

Chapter V

THE AGRICULTURAL, EDUCATIONAL, INDUSTRIAL AND SERVICE SECTORS IN SIKKIM UNDER THE SSP REGIME

In Sikkim, Agriculture, Education, Industry and Service sectors are the most important sectors which form the backbone of the society and economy. However, Sikkim being a landlocked state, situated on a difficult terrain with sloppy and steep hills, it is not too conducive for industrial development. It is predominantly an agricultural economy where about 49.48% of the total area of land is under cultivation and 80% of the total population depend on agriculture and allied activities. Transport and communication is also entirely determined by its topographical location and as such it fully relies on road transportation. Similarly, education which is an instrument of significant socio-economic transformation has a direct bearing on the quality of life, life expectancy, infant mortality, population and many other aspects of people's life. In the state like Sikkim, which became a part of the Indian Union 37 years ago, organised modern education has not yet taken its deep root and proper shape. Therefore, in this chapter of the thesis, divided into four sections we discuss in length the policy and performance of the SSP led government in the Agricultural, Educational, Industrial and Service sectors.

Section I deals mainly with the agriculture sector in Sikkim, agrarian structure and land ownership, productivity, agricultural policies of the SSP led government and its achievement in this front. Section II, discusses the educational sector, historical overview of education in Sikkim in the pre and post merger period, various policies adopted by the SSP led government and achievements in this sector from 1985 to 1994. Section III attempts to discuss the industrial sector in Sikkim, its scenario in the pre and post merger period, various policies formulated and implemented by the SSP government for industrialisation in

Sikkim and the achievement of the government in this sector. In Section IV, attempt is made to study and look at the service sector, its condition during the Chogyal era in Sikkim, development and improvement after Sikkim's merger with the Indian Union especially during the SSP led government in Sikkim.

I

THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR UNDER SSP LED GOVERNMENT

Sikkim is predominantly an agricultural state in the eastern Himalayas. About 80% of the total population are dependent on agriculture and its allied activities and 49.48% of the total area of Sikkim is under cultivation. Hence, in Sikkim agriculture forms the backbone of the state's economy and livelihood.

AGRARIAN STRUCTURE AND LAND OWNERSHIP

Prior to the nineties of the nineteenth century the mode of agriculture in Sikkim was unsettled with the practices of zoom and shifting cultivation. Most of the area had low density in population and abundant in bio-diversity of plants and animals. The people during that period lived mostly on hunting and food gathering. The cultivators did not possess any title to the land. They could clear and settle down in any unoccupied land and cultivate it without going through any formality.¹⁶⁹ The cultivators had tenancy right over the settled land and could adopt system of farming and introduce agricultural development. The land was not assessed by the state but the cultivator himself used to assess and render service to the Chogyal according to the condition determined by the latter. There was no revenue system as such. The Chogyal who was considered to be the lord of Sikkim used to receive revenue from the cultivators himself in the form of agricultural products and transit duties. While paying the revenue in the form of agricultural products, the cultivators kept certain portion for themselves for a particular year. Apart

¹⁶⁹No one except the Chogyal could remove him or her from that particular land occupied by him/her.

from this, the cultivators had to give all kinds of service to the Chogyal whenever demanded. For those who graze cattle in Sikkim, had to pay revenue in kind i.e, in butter and cheese to the value of Rs 6/- annually (Kharel, 2002, p. 161).

The head of the state was Chogyal who was the source of law of the state. Under him, there were twelve Kazis and several other officers of various names who assisted the Chogyal in day to day administrative affairs. Those Kazis and officers were empowered with the jurisdiction over the specific areas of land and were assigned to collect revenues from the people settled in the land within their jurisdiction. Sometimes, they kept greater portion of revenues collected from the people themselves and paid over to the Chogyal a certain fixed contribution.¹⁷⁰

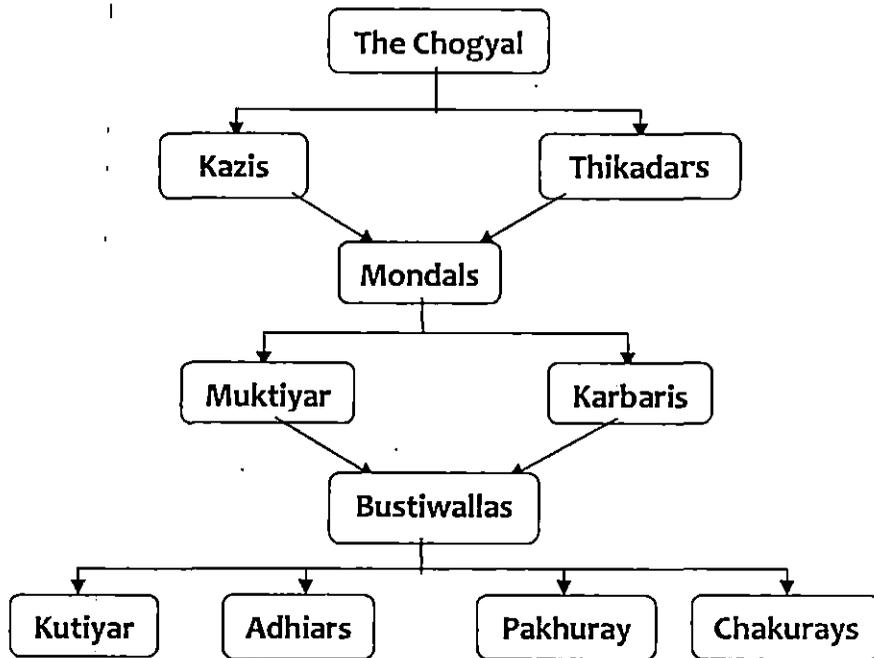
Settled agriculture with terrace cultivation commenced in the 1890s.¹⁷¹ Elsewhere it is stated that during Claude's stay in Sikkim for nearly 20 years he brought a number of socio-economic and political reformations. Since the economic condition of Sikkim under successive Chogyals was very deplorable, therefore, he adopted certain economic measures and policies. That also released the need for the state funds for development. For this, he created a new form of feudal system and introduced taxation in Sikkim. The Chogyal remained as a supervisory authority. The newly created feudalistic class consisted of the Kazis and Thikadars followed by Mondals, Muktiyars and Karbaris in the linear order. At the bottom of the hierarchical structure of feudalism were Raiyats consisting of Kutiyars, Adhiars, Pakhurays and chakurays.¹⁷² The organogram presented below indicates the hierarchical position of feudalistic structure that existed during Chogyal's time in Sikkim.

¹⁷⁰ The main crops sown during this time as Subba, J.R. (2008, p. 62) records were; murolimakai, pangdur, ellaichi, ghaiygadhan, aduwa, kankra, kalobhatmas, iskus, sillam, buckwheat, dallekhorsani, kerala, soanp, dungdungeysag, latterag, rayosag, suntata etc.

¹⁷¹ After the appointment of John White Claude as a British Political Officer to Sikkim.

¹⁷² Chakurays were tenants and sub-tenants.

Organo-gram showing hierarchical position of feudalism in Sikkim



Source: Field Survey.

The Kazis and Thikadars were entrusted with both judicial and executive powers in the rural areas to realize different kinds of taxes and to frame the rules for taxation (Kharel, 2002, p. 161). The Mondals were to collect the revenues and consign it to the respective Kazis and Thikadars. The Muktiyars and Karbaris were supposed to assist the Mondals in any kind of work as entrusted to them by the Kazis. The whole state was divided into Elakhas and Elakhas were further divided into Blocks. Each Elakhas were placed under Kazis or Thikadars and similarly the blocks were under the Mondals and some areas under Muktiyars and Karbaris.

The land holding pattern in Sikkim during the Chogyal regime was skewed. The Kazis or Thikadars alone held land upto 200 acres and Mondals, Muktiyars and Karbaris upto 30 acres and Bustiwallas from 5 to 20 acres of land (Sankrityayana, 1994, p. 212). The Raiyats which includes Kutiyars, Adhiars, Pakhurays and chakurays were most unfortunates class of Sikkim's feudalism. They were tenants and sub-tenants.

Until the 1980s, the average size of land holding in Sikkim was only 1.95 hectares and the distribution of land holding among different size classes was highly uneven. The small and marginal farmers who together constitute 67.86% of total holdings possessed 28.44% of total land area. The semi-medium groups, holding between 2 to 4 hectares and medium groups 4 and 10 hectares constituting 19.64% and 10.71% of the total land holding respectively and jointly owned 58.71% of the total area. The big farmers having more than 10 hectares of land and above formed less than 2% but they cultivate about 13% of the total land area with an average size of 14 hectares (Das, 1994, p. 137).

After Sikkim merged with the Indian Union in 1975, the state Government has taken up survey and Settlement of the agricultural land in order to initiate a meaningful programme of land reform. The implementation of this scheme commenced in the later part of 1976-1977. In the next year, 1977-1978, 15000 hectares of land, out of an estimated 162000 hectares to be surveyed was covered. In 1977-1978 and 1979 the survey targeted 31000 hectares of land and meanwhile the number of teams also increased from 75 to 100 (Ray, 1980, pp. 8-15).

BUDGET ALLOCATION FOR THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR (1954-1997)

In Sikkim, since the overwhelming majority of the people are dependent on agriculture a considerable amount of land i.e, about 62% have been devoted under the cultivation of food grains and the remaining 38% of the area is under the non-food grain crops.

The report published by the Publicity Department, Sikkim Darbar (1963, p. 5) records that the principal crops sown were maize, paddy, millet, wheat, barley, cardamom, apple, range, potato and buckwheat.¹⁷³ The cereals shared maximum

¹⁷³ The maize (1,35,000) acres, paddy (30,000) acres, millet (12,500) acres, wheat and barley (11,000) acres, cardamom (15,000) acres, apple (2,000) acres, orange (5,000) acres, potato (40,000) acres, and buckwheat (200) acres.

area of land in Sikkim among the principal crops sown followed by cash crops like spices, fruits etc.¹⁷⁴

The Budget Planning System in Sikkim was launched for the first time in (1954) with the financial and technical assistance of the Indian Government.¹⁷⁵ During this time, the total outlay of budget was 32.4 million out of which 21.5% was allocation for Agriculture (Sikkim Darbar, 1963, p. 10). Since then Five Year Plans in Sikkim continued. In the Second Five Year Plan (1961-1966), the budget allocation for the agricultural sector was 20.0% of 82.7 million total Budget, in the Third Five Year Plan (1966-1971), 15 % of 97.1 million, in the Fourth Five Year Plan (1971-1975), 14.2% of 203.6 million total budget, in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1975-1979), 15.9% of 401.00 million, in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1979-1985), 26.0% of 1478.0 million, in the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990), 21.1% of 2824 million and in the Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-1997), budget allocation for the agricultural sector was 13.6% of 7245.00 million total Budget Sikkim respectively.

Table-C: 1
Allocation of Budget under Five Year Plan for Agriculture
and allied activities, 1954-1997.

Plans	Year	In %	Out of
First Plan	1954-1961	21.5%	32.4 million
Second Plan	1961-1966	20.0%	82.7 million
Third Plan	1966-1971	15.0%	97.1 million
Fourth Plan	1971-1975	14.2%	203.6 million
Fifth Plan	1975-1979	15.9%	401.0 million
Sixth Plan	1979-1985	26.0%	1478.0 million
Seventh Plan	1985-1990	21.1%	2824.0 million
Eight Plan	1990-1997	13.6%	7245.0 million

Source: Sikkim Darbar, 1963, p. 10 & Lama, (ed) Sikkim Human Development Report, Govt. of Sikkim, 2001, p. 18.

¹⁷⁴ But during this time, mono-cropping being the traditional farming, the productivity was very low and state had to depend upon imported food-grains. Maximum areas of land remained fallow with no irrigation facilities.

¹⁷⁵ This Plan was named as First Seven Year Plan and was initiated in 1954.

After Sikkim became a part of the Indian Union in 1975, the government adopted the Regional concept of agricultural development and divided the state into 9 regions and sub-regions, each having seed multiplication farms for seed multiplication and distribution to the farmers (Roy, 1980, pp. 8-14). Improved and hybrid seeds at large scale was introduced for cultivation. Use of fertilizers and pesticides was at maximum during this period. Multiple cropping and rotation cropping were encouraged. More than 900 hectares of land was brought under minor irrigation and 2800 hectares were under medium irrigation (Singh, & Singh, 1978, p. 16 and Roy, 1980, p. 12).

AGRICULTURE: POLICIES AND PERFORMANCE OF THE SSP GOVERNMENT

Given the agricultural condition and structure of terrain, the total area of the state available for the cultivation is less. The per capita availability of cultivable land is further lessened due to the pressure of the over increasing population. Such situation calls for scientific land management practices of adopting high yielding crop varieties combined with the application of the right inputs and cultivation practices so that the net productivity of land is considerably enhanced. Effective utilization of irrigation potential, measures for the control of soil erosion as well as correction of adverse soil characteristics and overall improvement in farm management practices including post-harvest technologies are the areas, which have to be well coordinated. The area of dry land farming will also have to be accorded adequate attention.

Realising all these problems and issues pertaining to agriculture and allied areas, SSP made a number of promises and assurances in this front. Since the majority of the poor and downtrodden people of the society were basically dependent on agriculture therefore, pro-poor and pro-agriculturalist policies formulated and commitments made by the party were in the interest of the majority. The main policies; to maximize productivity through scientific land

management, application and practices of High Yielding and Improved Varieties of Seed, utilization of irrigation potential, control of soil erosion, use of fertilizers and pesticides, farmers training and education, establishment of Regional Agriculture Centres, Sub-Centres, Village Level Work Centres for the distribution of fertilizers, pesticides, HYIVS seeds and grant of loans to the poor farmers were some of the promises of the SSP (Sikkim Herald, 19th January 1985, Vol-29, No-5). It also promised to give equal emphasis to the areas including production of commercial crops such as cardamom, turmeric, ginger as well as horticulture crops of exotic, non-traditional varieties including floriculture. Vigorous consumption of chemical fertilizers like urea and potash and adaptation and promotion of modern technologies involving upgradation of farms management practices were some of the other assurances that SSP had made.

After the Sikkim Assembly election of March 1985, SSP came to power with thumping majority in the Assembly. Therefrom, in 1985, SSP led government passed an Act so called '*Cultivators Protection Act*' for the protection of agricultural farmers as well as for the improvement and promotion of agricultural productions. The government also allocated the Budget outlay of 21.1% out of 2824 million in the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990) and 13.6 % of Rs 7245.00 million in Eight Five Year Pan (1990-1997) for agriculture and allied sectors.

The importance and need for High Yielding and Improved Varieties Programme was highly felt to increase agricultural productivity. Therefore, the target for the popularisation of High Yielding and Improved Varieties of Seeds was made and scientific method of cultivation was encouraged by the government. During 1985-1986 the government brought 38100 hectares of land with 8600 HYIVS under maize, 15900 hectares of land with HYIVS 3400 under paddy and 7200 hectares of land with 6800 HYIVS under wheat. Similarly, in 1990-1991, the government brought 40780 hectares of land with 14000 HYIVS under maize,

18610 hectares of land with 5400 HYIVS under paddy and 7950 hectares of land with 7500 HYIVS under wheat as shown in Table-C: 2.

Table-C: 2
Coverage of HYIVS in the state of Sikkim: 1985-86 to 1995-96.

Year	Crop	Area Coverage in (hec)	Difference of land coverage	HYIVS	Difference of HYIVS coverage	Coverage In %
1985-1986	Rice	15,900	---	3,400	---	21.38%
	Wheat	7,200	---	6,800	---	94.44%
	Maize	38,100	---	8,600	---	22.57%
1990-1991	Rice	18,610	2710	5,400	2000	29.01%
	Wheat	7,950	750	7,500	700	94.33%
	Maize	40,780	2680	14,000	5400	34.33%
1995-1996	Rice	15,940	-2670	6,778	1370	45.52%
	Wheat	8,240	390	8,200	700	42.43%
	Maize	39,400	-1380	16,720	2720	42.43%

Source: Lama, (ed) Sikkim Human Development Report, 2001, p. 47.

The target of coverage under Improved Varieties of pulses, oilseeds, vegetables, potato, millet and barley was also enhanced significantly to achieve higher production during 1985-1986. The seeds of suitable crops to be multiplied in the government farms as well as in the farm fields under the Certified Seed Programme was finalised and initiated during 1985-1986. In order to increase production from the kharif crops, the Agriculture Department distributed 320 quintals of maize, 105 quintals of blackgram and 14 quintals of summer vegetables during the month of March alone (Sikkim Herald, 14th March 1985).¹⁷⁶

The routine work for seed testing, soil testing and pathological tests was carried out at the laboratory level. Programme of planting material propagation, adaptive research, farmers' training, vegetables marketing, demonstration, dry

¹⁷⁶ The government also made a target to cover 1800 hectares of land under potato vegetable in the high altitude areas.

farming, rejuvenation, soil reclamation and assistance to small and marginal farmer were implemented at the field level.

During the SSP led Government rule in Sikkim, the Plan expenditure on Agriculture rose from Rs 2190 in 1980-1981 to Rs 24300 in 1985-1986 i.e, by 5.87%. In 1990-1991, it increased up to Rs 25825 against Rs 24300 of 1985-1986 i.e, by 3.39%. Even Non-Plan expenditure has shown a steep rise.¹⁷⁷ As Budget Expenditure in both Plan and Non-Plan in 1980-1981 were Rs 2190 and Rs 3247 respectively as indicated in Table-C: 3.

Table-C: 3
Budget expenditure on agriculture from 1980-1981 to 1995-1996
(in thousand).

Year		1980-81	1985-86	1990-91	1995-96
State Budget	Plan	2190	24300	25825	25440
	Non-Plan	3247	8047	17885	23557
Total Budget	Plan	202400	413800	760000	1520000
	Non-Plan	372193	414255	906615	4767808
% of Total	Plan	1.08	5.87	3.39	1.67
	Non-Plan	1.60	1.94	1.97	0.49
% Total	—	0.95	3.91	2.62	0.77

Source: Lama, (ed) Sikkim Human Development Report, 2001, p. 48.

Despite Sikkim being terrain and sloppy in its land structure and the limitation in cultivation, considerable progress was made in the agricultural sector during the last ten years rule of SSP led government. Then government established Soil Testing Laboratory, more numbers of Village Level Work Centres and Farms. Regional concept for the development of agriculture and floriculture was adopted and introduced for various agro-climatic zones of the state. New techniques of cultivation and High Yielding and Improved Variety of Seeds (HYIVS) such as

¹⁷⁷ In comparison to the Budget Expenditure on Agricultural Sector, in between 1980-1981 and 1995-1996, the government is found to have given more priority to the Agriculture and its allied activities.

maize, paddy, wheat, blackgram, rajmah, rapeseed, soyabean and mustard, fruit and vegetable were introduced.¹⁷⁸

During the ten years of SSP rule, the emphasis was laid mostly on the production of food-grains to make the state self-sufficient.¹⁷⁹ In food-grain production, remarkable achievement was made during the SSP led government. In maize, the production had increased from 47000 tonnes in 1985-1986 to 58810 tonnes in 1990-1991, rice from 16500 tonnes to 25300, wheat from 16200 tonnes to 21600 tonnes, barley from 1400 tonnes to 2860 tonnes, buckwheat from 2000 tonnes to 2540 tonnes, pulses from 10010 tonnes to 15020 tonnes and fingermillet from 4300 to 7310 tonnes in 1990-1991 (Table-C: 4). During this time, food-grains in Sikkim accorded an average annual growth rate of 12.2 percentages.

Similarly there was also a significant increase in the production of oilseeds. Its estimated production was 5900 tonnes in 1990-1991 against 4400 of 1980-1981 and 5700 of 1985-1986. In fruits also considerable achievement was made. The production increased from 6350 of 1980-1981 to 8200 in 1985-1986 and 10500 in 1990-1991 in tonnes. The average annual growth rate of fruits was estimated as more than 12.68%. Similar achievement was also noticed in the areas of cash and commercial crops like vegetable, spices etc. The production of vegetable climbed up from 3400 tonnes in 1980-1981 to 13900 in 1985-1986 and from 15000 of 1990-1991 to 28000 in 1995-1996. Potato also increased from 6646 tonnes in 1980-1981 to 24000 tonnes in 1995-1996. Similarly spices like large cardamom increased to 3900 tonnes in 1985-1986 against 3500 of 1980-1981. But in cardamom, there was a decline in 1990-1991 to 2600 tonnes and 3800 tonnes in 1995-1996. In the respect of ginger, there was considerable increase from 3200

¹⁷⁸ More areas of land were brought under major and minor irrigation and multiple and double cropping system. Use of more chemical fertilizer and pesticides was encouraged.

¹⁷⁹ The production and marketing of cash crops and commercial crops, fruits and vegetables and development of horticulture and floriculture were also encouraged

tonnes in 1980-1981 to 10900 in 1985-1986 and then 24000 tonnes in 1995-1996 (Table-C: 4).¹⁸⁰

Table-C: 4
Production of food-grain, oilseed, fruit, vegetable and spices:
1980-1981 to 1995-1996 in tonne.

Crops	Years			
	1980-81	1985-86	1990-91	1995-96
Maize	28930	47000	58810	56560
Rice	10630	16500	25300	21880
Wheat	13310	16200	21600	15300
Barley	460	1400	2860	1570
Buckwheat	1380	2000	2540	1740
Finger millet	3840	4300	7310	4750
Pulses	3320	10010	15020	5920
Oilseeds	4400	5700	5900	6500
Fruits	6350	8200	10500	12000
Vegetables	3400	13900	15000	28000
Potato	6646	16400	18000	24000
Cardamom	3500	3900	2600	3600
Ginger	3200	10900	16000	24000
Turmeric			90	100
Roots & Tubers	200	400	600	1000

Source: Lama, (ed) Sikkim Human Development Report, 2001, p. 47.

Various programme relating to agriculture and allied agricultural activities also made considerable progress and achievement. The programme included seed distribution and multiplication, application of manures and chemical fertilizers, farmers' training and education, oilseed Production Programme, National Pulses Development Project, Plant Protection etc and other agricultural allied programmes. It received primary attention from the government. The seed production of 279 tonnes in 1980-1981 had crossed the level of 4000 with the increase margin of 372.1 tonnes in 1990-1991. Similarly the seed distribution had

¹⁸⁰ In addition, propagation of flower and ornamental plants and cultivation of mushroom have been intensified in the later years.

also gone up from 785 tonnes in 1980-1981 to more than 2000 tonnes i.e, with the margin of 1285 in 1990-1991 (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, pp. 1-4).

The chemical fertilizers consumption had increased by 68% ie from 985 tonnes in 1980-1981 to 1658 tonnes in 1990-1991. The consumption of balanced nutrients was also promoted by improving the distribution system, opening more sale points, organization of large scale demonstration and development of storage facilities. The government also realized the importance of extension of education for agriculture development and henceforth Agriculture Department conducted farmers' training. Till 1980-1981, there was only one Farmers' Training Centre in Sikkim and about 4000 farmers were trained in scientific methods of cultivation and application of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and High Yielding and Improved Varieties of seeds. During the ten years of SSP led government in Sikkim, 10500 farmers were trained in four districts of Sikkim, one more Farmers' Training Centre was established at Gangtok and one Composite Farmers' Training Institute was also set up in South Sikkim. During this time, 60 Village Level Officers (VLOs) were given two years Diploma Course in agriculture and its allied activities. Besides, more than 26 government farms were strengthened meant for the multiplication of seeds and planting materials, conducting various adaptive research and demonstration of improved technologies of farms. The government also launched Oilseeds Production Programme funded by the Indian Government with 75.25% of share basis in 1990-1991 in order to meet the internal requirement of edible oil.¹⁸¹ The government also launched National Pulses Development Projects with its 75.25% share. This project was one of the National Programme emphasized by the Government of India to explore the production of pulses potentiality. Under Plant Protection Programme (PPP), the state government made remarkable achievement. The area coverage under plant protection had increased from 17.14 thousand hectares in 19980-1981 to 50.40 thousand hectares in 1990-1991. The government provided systematic plant protection programmes to tackle diseases; pests problem associated with cash and commercial crops, like

¹⁸¹This programme was firmly implemented with sizeable annual allocation.

large cardamom, ginger, orange, apple, potato, and off-season vegetables. An urgent need was felt to be undertaken to control the pests to prevent food grains from damages and loss. The pesticides were provided to the farmers. During this, the consumption of pesticides, fungicides and other plant protection materials had increased by 65% over the last ten years from 20 tonnes in 1980-1981 to 33 tonnes in 1990-1991 (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, pp. 1-4).

II

THE SSP GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION IN SIKKIM

Education as an instrument plays a significant role in ensuring socio-economic transformation and human resources mobilisation and development. It has a direct impact on the quality of life, life expectancy, infant mortality, population and other aspects of human life.

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN SIKKIM: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In Sikkim, it was the British Administration which encouraged the establishment of schools. Until late in the 19th century, education system in Sikkim was traditional, Lamaistic in nature.¹⁸² The Lamaistic institutions (monasteries) imparted education for the preparation of monks for priesthood. In those days, Tashiding, Pemayangtse, Tulung, and Sanghachoeling were the main teaching centres of Lamaistic education (Lama, 2001, pp. 28-29).

In 1872-1873, a Missionary, Rev. Macfarlane,¹⁸³ visited Sikkim and is said to have established few missionary schools in various parts of Sikkim. Later, when the missionaries moved from village to village, those schools were said to have run by them or on the basis of grant-in-aid. The medium of instruction was Hindi. In 1880, there were three primary schools in Khamdong,

¹⁸² It was confined to the study of Buddhist teaching, chanting prayer, painting, sculpture, astrology, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, Tantra etc in the various monasteries.

¹⁸³ Who was also a pioneer of modern education in Darjeeling.

Song and Mangan. By 1884, Scottish missionaries had started eleven (11) primary schools (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, 2005, p. 9).

It is also worth mentioning that the modern system of education in Sikkim could set its proper threshold only after 1889. Since White Claude had an intention to bring educational reformations in Sikkim, so he firstly decided to educate and mould the ruling class and the influential section of the society to spread western ideas.¹⁸⁴ The course contents in the government schools and missionary schools were same as it was in the schools of neighbouring states of Bengal and English was a compulsory subject that was taught. However, in the schools maintained by the landlords and privately managed, teaching of Nepali was introduced in 1924 (Kharel, 2002, p. 191).

As stated earlier that the British Administration had initiated the establishment of English schools in Sikkim in the beginning of the 20th century. John White Claude realized the urgent need for schools in Gangtok to fulfil the requirement of the administration and improve the administrative structure at the capital, Gangtok. With this view, he established the first English school at Upper Baluakhani, Gangtok in 1906. This school was known as Bhutia Boarding School. It was of Middle English school standard and had 47 students out of which 27 were boarders and 24 were financed by the Government of Sikkim. One year later, in 1907 another school emerged at Lall Bazar, Gangtok. This school was named as Nepali Boarding school with the strength of 54 students out of which 5 were boarders (Kharel, 2002, p. 203). In 1909, the Chogyal Sidkeong Tulku founded Enchay School.¹⁸⁵ Both the schools received financial support annually from the Darbar of Sikkim. While retrospectively the education system and its historical profile in Sikkim, those two educational institutions seem to be the pioneering

¹⁸⁴As a result, during the British Administration, three types of schools- (I) Government Schools, (II) Missionary Schools and (III) Schools maintained by the landlords and the private people of the villages were established to impart modern education.

¹⁸⁵ In its initial stage, in both the Bhutia Boarding School and Nepali Boarding School, English, Mathematics, Tibetan and Hindi were taught. Co-curricular activities like playing drill and gymnastics were also included.

schools in setting new milestone of modern education system and John White Claude was its forerunner to foster the education system in Sikkim.¹⁸⁶

In May 1924, Marry Scott was allowed to open a school for the girls in Gangtok. The first batch of matriculation (four) students passed the examination in 1945 and the school continued to grow, becoming a recognized Higher Secondary school in 1961. The main feature of this school was that even industrial teaching namely sewing and knitting and other vocational training was included in the curriculum for the girls (Lama, 2001, p. 29).

In the same very year (1924), Teaching Training Institute which was felt very essential was started with K L Kapoor as its first Headmaster. In its initial stage, Teachers Training Course was called the Village Teachers Training Course (VTTC). The norms of formal Basic Training Institute demanded new infrastructure for running a regular Course for teachers which made the government to shift the Institute to Temi in 1956. Shree Padam Singh Subba who was the first Sikkimese to have undergone Teachers' Training Course at the Mahatma Gandhi Teachers Training Institute at Wardha, Gujarat was appointed as the principal of this institute in 1959 (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, 2005, p. 11).

Both the regular government school teachers and committee school teachers had to undergo one year training in this institute. They were paid training allowance of Rs 10 per month. In 1969, this Basic Teachers' Training Institute was shifted to Pelling, West Sikkim and attached with Pelling Senior Secondary School as Teacher Training Institute (TTI).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ The educational expenditure borne by the Sikkim Darbar at the time of 1907-1908 in Bhutia Boarding School was Rs 3900, Nepali Boarding School Rs 2500 and Missionary School Rs 1400, totalling Rs 7800.

¹⁸⁷ This imparted training both in pedagogical and related areas. Practical like, crafts, gardening, agriculture etc formed important parts of the curriculum.

In 1925, two pioneering schools maintained by the Darbar of Sikkim: Bhutia Boarding School of Upper Baluakhani and Nepali Boarding School of Lall Bazar were merged together and new school named Tashi Namgyal High School emerged. This school was affiliated to Calcutta University in 1930 and was directly managed by the Darbar of Sikkim.¹⁸⁸ The first Headmaster of this school was C E Dudely who also acted as superintendent of Public Institutions in Sikkim (Kharel, 2002, p. 203). In 1966, this Tashi Namgyal High School was split into Tashi Namgyal Academy (TNA) and Tashi Namgyal Secondary School (TNSS).

From the 20th century onwards, educational institutions in Sikkim gradually started emerging and by 1947 there were altogether 37 schools. Out of these, 5 schools maintained by the Government, 14 schools run by the Scottish Missionaries, 04 by the Scandinavian Missionaries and 14 village schools by the landlords and private people of the villagers.

In the beginning of the First Seventh Year Plan of Sikkim, 1954, the number of schools in Sikkim increased up to 88 against 37 of 1947. During this First Seven Year Plan (1954-1961),¹⁸⁹ out of Rs 82.07 millions total budget outlay, Rs 9.80 million (11.94%) was allocated for education in Sikkim (Sikkim Darbar, 1963, pp. 2-3). In the year 1961, i.e, at the end of the First Seventh Year Plan period, the number of schools in Sikkim climbed up to 182 ie by 48% against 88 of 1954 in Sikkim (Lama, 2001, p. 29).

According to the census of 1971, the literacy rate among the population aged 7 years and above was only 17.74%.¹⁹⁰ With the dawn of democracy in Sikkim in 1975, Sikkim has witnessed a vital revolution in the sphere of education.¹⁹¹ This has led to the increase of schools, teachers and other infrastructural development allied to the educational institutions.

¹⁸⁸ The school sent its first batch of matriculation examination in March, 1933.

¹⁸⁹ This was initiated with the financial assistance of India.

¹⁹⁰ Organized modern education in Sikkim is comparatively a thirty years phenomenon.

¹⁹¹ Since the merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union, the demand for education is steadily growing in the state.

When Kazi government came to power in 1974, the enrolment of students in the schools of Sikkim was just 32279.¹⁹² But within the span of five years of popular democratic rule in Sikkim, the enrolment of students went up to 45758, with a marginal difference of 13480. The extension of educational opportunities to every child in the age group 6-14 had been one of the long term principal goal of educational planning in Sikkim. Meanwhile the enrolment of the primary stage (I-V) increased to 39000 in 1979 against 18000 of 1975. Similarly, the enrolment of the Junior High School stage of (VI-VIII) also increased up to 5168 in 1979 against 2100 of 1975 (Roy, 1980, pp. 34-37). The sharp rise in enrolment of students at every stage of education necessitated the increase in the strength of the teaching personals by more than 50% from about 1200 in 1975 to 1919 in 1978. It also necessitated expansion of schooling facilities, infrastructural development and rise of expenditure in the educational sector.

Along with this, the Plan Expenditure on education also increased from Rs 63.95 lakhs of 1975-1976 to Rs 99 lakhs in 1977-1978 and from Rs 133.6 of 1978-79 to Rs 391.0 lakhs in 1979-1980. Similarly, Non-Plan expenditure also increased from Rs 37 lakhs of 1975-1976 to Rs 73 lakhs in 1978-1979. The Budget outlay for the year 1978-1979 was Rs 1.35 crores and 1979-1980 was Rs 2.10 crores for educational sector (Roy, 1980, pp. 34-37).

During the period (1975-1979) Sikkim had serious shortage of qualified teachers. In order to ensure regular and qualified teachers to impart education in the schools of Sikkim, the government established full-fledged State Institute of Education (SIE). The state government made education free for the boys up to class-VIII and for girls up to the class -X level. The government also provided books to the students at half the cost. Free boarding schemes for the children of the weaker section of the society to study in Junior High Schools, High Schools and Higher Secondary Schools

¹⁹² Out of which 21,868 were boys and 10,411 were girls.

was launched in order to make education more universal and accessible to all. With the help of Rural Work Department (RWD), the supply of drinking water was made available to school children at the schools.

The production of school text books in Nepali, Tibetan, Lepcha and Limboo Languages, establishment of text book units under Directorate of Education and appointment of Language experts as text book writers on four Languages had been a remarkable achievement of the Education Department during that time. The text books in Lepcha and Limboo Languages have been produced for use in class I-VII. Besides text books, dictionaries in those languages had also been produced by the Text Book Unit of Education Department.

To facilitate higher education, a regular Government Degree College was set up in Gangtok in 1977. It provided three streams, Arts, Commerce and Science. The Night College which was established in 1972 also continued to exist to benefit those who were in the middle of their under-graduate course (Roy, 1980, pp. 34-37).

At the primary level, one teacher each was provided by the government in 47 private primary schools. Ten primary schools were upgraded to Junior High schools, five Junior High Schools to High Secondary schools and altogether 264 schools were set up (Singh & Singh, 1978, p. 6). In September 1975, an elaborated programme of Non-Formal Education (NFE) was launched in Sikkim with the assistance of the Central Government. Within a span of four years, 424 sub-centres were opened.¹⁹³ The enrolment of the students in these 424 sub-centres increased up to 13000 with 430 part-time teachers working in those 424 sub-centres of Non-Formal Education.

¹⁹³ The centres were meant for catering to continuing education of dropouts.

Although the Sikkim Congress Government under the leadership of Lhendup Dorjee Kazi, Khangsarpa made considerable progress and achievement in the field of education during its five years rule yet, it was rejected by the people and voted out of power in the second Sikkim Assembly in 1979. Kazi, was badly defeated by Sikkim Janata Parishad (SJP) under the leadership of Bhandari.¹⁹⁴

THE SSP GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION IN SIKKIM

On the eve of the Assembly election of March 1985, the SSP led by Bhandari made a number of promises and assurances for making education free, universal and accessible to all. It also promised to upgrade the existing schools and set up new schools and colleges in Sikkim and provide free education up to class XII with free text books and exercise books with highly subsidized rate (Sikkim Herald, 5th July 1985). With those promises and assurances, the SSP led by Bhandari came to power after the third Sikkim Assembly election of 1985.

During the SSP led government rule, education in Sikkim seemed to have received top most priority in the state. The Budget allocation and expenditure incurred during the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990) and Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-1997) clearly indicate that the government's was concerned over the educational sector in Sikkim. There was a quantum jump in the expenditure in the education sector during the last two Five Year Plan periods. In the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990) the expenditure in the educational sector was Rs 394.62 million against the budget allocation of Rs 264.00 million and in Eighth Five Year Plan period (1990-1997) was Rs 872.19 million against the budget allocation of Rs 606.00 million (Table-C: 5).

¹⁹⁴ There was a tight corner fight and SJP formed a new government securing 17 seats out of 32 seats in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly. Sikkim Janata Parishad had a number of impressive slogans such as ushering democracy, destroying communalism and give Sikkimese people back their self-respect and sense of dignity. But Sikkim Janata Parishad led government declined after the dismissal of Bhandari from the Chiefministership in May 1984.

Table-C: 5

Budget allocation and expenditure made for education in the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Five Year Plans (1980-1981 to 1990-1997).

Plan	6th Five Year Plan	7th Five Year Plan	8th Five Year Plan
Year	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1997
Budget	18.3 million	264.0 million	606.00 million
Allocation			
Expenditure	145.87 million	394.62 million	872.19 million

Source: Lama, (ed) Sikkim Human Development Report, 2001, p. 30.

In 1985, the position of the schools in Sikkim was: Pre-Primary Schools 198, Lower Primary Schools 218, Primary Schools 239, Junior High Schools 91, Secondary Schools 37 and Senior Secondary Schools 11 with the total institutions 794. Similarly, the enrolment of the students at the Pre-Primary stage was 5000, Primary stage (I-V) 60821, Middle stage (VI-VIII) 13423, Secondary stage (IX-X) 3165 and at the Senior Secondary stage (XI-XII) was 928 with the total strength of 83337. The total number of teachers working in various schools was 4298.¹⁹⁵

The SSP after coming to power, proposed for 720 pre-primary schools, 231 Lower Primary Schools, 255 Primary Schools, 155 Junior High Schools, 69 Secondary Schools and 19 Senior Secondary Schools, total 1449 to be achieved by the end of Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-1997). The government also proposed to increase the enrolment of the students to 27900 at the Pre-Primary stage, 80000 Primary stage (I-V), 22000 at the Middle Stage (VI-VIII), 11450 at the Secondary stage (IX-X) and 5600 at the Senior Secondary stage (XI-XII), totalling 146950 including the existing position. Similarly, 720 school mothers for the Pre-Primary stage, 4369 Primary teachers for the Primary stage (I-V), 1199 graduate teachers at the middle stage (VI-VIII), 724 graduate teachers at the Secondary stage (IX-X) and 211 Post-Graduate teachers at the Senior Secondary stage (XI-XII) were proposed to be achieved by the end of Eighth Five Year Plan

¹⁹⁵ Out of which 198 were school mothers, 3044 primary teachers, 639 graduate teachers for the middle stage, 280 graduate teachers for the Secondary level and 137 Post-Graduate teachers for the Senior Secondary level.

So, at the end of Seventh Five Year Plan Period (1985-1990) Pre-Primary Schools have increased from 198 to 528, Lower Primary Schools from 218 to 266, Primary Schools from 239 to 246, Junior High Schools from 91 to 127, Secondary Schools from 37 to 53 and Senior Secondary Schools from 11 to 15. Similarly, the number of teachers have also increased from 198 to 531 with the difference of 333 at the Pre-Primary level, from 3044 to 4064 with the difference of 1020 at the Primary level, from 639 to 949 with the difference of 310 at the Middle stage, from 280 to 584 with the difference of 304 at the Secondary level and from 137 to 168 with the difference of 31 at the Senior Secondary level. There was also sharp increase of students' enrolment from 5000 to 13193 at the Pre-Primary level, from 60821 to 71515 at the Primary level, from 13423 to 14591 at the Middle stage level, from 3165 to 5719 at the Secondary level and from 928 to 1868 at the Senior Secondary level with the total increased of 106886 against 83337 of 1980-1985. By 1991-1992, the number of schools increased to 1343 schools¹⁹⁶ against 794 schools of 1980-1985, the enrolment of the students increased to 113849¹⁹⁷ against 83,337 of 1980-1985 and the number of teachers from 4298 of 1980-1985 to 6546 in 1991-1992 as shown in Table-C: 6.¹⁹⁸ During this particular period of SSP led government rule in Sikkim, the literacy rate of Sikkim also increased from 34.05% in 1981 to 57% in 1991 and Sikkim recorded the second highest literacy rate among the north-eastern state. At the same time, the female literacy rate also went up from 8.9% of 1981 to 46% in 1991. The East district of Sikkim accorded the highest literacy rate, 65.1% followed by the south district with 61.4%. The highest proportion of the literates were those with the below primary level of education, 36% and very low proportion of literates were education level of graduation and above, 3.4% (Lama, 2001, p. 30).

¹⁹⁶ Those schools include 794 schools of 1980-1985.

¹⁹⁷ Out of 113849, 61437 were male and 52412 female.

¹⁹⁸ Of these, 528 were school mothers, 4008 Primary teachers, 1015 graduate teachers of middle stage, 685 graduate teachers of Secondary level and 310 were post-graduate teachers of Senior Secondary schools.

Table-C: 6

State-wide six-wise enrolment of teachers and students: 1991-1992.

Teachers	Male	Female	Total	Students	Male	Female	Total
Pre-Primary		528	528	Pre-Pry Level	8381	6754	15135
Primary	2737	1271	4008	Pry Level	39296	34028	73324
Middle	618	397	1015	Middle Level	8329	7669	15998
Secondary	402	283	685	Sec. Level	3845	3130	6975
Sr.Sec. level	199	111	310	Sr. Sec. Level	1586	831	1417
Total	3956	2590	6546	Total	61437	52412	113849

Source: IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, 2003, p.79.

An interview in connection with the establishment of schools and promotion of modern system of education in Sikkim, during the SSP led government was taken with one of the retired school teacher and another senior local gentry of Yangthang Constituency. While responding to the question as to whether education was accessible in all the rural areas during those ten years rule of SSP led government (1985-1994) in Sikkim? The interviewee replied, 'Though Bhandari is accused of being a dictator during his 15 years rule in Sikkim (5 years under SJP and 10 under SSP), Sikkim witnessed rapid development of infrastructure which it had never experienced during 5 years rule of L D Kazi'. With regards to the development and accessibility of education, he added, 'after SSP came to power in 1985, education system in Sikkim could set its proper milestone. Many schools were established in the villages and remote areas of Sikkim. The schools run and managed by the village committees were converted to government schools. The students were provided text books and exercise copies free of cost. They were not charged any tuition fee except admission fee. Even the children of poor families could attend schools and avail education. So, gradually in Sikkim, modern education became more accessible to the village children and children of poor section of the society of Sikkim'.¹⁹⁹ Another interviewee added, 'Before 1980s, no matter there were schools, but only in the far-flung distance and children had to walk for more than an hour. Therefore, the children from the rural areas hardly had an opportunity to

¹⁹⁹ Passang Tshering Lepcha of Darap, retired and senior most teacher, dated: 1st March, 2010.

attain education. After SSP Government led by Bhandari came to power, education became more accessible and universal to all the children of Sikkim'.²⁰⁰

A remarkable achievement was also attained in the higher education sector. The single institution of higher learning in the form of Sikkim Government Degree College got new buildings and various streams. Sikkim Law College, B.Ed College and Indra Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) were also established. The Government also constituted a higher level committee and invited a central team to explore the possibility of opening University of Sikkim. To mobilize resources for the development of education, centrally sponsored and central planed schemes like Operation Blackboard, District Institute of Education and Training (DIET), Science Improvement, Rural Functional Literacy Programme (RFLP) and Jana Siksha Nilayams (JSN) were launched. Hindi Teachers to teach Hindi were appointed. Vocational Education, Maintenance of Tibetan Refugee Children in Enchay School was implemented.²⁰¹ Three languages formula English as language-1, Regional language as optional language and Hindi as compulsory subject from class IV-VIII was introduced in the schools and curriculum was framed by the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT).

During 1987-1988, the Sahodaya Programme (SP) sponsored by the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) was launched.²⁰² The recruitment rules and norms were also framed and procedures were streamlined to improve the quality of teachers. The government also accorded highest priority to the programme of teacher's education. The facilities of education were expanded and varieties of programmes and schemes were diversified and increased. The Teachers' Training Institute was converted into District Institute for Education and

²⁰⁰ A B Subba of Lingbit, one of the senior most citizens, dated: 4th June, 2010.

²⁰¹ About 98% of the educational institutions managed and funded by the government were provided universal free education including free supply of text books and mid-day meal to all the primary school children

²⁰² The main aim of the programme was to ensure that no school located in the remotest areas of the state suffer from a sense of deprivation and neglect to maximize the functional efficiency of school by sharing physical resources and exchange of teaching and teachers' resources among the schools in the complex.

Training under a centrally sponsored programme. In 1988, both academic and Non-academic post was created to provide necessary teaching and administrative man-power to this institute. For making education more accessible, universal and free to all the poor, the government launched great incentive schemes such as exemption of students from the payments of fees like examination fee, games fee, laboratory fee etc. In 1987, the scheme of free education was extended to the College level. The text books were made freely available to all up to class XII. The class as a pilot project was also launched in two of the Senior Secondary Schools to impart computer education in 1985-1986. Later on it was extended to almost all 18 Senior Secondary Schools. The government also introduced Vocational Education Course in seven selected Senior Secondary Schools of Sikkim for the benefit of the students of class XII and dropouts of pre-Secondary stage. This course included steno, typing, Radio and Television repair, medical laboratory techniques and photography etc (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 23).

For creating self-employment opportunities for the dropouts, Vocational Education Courses were conducted in Printing Technology at the Sikkim Government Press, traditional art in collaboration with the Ecclesiastical Department in monastic schools, training of horology²⁰³ at the Sikkim Time Corporation (SITCO), Deorali in each course. Ten youths were inducted into Sikkim Jewels for two years. To tackle the unemployment problems and impart technical education to the educated youths in the state, the government established Polytechnic Institute and Industrial Training Institute at Rangpo.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Training of horology included assembly and repair of watches.

²⁰⁴ So far as the achievement of the government in Education Technology Programme is concerned, the government provided all the Pre-Primary and Junior High Schools with 800 two-in-one tapes. Software like nursery rhymes in Nepali language produced by the Education Technology Cell (ETC). The video cassettes on '*Glimpses of Sikkim*' and '*Festivals of Sikkim*' were produced with the help of local talent artists. BBC micro computers, 16 mm Cine Projectors, PA equipments, colour Television and VCP were provided to almost all the Senior Secondary Schools. Nursery rhymes and folk songs in Limboo, Lepcha, Bhutia and Nepali languages were also produced for mass distribution to the children of the age group 4-10 years in the schools of Sikkim (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 24).

The government also made the provision of Rs 40-50 lakhs annually for the implementation of the various programmes of scholarships and stipends to encourage and support talents, meritorious and students belonging to the weaker section of the society. It also provided grant-in-aid to the non-governmental institutions of various standards and assistance to 1 Madarsa, 9 Sanskrit Pathshala, 37 Monastic schools and 2 Public schools. During 1991-1992, alone a budgetary provision of Rs 134 lakhs was provided for that purposes. The government also focused its attention on revamping of the Educational Administration.²⁰⁵ Status of District Education Officers was upgraded to Joint Directors as the head of the Department in the Districts. Account sections were opened in the Districts Education Officers with the view to decentralize the account management and ensure payment at the District level. Apart from what have been discussed so far, the government also launched centrally sponsored schemes and programmes such as State Adult Education Programme (SAEP) in 1991-1992, Rural Functional Literacy Programme (RFLP) in 1989-1990 and Jana Siksha Nilayams (JSN) in 1991-1992 to encourage Adult Education in the state (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, pp. 20-27). Here it is also worth mentioning that during the 10 years of SSP led government, three indigenous languages of Sikkim; Limboo, Lepcha and Bhutia also made tremendous progress and reached to the standard of class XII as core subject.

III

THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR IN SIKKIM UNDER THE SSP LED GOVERNMENT

Industrialization plays a crucial role for economic growth and employment generation. But in the state like Sikkim, the topographical location of the state, limitation of natural resources, lack of skilled manpower and technology

²⁰⁵The planning and accounts sections of Education Department were strengthened, new section of engineering, National Service Schemes and Statistics (NSSS) were opened, sports affair section was also opened at the Districts level.

determines the process of industrialisation. However, attempts have been made for the establishment of small scale industries and improvement of already existing industries.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN SIKKIM: A HISTORICAL VIEW

The industrial growth and activities during the pre-merger period had in fact been very limited to the production and development of traditional crafts such as weaving of carpets and wooden blankets, wood carving, painting, bamboo crafts, paper making. In 1954, for the first time, under the First Seven Year Plan (1954-1961), the Darbar of Sikkim allocated 4.3 % of RS 32.4 million of total Budget of Sikkim for industrial sector. Since then there had been proper allocation of Budget for the industrial sector in Sikkim in each and every Plan. In the Second Five Year Plan, the Budget allocation for Industrial sector was 5.01 % of Rs 82.7 million. In the Third Five Year Plan, 6.7 % of Rs 97.1 million, in the Fourth Five Year Plan, 3.5 % of Rs 203.6 million, in the Fifth Five Year Plan, 6.6 % of Rs 401.0 million, in the Sixth Five Year Plan, 4.2% of Rs 1478 million, in the Seventh Five Year Plan, 4.0 % of Rs 2824 million and Eighth Five Year Plan, it was 3.85% of Rs 7245 million respectively.

In 1954, for the first time, Sikkim Distilleries was set up in Sikkim to ensure quality liquor for the people of Sikkim at a reasonable price. In this, Darbar of Sikkim had 47% shares.²⁰⁶ Therefrom in 1956, Government Fruit Preservation Factory was established. In 1957, under the patronage of the Chogyal of Sikkim, Palden Thendup Namgyal Institute of Cottage Industries was set up in Gangtok (Sikkim Darbar, 1963, p. 10). In the subsequent year, other weaving and handloom schools were also established to impart training to the Sikkimese girls and boys in the local handicrafts including carpentry, handmade paper, carpet, doll making, painting, embroidery, dyeing etc (Sikkim Darbar, 1963, p. 15). Under the industrial scheme, the private entrepreneurs were given financial assistance in the form of loans by the government. Under the said scheme, those units which manufactured wire nails, opened motor garages and floriculture centres were

²⁰⁶ By 1971, it provided jobs to 30 managers and 130 labourers.

assisted (Publicity Department, Sikkim Darbar, 1963, p. 15). Besides, Sikkim Mining Corporation Limited, and Temi Tea Estate and Sikkim Jewels Limited (1972) were also set up. Sikkim Jewels Limited aimed to fulfil the demand of watch jewels and cup jewels.²⁰⁷

After Sikkim became the constituent state of Indian Union in 1975, all four districts; west, south, East and North districts were declared as industrially backward and a Directorate of Industries was established in 1976. An experienced officer drawn from the central government was appointed as the Director of the Directorate. Since then the Directorate of Industries started focusing on creation of proper administrative machinery by establishing full-fledged Directorate of Industries at Gangtok and its Centre in Jorethang. Within two-three years of its establishment, two District Industrial Centres (DIC), one at Gangtok and another at Jorethang, were set up in Sikkim for the convenience of the entrepreneurs and also to bring the concept of industrialization to the people.²⁰⁸ Further provisions for the incentives such as capital grant and subsidy for backward areas, transport subsidy on consumption of power, exemption from sale tax and income tax, marketing assistance etc were made and planned by the Directorate of Industries to encourage the industrial units in Sikkim.

In order to formulate projects for industrial growth on scientific and advanced lines, the government conducted number of surveys through various agencies from Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi (1975-1976), National Industrial Development Corporation, New Delhi (1975) Industrial Development Bank of India (1977-1978), High Powered Team of the Ministry of Industry, New Delhi (1977-1978), Government of Handlooms (1977-

²⁰⁷ Initially, Sikkim Jewels Limited could produce 2 lakhs of cup jewels and 3 lakhs of watch jewels per month. Now its capacity has increased to 3 lakhs of cup jewels and 332 lakhs of watch jewels per month (Lama, 2001, p. 73).

²⁰⁸ The centre set up in Gangtok had to cover north and east districts of Sikkim and then Jorethang the west and south districts.

1978), Government Fruit Preservation Factory (1977-1978), Roller Flour Mill Project, New Delhi etc (Dasgupta, 1992, pp. 120-121).

In 1976, the Sikkim Time Corporation (SITCO) as an Industrial Unit was set up in technical collaboration with the Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT) for the assembly of watches.²⁰⁹ In 1977, Sikkim Industrial Development and Investment Corporation (SIDICO) was established as a financial institution at the state level to promote and finance the industrial units through loans and also to procure and distribute raw material for selective industries and activities.

Due to strong political will and liberal industrial policy of the government, Sikkim could set a path towards industrialisation after it became a part of the Indian Union. According to Sikkim Human Development Report, 2001, there were about 1360 units big and small scale industries in Sikkim which were granted provisional registration by the Directorate of Industries from 1976 onwards. Out of these, 300 had been registered as small scale Industries (SSI) tiny units and have begun to operate. Over 9.76% of these small scale industries were located in the west district, 72.05% in the east district, 17.17% in the south district and 1.01% in the north district of Sikkim.²¹⁰

THE SSP GOVERNMENT AND THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

Although Sikkim is topographically a terrain state, limited in its natural resources, human skills and technology, there was still pressing need for the development of more industries. There was a sharp increase of unemployment problem of the educated youths. For this the government wanted to create avenues for job opportunities. Moreover, the government also intended to raise the state's per

²⁰⁹ In its initial stage, about 2.5 lakhs of watches were assembled and had about 25 workers. In 2001, there were 380 workers and 4 units: Mechanical watches, Semi-conductor, Digital watches and watch crowns.

²¹⁰ In between 1975 and 1980, the important products produced in Sikkim were washing soaps, coke briquette, matches, candles and leather. Besides, swan timber (Bagey Khola) cables, aluminium utensils, detergent, and cotton fabrics with power loom and bread and biscuits were produced (Singh & Singh, 1978, p. 18).

capita income to improve the living standard and well-being of the people of Sikkim. As such, the industrial sector was a prime concern of the government in Sikkim.

When the SSP was formed in 1984, the industrial sector was the prime concern of the party. During the eve of third Sikkim Assembly of 1985, SSP made a number of commitments for solving the problems of unemployment of educated unemployed youths. The party also promised to extend necessary assistance for self-employment through various industrial units and agencies and formulate effective industrial policies keeping in view the availability of limited natural resources, skilled man-power and the topographical location of Sikkim.

In the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990) the government allocated 4.0% for industrial units out of Rs 2824 million of total Plan outlay. Similarly, in Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-1997), 3.85% of Rs 7245 million total budget outlay was allocated for the industrial sector. In contrast, the Budget outlay for industrial sector in those two consecutive Plans of 1985-1990 and 1990-1997 were consistently low, never exceeding 5% of the total plan outlay.

In between 1985-1994, about 185 Small Scale Industries or Tiny Industrial Units were established in addition to those existing Small Scale Industries (SSI) prior to 1985.²¹¹ During this time, a branch office of West Bengal Consultancy Organisation limited was set up at Gangtok for providing the required technical guidance, consultancy services besides preparation of project profiles, project reports etc. To provide plant and machineries to entrepreneurs on hire and purchase basis and also to help the units in marketing of their products, a branch office of National Small Industries Corporation Limited (NSICL) was set up at Gangtok. In 1986, another branch office of Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) was also set up at Gangtok. This institution

²¹¹ Out of these 185 Small Scale Industrial Units, 140 (75.67%) were located in the East District, 32 (17.29%) in the South District, 20 (10.8%) in the West and 03 (1.62%) in the North Districts of Sikkim

provided the necessary financial assistance exclusively to small scale and tiny industries under their various schemes. One more District Industries Centre was also established at Gangtok to provide all the required services, support and assistance to the entrepreneurs and artisans of all small scale units of north and east district under one umbrella. In Jorethang, a Mini Industries Estate was established with 12 sheds of different sizes with the objective of providing readymade accommodation to the industrial units at highly subsidized rents. At Tadong, Gangtok, an industrial area was also developed to accommodate Sikkim Flour Mills and Automobile Workshops. For manufacturing items like vanaspatti, beer and silicon, semi-conductor devices, medium scale units were set up. For manufacturing items such as talcum powder, pharmaceuticals, glass, bottles, pilfer proof caps, HDDE woven sacks, PVC wire, wire nails and binding wire, AAC/ACSR conductors, tin containers, exercise books, printing job books, wooden and steel furniture, bakery and confectionery items, snack foods, mosaic tiles, wooden electrical accessories, readymade garments, silica chips, dolomite powder, RCC span pipes, candles, washing soaps, cattle feed, socks, black and white TV sets, spices, ayurvedic medicines, plastic products small scale industrial units were established. In conformity with the privatization policy of the Government of India, the Government Fruit preservation Factory and Flour Milling units of Sikkim Flour Mills Limited were leased out with a view to getting assured returns on the investment made by the Government in these two units (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 61).

Financial assistance from the state has been extended to those industrial units in Sikkim in the form of state loans at a subsidized rate. Over 54% of the entrepreneurs or industrial units for which financial assistance from the state has been received were located in the east districts and 10% in the north district of Sikkim. Apart from the financial assistance from the state, other Central Industrial Units like Small Industrial Services Institute (SISI) under the Ministry of Industry also provided technical inputs and assistance like the preparation of project report, consultancy, references and training facilities. The National Bank for

Agriculture and Development (NABARD) established in 1985 also started financing agriculture and other allied sectors. Under All India Handicraft Board (AIHB) steps were taken to promote the handloom and cottage industries in Sikkim. Under the provision of central investment subsidy applicable, various industrial units and hotels were financially benefited. In between 1980-1989, various industrial units and hotels were entitled to get 15-25 % as outright subsidy not exceeding Rs 2.5 million. The various industrial units in Sikkim received Rs 61.1 million under this provision. Similarly, under the Central Transport Subsidy Scheme (CTSS), the industrial units in Sikkim had reimbursed the cost of transportation of raw material and finished products to the extent of 75-90%. During the year 1985 to 1990 this amounted to Rs 63.11 million. Till 1985-1986, only 17% of the investment subsidy was utilized by the entrepreneurs.²¹² In 1991, the Government adopted liberal policy to attract the entrepreneurs and investment in the industrial sector in Sikkim (Notification No 27/DI/89-90(III) 7452 dated: 13th March 1991). Any Industrial unit in Sikkim under these schemes could avail of subsidy on captive power generating set, cost of transformer and power line, consultancy services, power, interests on working capital, registration fee of promotion council, Indian Standard Institution, Commodity Boards, Chamber of Commerce, Publicity and advertisement, Study Tour and Implant Training, price preference, concession on sale tax, deterring of excise duty, special incentives for high value and Low Volume Production Units and units utilizing local raw materials (Lama, 2001, p. 73).

Besides watch assembly unit, two more units for manufacturing of watch crowns and discrete silicon, semi-conductor devices were constructed under Sikkim Time Corporation Limited in Sikkim. The government also invested the sum of Rs 7.21 cores under Sikkim Jewels Limited for the completion of expansion-cum-diversification (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 63). The Government established branches of the Directorate of Handicrafts and Handlooms at various places of Sikkim. For setting up a unit for manufacturing of Microwave Integrated Circuits

²¹² This clearly shows the slow reaction and less interest of the local entrepreneurs towards the incentive schemes.

at a project cost of Rs 1.5 cores, the government entered into an agreement with the renowned Indian Telephone Industries Limited, Bangalore. As per this agreement, the government provided scarce materials like paraffin wax, palm fatty acid distillate, iron and steel material etc to the industrial units for manufacturing items based on the aforesaid raw materials. The Project Report on cane and bamboo, ginger, handicrafts, solvent extraction plant, broom industry etc were prepared. During this period (1985-1994), Temi Tea Estate stepped up in production of tea from 50000 kilograms to 100000 kilograms. 75% of the tea was exported earning valuable foreign exchange.²¹³. In order to motivate and encourage the interpreters and investors, government of Sikkim launched various schemes and programmes under various departments. More than 50 Entrepreneurship Motivation and Development Programme were conducted and 1200 entrepreneurs were trained in different parts of Sikkim, 75 artisans were sent outside Sikkim to study, tour and implant training. For skill upgradation, rural artisans were trained in the various parts of all the four districts of Sikkim in trades and cane and bamboo crafts, thanka painting, carpet weaving, handloom weaving, pangden weaving, motor mechanic, wireman, plumber etc (Lama, 2001, p. 69-74).

The Directorate of Handicrafts and Handlooms is a premier institute in the state. It looks after the preservation and promotion of traditional arts and crafts in Sikkim and several branches in all parts of Sikkim. This institute imparted training to the young girls and boys of Sikkim in crafts and handlooms and later engage those as paid workers on piece rate basis or gave them permanent employment in the various branches of institute which are scattered in all parts of Sikkim like Kewzing, Okhrey, Lachung Lachen, Chungthang, Lindong, Pelling and Namchi. The training was imparted on Sikkimese crafts and handlooms to those educated unemployed and dropouts youths.

²¹³ Temi-Tea gained demand from customers for its superior quality which called for expansion of tea garden.

The Department of Industry also organized a Credit-Cum-Motivation Programme in which 409 artisans and entrepreneurs were provided financial assistance amounting to Rs 80 lakhs through various Financial Institutions and Sikkim Khadi and Village Industries Board. The Sikkim Industrial Development and Investment Corporation Limited had provided financial assistance to more than 1000 industrial units, hostellers and taxi operators. Composite loans, term loans, loan under single vehicle operation scheme amounting Rs 24 crores were sanctioned and disbursed. Under the scheme of self-employment to Educated Unemployed Youth, 267 candidates were provided financial assistance amounting Rs 50.00 lakhs for starting their over self-employment ventures in business, services and industrial ventures. The Sikkim Khadi and Village Industrial Board had 25 Training-Cum Production Centres in the different parts of the state. Through centres, training was imparted to the unemployed youth. Apart from this, Sikkim Khadi and Village Industries Board provided financial assistance to the institutions or persons engaged in the development and operation of village industries (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 63). The government also under the various Departments organized number of Seminar and Workshop on the courses, '*Working Capital Assessment and Management*', '*Management and Cost Accounting*', '*Marketing Management*', '*Production Management and Quality Control*', and '*Intensive Packaging Programme*' etc. The Department also brought out booklets to give information and guidance on the procedures for setting up industries, facilities and concessions available for agencies which were active in the state for the promotion of industries and other relevant detail (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, pp. 59-63).

As a result of the massive entrepreneurship development drive, motivation and incentives, more than 1050 small scale industrial units and entrepreneurs were issued provisional registration by the Department of Industry by 1992. About 185 industries were permanently registered in Department of Industry and about 4000 persons were provided employment in those various industrial units or sector (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 60). The contribution made

by the various industrial units to the state's income during this period was recorded at Rs 5.2 million in 1985-1986, 3.7 million in 1990-1991 and Rs 2.2 million 1995-1996. However, the contribution of industrial units to the state's income declined from Rs 5.7 million in 1980-81 to Rs 2.2 million in 1995-1996 with the margin of Rs 3.5 million in fifteen years of gap as indicated in Table-C: 7.

Table-C: 7

Share of manufacturing in Net State Domestic Product (NSDP).

Industry of Origin	1980-1981	1985-1986	1990-1991	1995-1996
NSDP(Rs in millions)	489.8	1133.06	2129.5	4459.7
Manufacturing Sector	2.79 (5.7)	5.9 (5.2)	7.82 (3.7)	10.03 (2.2)

Source: Lama, (ed) Sikkim Human Development Report, 2001, p. 71.

Note: Data within bracket is percentage of total.

IV

THE SSP GOVERNMENT AND THE SERVICE SECTOR

Transport and communication are the two important components of the service sector. It is through transport and communication network that trade flourishes and economic growth and development takes place. In the rural areas of Sikkim, transport and communication ease the hardship and inconveniences of the people in delivering goods and providing transport services. Sikkim being a landlocked state with no air, water and rail transport system available it depends entirely on road transportation. In other words both transport and communication in Sikkim takes place through road.

SERVICE SECTOR IN SIKKIM: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The service sector in Sikkim during the reign of the monarchy was not well facilitated and convenient as it is today. There was neither railway nor airways. The road communication was the main mode of transportation linkage of

Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim with rest of the country like India and Tibet (Sikkim Darbar, 1963, p.7). The Truck Department which was known in the earlier days brought Nationalised Road Transport Service (NRTS) in Sikkim during the reign of Chogyal, Sir Tashi Namgyal. In those days only 10 number of FORD (military type) trucks with a payload capacity of 15 CWT each were obtained after availing a loan of Rs 140000 from the Rationing Department, Darbar of Sikkim. Until 1950, the routes were limited to the Gangtok-Teesta-Kalimpong and Gangtok-Gellikhola road and therefore operation of the Truck Department was confined to only FREIGHT (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, 2005, p. 100).

In 1950-1951, the Truck Department was converted into Sikkim State Transport Service (SSTS) and passenger service was extended upto Siliguri. Between 1952 and 1954, first petrol pump was installed at Rangpo. The Namgyal Highway in Sikkim was nationalised by Sikkim State Transport Service. The first TATA MERCEDES BENZ, model L312/36 was utilised on the Rangpo-Gangtok Road. Landovers were introduced from Gangtok to Darjeeling for daily passenger's service. During 1955-1956, Sikkim State Transport Service was once again converted and redesignated as Sikkim Nationalised Transport (SNT). At the end of the First Seven Year Plan, 1961, there were about 475 miles of road opened to vehicles traffics and 130 miles of village paths (Sikkim.Darbar, 1963, p. 7).²¹⁴ There was regular vehicular and mule traffic carrying goods between Sikkim and Tibet until 1962. In railhead at Siliguri, 72 miles and airport at Bagdogra, 80 miles from Gangtok were adequately served by road communication from Gangtok along which ply SWT 5 vehicles as well as other private vehicles. In the same year, 1961-1966 during the Second Five Year Plan, the Department introduced five schemes: Nationalisation, Dieselisation, Expansion, Training and Construction. The petrol fleet plying on the routes like Gangtok-Siliguri, Gangtok-Rangpo, North Sikkim Highway and Namgyal Highway was replaced by 35 seater buses, TATA MERCEDES BENZ (TMB) and TMB freight carrying vehicles. The Jorethang-

²¹⁴ During the Second Fifth Year Plan (1961-1966), it was proposed to add another 326 miles of road in Sikkim.

Namchi, Legship-Geyzing and Jorethang to Sombaria roads were nationalised. The office buildings were constructed in Jorethang, Melli, Legship, Singtam and a warehouse at Pradhan Nagar, Siliguri (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, 2005, p. 101).

POLICIES OF THE SSP LED GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE SERVICE SECTOR

In Sikkim, road transportation is the only means of transport and communication. It is road transport which plays a crucial role in delivering goods and services, easing the living way of life of the people and accelerating economic growth and development in the state. As such in Sikkim, after 1975, responsibility of the Government increased manifold towards the maintenance and construction of roads. The workload to concentrate on the development of infrastructure to cope with the increasing volume of works and to modernise the transport system also increased gigantically. During 1975-1979, Sikkim Nationalist Transport was the sole responsible and means of passengers and goods transport (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, 2005, p. 102).²¹⁵ The roads were not well knit and bridges too needed to be maintained. As years passed by, gradually the fleet strength required to be increased, more road and bridges needed to be constructed and maintained to meet the high demand of the situation and public welfare. When Bhandari was the Chief Minister under the Sikkim Janata Parishad (SJP) from 1979-1984, he had bitter experience and realisation of the importance and problems pertaining to the service sector; specially transport and communication. Thus, he committed to have well organised transport and communication in Sikkim and make it accessible to all the people through the construction of as many new roads as possible, upgration of deficient/low standard one, reinforcement or replacement of existing weak and low standard bridges and promote Sikkim Nationalist Transport by adding more buses and trucks/tankers for the convenience of passengers and transportation of goods.

²¹⁵ At that time there were only 58 buses and 85 trucks/tankers and it had to run the activities with those very limited number of buses and trucks.

The service sector, transport and communication gained momentum of progress and development after 1985, when the SSP led government assumed power. Top most priority was given by the government to provide vehicular accessibility to far flung areas. The village roads and bridges were constructed on the basis of their higher population, tourist potential, economic development and social welfare schemes being extended in the rural areas. Roads and bridges were constructed to provide them basic facilities, transport of food-grains, easy removal of patients from villages to different Health Centres, attending District and other offices as well as to transport the agricultural products to the marketing centres etc. In 1979-80, there was 1292 kilometres of roads. Of which 40 kms was National Highway, 584 State Highway, 347 major district roads and 321 other district roads. But in 1991-92, the total road increased to 2243 kilometres, out of which 40 kms was National Highway, 937 kms including 788 surfaced and 157 unsurfaced State Highways, 446 major district roads, 266 surfaced and 180 unsurfaced and 820 other district roads, 144 surfaced and 706 unsurfaced roads. Out of these, 552 kms in east district, 180 north, 140 west and 17 kms in the south district of Sikkim. However, the National Highway in Sikkim remained the same, could not be extended beyond ie 40 kms (BESPDD, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, pp. 59-63).

Even steep and narrow roads constructed prior to 1975 at the lowest cost were widened and upgraded under various schemes to fulfil required specifications which could take higher load vehicles as well as higher traffic density. Old and weak bridges were replaced by higher load capacity bridges. Among those number of replaced bridges during this particular period (1985-1994) were: Cable Stayed Akkar bridge over Rangit River at Jorethang connecting south and west districts of Sikkim (1989), Legship Pre-Stressed bridge over Rangit River at Legship, connecting south and west districts of Sikkim, Singshore Suspension Bridge in West Sikkim (1993), and Mamring Pre-Stressed bridge over Teesta River at Rangpo, connecting east and south districts of Sikkim. Besides, 16 other old and weak steel bridges were replaced by the permanent ones with high load and carrying capacity and altogether 21 suspension bridges were reinforced and

upgraded. The Department of Motor Vehicles, Government of Sikkim also framed rules to reinforce the provision of Central Motor Vehicle, Act 1988 and Sikkim Motor Vehicle Taxation Act 1982. The Government established two regional motor vehicle Offices, one at Gangtok for north and east districts and another at Jorethang for west and south districts of Sikkim.²¹⁶ During this period the number of vehicles registration and tax collection also increased remarkably. In 1979-1980, there were altogether 543 vehicles in Sikkim.²¹⁷ But in 1991-1992, the number of two wheelers went up to 1645, government and private car, van, jeep and gypsy to 2858, goods carrier, truck, DCM, Toyota and Nissan to 825, contract carriage, buses, taxis and local taxis to 1146 and tractor/roller to 13 totalling 6287 (BESPDD, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, pp. 63-64). At the same time the tax collection also increased from Rs 22.00 (in lakhs) of 1988-1989 to Rs 26.00 in 1989-1990, Rs 30.00 and Rs 37.49 (in lakhs) in 1991-1992 with the marginal difference of Rs 4.50, Rs 8.00, Rs 15.49 in lakhs respectively.

It has already been mentioned earlier that the Sikkim Nationalised Transport was the means of transport and communication in Sikkim in those days. The government added new number of buses and trucks in the subsequent years to the fleet strength and old vehicles were discarded on a routine scale with the objective to provide better, cheaper and comfortable mode of transport to the general public. The number of buses increased from 18 of 1984-1985 to 148 in 1991-1992 with the marginal difference of 67. Standard bus services were introduced within state and for Siliguri, Darjeeling and Kalimpong in the state of West Bengal. Operation of direct bus service between Gangtok and Calcutta was also launched from 29th December 1991. Trucks and Tankers owned by Sikkim Nationalist Transport to cater the essential commodities in Sikkim also increased from 128 of 1984-1985 to 184 in 1991-1992 (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 131). At the same time,

²¹⁶The Department also took serious steps to create public awareness with regards to traffic rules and discipline. Observation of Annual Road Safety Week was initiated in the state with corporation of Non-Governmental Organisations.

²¹⁷ Of which 265 two wheelers, 239 private and government vehicles like car, jeep, van and gypsy, 33 goods carrier, truck, DCM, Toyota and Nissan, 05 contract carriage, buses, taxis and local taxis and 01 tractor /roller registered in the Motor Vehicle Department.

the passengers and goods traffics also went up to Rs 17.76 in 1989-1991 against Rs 13.50 of 1985-1987 and Rs 15.73 of 1987-1989 with the marginal difference Rs 4.20 and Rs 2.03 in lakhs respectively. The goods traffics also went up to 4.45 tonnes in 1989-1990 against 3.05 tonnes of 1985-1987 and 3.77 tonnes of 1987-1989 respectively (IPR, Govt. of Sikkim, nd, p. 132).

The government also established Railway Out Agency at Gangtok, Jorethang for passengers travelling to Delhi, Calcutta, Chennai, Trivandrum, Bangalore, Mumbai, Cochin and other connecting routes from Sikkim. This facility was a boon to the rail bound passengers from the state. A five storied building; Yatayat Bhawan was constructed at a cost of Rs 41.50 lakhs at Gangtok. For quick repair and maintenance of vehicles, Central Workshop equipped with modern machines and tools was set up at Ranipool at a cost of Rs 114 lakhs. Quarters for the officers and staffs at Pradhan Nagar, Siliguri, Jorethang, Geyzing and Sombaria to accommodate 100 personnel and 40 personnel at Ranipool workshop were constructed. In 1987, four storied RCC building at Geyzing and three storied building at Sombaria was constructed. In 1991-1992, Procured Cold Resoling Unit was set up at Ranipool at a cost of 6.50 lakhs. This provided job opportunities to the local educated unemployed youths. Bus Terminus along with the booking counter and Entrance Gate at the SNT complex, Siliguri was constructed at a total cost of Rs 6.41 lakhs. For the benefit of the passengers, one special luxury bus service was introduced between Gangtok and Bagdogra. For train passengers, a bus service plying between Gangtok to New Jalpaiguri was launched. A new express bus service between Jorethang and Siliguri and similarly two new bus service between Gangtok to Siliguri and between Reshi and Rinchenpong covering Mangalbarey-Hatidunga in the west district of Sikkim were introduced.

Traffic Inspectors were posted at Rangpo, Melli and Reshi to check unauthorised transportation of goods and materials. One Traffic Officer, one Deputy General Manager and ten Traffic Inspector posts were created in order to strengthen the checking squad. 280 Muster Roll and Workcharged including 100

senior and experienced drivers were regularised. In order to make the management of transportation more scientific and systematic, a computer was also installed at a cost of Rs 1.80 lakhs from April 1991.

CONCLUSION

In the new state of India, Sikkim, development of every sector was fundamental. Hence, developmental work on various spheres was highly felt by the government. Amongst the sectors agriculture, education, industrial, welfare and service sectors were the main areas on which it concentrated.

During its ten years of rule in Sikkim, the SSP led government attempted to improve and maximise agricultural productivity through the application of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, manures, adaptation of new techniques and scientific methods of cultivation and utilisation of High Yielding and Improved Varieties of Seeds. The government allocated the Budget outlay of 21.1% out of 2824 million in the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-1990) and 13.6% of Rs 7245.00 million in Eight Five Year Pan (1990-1997) for agriculture and allied sectors. As a result, the food-grain, in Sikkim accorded an average annual growth rate of 12.2%, fruits more than 12.68%. Similar achievement was also noticed in the areas of cash and commercial crops like vegetable, spices etc. Similarly, there was also remarkable achievement attained by the government in the field of education. Education became more accessible and universal to all the children of Sikkim as compared to Kazi government's time. In the Seventh Five Year Plan, the expenditure in the education sector was Rs 394.62 million against the budget allocation of Rs 264.00 million and in Eighth Five Year Plan it was Rs 872.19 million against the budget allocation of Rs 606.00 million. Within the span of ten years, the literacy rate of Sikkim also increased from 34.05% in 1981 to 57% in 1991 and Sikkim recorded the second highest literacy rate among the north-eastern state. The female literacy rate also went up from 8.9% in 1981 to 46% in 1991.

In the industrial sector also, the SSP government is observed to have given much focus, next to education and the agriculture sectors. For the establishment of a number of industrial units in Sikkim, the government allocated 4.0% of 282.4 million and 3.85 % of Rs 724.5 million of the total budget outlay in the Seventh and Eighth Five Year Plans respectively. Within ten years, more than 1050 small scale industrial units and entrepreneurs were issued provisional registration by the Industrial Department. About 185 industries were permanently registered in Industrial Department and about 4000 persons were provided employment in those various industrial units or sectors. The contribution made by the various industrial units to the state's income during this period recorded at Rs 5.2 million in 1985-1986, 3.7 million in 1990-1991 and Rs 2.2 million 1995-1996. In the service sector, transport and communication gained momentum of progress and development after 1985. The construction of new roads and maintenance of old roads and bridges in the rural areas was facilitated. The basic facilities like transport of food-grains, easy removal of patients from villages to different Health Centres, attending District and other offices as well as to transport the agricultural products to the marketing centres was also made possible in the villages of Sikkim. The Sikkim Nationalised Transport was the sole means of transport and communication in Sikkim in those days so more buses were added to meet the dire need of transportation facilities.