

CHAPTER - 7

CHAPTER-7

ELECTORAL PATTERN, PROCESS AND BEHAVIOUR : ROLE OF BUDDHISM IN  
RESPECT OF PARTY DIVISION, SEAT ALLOTMENT, CONSTITUENCY DIVISION,  
ETC.

7.1. The Election Process :

The electoral process of Sikkim should be clearly divided into two periods, namely, (a) before merger of Sikkim State, the erstwhile Protectorate, with the Union of India, and (b) after merger with India.<sup>1</sup> The demand for greater association of the people in the system of Government was the main issue of political agitation in Sikkim since 1947. In the system of representative government, the problem of representation of the different communities came into the forefront, as to how to maintain a balance between different communities, mainly divided on the basis of two religious groups - the Buddhists and the Hindus. In 1951, both Sikkim State Congress Party and the National Party, however, came to a solution by evolving a parity system, e.g., equal distribution of seats to the two communities.<sup>2</sup> These two communities were, (a) the Sikkimese of Bhutia-Lepcha origin, and (b) the Sikkimese of Nepali origin.<sup>3</sup> No doubt, the distinction was made on the basis of two religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, followed by the different ethnic groups. Buddhism was the chief force uniting the Bhutia-Lepchas, two different ethnic groups, into one community. On the other hand, Hinduism was the common factor to bring different ethnic

groups like the Rais, the Gurungs, the Mangers, the Limbus, the Sunuars, etc., into one Nepali Community. "This parity system, later, became not only the basis of distribution of political rights, but also of other socio-economic opportunities between the two communities."<sup>4</sup>

There were no set laws in regard to the conduct of elections in Sikkim. The Maharaja issued various Proclamations from time to time enumerating the principles, rules, and other necessary arrangements for conducting elections. No uniformity of procedure or no uniform system of election was found in Sikkim till 1974. The first three elections held in 1953, 1958 and 1967 had changed procedures, territorial divisions, seat allotments and adopted new methods consecutively. The franchise was also of a very restricted nature. Specially, the pattern of seat reservation for the different communities led to recurrent communal rivalry and competition in the political and socio-economic spheres.<sup>5</sup> The political party formations were non-communal in the beginning, but could not cease to be the manifestation of respective communities.<sup>6</sup> The Buddhist ruling family and its coterie, the Lamas and the privileged ruling class, tried their best to prevent the democratic parties, composed mainly of Hindu Nepalese, from getting dominance in the administration of the State as well as in the Legislature. So, in the Executive Council, too, this parity was maintained inspite of a party securing majority of the elected seats. Sikkim Durbar expressly cherished the ideas that the government should be carried on by the parity system of two communities, the Bhutia-Lepchas and the Nepalese respectively.<sup>7</sup> But the domination of the Buddhist group was very apparent inspite of its being the minority.

7.2. Election Rules and Methods : Periodical Changes :

The Constitution of the Sikkim State Council, later known as the Sikkim Legislative Assembly, was regulated by the different Proclamations issued by the Maharaja of Sikkim. The contents of two important Proclamations are summed up below :-

Proclamation, Dated 28th December, 1952 :

The State was divided in 4 Constituencies, which elected 12 members as follows :-

Gangtok Constituency	-	2 Bhutia-Lepcha 1 Nepali
North Central Constituency	-	2 Bhutia-Lepcha 1 Nepali
Namchi Constituency	-	1 Bhutia-Lepcha 2 Nepalis
Pemayangtse Constituency	-	1 Bhutia-Lepcha 2 Nepalis

Method of Election            The following procedure was adopted for electing the Bhutia-Lepcha candidates :

Primary Election for Election of Bhutia-Lepcha Candidates            Bhutia-Lepcha voters of each Constituency shall, in the first instance, elect four candidates each for the Gangtok and North Central Constituencies, and two candidates each for the Namchi and Pemayangtse Constituencies, and the candidates so elected shall be the candidates at the final election for the Bhutia-Lepcha candidate referred to above.

Final  
Election

Thereafter there shall be a final election in which members specified above shall be elected by all the voters registered in the respective Constituencies.

Qualifications

To be a member of the Council a person must -

- (a) be at least 30 years of age on a date which may be specified for this purpose and an elector in any Constituency having the prescribed qualifications;
- (b) be a subject of Sikkim;
- (c) possess such other qualifications as may be prescribed by the Maharaja.<sup>8</sup>

Proclamation, Dated 21st December, 1966 :

Sikkim was divided, for purposes of election to the Sikkim State Council, into 5 territorial Constituencies, one General Constituency and one Sangha Constituency.

The General Constituency comprised the whole of Sikkim.

The Sangha Constituency comprised of the Lamas belonging to the Monasteries recognized by the Sikkim Durbar.

Constitution  
of Council

The Sikkim Council, besides the President thereof who was appointed by the Chogyal, consisted of 24 members as specified hereunder :-

- (i) Gangtok Constituency - 1 Bhutia-Lepcha  
1 Sikkimese Nepali
- (ii) South Constituency - 1 Bhutia-Lepcha  
2 Sikkimese Nepali

- (iii) East Constituency - 1 Sikkimese Nepali  
2 Bhutia-Lepcha
- (iv) West Constituency - 1 Bhutia-Lepcha  
2 Sikkimese Nepali
- (v) North Constituency - 2 Bhutia-Lepcha  
1 Sikkimese Nepali
- (vi) The General Constituency shall elect 3 members of which one shall be a General Seat, one from the Scheduled Caste, and the third from the Tsongs.
- (vii) The Sangha Constituency shall elect one member through an Electoral College of the Sanghas.
- (viii) Six seats shall be filled in by nomination made by the Chogyal in his discretion.

Method of Election

Voting in respect of the Territorial Constituencies shall be in the manner specified below :-

- (a) All voters of a particular Constituency will cast their votes together in a single election.
- (b) The candidate securing the highest number of votes of the community which he represents will ordinarily be required to have secured also at least 15% of the total votes of the rest of the electors to entitle him to be returned. If, however, he fails to secure 15% of the votes of the rest of the electors, the candidate securing the next highest votes of his own community and who has also succeeded in securing 15% of the votes of the aforesaid rest will be eligible to be returned, provided the difference between the number of the votes of his own community secured by him and the highest candidate does not exceed 15% of the total votes secured by the latter. If the difference is in excess of 15%, the latter will be regarded as returned, notwithstanding that he shall not have secured 15% of the votes of the aforesaid rest.

- (c) Ballot papers of different colours will be issued to the voters to determine to which community they belonged and by that the percentage of the community votes polled for a candidate will be counted (vide Table No.4).
- (d) The Electoral roll for the General Constituency shall consist of all Sikkim subjects according to the Sikkim Subject Regulation, 1961. All voters will cast their votes together in a single election. Out of the seats for this Constituency one seat shall be filled in by the candidate securing the highest number of votes cast by the electors to this Constituency. The other two seats shall be filled in by a Tsong and a Scheduled Caste member respectively, provided that they have fulfilled the conditions specified as above.
- (e) Voting for the seat reserved for the Sangha will be through an Electoral College of the Sanghas belonging to Monasteries recognized by the Chogyal of Sikkim.

Qualification for  
Membership of  
Sikkim Council

A person shall not be qualified to be chosen to fill a seat in the Sikkim Council unless he -

- (a) is a subject of Sikkim;
- (b) is not less than 30 years of age on the date fixed as the last date for filing nomination for the seat for which he is a candidate;
- (c) is ordinarily a resident in the area from which he is a candidate or paid land revenue or local tax to Government for the landed property or house owned in his name for the preceding financial year, in the area from which he is a candidate;
- (d) possesses such other qualification as may be prescribed by the Chogyal in this behalf.

Electoral Roll Every person being a subject of Sikkim shall be eligible to be a voter, provided he has attained the age of 21 years on the first day of March of the year in which election from the Constituency in which he is entitled to vote is to take place and does not suffer from any disqualification as prescribed.

A voter will be enrolled in the electoral roll of the area where he ordinarily resides. The electoral rolls shall be prepared and published by the Election Committee, to be constituted by the Chogyal.<sup>9</sup>

Proclamation, Dated 31st December, 1969 :

This Proclamation does not materially differ from the Proclamation dated the 21st December, 1966, in respect of the number of Constituencies, number of members assigned to these Constituencies and manner of election and qualification for members of Sikkim Council and the qualification of the electors.<sup>10</sup>

7.3. Electoral Behaviour : Results of Elections of State Council :

First Election of 1953 :

In the first election, held in 1953, the Sikkim National Party, the Sikkim State Congress, the Sikkim Rajya Praja Sammelan and the Sikkim Scheduled Caste League took part. The results of the election clearly pointed to a division of the electorate into two religious communities. No Bhutia-Lepcha candidate could contest in the final election from the Sikkim State Congress Party, because all the six Bhutia-Lepcha candidates, including party leaders, Tashi Tshering and Kazi Lendup Dorji, lost in the primary elections.<sup>11</sup> In the final

election, the National Party secured all the six Bhutia-Lepcha seats and the State Congress secured the remaining six Nepali seats.<sup>12</sup>

"The Sikkim State Congress and the Sikkim National Party, therefore, emerged as the two sectarian parties representing the Nepali community and the Bhutia-Lepcha community respectively."<sup>13</sup> The following Table shows the party position in the Sikkim State Council :-

Table No.1

Name of the Party	No.of Seats Contested	No.of Seats Secured	Community	
Sikkim State Congress	6	6	Nepalese	6
National Party	12	6	Bhutia-Lepcha	6
Rajya Praja Sammelan	5	-	-	-
Scheduled Caste League	2	-	-	-
Nomination by His Highness	-	5	B.L.	3
			Nepali	2
Total	25	17		17

Source : Sikkim Durbar Gazette, Vol.III, No.2, July, 1953.

Communal representation on the basis of religion was clearly manifested in the voting behaviour of the people. The Seventeen-member State Council, formed on 7th August, 1953, had to function within the limitations imposed by their respective communal interests.<sup>14</sup>

#### 7.4. Second State Council Election, 1958 :

The second election of the State Council of Sikkim took place in 1958, though it was due in 1956 according to the Proclamation of 1953. The rules and methods of election were the same as before, and the

territorial arrangements were also retained as before the 1953 election. But the composition and seat allotment of the State Council was modified, as it was "considered desirable in the public interest", by a Proclamation of His Highness Maharaja of Sikkim in March 16, 1958.<sup>15</sup>

The arrangements of seats were as follows :-

1. Seats reserved for Bhutia-Lepcha	...	6
2. Seats reserved for Nepalese	...	6
3. General Seat	...	1
4. Seat reserved for Sangha(Monastery)	...	1
5. Nomination by His Highness	...	6
		<hr/>
		20
		<hr/>

Candidates in six reserved seats for Bhutia-Lepchas and six reserved seats for Nepalese had to be elected from the 4 territorial constituencies as in the earlier Proclamation of 1952. The General Seat was to consist of the whole territory of Sikkim serving as a single constituency. A person, to qualify to contest the General Seat must be a permanent resident in Sikkim with other qualifications as prescribed for the membership in earlier election.<sup>16</sup>

But the novel feature of the Proclamation of 1958 was the introduction of the Sangha Seat reserved for the Monasteries, the representative of which would be elected by an electoral college of the monasteries, recognized by the Sikkim Durbar. Now onwards the Buddhists monks were legally recognized to be involved in the administration of the State.<sup>17</sup>

Table No.2

Name of the Constituency	No.of Total Seats	Total No. of the Contestants	No. of Nepali Contestants	No.of Bhutia-Lepcha Contestants
Sangha	1	2	-	-
General	1	3	2	1
Pemayangshi	3(2 Nep + 1 B-L)	9	6	3
Namchi	3(2 Nep + 1 B-L)	9	6	3
North Central	3(2 B-L + 1 Nep)	8	3	5
Gangtok	3(2 B-L + 1 Nep)	10	3	7
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>19</b>

Source: Sikkim Durbar Gazette, Vol.VIII, No.5, Notification No.5(63) 58/CE dated 18.10.1958.

The above Table (No.2) shows the communitywise break up of the candidates contesting in different Constituencies in that election. The electoral behaviour did not change much. The result was as follows<sup>18</sup> :-

State Congress	...	6 Nepalese Seats 1 Bhutia-Lepcha Seat 1 General Seat
<b>Total</b>	...	<u>8</u>
National Congress	...	5 Bhutia-Lepcha Seats 1 Sangha Seat
<b>Total</b>	...	<u>6</u>

One important point that should be noted here is that any Indian, who settled in Sikkim either for business purposes or for other jobs, could not take part in the election. The rule in this regard stated that "it would be presumed that the fixed habitation of persons coming to Sikkim, remained their country of origin, unless there was evidence to show that they intended before February 1st, 1958, to transfer it to

Sikkim and did, in fact, do so."<sup>19</sup> That is to say, owning land or making a residence in Sikkim would not prove the fixed habitation unless the termination of fixed habitation in the country of origin was verified.

The fact is that the State Congress and the National Party, considered as Parties of two distinct Communities, was again established in this election, though both the Parties set up candidates in each constituency for both Bhutia-Lepchas and Nepalese seats.<sup>20</sup>

An election petition was filed against Kashi Raj Pradhan, Nakul Pradhan and Sonam Tshering on the charge of having adopted corrupt practices in that election. The petition was tried in a Tribunal, consisting of the Chief Judge of Sikkim, Kazi Dorji Dadul, the Chief Secretary and Shri Dakman Lama. The Tribunal delivered its judgement on 25th May, 1959, declaring the elections of above three candidates as void. They were also disqualified for contesting election for 6 years.<sup>21</sup> Later the Sikkim Durbar issued a Gazette Extraordinary, which said that His Highness Maharaja was pleased to order that (1) Kashiraj Pradhan and Nakul Pradhan were to be suspended from seeking the membership of the State Council for a period of six months with effect from 15.5.1959 and (2) Sonam Tshering was to be disqualified for a period of three years with effect from 28.5.1959.<sup>22</sup> Sonam Tshering had also been ousted from the Presidentship of the National Party. The discrimination on the part of Sonam Tshering's disqualification might have grown out of the displeasure of the ruler that being a Buddhist he had adopted unfair means in the election.

#### 7.5. Third Election of the State Council - 1967 :

The Third Election of the State Council was held in 1967. By the Proclamation of Sikkim Durbar, December 21, 1966, certain changes in

the methods, territorial divisions as well as in the seat allotment pattern, were brought about again for the conduct of election. The number of seats in the State Council was increased from 20 to 24 as follows<sup>23</sup> :-

1. Seat reserved for Bhutia-Lepcha	...	7
2. Seat reserved for Nepalese	...	7
3. General Seat	...	1
4. Seat reserved for Tsongs	...	1
5. Seat reserved for Scheduled Caste	...	1
6. Seat reserved for Sangha	...	1
7. Nomination by His Highness	...	6
		<hr/>
	Total	... 24
		<hr/>

The new allotment of seat-reservation for Tsong, was another effort on the part of the ruling family to strengthen its position. 'Tsongs', as Tibetans call them, also known as Limbus, claim to be one of the earlier inhabitants of Sikkim. As already mentioned in an earlier chapter, Tsongs are divided into two distinct groups, known as 'Kashi Gotra' and 'Lhasa Gotra'. Limbus of Kashi Gotra are generally Hindus, whereas those of Lhasa Gotra are Buddhist by religion and belong to Tibeto-Mogoloid group.<sup>24</sup> In the election of 1967, one seat had been allotted to Tsongs, as it was apprehended by L.B. Basnet, "on their reliability as props to the National Party".<sup>25</sup> But the balance was perfect. Because the Scheduled Castes are the part of the Nepali Community. The Scheduled Caste League was trying, since the first election of 1953, to get a seat reserved for them and it had contested in both the previous elections. This Scheduled Caste seat had, nonetheless, gone in favour of the Nepali Community.

In that election, the Sikkim National Congress of Kazi Lendup Dorji, came out as the single largest party securing 8 seats out of the 18 elected seats. The Sikkim National Party, the Sikkim National Congress, the Sikkim State Congress and the Scheduled Caste League contested in the election,<sup>26</sup> and party position was as follows :-

Table No.3

Name of the Party	No.of Seat Secured	Community
Sikkim National Congress	7	6 Nep 1 B-L
National Party	5	5 B-L
Sikkim State Congress	2	1 Nep 1 B-L
General Constituency - SNC	1	Nep
Tsong Constituency, ally to NP	1	Tsong
Scheduled Caste	1	Nep
Sangha Constituency - NP	1	B-L

Source: Sikkim Durbar Gazette Extraordinary No.19 dated 12.5.1967.

But as it is mentioned, the manner of casting votes as well as counting of votes seemed to be deliberately designed to be complicated. According to Section 4(i)(b) of the Proclamation of 1966, a candidate securing the highest number of votes of the community which he represented would ordinarily be required to have secured also 15% of the total votes of the rest of the electors to enable him to be returned.<sup>27</sup> The method of casting votes is illustrated in the Table below :-

Table No.4

Number of Tickets each voter got/colour	Number of Tickets to be Cast in Favour of Candidates					
	Nepali	Bhutia-Lepcha	Tsong	S/C	General	Sangha
Bhutia-Lepcha Voter						
6 Tickets of Blue Colour	2	1	1	1	1	-
Nepali Voter						
6 Tickets of Chocolate Colour	2	1	1	1	1	-
Tsong Voter						
6 Tickets of Pink Colour	2	1	1	1	1	-
Scheduled Caste Voter						
6 Tickets of Green Colour	2	1	1	1	1	-
Monk Voter						
7 Tickets of Saffron Colour	2	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Materials collected from the Election Office, Gangtok.

The counting of votes was also as complicated as the casting of votes. The following illustration of the North Constituency election may give a clear idea as to how the position of the candidate was to be determined.

Table No.5

Name of the Candidate	Party	Valid Votes Polled		
		Own Community	Rest of the Electors	Total
Mr. Martam Topden	NP	1,111	497	1,608
Mr. Pawo Tenzung	NP	1,046	381	1,427
Mr. Yeshe Wangchuk	SNC	290	773	1,063
Mr. Thondup Bhutia	SC	168	1,094	1,262
Mr. Jit Bahadur Lama	SC	870	228	1,098
Mr. Padam Prasad Thapa	SNC	710	300	1,010
Mr. Narbir Chhetri	NP	230	1,050	1,280

Source: Sikkim Durbar Gazette Extraordinary No.19 dated 12.5.1967.

From the above Table (No.5) of the North Constituency election result, Mr. Martam Topden and Mr. Pawo Tenzung were declared elected from the 2 B-L seats, not only because they secured the highest votes, but also they secured 15 per cent votes of the rest of the electors, besides their own community votes. On the other hand, Mr. Jit Bahadur Lama, a State Congress candidate, was declared elected as against Mr. Narbir Chhetri of National Party candidate, because he could secure 15 per cent votes of the rest of the electors, though in the total he secured less votes than Mr. Chhetri.<sup>28</sup>

In the Third General Election held in Sikkim, the voting behaviour of the electors was clear on two distinct issues, viz., those who had voted for the National Party were in favour of maintaining the status quo and those who had voted for Sikkim National Congress had voted for a change. The Sikkim National Congress emerged as a strong democratic force against the traditional Buddhist hereditary monarchy. "The Sikkim National Congress had won equality of citizenship for persons of Nepali origin but the battle was half-won since communal electorates remained."<sup>29</sup>

7.6. Fourth Election, 1970 And Fifth Election, 1973 :

On the eve of the seventies, the political atmosphere of Sikkim had become complex, hectic and tense. L.B.Basnet described the situation of that period as the confrontation of "Khukri versus Prayer Wheel",<sup>30</sup> the dagger of the Gorkhas or Nepalese and the ritualistic prayer wheel of the Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism, which became the symbols of two different religious groups. The National Party, representing the interests of the status quoists, had at least one common goal, that the

independence of the State be maintained. But the other political parties, besides their common goal of popular government, were suffering from many other political evils like community interests, lust for power, egoism and moral weakness. Hence, defection and party split caused a decline in their power. The National Congress, again, faced a split because L.B.Basnet came out and formed a new party, named Sikkim Janata Party. All these parties, e.g., Sikkim State Congress, Sikkim National Congress and newly formed Janata Party stood for democracy. "Their programmes were superficially alike in as much as all of them presented themselves as the votaries of democracy and champion of the fuller participation of the people in the Government."<sup>31</sup> Before the election, a new Election Committee was constituted consisting of two officials by a Proclamation of the Government of Sikkim, issued in April, 1970. Regarding the Election Committees, The Himalayan observer commented, "The previous Election Committee, thanks to a meddling Durbar, bungled so much and so often that a new Election Committee has been formed this time."<sup>32</sup> The result of the Fourth Election held in 1970 and the Fifth Election of 1973 did not prove their strength, rather reflected the communal trend in voting pattern and communal party identification. The following Table (No.6) will illustrate the party positions :-

Table No.6

Name of the Party	Number of Seat Secured	Community
1. Sikkim National Party	7	Bhutia-Lepcha
2. Sikkim National Congress	5	4 Nep + 1 SC
3. Sikkim Janata Party	0	-
4. Sikkim State Congress	4	Nepali
5. Independent(Tsong Constituency) General	1	Tsong
6. Sangha	1	B-L
Total ...	18	

Source : Sikkim Durbar Gazette Extraordinary No.35 dated 14.5.1970.

However, before the Fifth Election in 1972 (October), Sikkim State Congress and Sikkim Janata Party merged and formed a new Party as "Sikkim Janata Congress". But in the election this Party could secure only 2 Nepali seats. The behaviour of the electors was similar as before, which reflected again the trend of division of two distinct religious groups. The following Table (No.7) will indicate the voting trend of the people.

Table No.7

Name of the Party	B-L	Nepali	Tsong	S/C	Sangha	General	Total
1. Sikkim National Party.	7	2	-	1	1	-	11
2. Sikkim National Congress	-	3	1	-	-	1	5
3. Sikkim Janata Congress	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Total ...	7	7	1	1	1	1 =	18

Source: Sikkim Durbar Gazette Extraordinary No.29 dated 15.2.1973

The assessment of the electoral pattern and voting behaviour, since 1953, must prove the fact, that the Buddhist ruling family as well as the Buddhist ruling class played a dominant role in shaping the political environment in Sikkim and were able to check the democratic forces, primarily based on Hinduite Nepalese majority, though a handful of Buddhist Bhutia-Lepcha progressive leaders joined them.

7.7. New Order : Birth Of Legislative Assembly :

The political scene had started turning in the opposite direction since then. Kazi Lendup Dorji applied all his strength to organize

public opinion in his favour and had been able to present a clear picture of the role of the different political parties before the simple hill people of Sikkim. Kazi had another advantage. By virtue of his Bhutia origin, he had a greater appeal to the Bhutia-Lepcha progressive elements than that of any other Nepali leader. Moreover, he was also a Lama, which became an extra source of strength for him to cut through the spiritual minds of the Sikkimese people. After a harassed experience in the political plateau, Sikkim National Congress came out as an effective force under Kazi's leadership. Finally, the Tripartite Agreement was signed on 8th May, 1973. On the basis of that Agreement, the Proclamation of Representation of Sikkim Subjects, 1974 was issued by the Chogyal relating to the rules and methods of the Assembly's election as follows<sup>33</sup> :-

Proclamation of His Highness, dated 5th February, 1974 :

1. For the purpose of Election to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly, the State was divided into 31 Territorial Constituencies and one Sangha Constituency.
2. The Assembly consisted of 32 elected members -
  - A.(i) Sixteen constituencies shall be reserved for Sikkimese of Bhutia-Lepcha origin.
  - A.(ii) Out of these sixteen constituencies, one shall be reserved for the Sangha.
  - B.(i) The remaining sixteen constituencies shall be reserved for Sikkimese of Nepali including Tsong and Scheduled Caste origin.

- B.(ii) Out of the abovementioned sixteen constituencies reserved for Sikkimese of Nepali origin, one constituency shall be reserved for persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes notified in the Second Schedule annexed hereto.

Manner of Election

1. Election to the 31 territorial constituencies of the Assembly would be held on the basis of adult suffrage.
2. The Sangha Constituency shall elect one member through Electoral College of the Sangha.
3. A member of the Electoral College for the Sangha shall not be eligible to vote for any other constituency.

Qualifications for Membership of Assembly

A person shall not be elected to fill a seat in the Sikkim Assembly unless he -

- (a) is a subject of Sikkim;
- (b) is not less than 25 years of age on the date fixed as the last date for filing nomination for the seat for which he is a candidate.

Conduct of Election

- (i) Election shall be conducted under the supervision of an Election Commissioner, who shall be the representative of the Election Commission of India and appointed by the Government of Sikkim.
- (ii) Such rules as may be necessary for the purpose of the conduct of election shall be framed by the Government of Sikkim in consultation with the Government of India.<sup>34</sup>

7.8. Electoral Behaviour during the 1974 Election :

Mr. R.N. Sen Gupta, representative of the Election Commission of India, was appointed as the Election Commissioner of Sikkim. To prepare

the electoral rolls was a difficult task. Till then, under the old rules of the Sikkim Government the election pattern was weighed in favour of the Buddhist Bhutia-Lepcha groups, though they were in a minority. Hence, under the new system, both sides were keen to enrol as many of their communities as possible, and it was decided that the new electoral rolls should be prepared on the basis of old rolls.<sup>35</sup> Though a minority, the influence of the Buddhist pressure group was difficult to resist. As B.S. Das has stated, "Realising the inherent dangers of being completely wiped out, the old and respected Bhutia leaders came to plead with me to persuade the Chogyal to meet Kazi. They realized that the only safeguard against Nepalese domination in the future would be the Kazi. Kazi himself felt that to avoid such a situation, some senior and respected Bhutia and Nepalese leaders from the opposite side should stand for elections."<sup>36</sup> Kazi Lendup Dorji wanted democracy and popular government; he took the help of Nepalese leaders to mobilize public opinion against hereditary monarchical rule, but not at the cost of his own Buddhist community. Thus, the Kazi, as a seasoned politician, played the role of a connecting link between the Bhutia-Lepcha Buddhist community as well as Hindu Nepali community. He realized that election of some respected political leaders from the minority Bhutia-Lepcha community was vital for the political stability of Sikkim. This realization was the trump-card of Kazi's victory in the election. Before the election, both Sikkim National Congress and Sikkim Janata Congress merged together under the banner of "Sikkim Congress", with Kazi Lendup Dorji as the President.

By issuing notifications the Election Commissioner prescribed the manner of voting and other related matters for the conduct of the

elections and also for counting of votes. The system of ballot papers was introduced for the first time in Sikkim instead of coloured tickets. After scrutiny of the nomination papers, eightyone candidates finally contested the election. But only two parties, e.g., Sikkim National Party and Sikkim Congress, fought the battle of election face to face. Others were independent candidates.<sup>37</sup>

The election result turned the political picture up side down, with the Sikkim Congress obtaining a sweeping majority and securing only one but thirtytwo Assembly seats. Kazi Lendup Dorji and two other candidates were declared elected unopposed. Karma Gampo Lama, who won the Sangha seat, was also a Sikkim Congress candidate. The results of the election and the party position in the Assembly were as in the following Table (No.8) :-

Table No.8

Name of the Party	No. of Seats Secured
1. Sikkim Congress	31 (including 3 unopposed)
2. Sikkim National Party	1
3. Independents	0

Source: Sikkim Durbar Gazette Extraordinary No.55 dated 30.4.1974.

"The results were a clear indication of the mood then prevailing. The Chogyal was both the secular and the religious head. But, even the monks ditched him by electing a Sikkim Congress candidate."<sup>38</sup> Perhaps, the Sikkimese people, both Bhutia-Lepcha and Nepalese communities and also the monks, were charmed by the personality of Kazi Lendup Dorji

and considered him as the strongest man destined to rule Sikkim. The following incidents were very hectic which led to the merger of Sikkim to the Union of India.

By the Constitution (Thirtysixth Amendment) Act, 1975, Article 371F making special provisions with respect to the State of Sikkim was inserted which provided that from the date of commencement of the said Constitution Act, the Assembly for Sikkim formed as a result of the elections held in the State in April, 1974, should be deemed to be the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim duly constituted under the Constitution. Thus, Kazi Lendup Dorji became the first Chief Minister of the State of Sikkim.

7.9. Election Pattern After Merger : Protection of the Buddhist Community Maintained :

As Sikkim had become a part of India, this necessitated the preparation of electoral rolls and the conduct of future elections under the superintendence, direction and control of the Election Commission of India under the Indian Election Laws. The President of India issued the Election Laws (Extension to Sikkim) Ordinance, 1975, extending the Provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1950, and the Representation of the People Act, 1951, with some modifications to the State of Sikkim. This was replaced afterwards by the Election Laws (Extension to Sikkim) Act, 1976. The Registration of Electors Rules, 1976 was provided for the Registration of Electors Rules, 1960 to be applicable to the State of Sikkim. The Indian Citizenship Act, 1955, was also made applicable to the State of Sikkim and consequently all

those who were subjects of Sikkim before 27th April, 1975 under the provisions of Sikkim Subjects Regulation, 1961 were deemed to have become Indian citizens.<sup>39</sup> The election pattern, which prevailed in Sikkim till the merger, had to be changed essentially to adjust with that of rest of India. On the merger of the State, special provisions were made in regard to the delimitation of Constituencies, preparation of electoral rolls, and the conduct of election to the existing State Assembly. Bill No.79 was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 18th May, 1979 making certain provisions applicable for the conduct of election to the new Assembly. Consequent upon the dissolution of the Lok Sabha the said Bill lapsed. The President, therefore, issued the Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1979 (No.7 of 1979) on 7th September, 1979.<sup>40</sup>

7.10. Important Changes And Special Features :

1. The persons from other parts of the country were made eligible for enrolment in the State Electoral Rolls by the 1979 Ordinance.
2. The provisions of nominations by the Chogyal to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly were dispensed with.
3. The reservation of seats for persons of Bhutia-Lepcha origin and the Sanghas belonging to the Monasteries recognized by Sikkim Durbar were retained, the number of seats reserved for Scheduled Castes increased from one to two, all other seats made general. There was no reservation for persons belonging to Nepali origin.

4. The provisions of securing the minimum percentage of votes belonging to other communities were dispensed with.
5. The qualifying age for contesting the election to the Assembly was reduced from 30 years to 25 years.
6. The qualifying date for enrolment in the electoral rolls was changed from 1st March to 1st January of the year.
7. To be enrolled as a voter, a person need not necessarily be a Sikkim subject. On the fulfilment of other conditions, a person belonging to other parts of the country who is ordinarily resident of the State could also become a voter.
8. The qualifications of a person being a subject of Sikkim and ordinarily resident in the area from which he was a candidate or paid land revenue or local tax to the Government for the landed property or house owned in his name for the preceding financial year in the area were discontinued.
9. The appointment of the President by the Chogyal to the Sikkim Council was dispensed with.
10. The reservation of seats for the Tsong was abolished.
11. Prior to the Proclamation issued prior to 1974 ballot papers in different colours were issued to the candidate so as to determine to which community he belonged and the percentage of votes the communities cast in his favour. Now this distinction was done away with.

12. According to Sub-Section (1A) of Section 33 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, a nomination was required to be subscribed by the candidate as assenting to the nomination; and -
- (a) in the case of a seat reserved for Sikkimese of Bhutia-Lepcha origin, also by at least twenty electors of the constituency as proposers and twenty electors of the constituency as seconders;
  - (b) in the case of a seat reserved for Sanghas also by at least twenty electors of the constituency as proposers and at least twenty electors of the constituency as seconders;
  - (c) in the case of a candidate of the Sikkimese of Nepali origin, by an elector of the constituency as proposer.

This provision has since become redundant.<sup>41</sup>

7.11. Protection of the Buddhist Minority Groups in the New Election System :

The necessity of the protection of the minority Bhutia-Lepcha group could not be felt less even after the merger. Keeping in view the above aspect, the allotment of seats in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly was made in a special way by the Representation of the Peoples (Amendment) Ordinance, issued by the President of India, on 7th September, 1979. The allotment of seats was made as follows<sup>42</sup> :-

(a) Total seats in the Legislative Assembly	...	32
(b) Seats reserved for the Sikkimese of Bhutia-Lepcha Origin	...	12
(c) Seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes of the State	...	2
(d) Seat reserved for the Sangha (Monastery)	...	1
(e) General seats	...	17

Not only was the Sangha seat for the monks of the Buddhist monasteries retained, but 12 seats were reserved for the Buddhist Bhutia-Lepcha community, though they constitute only 25 per cent of the total population of Sikkim. Later, another ethnic group, known as "Sharpas", was made combined to the Bhutia-Lepcha group. The Sharpas are also of the Tibeto-Mongoloid origin and Buddhist by religion.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, no seat was reserved for the Nepalese community except 2 seats for the Scheduled Castes.

7.12. First Election under the Constitution of India and Electoral Behaviour during 1979 Election :

As the borders of Sikkim are open, there is a steady flow of persons from Nepal, Bhutan and the neighbouring States of West Bengal, Bihar, etc. There is also an increasing number of Nepalese who are residing in Sikkim for the last several years and some of whom have also got landed property in Sikkim and are paying the State taxes. There are also a large number of persons, popularly called plainsmen, domiciled in Sikkim in connection with trade and commerce. The question of their citizenship as well as rights and eligibility for registration as electors, was taken up with the Election Commission and the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. Accordingly, the following categories of persons were treated to be eligible for registration as electors subject to the fulfilment of other qualifications prescribed for the purpose :-

1. Persons who are eligible as per the provisions contained in the Sikkim Subject Regulation, 1961.

2. Persons whose names are registered in the Sikkim Subjects Registers and have become Indian citizens under the Law.
3. Persons staying in Sikkim who have got landed property and/or paying land taxes etc.
4. Indian citizens belonging to other States of India who are domiciled in Sikkim in connection with trade, business or commerce etc. The rolls of electorate were published in February 20, 1979.<sup>44</sup>

According to the Constitution (Fortyfourth Amendment) Act, 1978, the Sikkim Legislative Assembly completed its term on the 25th April, 1979. Although the notification to this effect had not been issued by the Government of India, the Chief Minister of Sikkim recommended to the Governor of Sikkim for the dissolution of the State Assembly since it had completed its term. On the basis of his recommendation the Governor of Sikkim dissolved the said Assembly on the 13th August, 1979. In these circumstances, the President of India issued a Proclamation suspending certain provisions of the Constitution on 18th August, 1979 and declared the President's Rule in the State.<sup>45</sup>

The period of the President's Proclamation dated 18th August, 1979 was to expire on the 17th October, 1979, unless it was approved by the Parliament. This circumstance necessitated early election of the State Legislative Assembly of Sikkim. Therefore, the Election Commissioner by issuing a Notification on 12th September, 1979, under Sections 30 and 56 of the Representation of Peoples Act, 1979, fixed the date of poll on 12th October, 1979.<sup>46</sup>

7.13. The Parties Contesting in the Election of 1979 :

The following seven recognised National and State Parties contested in the election of 1979 :-

<u>National Parties</u>		<u>No. of Contestants</u>
1.	Indian National Congress (U) ...	11
2.	Janata Party (Sikkim Rajya) ...	31
3.	C.P.I.(M) ...	2
<u>State Parties</u>		
1.	Sikkim Janata Parishad ...	31
2.	Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary) ...	27
3.	Sikkim Prajatantra Congress ...	32
4.	Scheduled Caste League (Independent) ...	2
5.	Independent ...	111

Owing to the death of a contesting candidate from 22 Khamdong Constituency (SC), the election of the said constituency was countermanded and poll was held in other constituencies on the due date of 12th October, 1979.<sup>47</sup>

The results of the 1979 election of the Legislative Assembly of Sikkim dealt a heavy blow on the faces of pro-merger leaders, when many of the leaders of the ruling party along with the Chief Minister Kazi Londup Dorji, lost the election in a bad way. The Sikkim Janata Parishad, which was not even a recognized party, then came out victorious securing 16 out of 31 seats under the leadership of a pro-Chogyal young school teacher, Mr. Nar Bahadur Bhandari. Sikkim Janata Parishad was later recognized as the State Party by a Notification of Election Commission.<sup>48</sup> It was an open secret that the Sikkim Janata Parishad

of N. B. Bhandari was backed by the former Chogyal and his coteries.

But there were many other reasons behind the pre-election politics which led to the disastrous fall of Kazi Lendup Dorji in the Second Assembly Election of 1979.

1. "Distrust and a sense of insecurity of becoming alien in the land of their own, gripped the minds of a section of the people."<sup>49</sup>

The Palace authority was of the opinion that Sikkim was not merged with India, rather it was annexed forcefully. This opinion had a great impact on the people of Sikkim. Especially, the Buddhist Bhutia-Lepcha community was afraid of being loser in the socio-political opportunity by the pressure of Nepali domination. Thus, anti-merger issue became the vital issue of local politics, "Sikkim Farkao", "Sikkim for Sikkimese", "let us not be fooled again", "we have to regain our lost rights" - these were the slogans and appeals of the Sikkim Janata Parishad Party to the people of Sikkim.<sup>50</sup> By those slogans, the leaders of the Sikkim Janata Parishad were able to earn the confidence of all sections of the people including the monks.

2. "Though politically reduced to a cipher, the former Chogyal had been a man of influence among the people of all religions in the State. This position he continued to enjoy even after being removed from the Office of the Chogyal."<sup>51</sup> The former Chogyal was not only the secular ruler but also the spiritual head of the State. The humiliation which he suffered after his removal, caused a great pain in the sentiments of the Sikkimese people. That pain was reflected in the election of 1979.

3. "In fact we merged Sikkim with India only to get more than what we were getting earlier in Chogyal's regime. I do not say that Sikkim is getting nothing, but it is not upto the mark of necessity. I have said earlier also that Sikkim should not have a status less than that of Kashmir. This should be crystal clear to Delhi that we the people of Sikkim stand by it."<sup>52</sup> This was the political attitude of a former Minister in the State. The intra-party conflict was one of the main causes of the fall of the Kazi Ministry.
4. Communalism was the main feature of Sikkim's politics since 1947. After merger, communalism imposed an additional rivalry on the ground of seat-reservation policy. Chief Minister, Kazi Lendup Dorji, lost the confidence of both the communities. The Buddhist Bhutia-Lepcha community had 16 reserved seats in earlier State Assembly, which were reduced to 12 seats. On the other hand, the Nepali community was deprived of any seat reservation. Bill No.79, which was introduced in the Lok Sabha relating to the delimitation of constituencies, preparation of electoral rolls and the conduct of election, was dubbed as a "Black Bill".<sup>53</sup> Though that Bill lapsed because of the dissolution of Lok Sabha, but the Representation of the People (Amendment) Ordinance, 1979 issued by the President of India was prepared on the form of said Bill. Hence, that 'Black Bill' became an important issue against Kazi's Party.
5. The Chief Minister was not probably asserting himself as the chief administrator; rather, he was more of a puppet in the hands of the

then Governor and he did not apply his own mind in the local issue,- this impression gathered from discussion with local elites might have some truth regarding the role of the Chief Minister L.D.Kazi.

6. The right of franchise given to the plains-people was another issue of displeasure to the local people. The Janata Parishad leaders vehemently opposed it. The slogan "Plainsmen let down" was soaring high in the sky of Sikkim.<sup>54</sup>

However, the following Table (No.9) will prove the electoral behaviour of 1979.

Table No.9

Name of the Party	No.of Contes- tents	No.of Seats Secured
1. Sikkim Janata Parishad	31	16
2. Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary)	27	11
3. Sikkim Prajatantra Congress	32	3
4. Sangha Constituency (Independent)	3	1
5. Scheduled Caste League	2	1 later joined SJP
6. Sikkim Rajya Janata Party	31	0
7. Indian National Congress (U)	11	0
8. Communist Party of India (M)	2	0
9. Independent	111	0
Total ...	<u>247</u>	<u>32</u>

Source: Report on the Elections to Sikkim Legislative Assembly, 1979 and General Election to Lok Sabha 1980, Table No.VII Detailed Results of Election.

Lama L.G. Rimpuchi, who was elected as an independent candidate from the Sangha Constituency, later joined the Sikkim Janata Parishad.

He was also given a berth in the Bhandari Cabinet as Ecclesiastical Minister.

Total number of voters in 1979 election was 1,16,075 out of that 2,146 from Sangha constituency.

7.14. General Election to Lok Sabha, Bye-Election and Countermanded Election, 1980 :

The date of poll for the general election to Lok Sabha was fixed on 3rd January, 1980. The countermanded poll from 22-Khamdong Constituency (SC) due to death of a candidate and bye-election to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly from 7-Chakung Assembly Constituency were also notified by the Election Commission to be held along with the Parliamentary election. In the 7-Chakung Assembly Constituency, the vacancy occurred due to resignation of B.B. Gurung, who was elected from two constituencies in the earlier election.<sup>55</sup>

In respect of Parliamentary Constituency, 7 candidates contested in the election. Shri Pahal Man Subba candidate set up by the Sikkim Janata Parishad was declared elected from the Parliamentary Constituency defeating his nearest rival Shri R.C. Paudyal set up by Sikkim Congress (R) by a margin of 20,118 votes.<sup>56</sup>

From 7-Chakung and 22-Khamdong (SC) constituencies, Shri C.B.Rai of Sikkim Congress (R) and Shri D.B. Damai of Sikkim Prajatantra Congress were declared elected respectively.<sup>57</sup>

Sikkim Janata Parishad had 17 members in the Assembly including the Lama of Sangha Constituency. It merged to the Indian National Congress (I) Party in 1980.

7.15. The Lok Sabha Election and Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election - 1985 :

Mr. N.B. Bhandari formed a new regional party named as Sikkim Sangram Parishad after the dismissal of his Ministry in May, 1984. The Governor H.J. Taleyarkhan and Bhandari very soon found themselves on a collision-course just after the arrival of the Governor in Sikkim in January, 1980. Finally, despite majority support in the Assembly, the Bhandari Ministry was dismissed by the Governor under Article 164 of the Constitution. The relevant provisions do not refer to 'dismissal' but the 'appointment' of Chief Ministers. "The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor". In the case of Sikkim, the Governor's powers are further fortified by a Special Article 371F(g) which states, "The Governor of Sikkim shall have special responsibility for peace and for equitable arrangement for ensuring the social and economic advancement of different sections of the population of Sikkim and in the discharge of his special responsibility under this clause, the Governor of Sikkim shall, subject to such directions as the President may from time to time deem fit to issue act in his discretion." However, none of these two Articles confer on the Governor the right of dismissal of a Ministry.<sup>58</sup> The Governor, Taleyarkhan was supported by a handful of distressed M.L.As, led by Lama L.G. Rimpochi, the Ecclesiastical Minister of Bhandari Cabinet.

In the Lok Sabha Election in January, 1985, Nar Bahadur Bhandari, as the candidate of Sikkim Sangram Parishad, won the sole seat of Sikkim defeating his nearest Congress (I) rival by a margin of more than

35,000 votes.<sup>59</sup> The Elections for the Sikkim Legislative Assembly were held in March, 1985 and Sikkim Sangram Parishad including its leader Bhandari captured 30 out of 32 Assembly seats. Later, N.B. Bhandari resigned from the M.P. seat and his wife, Mrs. D.K. Bhandari, was elected M.P. unopposed.<sup>60</sup>

7.16. An Assessment of the Election of 1979 as well as of 1985 held in Sikkim :

Both the elections held in 1979 and 1985 have demonstrated one thing that, as it is, the National Parties have no significance in the State Politics of Sikkim. It is regionalism and localism which still call the tune. This is the reason why in the State Legislative Assembly elections held in 1985, the National Parties practically drew blank, so much so that even the mighty Congress (I) Party could manage to win one seat only out of the 32 Assembly seats it had contested in 1985 election. This lone victory from the Kabi Tingda Constituency cannot also be attributed to the popularity of the Congress Party. It is perhaps, the popularity of the victorious candidate himself. It will not be incorrect to say that in the present set-up of religion-oriented localism and communalism, no national party has any future in the State of Sikkim. The State Parties will continue to dominate in the State politics for a long time to come, as it is apprehended by the various statesmen. The success of a regional party would depend on how far and how best it can effectively raise the local issues and encash on them. The merger of the State Parties with the Ruling Party in Centre had no effect on the electorates.<sup>61</sup>

"One of the principal reasons for the Congress (I)'s defeat was the inclusion of rabid communalists like Poudyal", commented by Chamla

Tshering Bhutia, the new Sikkim Sangram Parishad Finance Minister."<sup>62</sup> R.C. Poudyal, who was made the President of the Sikkim Pradesh Congress (I), had long alienated the original Bhutia-Lepcha community by his constant demands for a reduction in their representation in the Legislative Assembly. Poudyal had also challenged the constitutional sanctity of the Sangha seat reserved for the monasteries.<sup>63</sup>

"Bhandari, on the other hand, does not appear to have had a communal image."<sup>64</sup> In the 1979 election, "his attitude gave rise to incipient fears that he was probably subject to the influence of the Palace, both financially and ideologically."<sup>65</sup> "Sikkim for Sikkimese", the basic slogan of Bhandari, includes both Buddhists Bhutia-Lepcha tribals and Hindu Nepalese settled in Sikkim for long time, against the influx of foreigners, mostly from Nepal. He is heartily concerned 'for maintaining communal harmony and prosperity which would be destroyed in the event of an influx of foreigners' and also may pull him down from his position which he has achieved by Alladin's magic lamp in 1979. The separate identity for the Sikkimese, both of Bhutia-Lepcha origin and of Nepalese origin, is the long-drawn desire of the people. Bhandari's slogan, thus, touched the sentiment of the local people. "Not surprisingly, the Sikkim Sangram Parishad not only won the Sangha seat where voters are purely Bhutia monks but also won all but one of the 13 seats reserved for the tribals", who are also generally the Buddhists.<sup>66</sup>

Statements regarding the votes polled by the Parties in 1979 and 1985 elections are placed below<sup>67</sup> :-

Table No.10

STATEMENT REGARDING THE VOTES POLLED IN 1979

Sl. No.	Name of Constituency	Electors, Voters & Percentage	Valid & Rejected Votes Percentage	Name of Contesting Candidate	Party	Votes Polled	Percentage
1.	Yoksam	3,723	2,385	Sanchman Limbu	SJP	754	31.61
2.	Tashiding (BL)	2,706	1,507	D.P. Bhutia	SJP	689	45.72
3.	Geyzing	3,292	2,435	I.B. Limboo	SJP	811	33.31
4.	Dentam	3,223	2,195	P.L. Gurung	SCR	949	43.23
5.	Bermiok	3,089	2,072	T.B. Limbu	SJP	688	33.20
6.	Rinchenpong (BL)	3,652	2,145	Katuk Bhutia	SJP	598	27.88
7.	Chakung	3,501	2,444	B.B. Gurung	SCR	1,605	65.67
8.	Soreong	4,331	2,609	N.B.Bhandari	SJP	1,833	70.26
9.	Daramdin	3,698	2,591	P.B. Gurung	SJP	1,770	68.31
10.	Jorethang Naya Bazar	4,198	3,129	B.B. Gurung	SCR	754	24.10
11.	Ralang (BL)	2,628	1,663	Chamla Tshering	SCR	438	26.32
12.	Wak	2,791	1,466	Garjaman Gurung	SPC	504	34.38
13.	Damthang	3,986	2,537	Pradeep Yonzong	SCR	661	26.05
14.	Melli	3,475	2,488	M.P. Sharma	SJP	669	26.89
15.	Rateypani West Pendum (SC)	3,790	2,481	B.B.Lohar	SCR	1,348	54.33
16.	Temi Tarku	3,152	2,023	N.B.Khatiwada	SPC	762	37.67
17.	Central Pendum East Pendum	6,065	3,548	B.P. Kharel	SCR	1,346	37.94
18.	Rhenock	3,199	2,186	KharanandaUpreti	SCR	504	23.06
19.	Regu	4,158	2,350	Tulsi Sharma	SJP	622	26.47
20.	Pathing (BL)	3,764	2,326	Ram Lepcha	SCR	713	30.56
21.	Loosing Pachekhani	3,645	2,007	J.B. Pradhan	SCR	889	44.29
22.	Khamdong (SC)	POLL COUNTERMANDED					
23.	Djongu (BL)	2,841	1,889	Athup Lepcha	SJP	865	45.79
24.	Lachen Mangshila (BL)	3,378	1,894	T.D. Bhutia	SJP	864	45.67
25.	Kabi Tingda(BL)	2,977	1,682	Sonam Tshering	SJP	852	50.65
26.	Rakdong Tintek(BL)	3,813	2,408	Dugo Bhutia	SPC	1,387	57.60
27.	Martam (BL)	3,569	1,979	Samten Tshering	SJP	731	36.94
28.	Rumtek (BL)	4,287	2,429	Dadul Bhutia	SJP	948	39.03
29.	Assam Lingjey(BL)	3,079	1,755	Sherab Palden	SJP	1,120	63.81
30.	Ranuka (BL)	3,085	2,006	D.T. Bhutia	SCR	679	33.85
31.	Gangtok	7,996	4,389	L.B. Basnet	SJP	1,707	38.89
32.	Sangha	2,114	778	L.G.Rimpuchi	IND	733	94.22

Source: Election Commission, Gangtok, Sikkim.

Table No.11

STATEMENT SHOWING CONSTITUENCYWISE VOTES POLLED BY THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE <sup>68</sup>  
GENERAL ELECTIONS TO SIKKIM LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY HELD IN THE MONTH OF MARCH, 1985

No. & Name of Con- stituency	Indian National Congress	Janata Party	CPI	CPI (M)	Sikkim Sangram Pari- shad	Sikkim Praja- tantra Con- gress	Inde- pen- dent	Total Valid Votes Polled	Rejec- ted	Total
1. Yuksam	546	426	-	-	1535	-	602	3109	79	3188
2. Tashiding	643	10	-	-	1586	9	157	2405	101	2506
3. Geyzing	502	64	-	-	1702	5	822	3095	143	3238
4. Dentam	515	56	-	-	2355	1	124	3051	114	3165
5. Berniok	1216	-	-	-	1287	12	424	2939	84	3023
6. Rinchenpong	384	-	-	-	1418	-	1285	3087	105	3192
7. Chakung	1275	16	-	-	1944	-	165	3400	89	3489
8. Soreng	633	12	-	-	2964	-	74	3683	64	3747
9. Daramdin	1051	9	-	-	2131	-	154	3345	77	3422
10. Jorethang	573	8	6	-	2648	-	609	3844	100	3944
11. Balang	576	42	-	-	1697	28	174	2517	77	2594
12. Wak	638	12	-	-	1704	-	112	2466	59	2525
13. Damthang	519	9	-	-	2281	-	282	3091	74	3165
14. Melli	814	9	-	-	2460	-	191	3474	75	3549
15. Rageypani W.Pendam	584	-	-	-	2373	-	510	3467	125	3592
16. Temi Tarku	315	22	-	-	2048	232	316	2933	86	3019
17. Central Pandan	1406	-	-	-	2742	26	148	4322	69	4391
18. Rhenock	709	90	19	-	1809	-	401	3028	65	3093
19. Regu	913	-	-	336	1462	-	484	3195	58	3253
20. Pething	840	-	-	-	2407	30	33	3310	49	3359
21. Loosing Pachekhani	845	16	-	-	1787	-	-	2648	38	2686
22. Khamdung	591	-	-	-	2834	24	60	3509	62	3571
23. Djongu	765	46	-	-	1469	-	58	2338	61	2399
24. Lachen Mangshila	1077	10	-	-	1737	-	117	2941	95	3036
25. Kabi Tingda	1102	11	-	-	763	-	387	2263	145	2408
26. Rakdong Tintek	566	-	-	-	1829	17	513	2925	54	2979
27. Martam	646	-	-	-	2113	-	112	2871	46	2917
28. Rumtek	634	-	-	-	1993	18	561	3146	39	3185
29. Assam Lingjey	824	20	-	-	1341	4	211	2400	32	2432
30. Ranka	920	-	-	-	1880	5	62	2867	43	2910
31. Gangtok	469	25	-	-	1749	27	2386	4656	71	4727
32. Sangha	349	-	-	-	383	-	-	732	-	732
Grand Total	23440	913	25	336	60371	438	11534	97057	2379	99436

Source: Election Commission, Gangtok, Sikkim.

Table No.12  
STATEMENT SHOWING CASTWISE FIGURE OF ELECTORAL ROLLS - 1984 <sup>69</sup>

Sl.No. & Name of Constituency	B.L. Communities				S/C	Others	Total
	Bhutia	Lepcha	Sherpa	Total			
1. Yoksam	833	605	17	1455	87	3656	5198
2. Tashiding	547	762	5	1314	160	2373	3847
3. Geyzing	649	109	55	813	265	3876	4954
4. Dentam	42	511	452	1005	155	3462	4622
5. Barmiok	168	235	151	554	198	3213	3965
6. Rinchenpong	545	844	63	1452	133	3475	5060
7. Chakung	43	306	14	363	262	4490	5115
8. Soreong	37	108	191	336	245	3758	4339
9. Daramdin	49	262	1115	1426	244	3391	5061
10. Jorethang N.B.	50	208	15	273	292	4977	5542
11. Ralang	869	122	344	1335	38	2272	3645
12. Wak	608	362	353	1323	87	2413	3833
13. Damthang	370	155	364	889	176	3709	4774
14. Melli	6	253	26	285	278	4343	4906
15. Rateypani W.P.	-	407	38	445	558	4340	5343
16. Temi Tarku	307	340	592	1239	167	3033	4439
17. Central Pendam	339	124	114	577	496	6286	7359
18. Rhenock	267	289	19	575	273	3642	4410
19. Regu	547	87	295	929	117	3833	4879
20. Pathing	1242	112	496	1850	199	3809	4858
21. Loosing Pacheykhani	443	228	119	790	188	3633	4611
22. Khamdong	397	325	159	881	273	4134	5288
23. Dzongu	14	2769	-	2783	21	883	3687
24. Lachen Mangshila	1911	1216	4	3131	37	1348	4516
25. Kabi Tingda	1526	1013	159	2698	31	759	3488
26. Rakdong Tintek	790	755	9	1554	154	2979	4687
27. Martam	1129	211	7	1347	324	2160	3831
28. Rumtek	1044	463	50	1557	301	3425	5283
29. Assam Lingjey	850	469	35	1334	92	2078	3524
30. Ranka	993	379	37	1409	115	2567	4091
31. Gangtok	1717	316	127	2160	206	6768	9134
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>18332</b>	<b>14265</b>	<b>5425</b>	<b>38022</b>	<b>6172</b>	<b>104095</b>	<b>148289</b>
<b>Percentage ...</b>	<b>12.36</b>	<b>9.61</b>	<b>3.66</b>	<b>25.64</b>	<b>4.16</b>	<b>70.20</b>	

Source : Election Commissioner, Gangtok, Sikkim.

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*Kyangma-pa Monks  
The Members Of the Electoral College.*



*Yikkimese Ladies with prayer wheels and rosaries  
The Conscious Electors.*