

CHAPTER-II

SIKKIM: THE 22ND STATE OF INDIA

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Sikkim, the small landlocked Indian state is located in the Himalayan Mountains. It is linked with the Indian Union through its southern part. Being a land locked state Sikkim had to depend on the external powers throughout its history. Till 18th century, it depended, for its entity, both for Tibet and China. During the 19th century it had to depend on the British authority in India and ultimately, it became the protectorate of India during the first half of the 20th century (Bhaumik & Bhattacharyya, 1977). Finally, in the year 1975, with the passing of 36th Constitution Amendment Act, Sikkim became the 22nd state of Indian Union.

The state of Sikkim covers an area of 7096sq.kms with around 607,000 inhabitants as of 2011 census report. So Sikkim is the least populous state in India and the second-smallest state after Goa. Sikkim borders Nepal to the west, China occupied Tibet to the north and east, and Bhutan to the south-east and the state of West Bengal lies to the south.

Table: 2.1

Population growth in Sikkim

Census	Pop.	%±
1951	138,000	—
1961	162,000	17.4%
1971	210,000	29.6%
1981	316,000	50.5%
1991	406,000	28.5%
2001	541,000	33.3%
2011	607,688	12.3%

Source: Census of India, 2011

Sikkim is India's least populous state, with 607,688 inhabitants according to the 2011 census. Sikkim is also one of the least densely populated Indian states, with only 86 persons per square kilometre. However, it has a high population growth rate, averaging 12.36% between 2001 and 2011. The sex ratio is 889 females per 1000 males, with a total of 321,661 males and 286,027 females recorded in 2011. With 50,000 inhabitants, the capital Gangtok is the only significant town in the mostly rural state; the urban population in Sikkim constitutes around 11.06% of the total. The per capita income in Sikkim stands at Rs. 11,356 which is one of the highest in the country.(www.web.archive.org)

The native Sikkimese consists of the Bhutias, who migrated from the Kham district of Tibet in the 14th century, and the Lepchas, who are believed to have migrated from the Far East. However, the Nepalese constitute the majority population in the state. Tibetans reside mostly in the northern and eastern regions of the state. Migrant resident communities include Biharis, Bengalis and Marwaris. They are prominent in commerce in South Sikkim and in Gangtok. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim>)

Table: 2. 2

Sikkim at a glance

Country	:	India
Established	:	on 16 May 1975
Capital	:	Gangtok
Largest City	:	Gangtok
Districts	:	4

Legislature	:	Unicameral (32 seats)
Total Area	:	7,096 km ² (2,740 sq miles)
Population (2011)	:	607,688
Density	:	86/km ² (220 sq mile)
Literacy	:	76.6 %(7th)
Official languages	:	Nepali (lingua franca), Bhutia, Lepcha (since 1977), Limbu (since 1981), Newari, Rai, Gurung, Mangar, Sherpa, Tamang (since 1995) and Sunwar (since 1996)

Sikkim is nonetheless geographically diverse due to its location in the Himalayas; the climate ranges from subtropical to high alpine. Kanchenjunga, the world's third-highest peak, is located on Sikkim's border with Nepal. Sikkim is a popular tourist destination, owing to its culture, scenery and biodiversity. It also has the only open land border between India and China. Sikkim's capital and largest city is Gangtok.

There are so many theories prevailing regarding the origin of the name of the state, Sikkim. The most accepted theory of the name Sikkim is that it is a combination of two Limbu words: 'su', which means 'new', and 'khyim', which means 'palace' or 'house'. The name is believed to be a reference to the palace built by the first ruler of the state, Phuntsog Namgyal. Besides, other inhabitants of the state have different other names of the state in their own language. The Tibetan name for Sikkim is Denjong, which means 'valley of rice'. The Lepcha

people, the original inhabitants of Sikkim, called it 'Nye-mae-el', meaning 'paradise' while the Bhutias call it 'Beyul Demazong', which means the 'hidden valley of rice'. In Hindu religious texts, Sikkim is known as 'Indrakil', the garden of the war god Indra. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim>)

The state of Sikkim is characterized by mountainous terrain. Almost the entire state is hilly, with an elevation ranging from 800 feet to 28,280 feet (Chhetri, 2012). The summit of Kangchenjunga - the world's third-highest peak - is the state's highest point, situated on the border between Sikkim and Nepal. For the most part, the land is unfit for agriculture because of the rocky, precipitous slopes. However, some hill slopes have been converted into terrace farms. Numerous snow-fed streams have carved out river valleys in the west and south of the state. These streams combine into the major Teesta River and its tributary, the Rangeet, which flow through the state from north to south.

The Himalayan Mountains surround the northern, eastern and western border of Sikkim. The state has 28 mountain peaks, more than 80 glaciers, 227 high-altitude lakes, including the Tsongmo, Gurudongmar and Khecheopalri Lakes, five major hot springs, and more than 100 rivers and streams. Eight mountain passes connect the state to Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal (W <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim>).

Sikkim's hot springs are renowned for their medicinal and therapeutic values. Among the state's most notable hot springs are those at Phurchachu, Yumthang, Borang, Ralang, Taram-chu and Yumey Samdong. The springs, which have a high sulphur content, are located near river banks; some are known to emit hydrogen. The average temperature of the water in these hot springs is 50 °C (122 °F) (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim>).

Sikkim is the only state in India with an ethnic Nepali majority. Sikkim has eleven official languages: Nepali, Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbu, Newari, Rai, Gurung, Mangar, Sherpa, Tamang and Sunwar. English is taught in schools and used in government documents. The predominant religions are Hinduism and Vajrayana Buddhism. Sikkim's economy is largely dependent on agriculture and tourism, and as of 2011 the state has the fourth-smallest GDP among Indian states, (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim>) although it is also among the fastest-growing states in India.

Sikkim's nominal state gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated at \$730 million in 2010. It constitutes the fourth-smallest GDP of an Indian state (Bell, 1987). The state's economy is largely agrarian, based on the terraced farming of rice and the cultivation of crops such as maize, millet, wheat, barley, oranges, tea and cardamom. Sikkim has the highest production of cardamom in India, as well as the largest cultivated area of cardamom (Crossette, 1996). Because of its hilly terrain, and the lack of transport infrastructure, Sikkim lacks a large-scale industrial base. Brewing, distilling, tanning and watch making are the main industries, and are mainly located in the southern regions of the state, primarily in the towns of Melli and Jorethang. Despite the state's minimal industrial infrastructure, Sikkim's economy has been among the fastest-growing in India since 2000, with the state's GDP expanding by over 13% in 2007. Elaichi and the cardamom seeds are the only cash crops in Sikkim (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim>).

The ancient history of Sikkim is not so much known to us. According to the legend, Guru Rinpuche, the Buddhist saint passed through and blessed the land in the 9th century and introduced Buddhism to Sikkim. During the 13th century, Guru Tashi, a prince from the Mi-nyak House in Eastern Tibet, settled down in the Chumbi Valley in Sikkim (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Sikkim). The modern history of Sikkim is started with Phuntsog Namgyal, the

fifth generation descendant of Guru Tashi, in the year 1642. Phuntsog Namgyal was consecrated to the throne by three lamas, viz., Lhatsun Chhembo, Sempah Chhembo and Rigdzin Chhembo (Chhetri, 2012).

Phuntsog Namgyal was succeeded in 1670 by his son, Tensung Namgyal. In the year 1700 Sikkim was invaded by Bhutanese with the help of the half-sister of the Chogyal, who had been denied the throne. The Bhutanese were driven away by the Tibetans, who restored the throne to the Chogyal. Between 1717 to 1733, the kingdom had gone through many raids by the Nepalese as well as the Bhutanese that culminated with the destruction of the capital Rabdentse by the Nepalese (Singh, 1985). In 1791, China sent troops to support Sikkim and defend Tibet against the Gurkhas. Following Nepal's subsequent defeat, the Chinese Qing Dynasty established control over Sikkim (Singh, 1985).

Following the beginning of British rule in neighbouring India, Sikkim allied with Britain against their common enemy, Nepal. The Nepalese attacked Sikkim, overrunning most of the region including the Terai. This prompted the British East India Company to attack Nepal, resulting in the Gurkha War of 1814 (Jha, 1985). Treaties signed between Sikkim and Nepal resulted in the return of the territory annexed by the Nepalese in 1817. However, ties between Sikkim and the British weakened when the latter began taxation of the Morang region. In 1849, two British physicians, Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker and Dr. Archibald Campbell, the latter being in charge of relations between the British and Sikkim governments, ventured into the mountains of Sikkim unannounced and unauthorised (Blackwood, 1890). The doctors were detained by the Sikkim government, leading to a punitive British expedition against the kingdom, after which the Darjeeling district and Morang were annexed to British India in 1853. The invasion led to the Chogyal of Sikkim becoming a titular ruler under the directive of the British governor. In 1890, Sikkim became a British protectorate,

and was gradually granted more sovereignty over the next three decades (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikkim>).

There was no effort to change the politico-administrative set-up in Sikkim so long as it was under the influence of the British authority. They maintained the stagnant conditions of social orthodoxy, political tyranny and economic backwardness. The British colonial power in India also would not deliberately disturb the internal administration in Sikkim. The feudal class also used to provide solid obstacle to change because they received much more returns from the existing system.

After Indian independence:

In course of time different interesting political developments were also taking place in Sikkim. The Indian struggles for freedom, which culminated in the winning of independence in 1947, inspired the educated and intelligent Sikkimese to set the machine to action for doing away with the yoke of feudalism and to bring in the refreshing wind of democracy in the political sphere. Three political parties emerged during this time. However, the parties has no cohesive action and set goal. But they had at least two demands in common; firstly, that of abolition of landlordism and secondly, establishment of popular Government.

The newly educated elites identified the peasants as the worst victims of social oppression, economic exploitation and political tyranny. During this period of time several associations were created to improve the status of peasants. Among this association the most important were Praja Sudharak Samaj led by Tashi Yshiring, Praja Sammelan by Gobardhan Pradhan and Dhan Bahadur Tewari and Praja Mandal led by Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarp rku and the Praja Mandal at Chakhung, these three pioneer associations of Sikkim (Sengupta, 1985).

The Praja Sudark Samaj at Gangtok, the Praja Sammelan at Yemi Ya ultimately merged together and gave rise to a new party, the Sikkim State Congress with Tashi Tsering, most respected leader of the time as the President. The Sikkim State Congress put forward three demands to the Maharaja. The leader requested the Maharaja to give effect to abolition of landlordism, formation of an interim Government as a necessary precursor of democratic and responsible government and accession of Sikkim to the Indian union (Sengupta, 1985).

The Maharaja's formal reaction was to consider two demands from the three mentioned above—abolition of landlordism and introduction of responsible Government – and to urge to drop the third one, that is, Sikkim's accession to India. But the informal effort of the then Maharaja was to politicise other forces in Sikkim so as to oppose all the three demands. These other forces were constituted of orthodox and traditional Bhutia-Lepchas, the Kazis and the hereditary landlords of Sikkim, these forces, ultimately, in 1948 organized the Sikkim National Party (Bhaumik & Bhattacharyya, 1977).

During that period India become independent of the British Colonial Power. The relation between Sikkim and free India was to be defined. In Feb, 1948, a standstill Agreement was signed between Sikkim and India pending conclusion of a new treaty. In March, 1950 the Government of India issued a press note indicating the principles upon which the new treaty would be based. And on this basis a treaty was signed on December 1950, between India and Sikkim. This treaty confirmed the status of Sikkim as the protectorate of India. The Government of India would look after its external relations, defence and communication. Sikkim would continue to enjoy autonomy in the internal matters. However, the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of good administration and law and order would remain in the hands of the Government of India. It was also stated that an officer of the Government of India will

continue to be Dewan of the state. It was also proposed that an Advisory Council, representative of all the interest should be associated with the Dewan. It was also proposed that effort would be made to institute a village Panchayat system on an elective basis within the state. However this treaty could not satisfy the leaders and supporters of the Sikkim State Congress. The demand of this political party, from its inception was to establish a popular Government with the help of India (Sengupta, 1985).

Ultimately, the Maharaja of Sikkim could not overlook the demand of a popular Government. On the basis of all-party agreement, regarding the electorate and the method of election, the Maharaja issued a Proclamation in March, 1953 which postulates the composition and functions of the State Council and Executive Council. Section 2 of the Proclamation provides that "There shall be constituted a state Council for the State of Sikkim." Section 3 states the composition of the Council. It holds that there shall be a President of the Council and he shall be appointed by Maharaja. There would be 12 elected members, of whom six shall be either Sikkim Bhutia, or Lepcha and the remaining six shall be Sikkim Nepalese. There would be other five nominated members also. They would be nominated by His Highness the Maharaja in his discretion. Election of the members of State Council was to be based on the universal adult franchise. It will enjoy a tenure of three years. Before stipulated time the Maharaja could dissolve the State Council. The meeting of the State Council was to be presided by the President of the Council and it should be summoned to meet at least two times in every year. Section 13 holds that "Subject to the assent of the Maharaja, the State Council: shall have power to enact laws for the peace, order and good government of Sikkim. Provided that the State Council shall not without the previous sanction of the Maharaja make, or take into consideration, any law affecting any matter hereinafter defined as a reserved subject." The Proclamation also mentioned eight items as reserved subjects. These are —

- i) Ecclesiastical
- ii) External Affairs
- iii) State enterprises
- iv) Home and Police
- v) Finance
- vi) Land Revenue
- vii) Rationing
- viii) Establishment (Shresta, 2005)

According to Section 19 of the Proclamation there shall be constituted a Executive Council for the state. The members of the executive council shall hold office during the Maharaja's pleasure and shall be responsible to him for the executive and administrative function of Government. The Executive Council shall consist of the Dewan by virtue of the office which he holds under the Maharaja and other elected members of State Council as may be appointed by the Maharaja from time to time. Dewan shall be the President of the Executive Council and in his absence this Council may be presided by such person as may be appointed by the Maharaja. According to Section 21 of the Proclamation, "All or any of the following departments may be entrusted to the charge of elected members of the Executive Council, each of whom shall be individually responsible to the State Council for the administration of the Department entrusted to him:-

- ☼ Education
- ☼ Public Health
- ☼ Excise

- ☀ Bazaars
- ☀ Transport
- ☀ Forests
- ☀ Public Worker (Shrestha, 2005)

All members of the Executive Council other than the Dewan would retire from office at the Commencement of the first session of each new State Council but shall be eligible for reappointment.

A new chapter in the constitutional history of the state was opened in 1953 with first election in Sikkim. The entire state was divided into four territorial constituencies, namely, Gangtok constituency, North Central constituency, Namchi constituency and Pamayangtse constituency. From each constituency three representatives were to be elected. Out of three seats two were reserved for Bhutia, Lepcha community and one was for Nepalese in case of Gangtok and North Central constituencies and in case of other two the provision was just reverse of the former two (Shrestha, 2005).

The Nepali candidates were to be elected directly by the voters during the elections. However in case of the Bhutia, Lepcha candidates the provision was different. They were to be elected first in a primary election. Four Bhutia - Lepcha candidates were to be elected in the primary election each from Gangtok and the North Central Constituencies and the number would be two each from Namchi and Pamayangtse Constituencies. Then the final elections were to be conducted. Some conditions must be fulfilled to be a member of the state Council. A member must be at least 30 years of age on a date which might be specified for that purpose and must have a fixed habitation in Sikkim having all the other qualifications of a Voter (Shrestha, 1985).

Four parties, Namely, Sikkim State Congress, National Party, Rajya Praja Sammelan, Scheduled Caste League took part in the 1953 elections. The positions of these parties in the first Sikkim State Council can be shown in the following table:

TABLE-2.3

Result of the first general Election,1953

Name of the Parties	Number of the Seats Contested	Number of the seats secured
Sikkim State Congress	6	6
National Party	12	6
Rajya Praja Sammelan	5	0
Scheduled Caste League	2	0

Source: Materials furnished by the Election Office, Gangtok, from the available documents (Sengupta, 1985)

In this election all the six Bhutia-Lepcha Seats were secured by the National Party and all six Nepali seats by the Sikkim State Congress. The other two parties Rajya Praja Sammelan and Scheduled Caste League failed to win any single seat.

The tenure of the State Council was fixed for three years. However the second elections in Sikkim were held in 1958. Through a new proclamation in 1958 the membership of the State Council was enlarged and number was raised to twenty. Six seats were reserved for the Bhutia-Lepcha community and six for the Nepalese. Three candidates were to be elected from the four constituencies mentioned earlier. One seat was reserved for the Sangha. This

representative was to be elected by the Lamas belonging to the monasteries recognized by the Sikkim Darbar. Another seat was declared as “General” with the whole territory of Sikkim serving as the single constituency (Sengupta, 1985). It is to be mentioned that the Indians settled in Sikkim could not participate in the elections.

41 candidates contested in the elections of 1958. The community wise break up of the contestant in different constituencies can be shown through the following table:

TABLE-2.4

**Community wise break up of the contestants
in the second general election,1958**

Name of the Constituency	No. of Seats	Total No. of Contestants	No. of Nepali	No. of Contestant from Bhutia-Lepcha Community
1. Sangha	1	2	----	-----
2.General	1	3	2	1
3.Pemayangtse	3	9	6	3
4. Namchi	3	9	6	3
5.North Central	3	8	3	5
6. Gangtok	3	10	3	7

Source: Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Vol. VIII, No. 5, October, 1958, Notification No. 5(63) 58/CE, dated, 18-10-1958 (Sengupta, 1985)

The systems of elections in 1958 were much more complicated and communal also. In this complicated mechanism a candidate from one

community securing the highest number of votes may not be declared as elected if he did not get the highest number of votes of his own community. A candidate to be declared as elected must secure at least 15 percent vote of other community also. Due to these complications the representatives were not selected properly in the elections of 1958.

The third election of Sikkim was held in 1967. On the basis of all party agreement certain changes were made in 1953 proclamations. Consequently, the total number of members in the Sikkim state council was increased from 20 to 24. The state was divided into the five constituencies, namely – Gangtok Town Constituency, East Constituency, South Constituency, West Constituency and North Constituency. 14 members were to be elected from these five Constituencies. Of these 14 seats 7 were reserved for the Bhutia-Lepcha Community and 7 were for the Nepalese. From the General Constituency three members were to be elected of which one was reserved for the Scheduled Castes, one for the Tsongs and the other was General. The Sangha seats were to be elected by the Electoral College composed of the Sanghas. Part from this, there was the provision for six members who were to be nominated by the Chogyal (Sengupta, 1985).

A total number of 87 candidates filed their nominations for 18 elective seats. The community wise break up of the contestants in this election can be shown in the following table:

TABLE-2.5

**Community wise break up of the contestants
in the Third General Election,1967**

Sl. No.	Name of the Constituency	Number of Seats	No. Of Nepali contestants	No. Of Bhutia-Lepcha contestants
1.	Gangtok Town	1B.L.+1 Nepali	4	3
2.	East Constituency	2B.L.+1 Nepali	3	6
3.	South Constituency	1B.L.+2 Nepali	6	2
4.	West Constituency	1B.L.+2 Nepali	6	2
5.	North Constituency	2B.L.+1 Nepali	4	3
6.	General Constituency	1	1	2

Source: Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Ex.Gaz.No.13, dated 3-2-1967(Sengupta, 1985)

The Sikkim National party, National Congress, State Congress and the Sikkim Scheduled Caste League contested in the elections. Sikkim National Congress won the majority securing eight seats out of eighteen elective seats. The National Party won in five seats and the Sikkim State Congress secured two seats only.

The fourth general elections in Sikkim State Council were held in 1970. On the eve of this election Kazi Lhendup Dorji demanded the formation of own independent and separate Election Commission in lieu of existing Election Committee. However, nothing has been changed during these elections, so far as the rules, regulations, membership and constituencies are concerned. During the end of 1969 a new party, namely, Sikkim Janata Party came into the political scenario of Sikkim. Both the Sikkim National Congress and Sikkim State Congress demanded for written Constitution and for more democracy.

The result of the fourth general elections can be shown in the following table:

TABLE-2.6

Result of the Fourth General Elections, 1970

Name of the Party	No. of seats secured
1. National Party	07
2. Sikkim National Congress	05
3. State Congress	04
4. Sangha	01
5. General(Tsong) – Independent	01

Source: Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Ex. Gaz. No, 35, dated 14.05.1970 (Sengupta, 1985)

The fifth general elections were held in 1973. It was the last elections in Sikkim under the status of a protectorate state. In this election the membership of the State Council and the number of Constituencies were same as the

previous elections. During this period, the political scenario of Sikkim was becoming very complex. The pro-Darbar forces were consolidating on one hand and on the other; other parties continued their struggle for more democracy and more participation of the people in the governing process. During 1972 the Sikkim State Congress and Sikkim Janata Party merged together and the Sikkim Janata Congress was born. Three political parties namely, the Sikkim National Party, the Sikkim Janata Congress and Sikkim National Congress participated in this election.

The following table has shown the result of the fifth elections in Sikkim:

TABLE-2.7

Result of the Fifth General Elections, 1973

Name of the Party	No. of seats secured
1. Sikkim National Party	09
2. National Congress	05
3. Janata Congress	02
4. Independent (S.C. Constituency)	01
5. Sangha	01

Source: Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Ex. Gaz. No. 29, dated 15.02.1973

(Sengupta, 1985)

Before the discussions on the post elections political scenario, we should look at the Bureaucratic system existed in the then Sikkim. The Bureaucrats have their origin in the regime of Puntso Namgyal who had divided Sikkim into twelve Dzong (Fort Areas – as the administrative unit) and placed them under

twelve Lepcha Dzungpens (Dhamala, 1985). Actually, this incident made the beginning of the dual administration mechanism in which the limited bureaucracy and a half-bred aristocracy ruled over Sikkim. Till 1950 the central administration in Sikkim was under the supervision of a secretariat Consisted of members answerable to the council and Maharaja. Barring a few, higher Civil Servants were recruited mainly from the aristocracy – those who had a background of religious and liberal education. No competitive tests were administered for filling even higher posts in the Government.

The appointment of Dewan in 1949 made room for bureaucratization of Sikkim on non-lamatist pattern. Sikkim was divided into two tehsils (the revenue district); East & West. And in order to carry out the first seven year plan (1954 – 1961) properly and successfully Sikkim was divided into four districts with district official: North (Mangan), West (Geyzing), South (Namchi) and East (Gangtok). The administration was run by the secretariat headed by the Chief Secretary under whom the departmental secretaries of finance, revenue, trade and industry, Panchayat and various other directors functions. The recruitments to the higher civil service are made on personal consideration (Sinha, 1975). Various posts of civil service in Sikkim had been distributed between the Bhutia-Lepcha and Nepalese in such a way that it can maintain a balance between the two. The representation communities in the senior position of carrier level may be shown in the following table:

TABLE-2.8**Representation of the Communities in Civil Service**

Serial No.	Position	Communities
1.	The Chief Secretary	Bhutia-Lepcha
2.	Secretary to the Chogyal	Do
3.	Finance Secretary	Do
4.	Establishment Secretary	Do
5.	The Auditor General	Nepalese
6.	Home Secretary	Do
7.	The Chief Engineer	Do
8.	The Conservator of Forest	Do
9.	The Police Commissioner	Bhutia-Lepcha (C.S.)
10.	Industries Secretary	Bhutia-Lepcha (S.C.)

Source: Bhaumik & Bhattacharyya, 1977

The fifth elections to the State Council in Sikkim became the turning point in the political history of Sikkim. During the counting of votes the representatives of Sikkim National Congress and the Sikkim Janata Congress complained against the officers on election duty. They accused that the officers on election duty were pro-palace and pro-National Party in nature. The representatives of the above said parties denied to join the Executive Council though didn't refuse to be nominated as a member of that council by the

Chogyal himself. The demands like popular government, written constitution, fundamental rights and universal franchise brought the Sikkim State Congress and Sikkim Janata Party more closely. They formed a Joint Action Committee with Kazi Lhendup Dorji as Chairman (Sengupta, 1985). The Committee urged upon the Chogyal to fulfill their demand, otherwise they would launch mass movement.

The Darbar just ignored the appeal of the Joint Action Committee. And as a result of this incident a mass agitation started. The Darbar's administrations virtually collapsed and in the east and south people established a 'Janata Raj'. Failing to control the situation the Chogyal requested the Government of India to take over the administration and maintain law and order within the State. Consequently Indian army took the responsibility of the law and order in Sikkim and the Political Officer took the charge of administration. Later on The Government of India sent Mr. B. S. Das as the Chief Administrator of Sikkim.

No block involved in the affairs of Sikkim could ignore the fact that some constitutional reforms had become necessary. Therefore, a Tripartite Agreement (Gangtok Agreement) was signed by the Chogyal, the foreign secretary of the Government of India and the representatives of the three political parties, i.e., Sikkim National Congress, Sikkim Janata Congress and Sikkim National Party, to establish a responsible government in Sikkim with a more democratic Constitution, guarantying fundamental rights to the people rule of law, independent judiciary and greater legislative and executive power for the representative of the people elected on the basis of equitable representation of all section of people (Sengupta, 1985).

The Agreement provided for an Assembly constituted of 32 elected members. Out of these 32 seats fifteen were declared reserved each of the

Bhutia-Lepcha and Nepali Communities and between the remaining two, one was reserved for the Sangha and the other for the Scheduled Caste Community. The Assembly was empowered to legislate and adopt resolutions on certain matters like finance, economic and social planning education and agriculture. But has no power on some topics, namely, the Chogyal and the members of the ruling family, matters before the courts, the appointment of the Chief Executive and the members of the judiciary and the issues relating to the responsibility of the Government of India. The Palace establishment and the Sikkim Guard remained directly under the Chogyal.

The Agreement also provided for a Chief Executive who was to be nominated by the Government of India and formally appointed by the Chogyal. An Executive Council would also be constituted of some elected members of the Assembly. The Chief Executive was to preside over the meetings of the Executive Council (Shrestha, 2005). However the Chogyal was not happy with the arrangement. He felt that all powers of the Chief Executive must flow out of him.

In the mean time, the Sikkim National Congress and the Sikkim Janata Congress merged together and formed Sikkim Congress. This Sikkim Congress won 31 seats and the National Party secured only one seat. This result showed a clear tilt on the anti-Chogyal sentiment in Sikkim. The elected Congress members denied to take the oath in the name of Chogyal and refused to be loyal to him.

In May 1974, the Sikkim Congress decided to put an end to the Monarchical rule in Sikkim. The Sikkim Assembly passed the Government of Sikkim Act, 1974 for the progressive realization of a fully responsible government for Sikkim and for furthering its relationship with India. By virtue of this Act, the Sikkim Assembly passed a resolution expressing its desire to be

associated with the political and economic institutions of India and for seeking representation for the people of Sikkim in India's Parliamentary system. Accordingly, the 36th Constitution Amendment Act, 1974, was passed by the Indian Parliament to give effect to the resolution of Sikkim Assembly. The main provisions of this Amendment Act were as follows:

First, Sikkim would be an "associate state" not a part of the territory of India. It was brought within the frame work of the Indian constitution by inserting Article 2A and the 10th schedule in Constitution, and

Second, Sikkim would be entitled to send two representatives to the two houses. The rights and privileges of these members would same as other members of the Parliament. However, they would not enjoy the right to vote in the election of the President and Vice-president of India.

Criticism started due to the introduction of the status of an "associate state" into the Indian federal system. There was no room for any "associate state" under the Constitution of India. Ultimately Sikkim was admitted into the Indian Union as the 22nd state in the 1st schedule of the Constitution of India. On the other hand, Article 2A and the 10th schedule which were added to the Constitution of India, by the 36th Constitution Amendment Act, 1974, were omitted by the 38th Constitution Amendment Act, 1975.

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