

# CHAPTER – I

## CHAPTER – I

### 1.1

### Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Sikkim, a small but beautiful State is nestled in the lap of the mighty Eastern Himalayas, bounded by some of the highest mountain peaks, amidst spectacular terrain, pristine lakes, lush green forests, roaring rivers and gentle streams. In other words, it is an amazing place of hidden valleys, mystical monasteries, temples, churches, mosques, historical monuments, snow fed lakes and a mountain setting covered with flowers and rare *fauna*. In other words, Sikkim is a veritable paradise on the earth and a tourist-destination. The *flora* and *fauna* of Sikkim is a treat for nature lovers. The bio-diversity of the *flora* and *fauna* naturally covers a wide and myriad spectrum tropical to alpine.

Sikkim is a treasury over 4,500 species of flowering plants, 515 species of orchids, 36 types of rhododendrons, 23 varieties of bamboos, 362 types of ferns and its allies, 60 species of Primula, 424 types of medicinal plants, 150 types of mammals, 552 types of birds, 690 types of butterflies and 48 species of fish.<sup>1</sup> Splendid parasitic orchids cling to the moist moss which thickly clothes the dripping bark of the tall oaks, ilex and magnolias, and long tufts of stringy lichens hang from the branches in fantastic shapes, and stream in the wind like white whisker.<sup>2</sup> The most popular orchids of Sikkim are Nobile Orchid (*Dendrobium nobile*), the State flower of Sikkim, Cattaleya and *Dendrobium*. The Rhododendron Grande grows over 10 metres tall whereas the Rhododendron Nobile is grown barely a few inches above the ground.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, several species of medicinal plants and herbs are found throughout the season in the Himalayan State of Sikkim.

The lower altitude is home to lurking jungle wild cats, flying squirrels, agile mongoose and others. While in the temperate zone swing the Primates (like, monkeys, apes and their relatives), leopards, red panda, musk deer, the Himalayan black bear and the flying squirrel. At high altitudes roam the yaks, snow-leopards, shapi, blue sheep and the Tibetan wild ass. Some of them are extremely rare and endangered. The Red Panda, a dormant yet

cuddly little arboreal animal is the State animal of Sikkim.<sup>4</sup> Sikkim boasts about 30% of the birds found in India. Here nestles about 550 species of them. From the tiny 3.5 inches long olive grand warbler to the gigantic bearded vulture with over 10 ft. of wing span. In Sikkim fly numerous birds like the king fisher, whistling thrushes, bulbuls, magpies, falcons and many more.<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, a bird from Sikkim, the handsome *monal* pheasant shares its name with Lady Impey, the wife of the first Governor General of Bengal, who is believed to be so much fascinated by it. So, later she pioneered its breeding in England. The blood red-pheasant (*Ithaginis Cruentus*) is the State bird while Rhododendron Nevium is the State tree of Sikkim.<sup>6</sup>

Sikkim also offers a voyage of adventure and discovery one who wishes to undertake trekking, rafting, mountaineering or mountain biking. Beside these, the attractive cultural patterns of the Sikkimese Lepchas, Bhutias and the Nepalis are well projected in a number of festivals – round the year. The gourmet can taste a variety of cuisine. Sikkim, the 22<sup>nd</sup> State of India joined its mainstream on May 16, 1975. It is dedicated emotionally to the cause of national integration. There is a complete peace and tranquility amongst the Sikkimese. Gradually, various initiatives are being undertaken by the Government to develop the State of Sikkim as one of the ultimate eco-tourism destinations. Moreover, Sikkim can generate more than 8000 Mega Watt of hydel power. In 2003 she was declared as an Organic State. Strategic planning has been prepared with futuristic vision so as to make Sikkim, the Switzerland of the East.

In a given democratic framework, Political Parties are the lifelines and that is very true in the case of Sikkim. Since, the Political Parties of Sikkim have played a vital role in the process of Sikkim's merger with the Indian Union by doing away with more than 334 years of the Namgyal dynastic rule. In fact, it was an annexation of Sikkim with India. India's cross border democratic process and effort in relation to Sikkim was successful. Of course, that was the Independence of Sikkim by the Constitutional Amendment, 1975 to the Constitution of India and referendum of the people of Sikkim. Thus, this tiny Himalayan kingdom became the 22<sup>nd</sup> State of the

Indian Federal Polity in 1975. The transition of Sikkim from the traditional feudal monarchy to a democratic system is caused by the roles played by the major Political Parties of Sikkim and brought about conspicuous changes in the socio-Political and economic scenario.

In the course of time, the problem was intensified by a diffusionist modernizing wave and that demanded to promote local identity, to safeguard interests and rights of the local ethnic communities and their cultural ethos and languages. The change was to keep the balance and stability of the Political system within the framework of the provisions of the Constitution of India and in particular, Article 371 F which is already enshrined in the Constitution of India, doing away with all treaties and agreements made earlier.

#### **SIKKIM : A Short Political History :**

The attention of the East India Company was attracted towards Sikkim due to its strategic importance in 1814 when it was involved in a war with Nepal. The opening of relations became a Political and military necessity on account of three reasons which are stated as :

- a) it was easily accessible;
- b) it would facilitate communication with China *via* Tibet, since the Princes of Sikkim were closely connected by matrimonial relations as well as religious affinities with Tibet;
- c) to prevent possible Nepalis-Bhutanese intrigues against the Company.

To establish the Company's relations with Sikkim on a firmer footing, Lord Moria, the Governor General of India, resorted to Sikkim, the territory lying between the rivers Mechi and Teesta (wrested from Nepal) by signing a Treaty with the *Raja* Tseudpud Namgyal on February 10, 1817. The Political significance of the Treaty was tremendous. The Treaty of Titalia, thus, marked the beginning of the British interest in Sikkim as a trade route to Tibet as prime factor in India's security.<sup>7</sup>

On March 28<sup>th</sup>, 1861 at Tumlong, a detailed Treaty containing of 23 Articles was signed on behalf of Govt. of India by the Hon'ble Asley Eden and the *Maharaja* Sidkeong Tulku. The Treaty embodied recognition of Sikkim as the *de facto* British protectorate, right of the Govt. of India over Sikkim so as to construct road through Sikkim to the Tibetan border. The Treaty of 1861 was very significant in the British-Sikkim relations, it brought Sikkim under the British control. Almost all the demands of the Govt. of India were realized by this Treaty.<sup>8</sup>

The British-India Government appointed Lord Claude White as the first Political Officer of Sikkim in 1889 and *Chogyal* Thutob Namgyal was virtually under his supervision.<sup>9</sup> The *Maharaja*, Thutob Namgyal shifted the Capital from Tumlong to Gangtok in the year 1894.<sup>10</sup> Towards the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, people from plain, especially Marwaris and Biharis started to come to Sikkim for their businesses. Jetmul Bhojraj established a Bank at Gangtok in 1899 and very soon it became the Official Bank of the Government of Sikkim and remained functional till 1970s<sup>11</sup>

With the passage of time, Charles Bell, who was the then Political Officer of Sikkim handed over the restoration of Governmental authority to the new Ruler, who became formally the *Maharaja* of Sikkim in April 1918 when the First World War had ended in Europe. Far reaching changes were effected in the judicial system in Sikkim. The British India Government conferred on him many honours and titles including KCSI and CIE. A modern type of Court was set up and a full time Judge was appointed in 1916, thereby bringing the judicial function of the land lord under the supervision of the Court.<sup>12</sup>

There occurred no important event until the British withdrawal from India and consequent lapse of British paramountcy over Sikkim in the year 1947. However, the British never realized their hold in Sikkim, till their withdrawal from India.<sup>13</sup>

Gradually, the consciousness developed in the land of orchids and bewildered country. She witnessed a new chapter in the history of

Sikkim. The suppressed and down trodden people of Sikkim with a vision and will, continued their struggle to abolish the undesirable practices in Sikkim. The land which was dominated by the *Kazis* and land lords passed through a new phase where a change for better-tomorrow was perceived.

Since 1946, the dissatisfaction of the subjects against the ruler started to appear and with this view, the representatives from different parts of Sikkim met at Gangtok on this historic day of December 7, 1947, a day which will go down in the Political history of Sikkim as a "Red letter Day" like Kazi Lhendup Dorjee Khangsarpa, Tashi Tshering, D.B. Gurung, Chandra Das Rai, Captain Dimik Singh Lepcha and Sonam Tshering attended their deliberations.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the unanimous decision led to the birth of Sikkim State Congress. The General meeting was held under the leadership of Tashi Tshering. The establishment of Sikkim State Congress was an event of paramount importance in the Political life of the country since this premier organization played a significant role for years which followed India's Independence in 1947. At the same meeting, the leaders unanimously passed a resolution and decided to present a Charter of Demands as in the form of Memorandum to the *Maharaja* of Sikkim. The demands were :

- a. Abolition of landlordism;
- b. formation of an Interim Government; and
- c. the Accession of Sikkim to the Union of India.<sup>15</sup>

The first popular Government was installed finally in May- 1949 under the Chief Minister-ship of Tashi Tshering. But, things did not work out properly and a month later the Ministry was dissolved and monarchy was allowed to continue. On 5<sup>th</sup> December, 1950, a Treaty was signed between India and Sikkim ( *For details, see Appendix – I*).<sup>16</sup> The Treaty of 1950, while preserving Sikkim's distinct identity clearly envisaged India's Political frontiers covering Sikkim. The Indian protectorate concept was based on that.<sup>17</sup> from this it was clear that the *Maharaja* of Sikkim as a non-Sovereign ruler admitted that the Government of India is ultimately

responsible for establishing a good and progressive Government in its Protectorate.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the internal administration of Sikkim was in any case within the overall purview of Delhi. The Political Officer was given the role of Delhi's watchdog to oversee, and implement these basic provisions. Meanwhile, a new Party which was pro-*Maharaja*, was launched by the name of the Sikkim National Party. The famous *Parity Formula* was thus, introduced in which the Nepalis were equated with the Bhutia, Lepcha in the distribution of seats in the State Council,<sup>19</sup> However, the Nepalis constituted more than 75% of the total Population.<sup>20</sup> A parity to protect the interests of Bhutia – Lepchas and Nepalis was introduced. .

Thereafter, the First General Election was held in 1953 on the basis of this *Parity Formula*. The election process was further complicated, as a candidate in order to get elected would not only had to secure the highest number of votes from his community, but also a minimum percentage of votes from the other community.<sup>21</sup> Such a pattern of calculating votes was, therefore, biased which finally led to the demand of '*ONE MAN – ONE VOTE*' by the Political Parties of Sikkim, except the pro-National Party to the King.<sup>22</sup> The Second General Election took place in the year 1958. But the seats in the Council were raised from 17 to 20. Further, more 02 new elective seats, one general and the other reserved for the *Sangha* (Monastery) were included. The numbers of nominated seats was raised from 5 to 6.<sup>23</sup>

In 1959, on account of the decision of the election tribunal, the election of 5 candidates to the Council was set aside. The *Chogyal* had upheld the decision and ordered for fresh election. On account of these vacancies, an interim election was held in 1960. In the same year, a new Political Party, the Sikkim National Congress emerged by merging of the Swatantra Dal, Praja Sammelan and the dissidents like the Sikkim State Congress and the National Party. Kazi Lhendup Dorjee Khangsarpa was unanimously elected as the President of the Party.<sup>24</sup>

In the midterm election held in 1960, the Party position in the Sikkim Council was further complicated and Kazi Lhendup Dorjee

Khangsarpa of Sikkim National Congress had secured overwhelming majority of popular votes. However, he was infact, dissatisfied with the then Government and said, "this is the end and we will contest no more elections in the State, and a country-wide civil disobedience movement would be launched".<sup>25</sup>

However, Sikkim went to the polls for the third time in its history in March, 1967. Four more seats were added and break up was 7 Bhutia-Lepcha, 7 Nepalis, 1 *Sangha*, 1 Tsong, 1 SC, 1 General and 6 nominated. The election was held and concluded in a peaceful manner. It was a matter of achievement and pride. It was considered another landmark in the Political development of Sikkim, and it ultimately reached at an interesting phase.<sup>26</sup>

Sikkim, the microsm of the Himalayan border land went to polls for the fourth time in April, 1970. The Political activity was accelerated by the proclamation of the *Chogyal* Palden Thondup Namgyal on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1969.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, the 1973 election to Sikkim Council had proved to be a turning point in the Political and Constitutional development of Sikkim, which witnessed a Political consciousness. Further, it had radically transformed the Political scenario of this land locked kingdom.<sup>28</sup>

The Political scenario in the State of Sikkim changed simultaneously bringing resentment among the common people. The Political Parties finally began to accelerate their activities in the State. Night long meetings, fragmentation in different communities led dishonesty among each other. This paved the way to mass revolution and the agitation throughout the country. Finally it ended with the May 8<sup>th</sup> Agreement of 1973.<sup>29</sup>

*(For details, please see Appendix II)*

The Agreement was signed at Gangtok between *Chogyal*, the prominent leaders of the Political Parties representing the people of Sikkim and the Govt. of India. The Agreement among other things, provided

legislature for adult franchise, an Executive Council responsible to the Assembly and safeguards for the minorities. Under the Agreement, India was to provide the head of the administration ensuring democracy, good administration, communal harmony and social development. The election for the new Assembly to be held was setup on "One man one vote" franchise, but with provision that no single group from the Bhutia, the Lepcha or the Nepalis would hold a dominant position.

The Agreement was important for many reasons. For the first time in Sikkim's history, the people represented popular forces in the Political process. Secondly, it frustrated *Chogyal's* ambition to make Sikkim a Sovereign State and not only reiterated India's control over the defense and the foreign relation of Sikkim, but also made it clear that the *Chogyal* was subordinate to New Delhi.<sup>30</sup>

Though the elections took place in April 1974, the Government could not be formed till July. The circumstances were unusual. Under the 8<sup>th</sup> May Agreement, 1973, there was a provision for an Executive Council to be formed on the Chief Executive's recommendations on the same lines as the Pre-1973, Sikkim's condition. Then a new Constitution was promulgated on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1973 under the Govt. of Sikkim Act. The Constitution provided for a Council of Ministers to the *Chogyal*. But, some prominent personalities raised their problems as every one was aspirant of membership. However, later with patience and tricks of all trade, the situation was abated.<sup>31</sup> May 8, 1973 Agreement was a tripartite one among the Leaders of the Prominent political parties of Sikkim, the *Chogyal* of Sikkim and the Government of India.

As provided under the clause of the New Constitution, the then Chief Minister Kazi Lhendup Dorjee Khangsarpa made a request to the India's representative to take suitable action fulfilling the objectives already laid down under the clause of the new Constitution. This requested the amendment of the Indian Constitution. Sikkimese representation in the Parliament could only be possible, if Sikkimese territory became a part of

India. As Delhi did not wait for a long and immediately sent a draft of the Constitution (36<sup>th</sup> Amendment) Bill, 1974.<sup>32</sup>

(for details, please see Appendix – III.).

The Bill was introduced in the Parliament and was passed with an overwhelming majority and Sikkim became an 'Associate State of India' in September, 1974 providing the representation in the Parliament of India. The Sikkim Assembly met and passed a resolution on April 10th, 1975 demanding for the removal of the *Chogyal* and merger with India to protect the interest of people of Sikkim, who had chosen democratic system which could only be protected by meeting these demands. A referendum was organized on April 14, 1975 on the issue of merger to seek public opinion. The result went once again overwhelmingly in favour of the merger. Accepting this verdict, the Indian Parliament agreed to the merger exactly after a month. Sikkim became a full fledged State of India (by 38<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, 1975), to the Constitution of India and that resulted in the merger, (for details, please see Appendix – IV). The historical era of the Political Officer came to an end. B.B. Lal, the Chief Executive, took over the charge as the first Governor of Sikkim on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1975 and the affairs of the new State passed on to the Home Ministry.<sup>33</sup> Thus, State Day is observed on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1975.

### **Politics in Sikkim After 1975 :**

Sikkim, the tiny Himalayan Kingdom became the 22<sup>nd</sup> State of India on May 16, 1975 by the Constitution (38<sup>th</sup> Amendment) Bill, 1975.<sup>34</sup> The merger lauded the simple and innocent people into the national main stream of India. But, it was a fact to be accepted that to integrate an area and its people physically, it was easier than emotionally the eagerness to introduce changes to bring Sikkim at par with other Indian States was laudable. However, the time factor is always crucial, may be Political or administrative.

Sikkim had its own State based Regional Political Parties even prior to India's Independence. The Sikkim Congress was none other than the

Sikkim State Congress of the forties. Soon after the merger in 1975, the National Congress Party of India pressed Kazi, the first Chief Minister of Sikkim, for merger of his Party to National Party. Sikkim Congress had received the people's mandate under its own flag and issues without any imported leadership. Kazi had remained in opposition for years and then captured power; he needed to go in term with the changed environment. For the sake of Sikkim's Political stability, Kazi, therefore, had no choice than to merge his Party with the Indian National Congress (Congress – 1) which was the most powerful Political Party during that period.<sup>35</sup>

The change of leadership ousted *Chogyal* replacing Kazi as the new Chief Minister of Sikkim and the leader of the ruling Party. Once the *Chogyal* was displaced in fighting within the State Congress which reached climax in the 1979 elections. Besides Kazi's credibility as a Sikkimese, a 'Father figure' stood completely eroded by his Party merger with the Indian National Congress.<sup>36</sup> and thus became the father of democracy in Sikkim.

The controversial "Seat Reservation Bill" issue became a serious issue (Bill No. 79) and the split within the ruling group, Kazi lost its grip over the administration. On the other hand, rampant corruption in the State and dissatisfaction among the leaders etc. hit the people badly. The anti-merger forces led by Nar Bahadur Bhandari took full advantage of the situation. The General Election was held in the State and the new Government under Janata Parishad (Sikkim Janata Parishad) led by Bhandari came into power fighting on an anti-merger platform with the mandate of the People in 1979.<sup>37</sup>

The Election of 1985 also became a boon for Nar Bahadur Bhandari, who fought election on Regional sentiments and became the undisputed leader of the mass. His trump card of politics is to restore the rights of Sikkimese people as it existed before. He stressed his issues which were attractive to the majority of the voters in Sikkim. Some of the main issues were :

- (i) Reservation of seats for the Nepalis;

- (ii) Inclusion of Nepali Language in the 8<sup>th</sup> Schedule of the Constitution;
- (iii) Son of soil policy;
- (iv) Citizenship to the people of Sikkim;
- (v) Developmental works for the betterment of Sikkim;
- (vi) Harmony among the three ethnic groups, viz. Lepcha, Bhutia and Nepalis.<sup>38</sup>

Bhandari's message to the people was clear-cut that he was being thrown out by his colleagues, as he did not compromise on three issues of seat reservation, citizenship and recognition of Nepali language. In the midst of this growing healthy Political signs in Sikkim under the leadership of Bhandari, it is unfortunate to see the undemocratic dismissal of Bhandari (a costly blunder of Congress (I) High Command) as Chief Minister of Sikkim in May 1984 by the then Governor of Sikkim Homi J.H. Taleyar Khan supposedly under Article 164 (1) of the Constitution of India stating that "Bhandari ceased to command his pleasure." Under the same clause B.B. Goroong, the Finance Minister in the Bhandari's Ministry assumed his office as the third Chief Minister of Sikkim and the same Ministry survived hardly for 14 days. B.B. Goroong tried all tricks of trade even sanctioning CBI case against Bhandari. In spite of it, he was unable to continue. No sooner Bhandari was dismissed; he left Congress (I) gladly along with majority of Legislators and other like minded leaders. He hounded the 'Sikkim Sangram Parishad', a new Political Party and came back to power with full mandate of the people in 1984 as member of 'Lok Sabha'.<sup>39</sup> Further, the SSP contested both Sikkim Assembly Elections 1985 based on the promises made to the people of Sikkim in the manifesto of the Sikkim Sangram Parishad Party.<sup>40</sup> He was the 4<sup>th</sup> Chief Minister of Sikkim and rededicated to work with utmost sincerity.

The Election of 1989 was in favour of Sikkim Sangram Parishad enabling him to win all the 32 seats in the Assembly. This made Bhandari more powerful than ever.<sup>41</sup> The election was over and the recognition of Bhandari's leadership became unquestionable.

In fact, the issues became serious to the Bhandari Government after the Mandal Commission Report on Sikkim. Considering the fact that the majority population of the State were on the Mongoloid stock, this move had a dangerous implication. Bhandari, realizing the division among Nepalis in Sikkim on racial and ethnic support of the Bhutia-Lepchas, unnecessarily created a big issue of the Supreme Court verdict on the Bill No. 79 of 1979. (Source : High Court of Sikkim, Gangtok, Transfer Case – (c) No. 78 of 1982, 84 of 1982, 93 of 1991, 94 of 1992, No. of pages 214, dated 12.05.2008, verdict on Feb. 10, 1993 (SC), New Delhi.) But, his strategy proved wrong with the imposition of Central Income Tax in Sikkim. The Central Tax issue became the main issue and led to the division among the three ethnic groups, Lepcha-Bhutia and Nepalis of Sikkim. On the other hand, Bhandari had dismissed Pawan Chamling for his anti party activities, who initiated a state-wide campaign against the autocratic rule of the Bhandari Government. Widely hailed as the “dark horse”, by the media, Chamling, as the lone opposition MLA, created a history by searching for democracy with a lighted candle in his hand inside the State Assembly Hall on September 9, 1992.<sup>42</sup> (A sensational scene).

- (1) There was a Political Coup and Bhandari was ousted by Sanchaman Limboo.
- (2) The defected MLAs with the support of the Central Leadership gave their full support to Sanchaman Limboo as the next Chief Minister.
- (3) The centralized administration and sensitive issue on Income Tax ended the rule of Sikkim Sangram Parishad and the next election was held in 1994.
- (4) These two factors worked out as the key knot in forming a new Regional Party, Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) led by Pawan Chamling as on 4<sup>th</sup> March 1993.

### **Democratic Revolution : The Rise of SDF and Role of Pawan Chamling**

The Government of Sanchaman Limboo was based on a Political coup and side by side, SDF's popularity gained momentum. The SDF took the

stand of anti-Bhandari forces and with the emphasis on “Sikkim for Sikkimese and Government of the Barefooted” conveyed a message to the common people to unite and fight against the rule of Bhandari. The people of Sikkim were hurt and moved by such sentiments. As a result of this, SDF Party headed by Pawan Chamling swept the poll by winning 19 out of 32 seats and came into power in 1994 General Elections.<sup>43</sup> The democratic revolution led by Pawan Chamling was interested in orienting the economic and social policies in order to ensure that all the people inhabiting in the State should fulfil their requirements of life like food, clothing, shelter and employment, etc. As their labour and sacrifice became fruitful during 1994 elections and with the thumping majority, the SDF Party was able to form the Government. Chamling became the first politician to coin the catchy slogan *Janata Rajma, Janatai Raja* (in a popular regime, people reign supreme).

The assumption of Office of the Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) Government in December, 1994, 1999 and 2004 heralded a new era in the socio-Political and economic history of Sikkim. Ever since the merger of Sikkim with India, democracy has been gradually taking its root in the State and elections which resulted in the SDF Government assuming Office was a land mark in the events.

To put it precisely, the Government of the downtrodden people has been struggling for to get shelter, to achieve success in all the areas with future mission, vision and objectives in the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century in the political history of Sikkim. A detailed account of it, is discussed in the Chapter Eight.



218171

02 DEC 2009

## Notes and References

1. Verma, Rajesh., *Sikkim, Darjeeling, Bhutan (A Guide & Handbook)*, Rajesh Verma Publication, Gangtok, 2004 (12<sup>th</sup> ed.), p. 21.
2. Waddel, L.A., *Among the Himalayas*, Ratna Pustak Bhandar Publication, Kathmandu (Nepal), 1978, p. 24.
3. Verma, Rajesh., *Op.Cit.*, p. 21.
4. SIKKIM, *Sikkim-Nature-Culture-Adventure*, Gangtok, Sikkim Association of Adventure Tour Operators Pub., 2004, p. 19.[http://Sikkim.nic.in/home\\_dept/geog.htm](http://Sikkim.nic.in/home_dept/geog.htm).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
7. Grover, B.S.K. *Sikkim and India : Storm and Consolidation*, New Delhi, Jain Brothers Publication, 1974, pp. 15-17.
8. Moktan, R., *Sikkim : Darjeeling – Compendium of Documents*, Kalimpong (WB), R. Moktan “Sumaralaya” Publication, Kalimpong, Rishi Road, District Darjeeling, 2004, pp. 12-16.
9. Basnet, L.B., *Sikkim : A Short Political History*, New Delhi, Chand & Co. (Pvt) Ltd., 1974, pp. 57-59.  
Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, p. 25.
10. Verma, Rajesh, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 19-20.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
12. Shukla, S.R., *Sikkim : The Story of Integration*, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt) Ltd., 1976, pp. 44-45.  
Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, p. 64.
13. Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, p. 29.  
Shukla, S.R., *Op.Cit.*, p. 47.
14. Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 34-35.  
Sengupta, N., *State Government and Politics : Sikkim*, New Delhi, Sterling Publishers (Pvt) Ltd., 1985, p. 8.  
Shukla, S.R., *Op.Cit.*, p. 47.

15. Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, p. 77.  
Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, p. 35.  
Sengupta, N., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 8-10.
16. Shukla, S.R., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 52-53.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
18. Rao, P. Raghunanda, *Sikkim : The Story of its Integration with India*,  
Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, 1978, p. 15.
19. Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 42-43.  
Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, p. 95.  
Sengupta, N., *Op.Cit.*, p. 11.  
Shukla, S.R., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 57-58.
20. Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, p. 98.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100, 109-110,  
Shukla, S.R., *Op.Cit.*, p. 58.
22. Das, B.S. *The Sikkim Saga*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House  
(Pvt) Ltd., 1983, pp. 116-118.  
Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 157-158.
23. Basnet, L.B., *Ibid*, pp. 108-109.
24. *Ibid*, pp. 110-117.  
Sengupta, N., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 13-14.
25. Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 51-53.
26. *Ibid*, pp. 55-56.  
Sengupta, N., *Op.Cit.*, p. 15.  
Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 134-135.
27. Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, p. 58.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 59,  
Das, B.S., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 34-35.  
Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 175-187.
29. Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 68-69.  
Basnet, L.B., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 187-188.
30. Basnet, L.B., *Ibid.*, pp. 187-188.  
Das, B.S., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 116-117.
31. Das, B.S., *Ibid.*, pp. 117-144.

32. Grover, B.S.K., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 209-236(a).  
Sengupta, N., *Op.Cit.*, 206-210.
33. Das, B.S., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 119-144.  
Sengupta, N., *Op.Cit.*, p. 210.
34. Sengupta, N., *Ibid*, pp. 209-210.  
Malay, Krishna Dhar *Open Secrets : India's Intelligence Unveiled*,  
New Delhi, Manas Publications, 2005, (re-print)  
2006, p. 193.
35. Das, B.S., *Op.Cit.*, pp. 103-104.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
37. Kazi, Jigme N., *Spotlight on Sikkim*,  
"No Seat – No Vote", Vol. 1, No. 2, August 1983,  
Gangtok, Kazi, Jigme N. Publication, Eastern Express  
Print shop, Enchey Colony, Tibet Road, Gangtok,  
pp. 16-27.
38. Sikkim Sangram Parishad : *Election Manifesto 1984-85*, Siliguri, Ink  
Print, 1984, Chabra K.M.L. *Report on General Elections in Sikkim*,  
1984-85, Gangtok, Sikkim Government Press, 1986.
39. SIKKIM : *Sikkim Govt. Gazette*, Ex. Gazette. Sikkim Govt. Gazette, Ex.  
Gazette No. 59, May 11, 1984, Gangtok, Sikkim Govt. Press, 1984.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Pradhan, P.K. *Report on General Elections in Sikkim : House of the  
People & Sikkim Legislative Assembly*, 1989,  
Gangtok, Sikkim Govt. Press, 1990.
42. Bali, Yogendra., *Pawan Chamling : Daring To Be Different*, Gangtok,  
IPR Publication (Govt. of Sikkim) in association with  
Har-Anand Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2003,  
pp. 108-142.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

## **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY :**

### **1.2 The present study highlights the following objectives :**

To analyse the socio-Political and economic developments in Sikkim over the past three decades;

To find out – how Sikkim is maintaining its *status quo* for the identity of the locals, their protection, interest, Constitutional safe guards and Regional Political Parties to rule the State;

To analyse the reasons as to why the National Political Parties do not find a strong base in Sikkim;

To analyse the reasons and growth of the local Political Parties in Sikkim;

To find out the drastic changes in socio-Political and economic fields with reasons thereof.

### **1.3 Research Questions & Hypothesis:**

**The proposed study attempts to analyze the following research problems :**

To what extent the Political Parties have played their crucial roles in the merger of Sikkim to the Indian Union ?

What was the nature of role played by the Government of India *vis-à-vis* the *Chogyal* of Sikkim during the pre-merger period of Sikkim ?

What was the role of Political Parties in the post-merger period to build Sikkim and promoting a cordial Centre-State relations ?

What were the policies of various Regional Parties to project Sikkim with its distinct identity and nation-building activities ?

Where exactly democracy failed and how it has been restored to build Sikkim a Model and one of the best performing States of India ?

## 1.4 Methodology :

Today, Sikkim is not only a small State, but beautiful and a model State, trying to become one of the best States of India. The statement of the problem is to analyse that the State of Sikkim, an erstwhile kingdom to a democratic set up, is still in the process of transition. The nascent democratic system in Sikkim has shown a remarkable progress and developments through the ruling of the various Regional Political Parties and good governance. Therefore, an attempt is being made to study and project the qualities of leadership and the role played by various Regional Political Parties in the post-merger Political scenario in Sikkim. Also it attempts to exhibit the position and the place of national political parties.

**The data collection of the study will be based on primary and secondary sources. In brief, they are described as :**

- a) **Primary Data :** The primary data are Government records and archives and through interviews with prominent Political Leaders and Intellectuals, Bureaucrats, Social Workers, Businessmen and Common Masses;
- b) **Secondary Data :** The secondary data will be collected from local and national newspapers, books, articles of journals, periodicals, pamphlets, manifestoes of National and Regional Political Parties etc.;
- c) **Content Analysis :** Through News Paper Clippings and use of Desk Calculator.
- d) **Use of Internet.**

## 1.5 SIKKIM : A Review of Literature

Basnet, L.B.<sup>1</sup> – Whose work summed up the events following the Independence of India and presented the history of Sikkim. The first aspect of the book deals with the history prior to India's Independence and the other part analyses the interplay of Political Parties of Sikkim and Government of India from 1947 to the 8<sup>th</sup> May 1973 – AGREEMENT AND RESOLUTION.

Bali, Yogendra.<sup>2</sup> – This book on Chamling describes about Pawan Chamling. He is a dreamer, who has immense faith and vision and has thus become instrumental in integrating Sikkim with the Indian Union. It was his credit that Sikkim is able to fly the flag of peace; narrates Pawan Chamling as a good human being with courage and confidence to develop Sikkim by his revolutionary attitude and ideology – a story/novel like book depicts the image of Sikkim.

Bhattacharya, B.<sup>3</sup> – The author has traced out the geographical base like introduction, physical setting and resources, human resources and power resources, economic base like- agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, industry and tourism, Social base like – settlements and urban development, roads and transport, economy and environment etc., with contextualisation to an overall estimate of the economic performance of the State ascertaining in which direction lies the path of Sikkim's economic prosperity.

Bajpai, G.S.<sup>4</sup> – The book by Bajpai carefully brings out together some of the major events between the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century when the British started making inroads into Sikkim and the merger of Sikkim with India in 1975. During this period of about 100 years, Sikkim changed its status from an Independent Feudal State to a Protectorate of the British Empire, then as a Protectorate of Independent India and finally, as the 22<sup>nd</sup> State of the Union of India. When all these factors and events of that period are put together and all that the people at that time had thought, done and gained and all their mischief, crimes, follies and misfortunes are viewed in the context of destiny of that region, they combined to form a picture which is at once kaleidoscopic.

Bhadra, Madhumita.<sup>5</sup> – The author describes about Sikkim entering the mainstream of the Indian Political life. This transition involves a transfer of the cost of people of Sikkim and the responsibilities for rebuilding and effective social and Political system. Moreover, she highlights about calling for the creation and recording of the social structure necessary to support the Political transition and the new Political order. In order to accelerate the process of Political development, the people, walled in tradition must go through a profound process of psychological adjustment as their old social order is disrupted and a new social order with new social and Political relationships emerge.

Coelho, V.H.<sup>6</sup> – In his book, the author reflects about the early history of Sikkim, the concept of Lamaism, original religion of the Lepchas, etc. Further, he focuses on the administrative developments, revolution for democratic set up, the separation of powers like Legislature, Executive and Judiciary and also decentralization of administration district-wise viz., Northern, Eastern, Southern and Western with Head Quarters at Mangan, Gangtok, Namchi and Gyalzing.

Chowdhury, Maitreyee.<sup>7</sup> – In this book the author very deeply focuses on the geographical perspectives of Sikkim. Further, the book deals with human development in terms of education, health care and employment, economic profile, tourism, infrastructure development, ethnicity and quality of life in Sikkim.

Chib, Sukhdev Singh.<sup>8</sup> – Here the author makes an in-depth study of the politico-historical aspects of early Sikkim including the *Chogyal*, its physical setting, economy, people and social life, cultural heritage, travel and transport and problems and prospects etc.

Datta, Amal.<sup>9</sup> – The author writes about the events of great historical importance that changed the course of socio-Political life of this tiny Himalayan State. The first was the influx of a large number of Nepalis in large numbers tilted the demographic balance in their favour in such a manner that the earlier inhabitants, Lepchas and Bhutias shortly became the pre-

eminent minority communities. The second event was the merger of this State into India in 1975 to become one of the States of the Union. As a result, the *Chogyal* had to give up his control over the State and the usual democratic process was inducted.

Das, B.S.<sup>10</sup> – The author diligently writes about Sikkim becoming the 22<sup>nd</sup> State of India by the 38<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of the Indian Constitution in April 1975. Further, he puts some questions like – was merger necessary ? Was there a popular uprising against the *Chogyal* in 1973 ? Could the provisions of the 1950s Treaty have been used to protect India's vital interests ? What was Delhi's role in it ? Did the May 8<sup>th</sup> Agreement not adequately meet the requirements of a democratic set up ? Finally, what has India gained in the ultimate analysis ? In the book Das has tried to answer all the above questions including the diplomatic roles of Indira Gandhi, Hope Cook and Elisa Maria, the three heroines during the merger period.

Datta-Ray, Sunanda K.<sup>11</sup> – The author narrates in a fascinating manner and recounts – how Sikkim was taken in a *Smash and Grab* raid (in the words of the *Chogyal*). This “chronicle of passage in history” reveals how the protected kingdom of Sikkim was converted into an Indian State, and also highlights the dangerous ease with which public opinion can be whipped up into chauvinistic acquisitiveness. The author expresses concern over the fact that the substitution of innuendo for evidence, and propaganda for proof, was accepted by the media and public and seeks to present a balanced and objective analysis of the event leading to the ‘annexation’ of Sikkim. Finally, he focuses on context to Sikkim's historical past, constitutional rights, geographical location and ethnic and cultural variety. The major Indian and Sikkimese personalities who influenced the course of events are cited including various sources of evidences to substantiate the description.

Gorer, Geoffrey.<sup>12</sup> – The author describes that in the Himalayas between Nepal and Bhutan lies the small kingdom of Sikkim. In these lofty isolated foothills live a tribe who have developed a unique way of life. These are the clans of the Lepcha people. But, who are they, and what are their special

characteristics and traditions ? He explains about these unique people in a very simple and lucid style of their cultural heritage, festivals, marriages and religious celebrations, etc.

Grover, B.S.K.<sup>13</sup> – The author focuses his study on geographical, Political, socio-cultural and economic areas. This book also deals with the relationship between the East India Company and Political and Administrative developments since 1947 to 1974. Finally, the book describes about the General Elections of Sikkim in 1974 and its impact on Sikkim and also an analysis of democratic set up for the Sikkimese under the provisions of the new Constitution of Sikkim.

INDIA – *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*,<sup>14</sup> (Introduced by H.H. Risley), takes initiatives to familiarize the people of the world with the ancient history of the tiny “Himalayan Kingdom” of Sikkim during the British Period. Risley in the introduction has ventured to trace out the development of the ancient history of the country. Moreover, he has also provided valuable and interesting information about the geographical position of the country along with the history of its rulers and people. Further, this book highlights about its laws of the country, natural resources, agriculture and Buddhism etc.

Joshi, H.G.<sup>15</sup> – He writes about an erstwhile Himalayan kingdom which became a State of the Indian Republic in 1975. He describes about rich *fauna* and *flora*, scenic beauty of great and mighty – snow-capped peaks and green forests, rugged topography, cold yet salubrious climate. Sikkim has had a chequered history. The simple, sturdy and struggling people of Sikkim have preserved a distinct cultural and historical identity. Further, this book portrays a vivid account of different aspects of Sikkim – its history, politics, sociology and economy.

Kazi, Jigme N.<sup>16</sup> – The author deeply reflects and analyses critically on Sikkim’s take over since 1975 by its protecting power and the former Himalayan Kingdom ruled by one man. Nar Bahadur Bhandari when he became the Chief Minister in 1979, promising to restore Sikkim to the

Sikkimese, but remained in power through a volte-face is the story of this book.

Bhandari's 14 years' misrule in Sikkim saw gradually degenerate into a State where people totally lost faith in democracy and democratic values. Instead of enjoying the fruits of democracy after merging with the world's largest democracy, the Sikkimese People, after the 'merger' had a test of dictatorship in a democratic set up. Under the Bhandari regime, all democratic institutions including the Press remained silent and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of one man rule and one Party system. This book reveals how and why all forms of dissent are being suppressed in Sikkim and a 'one man rule' being perpetuated. Finally, this book also brings into focus how the system in Sikkim functioned in the last one and half decades leaving the people of the strategic Himalayan Border State completely defenseless, insecure and exploited. The struggle of the people to live in a free and democratic atmosphere, where the right to live with respect and dignity and to preserve the unique and distinct identity of Sikkim within Union, has been well articulated in this book.

Kotturan, George.<sup>17</sup> – He makes an attempt about the *Chogyals* of Sikkim under British India period, the life and culture of the people, spirituality, heritage, language and literature. Further, he focuses on the Political set up, administrative reconstruction, agriculture, education and health services, etc.

Lama, Mahendra P.<sup>18</sup> - The author brings out issues like integration process, development interventions, social change, strategy, volatility and environmental agenda. Himalaya Today Society, Gangtok, has brought out this special volume on Sikkim. The volume is essentially divided into four broad sections viz., society, polity, economy and environmental. Each section carries articles written by scholars, professionals and policy makers who have worked on Sikkim in various capacities. Hence, this book stands to be a sound academic contribution meant to sensitize the development planners, researchers, scholars and policy makers.

Ronaldshay, Lord.<sup>19</sup> – The author describes about symbol of unity and strength across Nepal, Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan. He explores hill sides of the plantations, luxurious forests and the beautiful Himalayas. Along the way, he endeavours with perception, wit, humour and insight to illuminate the story of Buddhism in these jasmine and juniper-scented mountains.

Finally, a remarkable tale of – adventure, learning, excitement and culture, this book stands the test of time, a classic record of the colonial exploration of the North-Eastern Himalayas.

Rao, P.R.<sup>20</sup> – The author makes an analytical study that ever since India became Independent, the people of Sikkim wanted their State should accede to the Indian Union so that they could join the mainstream of Indian life. But, their aspirations remained unfulfilled till April 1975.

In 1950, the India- Sikkim Treaty was signed where by Sikkim continued to be the protectorate of India. But, in internal affairs, Sikkim enjoyed autonomy. Taking advantage of this, the *Chogyal* not only continued his autocratic rule, but also aspired to become an independent monarch. The Sikkimese had to wait a long and incessant struggle to frustrate the designs of the *Chogyal*. The author has tried to highlight not only the struggle of the people of Sikkim for democratization of their administration and closer Political association with India, but also the international intrigue to embarrass India by siding with the feudal regime.

Rustomji, N.<sup>21</sup> – The author has summed up the account of the struggle until death of Sikkim's last Ruler, *Chogyal* Palden Thondup Namgyal, to preserve his country's identity as author States, "A human story and a story worth telling". No body is better qualified to present this account than Nari Rustomji; who, while a member of the steel-frame Indian Civil Service, is a person of unusual sensitivity who fell under the spell and charm of the young Prince from the moment of their first encounter in an administrative training camp over forty years ago.

Nari Rustomji has enjoyed a distinguished career as administrator of India's North-Eastern Frontiers and also as 'Advisor' to the king of Bhutan. But, his heart has been in Sikkim, where he was Prime Minister before the kingdom's take over by India and whose Ruler was his closest and dearest friend. His role has been delicate. As an Officer of the Indian Government, he has had to conform to the disciplines of his parent service. But, as a human being, he had not been in empathy also with India's policies. His views on the modalities of Sikkim's take over may sometimes appear coloured by his passionate feelings for his Ruler and her people. But, he has also presented a brilliantly objective assessment of the Government of India's motivations. Of special interest in this account are the Ruler's letters to the author from the time they first met as young men on the threshold of their careers. The Book is thus, in the author's words, "as much the *Chogyal's* book as mine."

Rustomji, Nari.<sup>22</sup> – The author pens down very carefully about India's North Eastern Borderlands including Bhutan and Sikkim. Rustomji had been an Advisor to the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan and also the Chief Executive in the administration of the tribal areas of India's North-Eastern Borders. He was also in close contact with the Royal families of Bhutan and Sikkim. Finally, he describes about the problems that those regions faced immediately after the British bade farewell to India.

Shreshtha, R.S.<sup>23</sup> – The book covers up the important areas like – Sikkim, where the nature is generous, three decades towards democracy, various resolutions in the House, some important Bills, evolution of the Legislative System, making Sikkim the 22<sup>nd</sup> State of the Union of India, important documents, a short history behind Article 371 F and so many other important evidences.

SIKKIM. – *Sikkim Aspirations and Accomplishments*.<sup>24</sup> highlights about various memoranda presented to Government of India on behalf of the Government and the People of Sikkim from time to time relating to the matters falling within the jurisdiction of the Central Government for seeking financial assistance, safeguards, interest and restructuring the socio-economic

and educational standard of the people. Further, under the dynamic leadership of Pawan Chamling, SDF has been conveying the most urgent aspirations and expectations of the people of Sikkim through a series of memoranda to the Government of India and some of the collections are documented in this book.

SIKKIM. – *Sikkim in Print Media*.<sup>25</sup> The book throws light on the role of print media in the State of Sikkim from mid 90s'. As Sikkim suddenly came under prominence and became the focus of attention of various electronic and print media both from within and outside the country. Several factors are responsible for this abrupt media and interest in Sikkim. Freedom of Press, access to mass media, increase in the mass literacy rate and news sense, consciousness about media and tremendous progress made by Sikkim in all crucial domains of development, especially in the social education, economic, Political and environment arena have all made Sikkim the centre of attraction.

SIKKIM. – *Sikkim Perspectives and Vision*.<sup>26</sup> The book contains speeches of Chief Minister, Pawan Chamling, Government of Sikkim. The collection of speeches by the situational contexts, socio-cultural milieu, development discourse and Political environment. The Sikkim Democratic Front led Government headed by Pawan Chamling came into power at a very critical juncture in the history of modern Sikkim. Therefore, his speeches and deliberations do reflect his inner strength and a courageous and concerned human being and his outreach as a mass-based Political leader. Finally, his speeches convey the message of a strong urge and ability of Sikkim and the Sikkimese people to play a major role in the nation building process.

SIKKIM. – *Sikkim - Genuine Commitments – Unique Achievements*.<sup>27</sup> The book reflects about the power taken over by the Sikkim Democratic Front in December 1994, under the leadership of Pawan Chamling. It was on this momentous day that the first ray of happiness descended upon the poor people of this tiny Himalayan State as they tasted real democracy for the first time in their life and realized that in *Janta ko Rajma Jantai Raja* (in a popular regime, people themselves are the Rulers).

SIKKIM. *Sikkim - History of Democratic Movement*.<sup>28</sup> – It studies on the historical significance of the Sikkimese for freedom from exploitation, suppression and cruelty of the *Kazis, thikadars* and the Rulers. Hence, this depth study of the researchers focuses on the democratic movement from the beginning of 1940s to 1975, who had sacrificed their lives for democratic setup in Sikkim

SIKKIM, *Sikkim Coronation*.<sup>29</sup> – It is a brilliant work of the Sikkim Coronation Souvenir Committee who have focused on the *Chogyals* of Sikkim, their memories of Coronation, beauty of the country, strength and grace of their people and their vast history. Further, the book deals with the modern history of Sikkim beginning from A.D. 1642, when the first Namgyal dynasty was established in Sikkim.

SIKKIM. *Sikkim - A Concise Chronicle*.<sup>30</sup> – Focuses on the brief history of Namgyal dynasty, their successors and welfare activities of the State (Sikkim).

SIKKIM. *Sikkim - The Land and its People*.<sup>31</sup> – It focuses mainly on the three main communities of Sikkim, viz. the Lepchas, the Bhutias and the Nepalis. It also deals with the natural resources, agricultural, administration and available infrastructure, etc.

SIKKIM. *Sikkim in South-East Asia and Europe*.<sup>32</sup> – This book is a good attempt to study of Pawan Chamling, Chief Minister of Sikkim, based on his study tour to South-East Asia and Europe in the beginning of 2006. This reflects the Government's new policies to change by introducing the best of knowledge, technology, investment, institutions and development-partners from across the world so as to make people of Sikkim both outward looking and most competitive; it floated the idea of emotional integration along with physical integration. Hence, it brings huge opportunities for the people of Sikkim and the play field widens in an accelerated manner. This is how Pawan Chamling sets his vision of making Sikkim and Sikkimese people more and more outward looking.

SIKKIM. – *Sikkim Exploring the Newer Frontiers*.<sup>33</sup> – This book is a volume of speeches of Pawan Chamling, Chief Minister of Sikkim, delivered in various important occasions. Some of the most important speeches related to Nathu *la* Trade Route, State functions, economic reforms, industrial progress and rural and urban developments. In this volume, Chamling makes very elaborate attempts to put Sikkim on national and international perspectives. He clearly indicates the urge of the people of Sikkim to mingle with the global societies for bringing home knowledge based technology, expertise and other resources. Finally, he makes clear expression that his vision is futuristic for the upliftment of the downtrodden and also with optimism bringing more laurels to his State and Country so that Sikkim is even recognized as one of the best States in the East and North-Eastern Regions.

SIKKIM. - *Sikkim Ensuring Human Security*.<sup>34</sup> – This book contains the brilliant speeches of Pawan Chamling, Chief Minister of Sikkim, sincerely appealing to the people of the grass root level to look outside the world out of their hamlets. He wants to make every Sikkimese a stake holder in the entire Political-economic dent of the State. His major focus is to internalize institutions of democracy and make deeper inroads of varied development agencies into the villages of Sikkim.

Sengupta, N.<sup>35</sup> – The author sums up on the developments which led to the merger of Sikkim with India is based within perspective of the State's Political history and the cross-currents of ethnic, social and religious factors. It takes into account the Political dynamics through the electoral process, the Political Parties and pressure groups as well as nature and functions of the Governmental Organizations. While tracing the system prevalent upto 1973 and the subsequent events that overtook the State, the work facilities – their comparative study overtime. As a comparative work on the politics and Government, the book provides an in-depth account of the Political process and the working of the Government of Sikkim.

Sinha, A.C.<sup>36</sup> – The author sums up that for a long period, Sikkim had been on the horns of a dilemma between the theocratic monarchy and constitutional

democracy. The amendment to the Indian Constitution, merging Sikkim with India and granting its status of an Indian State, has once for all resolved the above dilemma. This study provides an analysis of the Political development in Sikkim. It has been divided into three parts : Part I deal with historical evolution and evolution of the significant social forces active in Sikkim. It also discusses how an indigenous tribal ethos accommodated a complex Lamaist Tradition of the Tibetan feudal origin giving the rulership of Sikkim a unique character of its own.

Part II of this book identifies different sets of the elite, the Patrician Kazis, the neo-rich Plebeians, the ambitious pro-palace bureaucrats, the Nepalis Political leaders and the youth Congress leaders who were leading and directing various social forces in action. This section analyses personal and social background, social and economic status, Political affiliation and perception of the various elite in Sikkim. Part III evaluates the Political development in Sikkim in the post-1947 period in terms of Institutional accomplishments.

It appears that the process of tribalism, though it represents the strongest primordial attachments, is weak enough to provide a model for the Sikkimese identification. The Ruler, the Clergy, the *Kazis*, the Lamaists and the Pro-Palace Bureaucrats favour the Lamaist traditionalism, which, in the final analysis, is identified as the hand maiden of the minority with the vested interests. The Hindus, the Nepalis, the Democrats and the Commoners disfavour the decision making process. In this way, the book delineates the sequence through which, with the given processes, sets of the elite and the kinds of Institutions, Sikkim acquired the status of an Indian State.

Sharma, S.K and Sharma, Usha,<sup>37</sup> – The Co-authors deeply make a study about social, cultural heritage of Sikkim and Bhutan, they depict a beautiful picture of the people, culture, customs, flora and fauna, trade and trade routes, economy and social and cultural of both Sikkim and Bhutan. Further, this book basically focuses on both Sikkim and Bhutan relating to multi-facet aspects like Political treaties, covenant or agreements signed between the two

countries and British India, their long history, geography and travels and social and cultural heritage, etc.

Rai, Sharma and Sundriyal.<sup>38</sup> – In their book, the authors focus on the Planning and Development of Sikkim in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. It also deals with natural resources like agriculture, animal husbandry, education and social aspects, etc.

Shrivastava, K. Alok.<sup>39</sup> – In his brilliant study, he focuses on small and beautiful Sikkim, its rich heritage and bio-diversity, varied *flora* and *fauna*, history of Sikkim, socio-cultural pattern and religions. This book is basically a traveller's companion and very much helpful for both the domestic and foreign tourists.

Shukla, R. Satyendra.<sup>40</sup> – The author attempts to analyse the integration of Sikkim into Indian Union in May, 1975. It also gives a clear picture of the early Kingdom of Sikkim and also about the Namgyal dynasty. Moreover, he speaks about the democratic revolution since the British India period, the *Parity Formula*, agriculture, forest resources, industries and other aspects. At the end, he reflects that "All is Well that Ends Well".

Verma, Rajesh.<sup>41</sup> – In his book the author studies about Sikkim, Darjeeling and Bhutan as a guide book to both the domestic and foreign visitors and tourists. It is a very beautiful work of the author that provides a major information for the researchers and academicians too.

Waddel, L.A.<sup>42</sup> – The author discusses about Sikkim in Chapters II, III, IV, V and VI mentioning that how to get native Sikkim and know about their cultures, occupations, etc. He also tries to give a clear picture about the Lepchas and the land of leeches. Further, he analyses the relationship of the monarch with the then British Govt. and the Chinese. In conclusion, he describes about the Alpine Lachung Valley, Tibetan Frontier, Passes, The Lachen-Valley, eastern glaciers of *Khang-Chen-Dzonga* and Political missions to Tibet.

Wangchuk, Pema and Zulca Mita.<sup>43</sup> – The co-authors nicely express their thoughts and realities about *Mount Khang-Chen-Dzonga* (the guardian deity of Sikkim), signifying the mountain is very generous to the people of Sikkim. They opine that its physical presence makes Sikkim a self contained unit, providing for everything required to sustain life, bio-diversity, fertile valleys, abundant streams, protected geography, elaborate mythology, its culture, ethnicity and many other aspects.

## Notes and References

1. Basnet, L.B. *Sikkim : A Short Political History*, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., 1974.
2. Bali, Yogendra. – *Pawan Chamling : Daring to be Different*, Gangtok. IPR Publication, Government of Sikkim in association with New Delhi, Harchand Pub. Ltd., 2003.
3. Bhattacharya, B. – *Sikkim : Land and People*, New Delhi, Omsons Pub. 1997.
4. Bajpai, G. – *China's Shadow over Sikkim – The Politics of Intermediation*, New Delhi, Lancer Publishers, 1999.
5. Bhadra, Madhumita. – *Sikkim : Democracy and Social Change*, Calcutta, Minerva Associates Pvt. Ltd. 1992.
6. Coelho, V.H. – *India, Sikkim and Bhutan*, Delhi, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Vikash Publications, 1970, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), 1971.
7. Chowdhury, Maitreyee. – *Sikkim–Geographical Perspectives*, New Delhi, (India), Mittal Publications, 2006.
8. Chib, Sukhdev Singh. – *This Beautiful India-Sikkim*, New Delhi, Light & Life Publishers, Paharganj, 1977.
9. Datta, Amal. – *Sikkim : Since Independence*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, 2001.
10. Das, B.S. – *The Sikkim Saga*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1983.
11. Datta-Ray, Sunanda K. – *Smash and Grab – Annexation of Sikkim*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., 1984, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., reprint 1984.
12. Gorer, Geoffrey. – *Himalayan Village*, Varanasi, Pilgrims Publishing House, 2005.
13. Grover, B.S.K. – *Sikkim and India-Storm and Consolidation*, New Delhi, Jain Brothers Publication, 1974.
14. Risley, H.H. – *India, The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Delhi, Low Price Publications, 1-6, Nimri Commercial Centre, New Ashok Bihar Phase – IV, First Pub. 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1894, (Calcutta) Re-print, 2001.

15. Joshi, H.G. – *Sikkim : Past and Present*, New Delhi, Mittal Publications, 2004.
16. Kazi Jigme, N. – *Inside Sikkim : Against the tide*, Gangtok, Hill Media Publications, Sikkim (India) 1993, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1994.
17. Kotturan, George. – *The Himalayan Gateway – History and Culture of Sikkim*, New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, (Pvt.) Ltd., 1983.
18. Lama, Mahendra P. - *Sikkim –Society, Polity, Economy, Environment*, New Delhi, India Pub. Co., 1994.
19. Ronaldshay, Lord. – *Sikkim, Chumbi and Bhutan*, Varanasi, Pilgrims Publishing House, 2005.
20. Rao, P.R. – *Sikkim : The Story of Its Integration With India*, New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1978.
21. Rustomji, N. – *Sikkim : A Himalayan Tragedy*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1987.
22. Rustomji, Nari. – *Enchanted Frontiers – Sikkim, Bhutan and India's North-Eastern Boarderlands*, Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1971 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), 1973.
23. Shreshtha, R.S. – *Sikkim : Three Decades Towards Democracy : Evolution of the Legislative System*, Gangtok (Sikkim), Pub. By Sikkim Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Gangtok, Publication in association with Karuna Devi Smarak Dharmarth Guthi, Rachana, 2005.
24. SIKKIM, *Sikkim-Aspirations and Accomplishments*, published by IPR (Government of Sikkim) 2003.
25. SIKKIM, *Sikkim in Print Media*, published by IPR (Govt. of Sikkim) 2004.
26. SIKKIM, *Sikkim-Perspectives and Vision*, Gangtok, IPR Publication (Government of Sikkim) 2002.
27. SIKKIM, *Sikkim - Genuine Commitments – Unique Achievements*, Gangtok, published by IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, 2001.
28. SIKKIM, *History of Democratic Movement*, IPR Publication, Government of Sikkim, 2002.
29. SIKKIM, *Sikkim Coronation*, Gangtok, Coronation Souvenir Publication Book, (Sikkim), 1965.

30. SIKKIM, *Sikkim - A Concise Chronicle*, Gangtok, The Royal Wedding Publication Committee, (Sikkim), 1963.
31. SIKKIM, *The Land and its People*, Gangtok, Publicity Department Publication, Government Press (Gangtok), n.d.
32. SIKKIM, *Sikkim in South-East Asia and Europe*, Gangtok, IPR Publication, Government of Sikkim, in association with Har-Anand Publications (Pvt.) Ltd., New Delhi, 2007.
33. SIKKIM, *Sikkim - Exploring the Newer Frontiers*, Vol. 3, Gangtok, IPR Publication, Government of Sikkim, in association with Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2007.
34. SIKKIM, *Sikkim-Ensuring Human Security*, Vol. 2, Gangtok, IPR Publication, Government of Sikkim, in association with Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 2007.
35. Sengupta, N., – *Sikkim : State Government and Politics*, New Delhi, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1985.
36. Sinha, A.C., – *Politics of Sikkim : A Sociological Study*, Faridabad, published by Thompson Press (India) Ltd., 1975.
37. Sharma, S.K and Sharma, Usha., *Social and Cultural Heritage of Sikkim and Bhutan*, (Encyclopaedia of Sikkim and Bhutan Series), New Delhi, Anmol Publications (Pvt.) Ltd., 1998.
38. Rai, Sharma and Sundriyal., *Sikkim : Prospects for Planning and Development*, Sikkim Science Society, Tadong (Gangtok) and Bishen Singh Mahendra Pal Singh Publication, 23-A, New Connaught Place, Dehra Dun, U.P. (India), 1998.
39. Shrivastava, Alok. K., *Sikkim : Small And Beautiful*, (A Traveller's Companion), Gangtok, Tourism Department Publication, Government of Sikkim, 2006.
40. Shukla, R. Satyendra., *Sikkim : The Study of Integration*, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., (Pvt.) Ltd., 1976.
41. Verma, Rajesh., *Sikkim – Darjeeling – Bhutan*, (A Guide and Hand Book), Gangtok, Rajesh Verma Publication, NBC Press International, New Delhi, (1<sup>st</sup> ed.), April 1990, (12<sup>th</sup> ed.), March, 2004.

42. Waddel, L.A., *Among the Himalayas*, Kathmandu (Nepal), published by Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1978.
43. Wangchuk, Pema and Zulca Mita., *Khan-chen-Zonga : Sacred Summit*, Gangtok, Pema Wangchuk Publication, Little Kingdom Pvt. Ltd., Gangtok & Hill Side Press Pvt. Ltd., Kathmandu, (Nepal), 2007.