

CHAPTER - I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Objectives of Study and analysis:

Though Sikkim had been a Protectorate of India, it was under the absolute rule of the Chogyals, so far as internal administration was concerned. But during the reign of Palden Thondup Namgyal, the agitation in 1973 led to a new political arrangement hitherto unknown in Sikkim. The principles of democracy, rule of law and rights of the people, etc., were accepted as the basis of a new political organisation and a new society. The representatives of the people in the Sikkim Assembly were elected in 1974, the Government of Sikkim Act was adopted and a popular ministry, with Chogyal as the ceremonial head of the state, started functioning. But it was not all; in the same year, Sikkim was given the status of 'Associate State' of India and by May, 1975, Sikkim lost its separate political identity by becoming a constituent part of the Indian Union.

The objective and purpose of the present study is not only to trace the political developments that led to the merger of Sikkim, in the perspective of its political history and the currents and cross-currents of ethnic, social, and religious factors, but also to study the nature and changing trends of the political dynamics reflected through the electoral process, political parties, and pressure groups of the past and the present. Its purpose is also to correlate political dynamics to the nature and functions of the governmental organs, the

legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The author has tried to trace the system prevalent upto 1973 and the changes that came over since 1974, in order to facilitate a comparative study over time. In fact, the main focus of this research has been laid upon these two aspects: the political dynamics and the political framework and governmental process. The main objective of this work is thus to bring out in detail an upto date account of the political process and working of the governmental organs which have passed through different stages of development and change.

Many a book has been written on Sikkim before 1973 and also a few after that. But most of them have focussed on aspects other than the two mentioned above. Moreover, this work covers the developments of Sikkim upto July 1980. In a sense, it is a work also on the most current political affairs of Sikkim, which, no book, in the author's knowledge, has dealt with as yet.

Conceptual Framework:

It has been felt that by emphasising the political dynamics and governmental framework alone, the politics and government of Sikkim can not be understood fully. That is why, the author proceeded to analyse those two aspects in the context of the historical background and socio-cultural set up. A concept has also been developed in the process of researches that ethnic factors have dominated and is still dominating the politics of Sikkim. This has been fully discussed and amply proved in the second chapter and in the chapters on political dynamics. In the context of political consciousness, the author has tried to prove the hypothesis: higher the standard of education, higher is the

level of political consciousness; and lower the standard of education, the lower is the level of political consciousness.

Methodology:

While conducting the research, the author has followed and adopted both traditional and empirical method. In the first phase, he consulted materials available in the libraries, State Archives, Institute of Tibetology, etc. and in the second phase, he collected primary materials, government publications, government documents, political party documents, manuscripts, government reports, party reports and resolutions, etc. In the third phase, he consulted and interviewed different important personalities of Sikkim such as: Mr. B.B.Lall, the Governor of the State, the Ex-Chogyal, Mr. L.D.Kazi, the first Chief Minister of the State, Mr. N. B. Bhandari, the present Chief Minister, Justice M.S.Gujral, the Chief Justice of Sikkim High Court, Justice Ananda Moy Bhattacharya, Judge, Sikkim High Court, different ministers, bureaucrats, political leaders, Social workers, religious leaders. The author met a number of Ex-Executive Councillors, members of the Sikkim Council, members of the present and previous Legislative Assembly etc. and tried to supplement his data by first hand information and knowledge. Thereby, an effort had been made to combine the traditional as well as the empirical method in the conduct of this research work. The author traversed different parts of the State on different occasions to contact the people in the villages and in the towns. He had undertaken field survey and administered structured questionnaire to assess political consciousness and idea of the people about the political changes that took place in the State and the working of the government. The

survey of course, could not be conducted in the strict sense of research methodology, because of the financial limitation of the author and non-availability of other resources explained elsewhere.

Overview of Literature:

A number of books have been written on Sikkim so far. The author of the present work has consulted them whenever required. These books have been written on different aspects, such as, the people, their religion, society and culture, political history, etc. A good number of books, of course, deal with the politics and government of the State, but most of them give a general view of it without making exhaustive analysis and projecting adequate information about the subject. The emphasis and focus of the books being on different other aspects, the political dynamics and governmental process have been either merely touched or casually discussed. The present work is the most upto date study of the politics and government of Sikkim which covers the period upto July 1980. The author has not yet come across any book which has dealt with the recent politics and government of Sikkim, though, a few articles have been written in different news papers and journals from time to time.

On the political history of Sikkim, particularly her relations with the British Government of India as well as her people, there are classic works whose value and importance are paramount for all time to come. Majority of these books have been written by the British and ^{other} foreign Scholars either directly from their own experience and first hand knowledge as a result of their involvement in the affairs of the Government of Sikkim or India, or otherwise.

The most important and primary source of information can be derived from the Gazetteer of Sikkim. It was edited in the Bengal Government Secretariat and was first printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press in 1894. For the present purpose, the reprint edition of 1972, published by Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi, has been used. It is a valuable book that possesses an important introduction underlying the policy of the British Government towards the Himalayan States written by H. H. Risley. It contains the early history of Sikkim as well as the history of her relations with the British Government in general. The contribution of Mr. J.C. White on laws of Sikkim is also very important. The article written by L.A. Waddell narrating the detailed history of Lamaist Buddhism in Sikkim, the monasteries, their organisation, Lamaist discipline etc. is illuminating. The author of the present study has taken extensive help of this book in so far it has relevance to his study. But it was published in 1894 and since the main part of this work is concerned with period much later, the book surely has its limitations.

Another important contribution in this field has been made by J. C. White, the first Political Officer of Sikkim, in his book, "Sikkim and Bhutan - twenty one years on the North-East Frontier, 1887-1909," edition of 1971, published by Vivek Publishing House, New Delhi. J.C. White was in the charge of Sikkim for two long decades, and had written the book on Sikkim from his experience. The book contains important information regarding the relations of Sikkim with the British Government of India, her system of administration, Nepali immigration, the people and their style of life, etc. The book also contains an important appendix in which the Laws of Sikkim have been enumerated. The author of the present

work has consulted the book and borrowed some important points and remarks from it.

A similar important contribution in the field of study on Sikkim and her neighbouring Himalayan States, has been made by Sir Charles Bell, who was appointed Political Officer of Sikkim after J.C. White. His three books, though written on Tibet, made important references to different aspects of Sikkim. His book "Tibet Past and Present", first published in 1924, reprint 1968, contains important description of trade route of Tibet and Sikkim, the relation of the British Government with Tibet and her policy towards the Himalayan States and the discussion about the strategic position of Tibet vis-a-vis India. This book has been consulted particularly in the context of the strategic importance of Sikkim. His other book, 'The People of Tibet', Oxford, first published 1928, reprint 1968, contains important references of Socio-cultural aspects of the Bhutia-Lepchas of Sikkim. His book 'The Religion of Tibet' Oxford, first published 1931, reprint 1968, deals with Lamaism and Lamaist practices which has important reference to Sikkim.

Of the other important pieces of literature on Sikkim written by the early writers, mention can be made of Sarat Chandra Das's 'Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet' edited by W.W. Rockhill, first published 1902, reprint 1970, Manjusri Publication, New Delhi. Mr. Das was in the Bengal educational service and was a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The author of the present work has consulted this book particularly in the context of Lamas and Lamasaries, the Limbus, Lepchas and Tibetans etc.

Another important contribution, particularly on the aspect of religion of Sikkim, has been made by Ronaldshay in his book, 'Himalayan Bhutan Sikkim and Tibet,' reprint 1977, Ess Ess

Publication, New Delhi. This book has been consulted in the context of religion and lamaism in Sikkim.

So far as the Indo-Tibet relation is concerned, an important contribution has been made by Graham Sandberg. His book 'The Exploration of Tibet', 1973 edition, Cosmo publication, New Delhi, deals with the strategic importance of Tibet and the necessity of its opening up to the British power. This book has been consulted in the context of strategic importance of Sikkim and among the accounts of expeditions dealt with in this book, the author of the present work has consulted the expeditions of Bogle, Turner, Manning, etc.

Some important light has also been thrown on Sikkim by Richard Temple in his 'Two diaries of Travel in Sikkim 1875, in 'Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal', Vol. II, 1977 edition, published by Cosmo Publication New Delhi. Mr. Temple has kept the account of his journey in Sikkim and has discussed the geography, a short history of Sikkim, its relation with British India, monasteries and ^{has given} a short description of the people.

Mr. L.A. Waddell, a member of the Expedition of 1903-1904 to Tibet under Col. Younghusband has made important contribution on Himalayan people and the States. Among his books, the author of the present work has consulted the 'Lhasa and its Mysteries,' reprint, published by Sanskaran Prakashak, Delhi, in the context of Indo-Sikkim relations, Lamas and their ways of life, Indo-Tibet relations which have relevance to Sikkim.

Among the other contributions made in the field of relations between India and the Himalayan States mention may be made of Ashley Eden's 'Political Mission to Bootan', 1972 edition, Manjusri

Publication. This book has been consulted in the context of strategic importance of Sikkim.

Mr. Alastair Lamb has made a most illuminating contribution on the relations of British India and other Himalayan States in his book 'Britain and Chinese Central Asia - the road of Lhasa 1767 to 1905,' published by Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960. The author of the present work has particularly consulted the chapters: Opening of Sikkim, the Chefoo Convention and the Macaulay Mission - 1876-86, Sikkim Tibet Convention - 1886 - 1893 and the conclusion which deals with the present day Indo-Tibetan relations.

G.B. Mainwaring has also described in brief the political and social history of the Sikkimese in his book 'A Grammar of Lepcha Language', 1971 edition, published by Manjusri Publication, New Delhi. Mainwaring discussed in brief the history of Sikkim, the culture and tradition of the Lepchas, Indo-Sikkim relations etc. in the preface and introductory remarks which have been consulted.

In the perspectives of history, population, trade and commerce, economic resources, tribes and other castes of people of Sikkim the author of the present work has consulted 'The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII, reprint, T. T. Printers and Publishers, New Delhi and the Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. X (Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Kutch Behar State) by W.W. Hunter, Director General of Statistics, to the Government of India, Published by Trubner & Co., London 1876, reprint 1976, by concept Publishing House, New Delhi.

In the context of Indo Sikkim relations both before and after 1947, the author has consulted Vincent A. Smith's 'The Oxford History of India,' 3rd Edition, Oxford; Percival Spear's Oxford

History of Modern India, 1740-1975, Oxford, 1978 and "An Advanced History of India written by R. C. Mazumdar, H. C. Roy Chowdhury and K.K.Dutta, 3rd edition, Macmillan.

So far as the ethnic variation of Sikkim is concerned, the author has consulted some important literatures in this field such as 'Sketches from Nepal' written by H.A. Oldfield, published by Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, 1974, 'The Indo-Tibetans: The Indo Tibetan and Mongoloid problem in the Southern Himalaya and North-East India' written by Father Matthias Harmanns, published by K.L. Fernandes, Bandra, Bombay, 1954, 'Limbus: A South Eastern Himalayan Kirata People,' Dr. Charu Chandra Sanyal, Dipti Printing and Binding Works, 13 M, Ariff Road, Calcutta, 1979, 'Sikkimer Adivasi Lepcha', a Bengali book written by Arun Moitra, Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta, 'Sikkim: Customs and Folklore,' written by C.D. Beauvoir Stock, reprint, Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, 'Nepal and the Gurkhas', Ministry of Defence, Her Majesty's Stationary office, London, 1965. These books have primarily dealt with the customs, social and cultural traditions, religion, literature etc. of the different tribes of Nepal and Sikkim.

In the context of religion and monastic life of the Lamas, their influence and also Indo-Tibet relations, which has relevance to Sikkim, the author has consulted a few important works in this field, such as, Giuseppe Tucci's 'Tibet-Land of Snows', translated by J.E. Stapleton Driver, Oxford & I.B.H. publishing Co., Calcutta, 1967, which is a very valuable book and helps the reader to conceive the history of Tibet and essence of Tibetan life and culture and helps to make a comparison between the Tibetan and Sikkimese life. Again Tsung-Lien Shen and Shen-Chi Liu's 'Tibet and the Tibetans' forwarded by George E. Tylor, Standford University

Press, California, 1953, made important contribution of Sino-Tibetan and Sino-Indian relations in the context of Himalayan States as well as religion and religious life of the Tibetans.

So far as strategic importance of Sikkim is concerned, the author has consulted a number of books which have made significant contributions on the aspect of Sino-Indian Conflict in which the reference of Sikkim has come quite frequently. Among them John Rowland's 'A History of Sino India Relations -- Hostile co-existence', published by D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. Princeton, New Jersey, 1967 and Dorothy Woodman's 'Himalayan Frontiers: A political review of British, Chinese, Indian and Russian rivalries,' London, 1969, Ramesh Sanghvi's 'India's Northern Frontier and China', Contemporary Publishers, Bombay 1962, Frank Moraes's 'The Revolt in Tibet', New York, 1960, P. C. Chakraborty's 'India China Relations', Calcutta, 1961, T. Karki Hussain's 'Sino Indian Conflict and International Politics in the Indian Sub-continent -- 1962-66', Thompson Press (India) Ltd., Faridabad, 1967, N.C. Sinha's 'An Introduction to the History and Religion of Tibet', S.P.Sharma's 'India's Boundary and Territorial Disputes', Vikas Publication, New Delhi, 1971, Ramgopal's 'India -- China-Tibet-Triangle', Lucknow, 1964, G.N.Rao's 'The India China Border: A Reappraisal', Asia Publishing House Bombay, 1968, Herbert Tichy's 'Himalaya', Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 'The Himalaya as a frontier,' by Ram Rahul, Vikash Publishing House, Delhi, are worth mentioning. Almost all these books have discussed the Sino Indian and Sino Tibetan relations, claims and counter claims of India and China over the border lands on the Himalayas etc. Herbert Tichy's brief political history of Nepal, her relations with India, China, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA were found relevant.

The author of the present work has felt a research gap so far as political dynamics and political frame work and governmental process of Sikkim are concerned. A number of comparatively recent books have been written on the political history, political process and the Government of Sikkim, but none of them seems to have elaborately and exhaustively covered the political dynamics and governmental process. The focus of those books being laid on different other aspects, these two aspects have either been dealt with the help of limited materials thereby resulting in limited information or dealt with in a general way. The author has tried to emphasise these two aspects and lay the main focus of his work upon them. For this purpose he has tried not only to collect primary materials as far as possible but also to supplement his information by interviewing persons concerned directly with the politics and government of Sikkim. His connection with political leaders, members of the legislature, judiciary, and bureaucracy, scholars and religious leaders of Sikkim has helped him to collect information which he considers primarily important. Moreover, this dissertation covers the most upto date developments of Sikkim which no book, in the authors knowledge, has dealt with so far. Hence this work can be claimed as treading new grounds in the field. In the context of working of the legislature since 1975, extensive interview was undertaken by the author with the Speakers, members of the Legislative Assembly, Officers of the legislature etc. While studying the working of the executive established since 1975, the author interviewed the important personalities in the Government such as the Governor, the two Chief Ministers, the other Ministers, members of the bureaucracy etc. In the case of judiciary, the Chief Justice and another Judge of High Court, the Judge

of the Central Court etc. were interviewed. To assess the idea of the people about the political changes and the working of the government, field survey, though in a limited scale, was conducted by the author. Thus efforts have been made to make the study of political dynamics and governmental process as up to date and exhaustive as possible. Here the present study differs from the other works which have relevance to political process and Government of Sikkim.

A number of books are there which have dealt, in some way or other, with the politics and governmental frame work prevalent in Sikkim upto 1973 or 74.

An important contribution in the field of study of politics and political process of Sikkim has been made by Mr. Lal Bahadur Basnet. Mr. Basnet has been one of the office bearers of the Sikkim National Congress and later of the Sikkim Janata Party. He is connected with the Sikkimese politics from the Sixties. His connection and experience helped him to project the politics of Sikkim in his book "Sikkim - A short political History" published by S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1974. His book deals with the political history of Sikkim, her relations with India and the political developments that led to the agitation of 1973. In the process, it deals with the political parties, system of election and a general description of the executive and the legislature. But the emphasis of the book is on the interaction of different forces that led to the demand for a change of the political system and ultimately to the agitation of 1973. Political dynamics and governmental process have not been covered in full length. Moreover, it covers the developments of Sikkim upto 1973 only.

Of the important works done on Sikkim recently, Mr. B.S.K. Grover's "Sikkim India - Storm and consolidation", published by Jain Brothers, New Delhi, 1974, is a valuable book which deals with Indo Sikkim relations primarily and the political developments that led to the changes of status of Sikkim. Chapter three of the book deals with election, a brief role of the political parties and a general description of the legislature and administrative structure. The main focus of the work is on the Indo Sikkim relations. Political dynamics and governmental process have not been covered in full length. Moreover, it covers the developments upto 1974 only.

Mr. Awadhesh Kumar Sinha has made an important contribution in the sphere of elite politics of Sikkim. His book "Politics of Sikkim- A Sociological Study," published by Thompson Press (India) Ltd., 1975, deals with political history and Indo Sikkim relations in chapter two and later political developments in chapter ten. It also deals with the governmental structure of executive and legislature. But its main focus is on elite politics, on the role of the elite in political process and governmental functions. Moreover, it covers the development upto 1974 only.

Mr. S.R. Shukla and Mr. P.Raghunadha Rao also have made important contributions in the field of study of Indo-Sikkim relations and political developments leading to the merger of Sikkim. The books "Sikkim - The story of integration," written by S. R. Shukla, published by S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1976 and "Sikkim - The story of its integration with India," written by P. Raghunadha Rao, published by Cosmo Publication, New Delhi, deal with

the political history, Indo-Sikkim relation and political process that led to the merger of the State. But governmental process and political dynamics have not been covered by them. Apart from this, they are concerned with the political developments upto 1975.

Mr. P.P.Karan and W.M.Jenkins Jr. have made significant contributions in the field of Geographic and Socio-political study on Sikkim. Their book, "The Himalayan Kingdoms: Bhutan Sikkim and Nepal" published by D. Van Nostrand Company, INC, Princeton 1963, briefly deals with the political history of Sikkim and Indo-Sikkim relations, physical and strategic features (last section) cultural aspects, economic resources as well as internal political problems. It is a very useful book which suggests many things in a brief outline and points out the field for intensive study and research on several aspects.

Three more important books of recent times written by three persons, who were involved in the affairs of Sikkim in different capacities, are worth mentioning. Of these, "Sikkim and Bhutan," written by V.H.Coelho, who had been the Principal Administrative Officer of Sikkim in the mid sixties, deals with the history of Sikkim, Indo Sikkim relations, political developments upto 1967, the system of government of the time etc. in brief and all within fifty two pages. The author has extensively consulted this book since it is immensely informative. But the limitation of the book is that it has no relevance to later political and administrative developments.

The second book, "Enchanted Frontiers: Sikkim Bhutan and India's North Eastern Border Lands", Written by Nari Rustomji,

Oxford University Press, 1973, who had been the second Dewan of Sikkim, although a reminiscence of the writer, reflects some important aspects of socio-cultural economic and political life of the Sikkimese people.

The third book, "Mandala-an awakening," written by Apa Pant, Orient Longman, 1978, who was once the political officer in Sikkim, reflects some cursory glance on Sikkim, her men and politics in the Chapter - Sikkim and Bhutan: Mountain Miniculture. Even then, some of his observations are revealing.

Another book "Mountain Top Kingdom: Sikkim", by C.Y. Salisbury, Vikash Publishing House, Delhi, 1972, contains a brief history of Sikkim, as well as interesting description of some individual families, social and religious life of the Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali people. It also contains a superficial description of the system of government of Sikkim.

Mr. Narendra Goyal has narrated in his book "Political History of Himalayan States - India's Relation with Himalayan States since 1947," New Delhi, Second Edn. 1966, the relation of India with China vis-a-vis Tibet after 1947 in the Chapter 'Prelude to India'. In the Chapter 'Passport to Tibet', he has dealt with Indo Sikkim relations after 1947, and has described the Government of India's policy towards Sikkim Darbar and the political developments in the State upto 1962. The focus of this book being on the Indo-Sikkim relation, detailed analysis of political dynamics and governmental process has not been made.

Apart from these important literatures a number of other books have also been consulted which have relevance to Sikkim.



Besides these, the author has consulted and referred several other books, booklets, reports, Acts and Regulations published by the Government of Sikkim from time to time since 1909. Of these the most important are the Administration Report of the Sikkim State for 1908-1909, Selections from the records of the Government of India, Foreign Deptt. No. CCCC XL, Serial No. 175, Administration Report of Sikkim for 1915-16, 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19, 1930-31, 1933-34, 1934-35, and 1935-36, State Service and Provident Fund Rules 1940 etc. and 'Sikkim facts & figures' published by the Government of Sikkim, 1963, 'Sikkim - A concise chronicle', 'Sikkim - Land and its people,' Proceedings of the Sikkim Council from 1953 to 1973 have been consulted. Apart from these, the judgement of the Election Tribunal, 1959, Sikkim Subject Regulation, 1961, 'Seven years of progress - 1954-1961', published by the Government of Sikkim, 1962, Darbar Day Addresses of the Dewans, District Census Hand Book, 1971, text of the Tripartite Agreement, 1973, Government of Sikkim Act., 1974, Report of the Committee on Land Reforms 1975, Proceedings of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly from 1976 to March 1980, Budgetary Statistics of the Government of Sikkim - 1975-76, and 1979-80, published by the Planning and Development Department, Government of Sikkim, Sikkim State Development programme 1978-79 and 1979-80, Rules of Procedures and Conduct of Business in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly, 1975, and its second edition 1979, Report of the P.A.C., Report of the Rules Committee, Report of the Committee on Estimates, Draft Five Year Plan, 1978-83, State Report on Agricultural Census, Report on the Elections to Sikkim Legislative Assembly -- 1979 and General Elections to Lok Sabha -- 1980, Law Journals published by the Law

and Legislative Department, Government of Sikkim, and several other Government publications, Acts and Regulations have been consulted. A detailed list, though not exhaustive, has been given in the 'Bibliography.'

Over and above these documents, a considerable number of Sikkim Darbar Gazettes from 1951 to April 1975 and Sikkim Government Gazettes from May 1975 onward have been consulted and referred to. Besides different Government orders, communique, Notifications etc. from 1947 onward have been consulted and referred to.

Apart from these, several other documents, such as Election Manifesto of different political parties from 1953, Reports of the Annual sessions of political parties, resolutions adopted by the different political parties on different occasions, memorandum submitted by different political parties, bulletins issued by the political parties, letters, representations, press notes of different political parties have been carefully utilised. Detailed list has been given in the 'Bibliography.'

Over and above these, pamphlets, manuscripts, party publications, publications of other organisations have been consulted and referred to.

Moreover, a number of articles written by different persons, published in different Journals and News papers have been consulted. A list of these articles has been given in the 'Bibliography'. Among the News papers consulted, the most important are The Statesman, Times of India, Hindustan Times, Naba Bharat Times, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Ananda Bazar Patrika, Basumati

Patrika, Hindustan Standard, The Hindu, Indian Express, National Herald, Himalayan Observer, Sikkim-an Independent Fortnightly, Sikkim Herald, The Nation, Published from Gangtok, Sikkim Express, Denjoling Mail etc.

The Plan of the Study:

The study of the Politics and Government of Sikkim has been set in the historical background. The second chapter which deals with the political and social foundations makes a short resume of the political history of Sikkim, Indo-Sikkim relations both before and after 1947, the conflict of races and the developments of 1973 and after that led to the merger of Sikkim.

The third chapter deals with geography, economy and social structure, such as, location, strategic importance, population distribution, and occupation distribution etc. Section V of this chapter deals with the social structure in which ethnic variation, religion, Lamaism and role of the monasteries have been discussed. An effort has been made in this chapter to depict the socio-cultural aspects and inter relations of the various ethnic groups as well as the actual state of socio-cultural integration among them at present. Apart from this, the role of Buddhism and the monasteries in the State politics of Sikkim has also been discussed.

In respect of political dynamics, three chapters have been arranged. The fourth chapter deals with the election and the electoral process. The discussion includes different systems of elections adopted in Sikkim from time to time, the

the interaction of the political parties, voting behaviour etc. It also includes the developments that have taken place after 1973. Section III of this chapter deals with the political consciousness of the people and Section IV deals with the general standard of education, it depicts the conditions that prevailed upto 1973 in the sphere of education and the changes that have taken place after that.

The fifth chapter deals with the role of the interest groups in Sikkim, their nature, organisation and method of working. A general discussion as to the structural and functional type of the pressure groups have been made and the groups found in Sikkim have been classified accordingly. The analysis covers the nature, role and organisation of the groups which have existed during the rule of the Chogyal as well as those which have come into existence later.

The sixth chapter deals with the political parties, their evolution, role, organisation, policy and influence. The evolution of the political parties have been discussed in the perspective of the political changes, social and political currents and cross-currents, ethnic considerations, relations of Sikkim with India etc. The new political developments, the role of the new parties, the interaction of different political forces have been discussed in Section II of the chapter.

In analysing the political framework and the governmental process, three chapters have been arranged. The seventh chapter deals with the Legislature, its nature, functions and relations with the executive under the Chogyalocracy. Section II of this chapter deals with the changes that have taken place after 1973. It includes the analysis of the working of the new

Legislature, the role of the Legislators and the Legislature vis-a-vis the Executive.

The eighth chapter deals with the Executive, the powers and position of the Chief Executive, system of appointment of other executives, the relations between the Chief Executive and other Executives, all under the Chogyalocracy. Section II deals with the changes that have taken place after 1973. The analysis covers the relations between the Governor and the Council of Minister, the Cabinet and the bureaucracy, the Chief Minister and the Cabinet etc.

The ninth chapter deals with the Law and Judicial Organisation which includes the analysis of the law of the land and freedom of the people, the structure and jurisdiction of the judiciary, control on judiciary etc. Section II deals with the changes that have come up in this field after 1973. The discussion includes the working of the High Court under the constitution, new arrangements and the new judicial structure, etc.

The tenth chapter deals with the political process and the government. This chapter tries to depict the attitude and ideas of the people towards the political changes that have taken place since 1973. It also deals with the new dimensions and working of the government in the perspective of the constitutional changes that have taken place in Sikkim since 1974.

The eleventh chapter deals with the concluding observations.