

-; C O N T E N T S :-

Page

Map No.1 - Location of Study Area.

Map No.2 - General View of the Territory of Sikkim.

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.	Religion and Politics - A Conceptual Framework	...	...	1
1.2.	Objectives of the Study	...	...	9
1.3.	Specific Research Questions	...	...	11
1.4.	Brief Overview of the Existing Literature	...	...	13
1.5.	Methodology	...	...	17
	Notes and References to Chapter-1	...	...	19

CHAPTER-2

BUDDHISM - A SHORT SKETCH OF ITS PRINCIPAL DOCTRINE AND TENETS

2.1.	The Buddha - The Teacher	...	...	22
2.2.	Philosophical Aspect	...	...	23
2.3.	Four Noble Truths	...	...	24
2.4.	Eight-Fold Way - The Middle Path	...	...	26
2.5.	Moral Aspect of Buddha's Teaching	...	...	27
2.6.1.	The Social Dimension of Buddhism	...	...	29
2.6.2.	The Relation Between the Communities of the Monks and the Communities of the Laymen	...	...	32
2.7.1.	Political Dimension of Buddhism	...	...	33
2.7.2.	Buddhist Doctrine and Political Theories	...	...	34
2.7.3.	Buddhism and the State	...	...	34
2.7.4.	The Relation of the Government to the Sangha	...	...	36
2.8.	Concept of Universal Monarchy	...	...	37
2.9.	Implementation of Buddhism in the Political Process	...	...	39
2.10.	Schools of Buddhism	...	...	43
	Notes and References to Chapter-2	...	...	47

CHAPTER-3

SPREAD OF BUDDHISM TO TIBET AND SIKKIM

SECTION-I - JOURNEY OF BUDDHISM TO TIBET

3.1.1.	The Period of Introduction : First Acquaintance with Buddhism	...	...	52
3.1.2.	Primitive Religion of Tibet	...	...	53
3.1.3.	The Second Stage of Expansion of Buddhism	...	...	54

-: CONTENTS :-  
(Contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
3.1.4. Guru Padma Sambhava - The Founder of Mantrayanic Buddhism in Tibet ... ..	55
3.1.5. Concept of Many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas ... ..	57
3.1.6. The Influence and Counter-Influence of Various Doctrines...	58
3.1.7. Arrival of Atisha Dipankar and Reformation of Dharma ...	60
3.1.8. Introduction of Grand Hierarch System ... ..	61
3.1.9. An Outline of the Buddhist Sect in Tibet ... ..	62

SECTION-II - LAMAISM OF SIKKIM

3.2.1. Downward Journey of Buddhism to Sikkim ... ..	65
3.2.2. Different Stages of Development of Buddhism in Sikkim ...	66
3.2.3. The Early Inhabitants of Sikkim ... ..	68
3.2.4. The Reasons of the Advent of Bhutias in Sikkim... ..	70
3.2.4.I. Social Reasons ... ..	71
3.2.4.II. Political Reasons ... ..	72
3.2.4.III. Religious Reasons ... ..	73
3.2.5. The Legend about the Advent of Sikkim Bhutias ... ..	75
3.2.6. The Establishment of the Kingdom ... ..	78
3.2.7. Sikkim - The Off-shoot of Tibetan Theocracy ... ..	81
3.2.8. Special Features of Sikkim Buddhism ... ..	83
3.2.9. Order of Monks ... ..	86
Notes and References to Chapter-3 ... ..	89

Illustration : Huge Chorten of Nyingma-sheda at Gangtok.

CHAPTER-4

POLITICAL HISTORY OF SIKKIM : A RELIGIO—POLITICAL EVENTUALITY  
(1641-1975)

4.1. Tibetan Guardianship ... ..	96
4.2. Rising of the Gorkhas and Invasion in Sikkim ... ..	102
4.3. Contact with the British and British Protectorateship ...	103
4.4. Treaty of Titaliya-1817 : A Trap ... ..	106
4.5. The Cession of Darjeeling ... ..	107
4.6. The British Expedition to Sikkim and the Treaty of 1861 ...	108
4.7. Changes in the Socio-Political Life in Sikkim after 1861...	109
4.8. Macaulay Mission : The Anglo-Chinese Convention, 1890 ...	112
4.9. The British Legacy ... ..	116
4.10. Birth of Political Parties and Beginning of the New Era ...	120
4.11. Tug-of-War Between the New Democratic Force and the Conservative Statusquoist of Buddhist Society ... ..	123

-: CONTENTS :-  
(Contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
4.12. Chogyal Palden Thondup vs. Kaji Lendup Dorji : Face-to-Face in the Power Test	126
4.13. Revolution or Agitation	128
4.14. The Tripartite Agreement	129
4.15. Sequence of Political Development	130
Notes and References to Chapter-4	134
<u>Illustrations</u> : (i) Polden Thondup Namgyal - The Last Chogyal.	
(ii) Kaji Lendup Dorji - The First Chief Minister.	

CHAPTER-5

THE RELIGION (BUDDHISM) - ORIENTED SOCIETY  
OF SIKKIM

5.1. Structure	141
5.2. Geography and Religion : Topography of Sikkim	141
5.3. People and Religion : Buddhism as the Central Axis of the Social Life	144
5.4. Buddhist Influence in Building Up the Character of the People	147
5.5. The Settlement Pattern of the New Nepali Immigrants	150
5.6. The Position of Buddhism Among the Nepalese	151
5.7. Buddhist Education System in Sikkim	155
5.8. Scholarship for the Scheduled Tribe Students	157
5.9. Custom, Culture, Festivals and Festivities : Buddhism in the Centre of Social Activities	158
5.10. Buddhist Motif in Arts and Crafts	162
5.11. Institute of Tibetology	164
5.12. Buddhist Science and Medicine : Its Applicability in Sikkim	166
Notes and References to Chapter-5	168
<u>Illustrations</u> : (i) Rumtek Monastery of Kagut-pa Sect.	
(ii) Children Monks with the Head Lama.	

CHAPTER-6

THE GOVERNING PROCESS IN SIKKIM AND THE CONTINUING ROLE OF  
BUDDHISM IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESS

6.1. Traditional Pattern of Administration	174
6.2. Revenue Settlement Pattern : The Landlords as the Socio-Political Forces	176
6.3. The Advisory Council : Dominance of the Buddhist Class	178
6.4. The Laws of Sikkim	179
6.5. The State Council : The Limited Legislature	181

- : CONTENTS :-  
(Contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
6.6. The Executive Council ... ..	183
6.7. Judicial System in Sikkim ... ..	185
6.8.1. Some Examples of Buddhist Impact on the Legal Process of Sikkim and Legal Protection of the Followers of Buddhism	188
6.8.2. Deletion of Section 303 of the I.P.C. ... ..	189
6.8.3. Election Law and the Protection of the Buddhist Community	190
6.9. Continuation of Old Laws ... ..	192
6.10.1. Influence of the Buddhist Pressure Groups on the Functioning of the Government ... ..	194
6.10.2. Subsidy Granted to Monasteries and Other Religious Places	200
6.11. Buddhist Sentiment as Reflected on the Floor of Assembly	201

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER-6

A. Statement of Annual Grants Given to Religious Institutions in Sikkim (1975-1985) ... ..	203
B. List of Monasteries in Sikkim Receiving Annual Subsidy from the Government ... ..	204
C. List of Monuments Protected by the State Government ...	206
D. Excerpts from the Sikkim Agricultural Land Ceiling and Reforms Act, 1977 ... ..	209
Notes and References to Chapter-6 ... ..	212
<u>Illustrations:</u> (i) Dancing Lama with Mask in Pang-Lhab-Sol Festival.	
(ii) 'Tashilling' - The Secretariat Building with a Statue of Lord Buddha in the Adjacent Garden.	

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 ... ..	218
7.2. Election Rules and Methods ; Periodical Changes ... ..	220
7.3. Electoral Behaviour ; Results of Elections of State Councils ; The First Election of 1953 ... ..	224
7.4. Second State Council Election, 1958 ... ..	225
7.5. Third Election of the State Council, 1967 ... ..	228
7.6. Fourth Election, 1970 and Fifth Election, 1973 ... ..	232
7.7. New Order ; Birth of Legislative Assembly ... ..	234
7.8. Electoral Behaviour during the 1974 Election ... ..	236
7.9. Election Pattern After Merger ; Protection of the Buddhist Community Maintained ... ..	239

--: CONTENTS :-  
(Contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
7.10. Important Changes and Special Features ... ..	240
7.11. Protection of the Buddhist Minority Groups in the New Election System ... ..	242
7.12. First Election under the Constitution of India and Electoral Behaviour during 1979 Election ... ..	243
7.13. The Parties Contesting in the Election of 1979 ... ..	245
7.14. General Election to Lok Sabha, Bye-Election and Counter- mandet Election, 1980 ... ..	249
7.15. The Lok Sabha Election and Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1985 ... ..	250
7.16. An Assessment of the Election of 1979 as well as of 1985 held in Sikkim ... ..	251
Notes and References to Chapter-7 ... ..	256
<u>Illustrations:</u> (i) Nying-ma-pa Monks - The Members of the Electoral College.	
(ii) Sikkimese Ladies with Prayer Wheels and Roseries - The Conscious Electors.	
 <u>CHAPTER-8</u> <u>CONCLUSION</u>  	
8.1. Summary of the Findings ... ..	261
8.2. Concluding Observations ... ..	271
8.2.1. Over A Decade After Merger of Sikkim ... ..	271
8.2.2. Has the Merger of Sikkim Obliterated the Vestiges of Buddhism from its Socio-Political Life Completely ? ... ..	273
8.2.3. Continuation of the Buddhist Influence in the Socio- Political Affairs ... ..	278
Notes and References to Chapter-8 ... ..	281
<u>Illustrations:</u> (i) Colourful Procession of the Buddhist Monks.	
(ii) Prime Minister Indira Gandhi coming to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Tibetology.	
Glossary ... ..	283
Selected Bibliography ... ..	291
Appendices - ... ..	311
A. Convention Between Great Britain and China Relating to Sikkim and Tibet, 1890 ... ..	311
B. The Stand-Still Agreement Between India and Sikkim, 1950	314
C. Text of the Tripartite Agreement, May 8, 1973 ... ..	321
D. The Government of Sikkim Act, 1974 ... ..	326