

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The research work entitled '*Democracy and Development Experience in Sikkim: A Study of Sikkim Sangram Parishad Government (1984-1994)*' is an attempt to look at what happened to Sikkim in terms of democracy and development under the regime of Sikkim Sangram Parishad (hereafter SSP) led by Nar Bahadur Bhandari. The central focus of the study is to examine whether democracy existed and development took place in Sikkim under Bhandari led SSP regime. In the thesis, we firstly focus on the emergence and growth of the SSP in the state. We examine the various issues raised and promises made by the party in its election manifestoes of 1984 and 1989. Then we examine whether the SSP led government was able to protect the rights and interests of the linguistic and religious minorities of Sikkim; the Limboos, Lepchas and Bhutias, and ensure good governance and social justice to the people of Sikkim during a decade of its rule. It also examines the various policies of the SSP led government towards Agriculture, Industry, Education and other sectors and its achievements in these fronts. Finally, it analyses the policies and programmes of the SSP in relation to welfare, poverty alleviation and rural development in the state.

Democracy as a form of government has its origin in Greek experimentations with the '*polis*' which was established on the principle of '*rule by the people*' (Eapen, 2004, pp. 415-418). At that point of time, democracy involved periodic meetings held by the citizenry to discuss the problems of the '*polis*' and arrive on a solution by voting directly on alternatives. So, it was a sort of political system practiced by the Greek people in the '*Polis*' in granting the right of direct political participation in decision-making in the small city-state of Greece. But ever since its inception, the term '*democracy*' has changed its meaning from a '*way of political life*' to '*a form of government*' down the ages with the change of time and circumstances. So, in the present context, in a democratic form of government, sovereign power resides in the hands of the people. They make

decisions, amend and execute laws, formulate and implement policies and control the government either directly or indirectly through their representatives.

As a popular form of government democracy has been opted in most of the countries to suit various purposes. The ancient Greek concept of active participation of citizenry in the political and administrative affairs of the state led to Roman Republicanism during the Renaissance. In the classical sense, democracy was interpreted to mean rule by the masses; poor, ignorant and unqualified, who use the power for their economic interest against the propertied class, which would cause concern among that elite (Zehra, 1991, p. 16). The nature and limits of political authority, law, duty and rights became a preoccupation of European political thought and set milestone of modern liberal theory in the works of Bodin, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, which justified the sovereign power of the state. In Marxism, a state based on the interests of the proletarian class and led by the leadership of a single revolutionary party was regarded as the right path to democracy. Under Fascism, democracy was claimed to be '*an organised, centralised and authoritarian democracy*'. Hitler claimed for '*real democracy*' during his regime under Nazism. In modern times, the concept of democracy is moving towards a realisable one, '*representative democracy*'.

Democracy has gained its popularity to such an extent that more than 115 countries have established some form of democratic governance. Of these, 81 countries have made the transition only in the last decade. Among 128 developing countries, at least 51 made serious attempts to establish democratic system. But less than half of these countries maintained stable democracies. Among these, some of them have experienced highly democratic systems and other authoritarian regimes. The countries like Bahamas, Barbados, Botswana, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, the Dominican Republic, Fiji, Gambia, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Malta, Mauritius, Papua New Guinea, Venezuela and Western Samoa have maintained highly democratic systems. Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago and Zimbabwe also have experienced highly democratic systems but due to political

turmoil, move toward a one-party system in between 1980s and 1990s. While, Brazil, Burma, Chile, El Salvador, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malaysia, Nigeria, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, Somalia, Suriname, Turkey and Uruguay have established democratic systems, but experienced either historic declines or emergence of authoritarian regime. There are third group of countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Cameroon, Congo, Cuba, Ecuador, Indonesia, the Korea Republic, Lesotho, Laos, Pakistan and Sierra Leone which experienced episodes of democratic rule within authoritarian setting. In the countries where stability of democracies was maintained there was a high level of socio-economic development (Zehra, 1991, pp. 55-75).

There are attempts to establish democracies in most of the developing countries but in some of the countries, democracy could not succeed. Its decline ultimately led to the establishment of authoritarian regimes. Democracy failed to ensure political stability in most of the countries which adversely hindered economic development and internal as well as external security of the nation. Such backdrop of democracy had invited severe criticism from the scholars who favour authoritarian regime for economic development and maintenance of national security. Thomas (1996, pp. 1-23) perceives democracy as being weak and ineffective in dealing with various threats from external enemies and domestic dissidents that are likely to destabilize the country. In countries like Pakistan, Thailand, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Indonesia, Nepal, Singapore, Philippines, Taiwan and South Korea attempt has been made to establish democracy over the last few decades but in the name of national security and economic stability, authoritarian regimes have started taking its root. Even the Indian democracy is severely criticised of being '*urban biased*' working towards protecting the interests of elite classes (Eapen, 2004, pp. 415-418). It is argued that development has mostly been at the cost of the already voiceless, indigenous people, poor and women who have always faced the worst brunt of change. It is further argued that income distribution in recent democracies like Russian Federation and much of Latin American countries witnessed rise of inequality after the establishment of

democracies. Some of the scholars are of the opinion that lack of accountability and checks and balances have also led to many democracies degenerating into havens of corruption, where the powerful are always winners.

The failure of democracy in ensuring economic development in most of the countries led to the debate between democracy and development in the past 50 years and growth of two schools of thought. One school of thought deems democracy necessary for development. While the other argues that development is the precondition of democracy. The advocates of democracy argue that '*democracy promotes development or economic growth*' and go to the extent saying that 'the motivations of citizens to work and invest, the effective allocation of resources in the marketplace and profit-maximizing private activity can all be maintained in a climate of liberty, free-flowing information and secured control of property'. Democracy can limit state intervention in the economy and encourage stable and long-run economic growth. Friedman believes that the two freedoms are mutually reinforcing. According to this view, political rights foster economic rights. In other words '*more democracy*' tends to thereby stimulate '*economic growth*'. Barro (1996, pp. 1-24), argues that the effects of autocracy on growth are adverse, if a dictator uses his power to steal the nation's wealth and to carry out non-productive investments. Many governments in Africa, some in Latin America, some in the formerly planned economies of Eastern Europe and the Marcos administration in the Philippines seem to fit this pattern in the opinion of Barro. Barro further commends that democratic institutions provide a check on governmental power and thereby limit the potential of public officials to amass personal wealth and to carry out unpopular policies. In the opinion of Minier (1998, pp. 241-263) there is an interconnection between democracy and development and the relation between the two centres around variables such as education, fiscal policy or investment that may be affected by democracy and that in turn influence economic growth rates. The increase in democracy has some affects on rates of economic growth. While contrasting Minier argues that in the totalitarian regime, the dictator allocates it to the building of a presidential palace,

while in the democracy the government channels the funds towards investment in infrastructure. Minier cites that the Athenian economy was much stronger than that of Sparta and this difference is often attributed to the flexibility of Athens' democracy. Other proponents like Doucouliagos and Ulubaşođlu (2008, pp. 61-79) on '*democracy aids economic growth*' argue that implementation of the rule of law; contract enforcement and protection of property rights do not necessarily require an authoritarian regime. Authoritarian regimes tend to be more corrupt and prone to extravagant use of resources, internally inconsistent policies and short-lived and volatile economic progress.

While the scholars favouring authoritarian regimes argue that authoritarian regimes generally have more centralised power than democracies which can facilitate economic growth, particularly in developing countries. Theorists like Lerner, Lipset, Huntington, Inglehart, Vanhanen etc. argue that when the people of a state are more developed the people are more inclined to believe in democratic values and will support a democratic system. Lipset views that increase of wealth is related casually to the development of democracy by changing the social conditions of workers, increasing the extent to which the lower strata are exposed to cross-pressures, which will make them less receptive to extremist ideologies (Doorenspleet, 2002, pp. 48-64). Lipset, who applied the Weberian modernisation theory to Latin American countries, further treats economic development as a prerequisite of democracy and argues that economic development increases education and size of the middle class, increasing democratic norms and values in the society. Leftwich prominent supporter goes to the extent of saying democracy only has a negative impact. This is because democracies are often unstable and this instability blocks development policy from efficient functioning (Eapen, 2004, p. 416). Huntington stresses the role of rapid economic growth in promoting democracy of Greece, Spain, Brazil, South Korea and Taiwan. Huntington further argues that democracies have weak and fragile political institutions and lend themselves to popular demands at the expense of profitable investment. Democratic governments are vulnerable to

demands for redistributions to lower-income groups and are surrounded by rent seeker for directly unproductive profit-seeking activities (Doucouliagos & Ulubaşođlu, 2008, pp. 61-79). It is widely believed that the countries with high levels of development are better suited to democratic institutions than those that are poor. Barrington Moore in his study of major western democracies and Albert Soboul in his analysis of the French Revolution emphasised the role of the middle class or the urban bourgeoisie in the transformation of political systems into democracy and stated '*no bourgeois, no democracy*' (Minier, 1998, pp. 241-263). Karl Marx identifies the bourgeoisie as the major force behind the emergence of democracy in Western Europe. In the early 1940s, Joseph Schumpeter highlighted the historical correspondence between the development of capitalism and democracy. He established a creed for the liberal democratic theorists who would treat capitalism and the presence of an autonomous bourgeois class as requisites of development and democracy (Zehra, 1991, pp. 33-54).

In the 1950s and 1960s, scholars such as Daniel Lerner, Seymour Lipset and Philips Cutright presented evidence pointing to a strong statistical relationship between the level of economic growth and various measures of democracy. These data furnished powerful support for a theory of modernisation. According to the theory of modernisation, changes in economic life provide the basis for democratic government. Through the process of industrialisation and urbanisation, together with improvements in the areas of communication and education, a social transformation in society takes place. In other words, this is a theory of political emancipation at the mass societal level and the factor behind the process is economic development (Hadenius, 2002, p. 65). While the argument in the 1960s had been that democracy was passively correlated with the level of modernisation. Modernisation was viewed as the equivalence of development. It was only following the decline of communism and fall of autocratic rule that encouraged the students of comparative politics to revisit the '*development–democracy nexus*'. In the 1990s, in Latin America, among the

students of politics the issues of democratisation re-entered the mainstream of comparative politics (Hyden, 2002, pp. 1-19).

Rapid economic development may be seen as a prerequisite for the growth of democracy, a strong defence programme and ability to maintain internal stability through the advancement of general prosperity. For instance, in some of the countries like South Korea, Taiwan, Chile, Mexico, Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand economic growth preceded democracy. But at the same time in Argentina, Brazil, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Nepal etc. which were under authoritarian regimes, both economic growth and democracy remained at low rate. In China economy has grown explosively over the last 25 years, but its politics have remained essentially stagnant. In Russia, meanwhile, the economy has recently improved even as the Kremlin has tightened the political reins (Mesquita and Downs, nd, pp. 77-86). So, in those countries the economic growth have had overlapped the political freedom and thus democracy was suppressed to reap economic development. It remains true that in already established democracies, a high per capita income contributes to stability, but the growing number of affluent authoritarian states suggests that greater wealth alone does not automatically lead to greater political freedom. The Sandbrook's survey of 39 states in sub-Saharan Africa further shows that authoritarian regimes do not have a better comparative developmental record than liberal democratic regimes. Nor do they have a better record on national unity. Diamond similarly draws the conclusion from a comparative study of 26 developing countries that democracies do not inevitably or inherently have a worse economic record than dictatorships. There is certainly a more positive relationship between democracy and development that can be discerned for the future (Munslow & William, nd, pp. 3-8).

Nevertheless China operating under a Leninist political system and a free-market capitalist economy appears to have outclassed India in economic growth. Economic growth rates since the 1980 have annually averaged between 8 and 10

percent in China compared to India's average of about 3 to 5 percent.¹ But this may be considered misleading because China introduced its reforms in the mid-1970s while India embarked on its economic reforms in 1991.

The explosive economic growth in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand carry another common thread. Actually these states were all part of the American security network to contain the Communist threat. In all of them, security pressures and especially American security interest resulted in a high level of American military involvement and security ties with the United States. This has resulted in expensive economic ties and rapid economic growth. Economic explosion of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand have had much to do with American investments and generous markets led by the United States. This has served as springboards for an extended economic boom during the Cold War. Similarly, in Chile, the United States preferred a military dictatorship rather than a Marxist regime. The more politically stable and open economy under the Chilean general led to a generous infusion of American investment in Chile.

Despite of hot argument among the scholars regarding the nexus, democracy and development in the present political context, the two concepts always seem to have an intertwined existence or correlation. There might be the possibility of incompatibility between democracy and development in the newly emerging nations, yet development in the economic sphere would go hand in hand with the development of democracy in the political sphere. Thus both the concepts are not supplementary but complimentary to each other. Democracy may not exhibit direct statistical relationship with economic growth, but it clearly serves to militate against the negative economic effects of corruption. In democracy, through electoral mechanism the citizens are allowed to evict the politicians who violate democratic norms and damages economic growth through corruption (Drury, Kriekhaus & Lusztig, 2006, pp. 121-133).

¹ In India it has increased in recent years particularly since the mid of 1990s.

Now let us briefly turn to the concept of development. The concept of 'development' emerged after the Second World War. Since then the term 'development' has been used and defined in different ways by different scholars and schools of thought. In the 1950s and 1960s, the concept of development was dominated by the idea of either 'modernisation' or 'industrialisation'. The concept was oriented with the pursuit of economic growth and progress and dominated not only economics but also sociology, anthropology, psychology and political science (Simmons, 1988, pp. 13-44). Eisenstadt saw 'modernisation' as 'the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in the Western Europe and North America and then have spread to the other European countries and to the South American, Asian and African continents' (Simmons, 1988, p. 13). Rostow views 'development' or 'modernisation' as 'a linear path along which all countries travel through a series of five stages: the traditional society, the preconditions for takeoff, the takeoff, the drive to maturity and the age of high mass consumption' (Simmons, 1988, p. 14). Esteva Gustavo describes development as 'a process through which the potentialities of an object or organism are related until it reaches its natural, complete, full-fledged form' (Sachs, 1997, p. 11). According to Marx, development occurs through the build-up of forces of production, especially the addition of tools, machines, and infrastructures to human labor power' (Peet, 1999, p. 102).

In the early 1970s, there was a growing awareness that the poor majorities were being excluded from whatever benefits were reaped through economic growth. Thus distribution had become an integral part of development objectives along with economic growth. Development planning became equity-oriented rather than exclusively growth-oriented and subsequently this led to the emergence of basic-needs approach in the mid 1970s. The basic-needs approach was more concerned with reduction of poverty and increase of equity and included strategies such as creation of employment opportunities, integration of rural development and expansion of agricultural output and improvement of human resources and capital, etc. In the Third World countries, it was concerned

with health care, education, nutrition, housing, water supply and sanitation, formulation and implementation of policies oriented to the satisfaction of their basic needs (Simmons, 1988, pp. 13-44). According to the notion of '*Human Development Index*' calculated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) development not only means economic growth alone but also social and cultural variables. This concept stems more for '*enlarging people's choices*' especially in terms of increasing access to knowledge, nutrition and health services, security, leisure political and cultural freedom. The Human Development Index measures '*development*' in terms of longevity (life expectancy at birth), knowledge (adult literacy and mean years of schooling) and income sufficiency (the proportion of people with sufficient resources to live a decent life). The UNDP also calculates a '*Human Development Index*' that measures the political participation, the rule of law, freedom of expression and non-discrimination (Peet, 1999, pp. 1-16). In a nutshell, the concept of human development mainly centres on what is called improvement of condition of the people in the society.

In the context of Sikkim, by development was meant economic growth as well as fulfilment of basic-needs of the people in the society. This was because Sikkim became a part of the Indian Union in 1975 and both democracy and development have not taken their deep root and concrete shape in the society. Furthermore, majority of the people were dependent on agriculture and lived Below Poverty Line. Illiteracy was very high, the industrial performance was very low and the condition of the service sector was bad. Even during the period when the SSP led government came to power in 1985, 39.71% of the total population of Sikkim lived Below Poverty Line. The literacy rate of the state was just 34.05% and the contribution of manufacturing industries to the Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) was also only Rs 5.2 million. Similarly, the service sector was also very poor with only road transportation facilities. As such the policies and strategies of Bhandari led SSP government was oriented more to the measures of poverty reduction, creation of employment opportunities, integration of rural development and expansion of agricultural output and improvement of human

resources and capital, health care and services, education, nutrition, housing, water supply and sanitation, rural electrification and formulation and implementation of policies oriented to the satisfaction of the basic-needs and development in terms of longevity and redistribution of income for income sufficiency.

In India, democracy was conceived in its Constitution declaring that '*India is a democratic state*' and at present India is accepted as one of the biggest democracy in the world. Since the attainment of independence from the British rule in 1947, in India democracy has been chosen as a form of government. Democracy is supposed to develop the economy, reduce poverty and attain the welfare of the people. As such in India, both democracy and development go hand in hand.

In Sikkim, both democracy and development were absent under monarchical rule. There was an absence of people's participation in both the political as well as administrative affairs. Majority of the people remained illiterate and lived Below Poverty Line. Such kind of situation pushed Sikkim from monarchical state of nature to the democratic process. So, for the state like Sikkim, democracy and development were two fundamental facets for which its sovereignty was submerged with the Indian Union.

After it became a part of India, Sikkim gradually witnessed both democracy and development. Under Sikkim Congress government led by Kazi (1974-1979) and Sikkim Janata Parishad government led by Bhandari (1979-1984), transformation in both political and socio-economic fronts took place. However the development was not so rapid since democracy have not deepen its roots till then. From 1984-1994, SSP led by Bhandari ruled Sikkim for almost ten years. But so far no study has been conducted to see whether democracy was ensured along with development in Sikkim in the period between 1984 and 1994 under the SSP regime.

The Problem

SSP was formed by Bhandari on 24th May 1984 after his dismissal from the Chief Ministership on 11th May 1984. The SSP swept the 1985 Sikkim Assembly election by winning 30 out of 32 Assembly seats and formed the government. Thereafter the state politics of Sikkim was dominated by the SSP till it was defeated in 1994. For almost 10 years Bhandari remained an undisputed political leader of Sikkim. The victory of the SSP in 1984 and later for the second term and the formation of the SSP Governments meant that there was a period of one-party-system and one-man-rule in Sikkim for almost a decade. It pursued several policies in this period which will be a part of our investigation in this thesis.

Keeping the above facts in mind, several questions arise. These are: What were the issues raised and promises made by the SSP in order to come to power? What were the reasons behind the domination of the SSP from 1984-1994 in the politics of Sikkim? How could the SSP win two consecutive elections to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly of 1985 and 1989 and the Parliamentary elections of 1984, 1989 and 1991? Why was there an absence of opposition from both national and regional parties in Sikkim? What were the socio-economic policies of the SSP led government? What were the strategies adopted by the SSP in order to maintain its domination over state politics of Sikkim? How far the SSP was able to fulfil its promises made to its people? What were the policies of SSP relating to poverty alleviation, education, agriculture, industry, health care and social welfare? What could the SSP led government achieve in the various sectors? Was the SSP able to balance the interest of different communities of Sikkim? What were the special policies of the SSP towards the Schedule Tribes & Schedule Castes during its tenure in office?

Did the SSP government promote and respect the spirit of democracy in its two consecutive terms? How did Bhandari handle law and order situation in Sikkim? How did SSP led government look upon the languages of Sikkim? How far the SSP led government was able to protect the rights and interests of the

Limboos in Sikkim? Could it fulfil their aspirations, demands and urges? How did the SSP led government undermine press-media and opposition parties during the 10 years of its rule in Sikkim? How the SSP led government behaved with the opposition and the press? What kind of governance did SSP provide to the state-politics of Sikkim? Was there any shift in the policies of Bhandari in SSP led government in its 10 years of rule? How did the SSP led government looked upon grassroots democracy and the empowerment of women? What was the attitude of Bhandari towards Centre-State relations? Was there any political defection in the 10 years of SSP led government rule? How far the poor people of Sikkim benefited by the SSP government? Did the SSP led government really work for the poor who constituted 39.71% of the total population of Sikkim? What were the factors behind the decline of SSP? Why the SSP could not come back to power after 1994? These are the questions that are interesting.

Research Questions

The questions which are raised above are general in nature. The study however will focus on some specific questions and these are the following:

- (1) How could Nar Bahadur Bhandari led Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) emerge victorious in the 1985 elections in Sikkim and come to power? What were the issues raised and promises made by the party?
- (2) To what extent the government was able to protect the rights and interests of the Linguistic and Religious minorities in the state? Was the government able to fulfil their aspirations and demands?
- (3) Was the government able to provide good governance to the people of Sikkim? Could it ensure democracy and social justice and maintain rule of law?
- (4) What were the policies of SSP led government towards Agriculture, Education, Industry and Service Sectors? What was its performance in these fronts?

(5) What were the Welfare Policies of the SSP? To what extent the policies contributed to poverty alleviation? How far the rural development policies of the SSP led government benefited the poor sections of the society?

Review of Literature

The literature and accounts on Sikkim are very few in number. Even though they are rare yet cover different aspects of Sikkim. However, below we review in brief the literature available on Sikkim and point out to the research gap in the area. The literature available on Sikkim can be divided into two main categories depending upon the contents. *The first category*, deals with the historical and political developments in Sikkim since the 1940s, issues related to the emergence and growth of different regional political parties and development of party-politics in Sikkim. In the *second category* we find four different types of works. First, deals with the socio-political and socio-cultural aspects, second, with the socio-economic aspects, third, with the historical and educational aspects and the last one with the geographical aspects of Sikkim.

The works of Basnet (1974), Kazi (1983), Sengupta (1985), Bhadra (1992), Gaulay, (2002), Chakravartti (2003), Syangbo (2010) and Gurung (2011), deal with historical and political development of Sikkim in general. The accounts of Sukla (1976), Rao (1978), Das (1983), Ray (1984), Kazi (1993 & 2009), Chakravartti (1994) and Chettri (2012) shed light on party-politics, political organisation and governance in Sikkim. Similarly, accounts of Sinha (1975 & 2008), Singh (1993), Subba, Tanka B. (1999), Thapa (2002), Bhattacharya (nd) and Gurung and Lama (2004) highlight the socio-political as well as the socio-cultural aspects. The works by Subba, Pahalman (1999) and Bhutia (1999) critically discuss about the misuse of power by Bhandari during his rule in Sikkim. Likewise, the works by Subba, Tanka B. (1989) and Subba, J R (2008), deal with the socio-economic aspects of the people of Sikkim and account by Risley (1894), Sikkim Coronation (1965), Wangchuk and Zulca (2007) and Subba, J R (1999), shed light on the historical

aspects. Finally, a work by Baldev, Agnihotri and Srilekha (1995) and Chaudhury (2006) deal respectively with the educational and geographical aspects of Sikkim.

Basnet's A Short Political History of Sikkim (1974) deals with the period before 15th August 1947, the day India attained Independence, the emergence of political parties, agitation launched by the different political parties and intervention of the Indian Government in the political affairs of Sikkim. It also deals with the first Panchayati Raj election of 1950, Parity System (1953) and first Sikkim State Council election of 1953, allocation of seats for the Sikkimese Bhutia-Lepcha, Tsong (Limboo), Schedule Caste and Nepalese in 1966 and finally the revolt of 1973 which resulted in the birth of democracy in Sikkim. However, the book deals only with the period before 15th August 1947 and the interplay of political parties, the Chogyal of Sikkim and the Government of India from 1947 to May 1973. Hence, it fails to cover the political aspects of Sikkim from 1973 onwards.

Spotlight on Sikkim (1983) by Kazi sheds light on the history, geographical and topographical aspects, distinct cultural identity religion and racial affinities of Sikkim. It discusses about the emergence of the Himalayan Kingdom, Sikkim with reference to the '*Lho-Men-Tsong-Sum*', constitution of state council of Sikkim and emergence of Political Parties. It also looks at the procedure of elections in Sikkim, the Party System, introduction of responsible government, guarantee of Fundamental Rights, Rule, Law and independent of Judiciary from Legislative and executive power based on '*one-man-one-vote*', constitutional safeguard of Sikkim under Article 371F of the Indian Constitution, Ordinance of 1979 and the Amendment Bill of People's Representation Act 1980. The book attempts to present an intensive analysis of major issues yet it does not cover the political aspects of Sikkim after 1982.

Sengupta's work Sikkim: Government and Politics (1985) sheds light on the politics and government of Sikkim till 1985. The author discusses the political

developments that led to the merger of Sikkim to the Indian Union in the perspective of its political history, the current, cross-current of ethnic, social and religious factors. He also highlights the nature and changing trends of the political development and dynamics reflected through the electoral process, political parties and pressure groups of the past, the political system upto 1973, the dynamism, political framework and governmental process. The author also attempts to correlate the political dynamics to the nature and functions of the governmental organs like Legislative, Executive and Judiciary. Thus the book provides an in-depth account of the political process, organisations and working of the government in Sikkim. Though the book is a very comprehensive work, it is limited to the political aspects of Sikkim upto 1984.

Bhadra's Sikkim: Democracy and Social Change (1992) discusses the factors that led to the transformation of Sikkim from a theocratic monarchy to parliamentary democracy and fused the basic components of indigenous culture of Sikkim with the standard and practices of modern democratic life. It attempts to theorise the political process of Sikkim in terms of nation-building, political participation, modernity, social mobility, identity and integration and examines whether democracy is compatible with the culture and tradition of Sikkim. It further tries to find out the various agents and factors of social change, problems of adaptability and stability in Sikkim and role, function and influence of different social classes and media for the political change, development, and participation and modernisation, socialisation and cultural change in Sikkim. This book gives more emphasis to social forces and social changes than political organisation.

Gaulay, in the introduction of his book *History of Democratic Movement* (2002) discusses about the inhabitants of Sikkim prior to the establishment of the Namgyal dynasty in 1642 AD, the administration and relationship of Sikkim with neighbouring countries, Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet and British India. He also discusses the emergence of landlordism and social evils like Kalobhari, Jharlangi, Theki-bethi and Khuruwa, growth of political organisations, administrative and political

reforms, electoral process and finally merger of Sikkim to the Indian Union in 1975. The book also deals with the biographies of personalities who struggled for democracy to overthrow landlordism and social evils which prevailed during the monarchical rule in Sikkim. The book is basically a biographical account of the democratic movement in Sikkim.

Chakravarti's (1994) article **Government and Politics in Sikkim** focuses on the development of party politics in Sikkim since the 1940s and makes a comparative study of administration of Sikkim in the pre-merger and post-merger period. It analyses the constitutional position of Sikkim, political structure, social policy, electoral politics of Sikkim from 1979-1994 and administration of the state. In this article, the author shows the non-existence of a strong opposition political party during that period as a phenomenal characteristic of the politics of Sikkim. The article does not cover Bhandari's performance in government.

Syangbo's Thesis, '*The Sikkim Democratic Front and the Politics of Popular Mobilisation in Sikkim*' (2010) covers the period from 1993 to 2004 and more particularly the period after the SDP came to power in December 1994. The study briefly focuses on the downfall of the Sikkim Sangram Parishad and origin and growth of Sikkim Democratic Front and the strategies adopted by SDF to come to power. It focuses on the mobilising strategies adopted by the SDF and interestingly highlights the development of the electoral populism in Sikkim. Since the research is mainly on the study of SDF therefore, it does not shed any light on the SSP government led by Bhandari.

Gurung's (2011) *Sikkim: Ethnicity and Political Dynamics: A Triadic Perspective* contains an exhaustive list of political parties and organisations of Sikkim. In this book, the author contends that ethnic consciousness in Sikkim is ramified through historical process in which politics had played a determinate role in consciousness rather than ethnic communities creating the consciousness.



Sukla's Sikkim: The Story of integration (1976) discusses about the land, flora and fauna, the people of Sikkim and traces the early history of Sikkim. It also discusses the emergence of various political parties in Sikkim after the 1940s, introduction of the Parity System in 1953 and the rise of communalism in Sikkim, rise of political agitation in Sikkim resulting in the dawn of a new era i.e, democracy in Sikkim with the formation of the first democratic ministry for the first time in Sikkim. It further deals with the Bill of 1974, changing the status of Sikkim from Protectorate State to an Associate State in 1974 and finally the integration of India with that of the Indian Union in 1975. Though this book discusses the political aspects of Sikkim but does not shed any light on the state politics of Sikkim after 1976 to any great extent.

Rao's Sikkim: The story of its Integration with India (1978) analyses the struggle of the people of Sikkim for democratisation of their administration and closer political association with India. It further discusses the political development of Sikkim in the pre-merger period as a result of the influence of Indian independence, democratic aspirations and urges of the people of Sikkim, emergence of political organisations, creation of Sikkim State Council through democratic election in 1953 based on Parity System. It also records the Treaty of 8th May 1973, Sikkim Bill, 1974 and the merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union on May 16th 1975. But the author fails to reflect on the political parties, organisations and administration after 1973.

Sikkim Saga (1983) by Das attempts to answer queries which arose in the mind of the author, who served Sikkim as a Chief Executive (1973-1974). The questions which came in his mind are; (i) was merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union necessary? (ii) was the uprising against the Chogyal in 1973 really popular? (iii) why the provision of Indo-Sikkimese Treaty, 1950 could not have been used to protect India's vital interests to merge Sikkim to Indian Union? (iv) what was the role of Delhi in it? (v) Did May 8th 1973 Agreement signed between three parties the Chogyal of Sikkim, the Government of India and Political Parties of Sikkim not

adequately meet the requirements of a democratic setup? (vi) what has India ultimately gained? The book attempts to shed light on the role of three Ladies; Indra Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, Hope Cooke wife of the Chogyal and Elisa Maria, the wife of Lhendup Dorjee Kazi during that period of time. A political assessment of the future in Northeast India has also been discussed in this book. This book though very informative yet it is limited to only those questions that arose in the author's mind.

Datta-Ray's account Smash and Grab: Annexation of Sikkim (1984) recounts how Sikkim was taken over by India in a smash and grab raid. It mainly highlights the dangerous case with which public opinion can be whipped up into chauvinistic acquisitiveness. He also ventilates the concern over the fact that substitution of innuendo for evidence and propaganda for proof, was accepted by the media and public and seeks to present a balanced and objective analysis of the events leading to the annexation of Sikkim. The author also relies on interviews, eye-witness accounts, anecdotes and also on secret agreements and previously unpublished letters in order to substantiate his point. The book is limited to the political history of Sikkim and looks at how it was smashed, grabbed and finely annexed by the Indian Union.

Inside Sikkim Against The Tide (1993) by Kazi specially discusses the issues at stake in the tiny Himalayan State of Sikkim and exposes the hollowness of the 'democratic system' under Bhandari led government. The struggle of the people of Sikkim for the preservation of their distinct identity within the Indian Union and fight for the free movement and expression is the main agenda in the book. The author seeks for freedom and democracy and demands a better deal from Delhi. The book gives only a general idea of party politics of Sikkim under Bhandari but fails to expose the developments during the period, 1979-1992.

Sikkim for Sikkimese; Distinct Identity within the Union (2009) by Kazi ventilates as how the special Status enjoyed by Sikkim and Sikkimese people

under article 371F of the Indian Constitution is gradually being diluted and provisions and terms of 'merger' are violated. Kazi reminds India to listen to the voice of the people of Sikkim before it is too late and honour the commitments and assurances made to the people of Sikkim during the merger period. The hidden agenda of this book is to maintain and preserve the distinct identity of Sikkim and the people of Sikkim within the Indian Union as per the provisions made under article 371F of the India Constitution and 8th may 1973 Agreement. The literature does not shed light on the performance, policies and programmes of any government. It is merely a compilation of articles published in various newspapers on various issues.

The thesis of Chakravarti, '*Political Development of Sikkim*' (2003) by and large discusses how traditionalism and constitutional protection of Sikkim is being continued in due course with the functioning of the Executive, Legislative, Judiciary and Administration, Panchayati Raj Institution, Electoral process since 1975. It also focuses on the development of Sikkim in the socio-economic field and argues that the political leadership ultimately tries to protect democracy, basic rights and identity of the people of Sikkim. The manner in which it is discussed is limited and does not shed light on Bhandari led government in detail.

Chettri's '*Decentralised Governance and Development in India*' (2012) presents a detailed account of rural development in Sikkim and provides an incisive and comprehensive analysis of decentralisation good governance and development in the Himalayan state of Sikkim. The book deals with the evolution of democratic decentralisation in India and then examines the emergence of democratic decentralisation in Sikkim. It devotes space on decentralised governance in Sikkim: current status and prospects and on good governance and democratic decentralisation in Sikkim with reference to rural development and poverty alleviation.

Sinha in '*Politics of Sikkim: A Sociological Study*' (1975) deals with the historical evolution and evolution of the important social forces active in Sikkim. He argues as how an indigenous tribal ethos accommodated a complex Lamaist tradition of the Tibetan feudal origin giving the rulership of Sikkim a unique character of its own in the history of Sikkim. In part-II of the book he seeks to identify different set of the elite, the patrician Kazis, the neo-rich plebeians, the ambitious pro-palace bureaucrats, the Nepali political leaders and youth congress leaders who had led and directed various social forces in action. It also analyses the personal and social background, social and economic status, political affiliation and perception of various elite's in Sikkim. In part III he evaluates the political process and development in Sikkim in the post 1947, period after Indian Independence in terms of institutional accomplishment and development, transformation of theocracy to democracy and finally merger of Sikkim to the Indian Union. Since the work mainly analyses the political development of Sikkim upto 1974, it does not shed any light on the politics of Sikkim after 1974.

Another account, *Sikkim, Feudal and Democratic* (2008) by Sinha analyses as how Sikkim has increasingly been exposed to the wind of change as the result of a new sense of political identity with strong nationalistic aspiration in the consciousness of the people generating a new pattern of political dynamics and called for new institutions to cope with the task of nation- building. It also analyses the forces and forms of political development, the power structure of Sikkim, social foundation of the political institutions, the characteristics and role of the elite and bearing of these phenomenon on the efforts of nation-building and search for political and ethnic identity. Since the book is on the sociological aspects of Sikkim especially on feudalism and elites groups, hence it fails to cover the political aspects of Sikkim.

Singh's (ed) '*People of India: Sikkim*', Volume-XXXIX (1993) is a comprehensive work that offers a bio-cultural and linguistic profile of all the 25 communities who constitute the ethno-demography of Sikkim, their history,

culture, custom, religion, tradition, faith and belief, languages, art, crafts, food habits, agriculture practices, settlement and house-pattern, festivals, socio-economic and political organisation, practises of ritual, and ceremonies including birth, marriages, death and livelihood and socio-cultural relationship among the people of Sikkim. The book being based mainly on anthropological study discusses only the impact of modernism on the socio-cultural economic and linguistic aspects of different ethnic communities.

Politics of Culture: A Study of the Three Kirata Communities in the Eastern Himalayas (1999) by Subba outlines the process of economic, linguistic, religious and cultural degeneration that the groups faced at the hands of powerful Namgyal rulers in Sikkim and Gorkhas in Nepal, resulting in their becoming victims of state-formation in those two Himalayan Kingdoms. The book also attempts to reconstruct the story of these communities on the basis of historical as well as ethnographic data and explains their need to reconstruct the image today, an identity for themselves despite the time and cultural resources they have lost. This book is incisive study of this Himalayan region and Kirat communities therefore, sheds lights largely on the relationship of Kirantas-Limboo, Rai and Yakhas with the Aryans, the Kiranta dynasty, their political, socio-economic and social organisation and the present status of their culture, language and religion.

The Thesis, *Ethnicity, Class and Politics in Sikkim* (2002) by Thapa examines how class and ethnic factors influence the political process in the tiny Indian state and how the identities of the Sikkimese are maintained and reproduced in the political and social life of the people. The work attempts to assess the relative significance of the two factors in understanding the political process in the state. It also examines the interplay between the civil society and polity and tries to see how the former help to shape political identities. This thesis focuses and looks only at the role of classes and ethnic groups in the politics of Sikkim.

Sikkim; The Player Wheel and Scriptre, (nd) by Bhattacharya focuses mainly on the relationship between the indigenous culture, Buddhism and other ethnic culture especially Hindu culture of Sikkim. It emphasises on the critical role of the Buddhist institutions that provided the foundation for Sikkim's political system since the establishment of Sikkim as an independent state polity in central Himalayas in 1642 AD. It also discusses the governing process, the traditional pattern of administration, revenue settlement pattern, State Advisory Council, old laws of Sikkim, impact and influence of Buddhism on the State Council, Executive Council and Judiciary and on the legal, Buddhist Community, Election Sangha institution. Since this book is on Buddhist culture, it mainly focuses on socio-cultural aspects.

Gurung and Lama's '*Sikkim Study Series, Culture*', Vol-III (2004) provides an account of the rich and complex cultural practices of Sikkim. It has distinct flavour as most of the contents and inputs are directly drawn from the oral history like folktales, legends, rituals, beliefs and practices are all put together in an attractively easy to practice format. The narration is simple, lucid and engrossing. It highlights the richness of sub-cultures, explains and demonstrates as to how these feed into the super-structure of Sikkimese cultural dynamics. However, the work does not cover any political aspect of Sikkim except cultural and social aspects of different ethnic communities of Sikkim.

Subba's book '*Sikkim who Ruined it*' (1999), translated version of '*Sikkim Bigarney Ho Ko?*' ventilates inhuman act, atrocity, wrong commitment, misdeeds and crimes in various forms which prevailed during Sikkim Sangram Parishad's rule in Sikkim. It highlights how democratic and individual rights of the people and Rule of Law were violated and curtailed, common and innocent people were oppressed endlessly and harassed and tortured and how the administration, bureaucracy and police forces were misused to suppress the democratic aspirations of the people. The book only discloses the authoritarian and tyrannical

rule in Sikkim during the one party system, one-man-rule and one-reign terror of Bhandari regime. Hence, it does not cover other political aspects of Sikkim.

Rise and Fall of Tyrant, Resurgence of Democratic Forces under Pawan Chamling (1999) by Bhutia discloses all the misdeeds, wrong commitments, and large scale misuse of public funds, unnecessary harassment and torture of people who opposed Bhandari during his fifteen years of rule in Sikkim. It also attempts to bring to public notice as to how muscle power, administration, bureaucracy and commandos and public forces were misused by Bhandari led government to impress the aspirations and urges of the people, torture the public endlessly, common public suffered and rights and freedom were snatched through physical torture during one man, one party and one language rule in Sikkim. This book only exposes the misdeeds, wrong commitments, corruption charges, dictatorship and coerciveness of Bhandari.

Subba's another work *Dynamics of A Hill Society* (1989) discusses the early history of the Nepalis, their migration and subsequent settlement in the Sikkim-Darjeeling Himalayas, changes in the caste organisation in the background of its traditional structure, nature of the agrarian system and the caste-class nexus. It also analyses the emerging class structure and its role in shaping the destiny of the people. But the work only sheds light on the socio-economic, history and culture of Sikkim and Darjeeling and fails to touch any political arena of Sikkim.

J R Subba in '*The Evolution of Man and the Modern Society in Mountainous Sikkim*', (2008) considers human phenomenon on a global scale. He provides insight into the history of scientific evolution of human-kind, production of food, development of writing system, emergence of modern society and their spread all over the world. He also places emphasis on the history of development of human society in an evolutionary framework, depicting the human environment interactions in time and space and discusses on a project findings and recommendation covering sustainable livelihood issues of the people of Sikkim.

But the book is limited to the evolution of Man and the Modern Society in Mountainous Sikkim so does not cover the political aspects of Sikkim.

Risley's '*The Gazetteer of Sikkim*' (1894) discusses the history of Sikkim, demography, rulers, tribes and chief families, nomenclature of places, old laws, culture, tradition, marriage and customs of Sikkim. It also gives an account of the geology and mineral resources such as copper, iron, lime, garnet and method of cultivation, vegetation including flowering plants and ferns, orchids, palms, bamboos, rhododendrons, primula, herbaceous plant and tree of the topical zone of both temperate and alpine zone of Sikkim, species of butterflies, reptiles, birds and mammals found in the different regions of Sikkim. It also gives a general description of Lamaism in Sikkim, monasteries, temples, monkhood, monastic routine as a village priest, some magic rites and dances, the mode of offering the mandalas etc. Though the work is considered to be an authentic document of Sikkim, it is limited only to history of Chogyal, customs, old laws, vegetations flora and fauna and Buddhism and fails to discuss administrative and political system, institutions and organisations at that point of time.

Sikkim Coronation (1965) deals with the coronation of the 12th Chogyal Palden Thendup Namgyal of Sikkim, 1963 as well as the history, geography, demography, culture, religion and festivals of Sikkim. It also includes the messages and compliments received on the auspicious occasions of Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol of the coronation from India and abroad. But the book does not highlight the political institutions and administrative structure of Sikkim.

The Limboos of Eastern Himalayas with special Reference to Sikkim (1999) by Subba is primarily a study on the history, culture, customs and tradition, socio-economic system, belief system of Yumasam Samyo or Yamasam religion of Limboos and its philosophy and teachings on the basis of Mundhums of the Limboos of west Sikkim.

Kangchendzonga Sacred Summit (2007) by Wangchuk and Zulca accounts at length the history, culture, tradition, faith and belief, language, literature and social way of life of aboriginal inhabitants of Sikkim, Lepcha, Limboo and Bhutia and attempts to demarcate the boundaries of Limbuwan that existed prior to the establishment of Namgyal dynasty in Sikkim in 1642 AD. The book also discusses the spread of Buddhism in Sikkim with the coming of three Tibetan monks, Gyalwa Lhatsen Chenpo, Kathok Rigzing Chenpo and Ngadag Sempa Chenpo to Sikkim in 1641 AD and conversion of Lepchas and Limboos to Buddhism from their ancestral faith, Shamanism. It also discusses the significance and worship of Mt Kanchandzonga as a guardian deity in Sikkim. The work mainly discusses historical and socio-cultural rather than political aspects of Sikkim.

The work, *Educational Administration in Sikkim: Structure, Processes and Future Prospect (1995)* by Baldev, Srilekha and Agnihotri is based on an analysis of information collected from primary sources and data collected from secondary sources in Sikkim. It looks at the status of educational administration 1995, right from the institutions to the state level with a focus primarily on the administration of school education. The study provides a comparative picture of the state vis-à-vis the all India's position at different points of time and critical analysis of various functions of educational planning and administration with suggestions for future development of the administrative system, outlining the tasks ahead for educational planners and administrators.

A review of the literature reveals that they are not adequate to shed light on democracy and development which Sikkim experienced during the SSP regime (1984-1994). The works fail to answer questions like, how and why the SSP emerged as one of the dominant regional political party in Sikkim since 1984-1994? What were the issues raised and promises made by the SSP? Could the SSP led government protect the interest and rights of the linguistic and religious minorities of Sikkim? How far it could ensure democracy and social justice to the different sections of the Sikkimese society? Therefore, the main objective of the

research work was to look at the emergence and growth of SSP, its policies and performance in Sikkim during its almost ten years rule.

Methodology, Source and Data

The research involved data collection from various sources. In order to address the questions related to the objective of the proposed research work, the direct sources or personal sources of information as well as documentary sources of information was collected. In the personal sources or direct sources of information, we have taken unstructured interviews with the party leaders of SSP, party workers, bureaucrats/retired civil servants, senior citizens, social activists and the common people belonging to different social classes in connection with the policies and performance of SSP led government towards the agricultural, educational, industrial and service sectors. We have also interviewed about the achievement of SSP government in the spheres of public welfare, rural development and poverty alleviation and assurance of rule of law, democracy, social justice and system of governance under SSP led government regime. While taking interviews, the interviewees very enthusiastically responded to the questions asked. The information collected through interviews greatly enabled us to piece together a more coherent picture of the policy and performance of SSP led government.

In our research work, we have also used the documentary sources of information; primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included both official and non-official documents. From the official documents such as Sikkim Govt. Gazettee notifications, circulars, official letters, Assembly and Budget proceedings, memorandum of understandings signed and submitted to the Central Government by SSP government during its tenure obtained from various departments, State library, Community libraries, District libraries and library of Sikkim Legislative Assembly. We could collect lot of information regarding the Budget allocation on different sectors, policies and programmes initiated and achievements made by the SSP government. From non-official documents such as

party documents; party literature, election manifestoes, leaflets or pamphlets, biographies, obtained from the party office and SSP leaders and party workers, we were able to get information about the aims and objectives and issues raised and various promises and assurance the SSP made during the time of the elections. From the memorandums submitted and representation made to the Bhandari led SSP government by various social organisations or communities, we collected information on how SSP led by Bhandari responded to the democratic aspirations and fulfil inner hopes of the people of Sikkim. In our research work, we also have made use of the secondary sources such as books, journals, articles, newspapers reports etc. The secondary sources were mainly used for writing the introductory part of the thesis.

Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into five chapters. In the introduction, we discussed the research problem, research questions, methodology, data collection and organisation of study. In the second chapter, we deal with the questions related to the emergence and growth of Sikkim Sangram Prashad and the issues it raised and the promises made during the elections and the spectacular victories it was able to achieve. In the third chapter of the thesis, we address the questions related to the protection of the linguistic and religious minorities especially the Limboos (Tsongts) Lepchas and Bhutias of Sikkim. In this part, we examine and attempt to understand whether the SSP was able to fulfil the age-old demands, aspirations and inner-hopes of Limboos, Lepchas and Bhutias. In the fourth chapter of our study, we study and analyse whether the SSP led government could provide good governance to Sikkim and ensure democracy, social justice and maintain rule of law in Sikkim during its reign. In the fifth chapter, we examine the various policies adopted by the SSP in relation to the Agricultural, Educational, Industrial and Service sectors. We also assess the performance of the SSP government and its achievements in implementing the policies. In the last chapter of the thesis, we focus on the Welfare Policies of the government with emphasis to rural development and poverty alleviation policies and programmes of SSP led

government. In the conclusion, we summarised each and every chapter of the thesis and finally we arrived at the conclusion stating that the progress of democracy and development took place only to a limited extent. The progress of development however was slightly better than democracy.