.
- Sanajaoba N. *The Roots*, in N. Sanajaoba (ed.) *Manipur : Past and Present*, Vol. 3, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, First Edition, 1995.
- Sadasiva Reddy, *Electoral Processes : Case for Institutionalisation of Reforms*, in *Politics India*, October 1998.
- Syed Shahabudin *A Charter of Electoral Reforms*, in *Politics India*, October 1998.
- Vinod Siaghai *Resurrection of the Republic : Revitalising Democracy*, in *Politics India*, March, 1998.
- Vimala Thakar, *Thhe Genesis of Political Crisis and Its Probable Solution*, in *Politics India*, October 1998.
- Wirsing Robert G., *Strategies of Political Bargaining in Indian City Politics*, in Donald B: Rosenthal (ed.) *The City in Indian Politics*, Faridabad, Thomson Press, 1976.

D] Magazines/Journals/Weeklies/Fortnightly

Eastern Panorama, Shillong, May 1994.

Eastern Panorama, Shillong, January 1995.

Eastern Panorama, Shillong, March 1995.

Indian Today, 31 March 1996.

Manipur Today, Independence Day Special Issue, 15 August 1995, Vol. XV. No. 3,
Published by Directorate of Information and Public Relations,
Government of Manipur.

Manipur Today, Republic Day Special Issue, 26 January 1996, Vol. XVI, No. 1,
Published by Directorate of Information and Public Relations,
government of Manipur.

North-East Sun, New Delhi, 11-17 March 1995.

Poknapham, Special Issue, Imphal 1 February 1994.

Poknapham, Special Issue, Imphal, 1 February 1995.

Poknapham, Special Issue, Imphal, 1 February 1996.

Sanathong, Manipur Monthly, Imphal, February 1995.

The Resistance, Imphal, 27, July 1982.

Thakhaigi Chephong, A Government of Manipur Fortnightly Published on 6 March
1995. (A Special Issue on 6th Manipur State Assembly Elections),

E] Hews Papers

HuiyeinLanpao, Manipuri Daily, Imphal,

Imphal Recorder, English Daily, Imphal.

Khollao, Manipuri Daily, Imphal.

Manipur Mail, English Daily, Imphal.

Nongallakpa, Manipuri Daily, Imphal.

Poknapham, Manipuri Daily, Imphal.

Prajatantra, Manipuri Daily, Imphal

Rajniti, Manipuri Daily, Imphal.

Simanta Patrika, Manipuri Daily, Imphal.

The Freedom, English Daily, Imphal.

The Telegraph, English Daily, Calcutta, 14 December 1994, 9 to 12 January 1995,

OoOoO

BRIEF BIO-DATA OF THE CANDIDATE

Name: Shri Arambam Prafullo Kumar Singh
Father's Name: Shri A.Mangi Singh
Permanent Address: Langthabal Mantrikhong, P.O. Canchipur, Imphal
Address: Manipur, Pin:- 795003
Present Address: Department of Political Science, Mamit College, Mamit
District Mamit, P.O. Mamit, Mizoram, Pin-796441
Date of birth: 1st March, 1962

<u>Educational Qualification:</u>	<u>Degree Obtained</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Division/Grade</u>
	B.A	Manipur University	1982	Pass
	M.A(Political Science)	Manipur University	1988	First
	M.Phil (South East Asian Studies)	Manipur University	1990	First

Occupation/ Designation: I joined as a lecturer in the Department of Political Science, Mamit College, Mamit, Mizoram, on 1st June, 1990 and was promoted to the position of Senior Grade lecturer with effect from 1st June 1997.

Length of service: 10 years, 6 months.

Research Experience: Since May, 1996 I have been doing the research works on "Elections and Political Dynamics: A case study of 1995 Assembly Elections in Manipur" for the award of Ph.D. Degree and finally completed and submitted the Ph.D thesis to the Deputy Registrar (Academic) North Eastern Hill University(NEHU), Shillong-22 for examination.


(A.PRAFULLOKUMAR SINGH)