

Democratic Transition and Constitutional Development in Sikkim,

1953-1975

A Dissertation Submitted

To

**Sikkim University**



In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the

**Degree of Master of Philosophy**

By

**Tenzing Doma Bhutia**

Department of Political Science

School of Social Sciences

February, 2017

**Democratic Transition and Constitutional Development in  
Sikkim, 1953-1975**

## **Declaration**

I, Tenzing Doma Bhutia, do hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record of work done by me, that the content of this dissertation did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and the dissertation has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university.

The dissertation has been checked using URKUND and found within limits as per plagiarism policy and instructions issued from time to time.

This is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy in the Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, Sikkim University.

Name: Tenzing Doma Bhutia

Registration No: 15/M.Phil/PSC/08

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri

Head of the Department

Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri

Supervisor

## **Certificate**

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "**Democratic Transition and Constitutional Development in Sikkim, 1953-1975**" submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science is the result of bonafide research work carried out by Ms Tenzing Doma Bhutia under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associateship and fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by her.

Date: 07.02.2017

Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri

Place: Gangtok

Supervisor

## **Abstract**

Sikkim experienced the rule of an authoritarian regime for more than 300 years. Until 1946, the citizen of Sikkim never gave a thought for the alternative government which could represent their political needs and expectations. Before that the mass population of Sikkim was subjected under the domination of the feudal lords. The citizens lack the capacity to come together with a unified goal and introduce a system against the authoritarian regime. The wave of change in the Sikkim's political history came only with the Indian Independence movement which inspired the few educated people of Sikkim. The changes that took place in the neighbouring country gave hope to the few people of Sikkim, with an aspiration of bringing out the development in the political sphere. With that, the remarkable burst that Sikkim experienced in its political history was the evolution of the three political parties which laid a base for the democratisation process. It was the first time that people participated in the political activity of the State. In the process, there came development in terms of the electoral system. The kingdom which had never experienced the participation of the citizen in the political sphere soon came across the election to the State Council (SC) in 1953, through the Proclamation passed by the King. The Proclamation laid down the procedure to conduct the election in Sikkim, which is regarded as an initial step in the constitutional development of the state.

This dissertation examines the process of democratic transition and constitutional development in Sikkim from 1953 to 1975. The qualitative research approach has been chosen because the study involves an in-depth study of the democratic transition process and the role played by the different actors like local leaders, political parties, civil society, etc. Descriptive research design is used for collecting information about respondents' views and ideas, their participation, changes, etc.

The findings of the study suggest that the democratic transition and constitutional development in Sikkim begins with the growth of the political parties in late 1940s. The process of the transition to democracy was followed by the constitutional development, which Sikkim experienced with the Royal Proclamation of 1952 that laid down the procedure for conducting an election to the State Council. The transition process in Sikkim, however, did not escalate to a violent revolution as it is a case in many authoritarian regimes.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Sikkim University, who is my supervisor and guide. He has been guiding me throughout the dissertation from the selection of the topic to the successful completion of the study. I am very grateful for his expert guidance and valuable suggestion which he provided to the study. This study would not have been complete without his immense support and supervision. I feel to acknowledge my indebtedness and deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor.

I also would like to extend my sincere word of gratitude to all the faculty members of the Department of Political Science, Dr. Om P. Gadde, Dr Amit K. Gupta, Mr. Bidhan Golay, Mr. Budh Badhur Lama and Ms Swastika Pradhan, who were continuously giving their suggestion throughout the writing of this dissertation.

I would like to convey my gratefulness to all the local political leaders who in spite of their busy schedule took out their time and provided with the relevant data to the study. I sincerely thank to all the respondent who cooperated in giving their genuine response related to the study. I express my sincere gratitude to the Sikkim University Library and the State Library, Gangtok which provided with the rich source of material to the study.

This dissertation would not have been complete without the support from my parents, my mother Mrs. Sanu Bhutia and father Mr. Champa Chophel Bhutia, who has always been the source of inspiration to me, throughout my life. I also convey my word of gratitude to Mr. Yangdup Ongchen Bhutia, who has helped me in collection of resources related to the study. Lastly, I am thankful to the God, for bestowing all his blessing throughout my dissertation work. I have no valuable words to express my thanks, but my heart is still full of the favours received from every person.

## **List of Acronyms**

APSA	American Political Science Association
JAC	Joint Action Committee
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
PSS	Praja Sudhar Samaj
SC	State Council
SC	Scheduled Caste
SJA	Sikkim Janata Party
SLA	Sikkim Legislative Assembly
SNC	Sikkim National Congress
SNP	Sikkim National Party
SPSS	Sikkim Praja Sudharak Samaj
SSC	Sikkim State Congress
US	United States

## List of Glossary

<i>Chogyal</i>	<i>It means Dharamraja or one who rules as per religious tenets.</i>
<i>Darbar</i>	<i>It refers to the Royal court.</i>
<i>Dewan</i>	<i>It refers to the chief administrative officer in Sikkim (1949-1972).</i>
<i>Kazi</i>	<i>It means Sikkim aristocratic family belonging to Bhutia-Lepcha community.</i>
<i>Kalo Bhari</i>	<i>It refers to a black load in Nepali, a practice of obligatory labour provided by peasants in carrying a mound of load wrapped in black tarpaulin across the snow-bound Himalayan ranges on the way to Tibet as an article of trade, a form of forced labour.</i>
<i>Ryots</i>	<i>It refers to the peasant.</i>
<i>Sangha</i>	<i>It refers to a Buddhist monastic body.</i>
<i>Thikadars</i>	<i>It refers to Sikkim aristocratic family belonging to Nepali community</i>
<i>Tsongs</i>	<i>It refers to the Limboo community</i>

## **CONTENTS**

*Declaration*

*Certificate*

*Abstract*.....

*i*

*Acknowledgements*.....

*ii*

*List of Acronyms*.....

*iii*

*List of Glossary*.....

*iv*

### **CHAPTER 1**

#### **DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN**

**SIKKIM**..... **1-11**

Introduction

Theoretical framework

Statement of the research problem

Review of literature

Rationale and Scope of the Study

Objectives of the study

Research questions

Methodology

Plan of the Dissertation

### **CHAPTER 2**

#### **AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL**

**CONSIDERATION**..... **12-27**

Introduction

Authoritarianism: Conceptual Understanding

Typology of Authoritarianism

Origin and development of Democracy

Theories of Democracy

Conclusion

## **CHAPTER 3**

<b>PHASE IN THE PATH TO DEMOCRACY.....</b>	<b>28-42</b>
--	--------------

Introduction

Approaches to the transition to democracy

Phase in the transition to democracy

Phase I- Democratic movement and formation of political parties

Phase II- Constitutional Proclamation and Formation of the State Council

Phase III- Democratisation and Electoral System

Conclusion

## **CHAPTER 4**

<b>DEMOCRATISATION, CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT</b>
--

<b>AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM.....</b>	<b>43-58</b>
----------------------------------	--------------

Introduction

Democratisation and Electoral System

Democracy and Constitutional Development

Democratic Transition

Political condition under the authoritarian rule

Origin of Political parties and organisations

Royal proclamation and the electoral procedure

Movement in the process of transition

The Constitutional Development

Merger of Sikkim

Conclusion

**CHAPTER 5**

<b>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>59-66</b>
------------------------------------	--------------

Introduction

Summary of the study

Summary of the study key finding

Conclusions

Suggestion for the further studies

Contribution of the study

Limitations

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>67-70</b>
--------------------------	--------------

## **Chapter 1**

### **Democratic Transition and Constitutional Development in Sikkim**

#### **Introduction**

The origin of democracy goes a way back when small group began developing a governmental system with opportunities to participate in the group discussion, which Dahl (1998) termed as a primitive democracy. Sikkim progress towards democracy and stability is marked by two historic developments with an introduction of an electoral system based on adult suffrage and the abolition of the institution of monarchy (Yasin and Chhetri, ed. 2012). The word ‘transition’ refers to the intermediate phase which begins with the dissolution of an old regime and ends with the establishment of new one (Cortona, 1991). The nature of transitional process depends on the character of the traditional society which is in the process of replacement by some other structures of political and social organisations (Bhadra, 1992). But, in a way it is not necessary to assume that the transition that takes place follow the same modes of developmental process (Rustow, 1970). In addition, Bryce states that no two existing democracy have ever gone through a struggle with the similar institutional outcome. As in few cases, the process of democratic transition has been essentially peaceful, and whereas in some the establishment of democracy was the result of a violent social conflict, an initiation taken by the politically and economically deprived classes of the society (Cervallati et.al 2011). When opposition groups and incumbents are relatively equal in power, the transition tends to be characterised by bargaining and negotiation but on the other hand, where there comes a large disparity in power, the transitional process is often violent (Stradiotta and Guo, 2010).

The transitional process brings down the rapid social change on the political arrangements of the society and the role that is played by the existing institution. Such transitional process incorporates the people sharing similar aims and objectives and bringing them together to form an association in attaining these goals (Dahl, 1998). In the process of attaining the desired goal, the political process ranges from elections to political representation, the voicing of dissent and the organisation of resistance that facilitates and enhance the desirability of democracy. In the similar process of transition in 1946, there came a gradual end to the suppression and exploitation of the feudal lords and Kazis, giving birth to the three political organisations in

Sikkim. They were ‘Praja Sammelan’ at Temi Tarku, ‘Praja Mandal’ at Chakhung and ‘Praja Sudhar Samaj’ in Gangtok and on the basis of the similarities among the three organisations they were brought together to form one political party ‘Sikkim State Congress’(Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). The overall process of democratisation has been usually complex and prolonged, bringing about the end to the existing institution and the consolidation of the democratic system. The stability of any democratic system is helped by the constitution by providing a standard for a democratic political institution. The drafting of the Constitution is typically essential and the process begins by debating on various fundamental issues from the social and economic rights to the design and the details of the electoral system (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015). Lowenthal also mentions that the constitutional development can be introduced with the establishment of the constitutional assembly and the leaders emphasizing the importance of participation in the political process and to accommodate the core demands of the key contending groups. The electoral process of development came to be visible in Sikkim with two major party, Sikkim State Congress (SSC) and Sikkim National Congress (SNC) participating with the government of Sikkim in Tripartite Agreement of 1951, which came up with the famous Parity formula, in which Nepali communities were equated with the Bhutia and Lepcha in respect of the distribution of seat in the State Council (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). There was a total of 17 seats in the council, 6 for Nepalese, 6 for the Bhutia and Lepcha and 5 members which were a nominated candidate of Chogyal, with that First General election for the council were held in 1953 (Bhadra, 1992). But there was a certain limitation, regarding the reserved subjects where only the Maharaja could take a decision and subjects of lesser importance were under the jurisdiction of the council (Bhadra, 1992). The second general election was held soon after the Royal Proclamation of 1958 increasing the number of the councilors from 17 to 20. With that, there came a significant development, the formation of new political party ‘Swatantra Dal’ with an introduction of a new issues such as the drafting of a democratic Constitution for Sikkim which should include the Fundamental rights and other principles. But the turning point in the political and constitutional development of Sikkim came with the 1973 election, transforming the political scenario of the landlocked kingdom. The period when the government of India took over the administration of Sikkim, after signing an agreement between the Chogyal, leaders of political parties and the government of India, making Chogyal a constitutional head on May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1973 (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). It called for a responsible government, with more

constitutional development, the guarantee of Fundamental rights, the rule of law, and independent judiciary and greater legislative and executive power for the elected representative of the people (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). Sikkim passing through the different phases of the Constitutional development, changing the fate of the tiny Himalayan kingdom, losing its protectorate with an Associate State of India by 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, 1974, and later completely becoming the Constituent State of India by 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1975 (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012).

### **Democratic Transition: Theoretical framework**

The concept of democracy as a form of government goes back to the Greek philosopher; however its modern usage dates from the revolutionary upheavals in western society at the end of the eighteenth century. The real origin of modern democracy was in the nineteenth century, when democracy was increasingly used as a term with a positive connotation to characterise the politics of modern state and when it began to make a sense about democratic practices in at least a handful of countries (Munk, 2011). The advent of democracy must not be understood as occurring in a single year. Since the emergence of new social groups and the formation of new habits are involved where one generation is probably the minimum period of transition (Rustow, 1970). Dahl (1971) defines democracy as a political regime characterised by free and open elections, with a relatively low barrier on participation, genuine political competition and wide protection of civil liberties. Supporting the Dahl definition, Linz (1992) writes that a political system can be regarded as democratic when it allows the free formulation of political preferences through the use of basic freedom of association. To achieve various rights, including those required for an effective operation of democratic political institutions, citizens tend to involve in forming of an independent association or organisation. Suttner (2004) perception on democratic development and consolidation is where people develop a sense of being related to organisations that advance their interest. Schumpeter (1950) defines democracy based on electoral competition among political elites and the masses. Elites are those minority groups consisting of the member that holds the most powerful position and exerts its decision over the masses. The accountability of the elites to the masses through the election is one of the characteristic features of democracy. Stradiotta and Guo (2010) definition of democratic transition is a movement aimed at establishing a democratic political system initiated either from above or below, that promotes democratic values and goals, tolerating opposition, allowing bargaining among the different

political forces for the resolution of social conflict and the procedure by which political forces are allowed to compete over the power and engaging in the fundamental transformation of political structure. The transitional process of democracy can be categorized into four different modes: (1) Conversion, when the elites in the power take the lead in democratisation process and the existing regime is stronger than the opposition (2) Cooperative, when democratisation is the joint action by government and the opposition group (3) Collapse, when opposition group take the lead in bringing democracy, and the authoritarian regime collapse or is overthrown (4) Foreign intervention, when external interference is present in the removal of the authoritarian regime (Stradiotta and Guo, 2010). O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) define transition as an interval between the one political regime to another. They also mention about the two different types of transition that is a transition to democracy and then a transition to consolidated democracy. According to them, transition is delimited, on one side by the launching the process of dissolution of an authoritarian regime and on the other part establishing some form of democracy or the emergence of the revolutionary alternative. The constitutional development is the process that begins by debating on various fundamental issues from the social and economic rights to the design and the details of the electoral system (Lowenthal and Bitar 2015).

Constitutional development does matter in the democratic process in a way providing a stability and standard for the democratic political institution. The constitutional development is introduced with the establishment of the constitutional assembly and the leaders emphasizing the importance of engaging a wide range of participants and trying hard to accommodate the core demands of the key contending groups. Jung and Shapiro (n.d) mentions that the period of the constitutional development requires a system of opposition that is essential to the functioning of healthy democracy.

### **Statement of the research problem**

Democracy is rooted in man's innate capacity of self-governing with an aim of establishing a strong government that represents their political needs and expectation. But, the processes towards democratic transition have never been a smooth one. There has been a variation in the process of transition, in the form of the development process that took place in different countries. The study has examined the democratic process that took place in Sikkim since the emergence of an authoritarian regime to liberal democracy in 1975. The work has been able to explore the remarkable burst that led to the democratisation of Sikkim between 1953 to 1975.

The study has also found whether the transition to democracy in Sikkim have ever taken a shape of a violent revolution as it was a case in many countries towards its transitional process. To understand the two different dimension of democracy that is contestation and participation, the study have examined the role of different civil society organisations and political actors in placing down the initial step in establishing a democratic institution. The study has examined the development that came across the democratisation process and its impact on the electoral system and the Constitution. The work has been dedicated in those areas which needed to be explored in the subject of transition that took place in Sikkim from an authoritarian regime to liberal democracy.

### **Review of Literature**

There are many scholars who have made their contribution in the field of democratic transitions. Therefore, the data for the study has been collected through an extensive review of the literature. Stradiotta and Guo (2010) mentions about the transition process, where the transfer of power is regarded as a key element. Their work analyses the four different modes of the transitional process in different countries, and how this mode of transition affect a country's political development process. The study focuses on the process of transition that took place in many countries but none of their work gives an insight of transition that took place in India. Similarly, Lowenthal and Bitar (2015) mentions about the process of transition towards democracy and how the civil society organisations have played a crucial role in bringing down the authoritarian regime and establishing a new one. The work highlights the interview that had been conducted with the leaders of the country which had gone through the process of transition but there is no such interview conducted with any political leaders of India, based on the process of democratisation in the country. Huntington (1991) work describes the global democratisation process as coming in three different waves, the first wave beginning in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and third being the current process of modern development. He identifies five changes in the world that paved the way for the transitional process towards democracy and mentions the historic democratic transition of Latin America in the 1980s. His work contributes in understanding the three different waves of democratic transition in more than 30 countries but there are no such details provided regarding the transition process in India. Whitehead (2002) work provides a basic understanding of the theories of democratisation and refers it as a long term process of social construction. According to the author the process of democratisation is a complex,

dynamic and a long term affair. The author starts with defining democracy providing an example of Schmitter and Karl (cited in Whitehead 2002) who distinguishes democracy on the basis of concepts, procedures, and operative principles. It defines democracy in various alternative ways providing an example of democratic set up in countries of Africa, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Israel and Switzerland.

Terchek and Conte (2001) in Theories of Democracy provides with various theories regarded to democracy. It basically covers the four different contemporary theories of democracy that is protective democracy, pluralist democracy, performance democracy and participatory democracy. But before writing up with the contemporary theories, the author makes a point to start with the origin of democracy from early liberal and republican theorist. Their work provides a wide understanding of the classical and the contemporary perspective of the democratic society. Dolenc (2013) work focuses on the consequential transformation or regime change in the Southeast European countries. He draws out the importance of introducing rule of law especially in Southeast European countries. According to the author, societies begin to engage democratically only when rule of law is established. It mentions about the authoritarian regime in Southeast European countries which was an obstacle to the rule of law in the process of power concentration, power transformation, and power dispersion. It also mentions about the role of the political parties in Post-communist and basically draws its attention towards the stagnation of democratisation in Southeast European countries.

Rustow (1999) work is based upon understanding democracy in terms of its functioning and consolidation in different countries. He mentions about the problem in understanding the functioning of democracy which has been smooth in some countries, whereas in some cases there was a recurrent violence and even the collapse of democracy. And the conclusion that he draws from his work is that democracy cannot be occurring in a single year and one generation is the minimum period of transition. A similar study done by Jalal (1995) on democracy and authoritarianism provides a contrasting pattern of the political development and state formation in the nation of India and Pakistan. Both the nation has experienced the similar British legacy but experienced two different consequences. While there was a success of democracy in India but was a failure in neighboring Pakistan and Bangladesh. According to the author, there is a need to make a clear distinction between the democracy and authoritarianism. Dahl (1998) and Bernhard (1993), both of their work mentions about the primitive democracy which was developed a way

back, with the establishment of the civil society organisations taking an initiative of the development process. Their work portrays the importance of organisations and political association an initial step towards transition in most of the countries.

An important work on the consolidation and sustainability of democracy can be found in the work of Suttner (2014). According to him, it is not important a country is democratic or not but whether the democracy that exists is sustainable or not. He mentions South Africa transitional process towards democracy and its functioning of the political process. It also examines the role of opposition being essential for any democratic development and consolidation.

Similarly, there were scholars who made their contribution in the field of the democratic process in Sikkim. Basnet (1974) gives a detail account of Sikkim political history beginning from its Chogyal regime to democracy and accession of Sikkim with the Indian Union. It traces the birth of different political parties in wave of Indian Independence of 1947. The reason behind the revolt of 1973 in Sikkim is discussed in detail in his work. Bhadra (1992) writes about the political development that took place in the traditional society of Sikkim from the socio-economic condition of people to election procedure, participation of different organisations and political parties in facilitating the desirability of democracy. Arora (2012) mentions the ethnic population of Sikkim in his work and how there develop a formal democracy and electoral process in a society with a diverse social group. It highlights the process of political representation facilitating the normative desirability of democracy while simultaneously challenging the state directed development process in Sikkim. Sengupta (1985) work provides a clear understanding of the political development that took place in Sikkim from the period when Namgyal Dynasty was there in Sikkim with a Monarchical form of government and when the status of Sikkim came indirectly under the sway of the British government of India. It traces the political development that took place in Sikkim with the first general election for council in 1953 to the first general election to the legislative assembly in 1974. It also provides a basic understanding of the election system that took place in Sikkim with regard to the parity system. It also highlights the role of the political organisations and parties that played a crucial role in the constitutional development of the state. Das (2002) work also gives us an insight of the fall down of the authoritarian regime and the establishment of the democratic system in Sikkim. It also traces the process of the political development that took place in Sikkim till its merger with India by Thirty Eight Amendment act of Indian Constitution in 1975.

Another important work on the transitional process in Sikkim is done by Chakravarti and Nepal (2012), which provides a wide understanding of the phases of the constitutional development and the role of different political parties and electoral process in giving birth to a new democratic set up. It also provides an account of the political and electoral process that was conducted, tracing down from the first general election for state council in 1953 to first general election for legislative assembly in 1973.

Sinha (2009) work is based upon the early traditional society of Sikkim and its elite structure. It also focuses on the different political organisations that took an initial step in the process of democratisation. His work gives a detail account of status of Sikkim during a monarchial regime under different rulers, but on the same side, it is limited in providing any such details on the nature of transition that took place in Sikkim. Rai (2013) provides an account on democracy and its various forms in general, and equally incorporating the democratic process in Sikkim. His work gives an account of the different rulers under Namgyal dynasty from 1642 to 1975. The main section of the work has been dedicated to Kazi Lendup Dorjee Khangshera and his struggle towards establishing democracy in the feudal state of Sikkim. But on the other hand, democracy is not a process of one man struggle, and it doesn't justify the process of democratisation. There will be an involvement of more than one organisations or civil society in any transitional process towards democracy.

All the above scholars have extensively contributed in their respective field, and it has generated a wide knowledge on Sikkim democratic process and its traditional social structure. But the study of the democratic transitional process would be incomplete without examining the nature of the condition that existed and the modes of transition that took place. Therefore, the study has been taken up with an intention to fill those literature gaps, which would better define the democratic transition and constitutional development in Sikkim.

### **Rationale and scope of study**

The proposed study focused on the democratic transition in Sikkim as the changing political system from the authoritarian regime to democratic governance. The basic aim of the study was to trace down the different phases towards the path of democracy and liberal governance. It is also based on examining the role of different political organisations and civil society that has been necessary for the existence of the representative forms of government including democracy. The study examines the extent of the constitutional development process and its impact in the

collective decision-making process where the majority of the population is allowed to vote and express their preferences about the existing governance, through fair, honest and periodic election in which candidates freely assemble and organise political debate and conduct the electoral campaign.

### **Objectives of the study**

- 1) To examine the nature of the transitional process from authoritarian governance to liberal democracy.
- 2) To trace down the different phases in the path of democratic transition in Sikkim.
- 3) To examine the process of constitutional development and electoral process in the state of Sikkim.

### **Research questions**

- 1) What are the conditions for the transition from authoritarian government to liberal democracy?
- 2) What explains the remarkable burst of democratisation that Sikkim experienced between 1953 and 1975?
- 3) What are the impacts of democratisation in the constitutional development and electoral system in Sikkim?

### **Methodology**

The study is based on a qualitative research approach. The qualitative research has been chosen because the study involves in-depth study of democratic transition and constitutional development in Sikkim and the role played by the different actors like local leaders, political parties, civil society, etc. Descriptive research design is used for collecting information about respondents' views and ideas, their participation, changes, etc. In-depth interview and personal experiences are used as primary sources of data. Under the qualitative approach, in-depth interview was conducted with the respondent. The main purpose of conducting in-depth interview was to explore more perception about the subject from the respondent.

The study was conducted in Gangtok and Namchi Sub-division of Sikkim. Gangtok is situated in the eastern part of Sikkim state and is also the capital of Sikkim while Namchi is situated in the southern part of Sikkim and is headquarter of south district. The study involves 80 respondents, 70 of them are common citizens while remaining 10 are politicians (local leaders, former MLA, former Chief Minister etc.). The method used for selection of the respondents was the

combination of simple random sampling and purposive sampling. Seventy respondents (35 each) from Gangtok and Namchi were selected randomly while 10 respondents were purposively selected who were in association with democratic movement since 1950s and who were involved in different political activities through their political parties. Thus, the total sample size constituted 80 respondents.

The secondary data is collected from books, journals, articles and various publications of central, state and local government. Before using the secondary data, reliability, suitability and accuracy of the sources was kept in mind.

### **Plan of the Dissertation**

The dissertation is divided into the following five chapters:

#### **CHAPTER 1- Introduction**

The chapter 1 includes the introduction, the theoretical framework, the statement of the research problem, review of literature, rationale and scope of the study, objectives of the study, research questions and methodology.

#### **CHAPTER 2- Authoritarianism and Democracy: Conceptual and Theoretical Consideration**

In chapter 2 the theoretical framework for the study has been discussed and various approaches and theories applicable to the study of authoritarianism and democracy are introduced. It begins with the brief introduction and it discusses various definitions by different scholars on authoritarianism and democracy.

#### **CHAPTER 3- Phases in the path to Democracy**

This chapter includes the different phases of a democratisation process that took place in Sikkim and the role of the key actors in the process of democratic transitions from the establishment of the political organisations in the 1940s to the popular participation and civil society. The transition process in Sikkim has been explained under three different phases, Phase I include the democratic movement and the formation of political parties in Sikkim, Phase II include Constitutional Proclamation and formation of State Council, and Phase III include Democratisation and Electoral System.

## **CHAPTER 4- Democratisation, Constitutional Development and Electoral System**

This chapter explains the relation between the democratisation, constitutional development and electoral system. It includes the analysis that is prepared after the study conducted with the general respondent and local political leaders on the transition process in Sikkim. It highlights the Sikkim political structure and constitutional development after its merger with India in 1975.

## **CHAPTER 5- Conclusion**

The concluding chapter is fully devoted to the summary of each chapter and major findings, and suggestion for future research. It incorporates the finding that has been made after understanding the people's perception regarding the democratic development in Sikkim in the present context.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Authoritarianism and Democracy: Conceptual and Theoretical Consideration**

#### **Introduction**

The human history has been organised in what we would now call as authoritarian or non-democratic regimes which we often term as tribes, kingship, monarchies, empires, oligarchies, city-states, slave republics (Anderson, 2011). Unless the political elites were forced into accepting firm limitations on their power, the state could not exert even a minimum of legitimacy. Only legitimate power could in turn guide societal development which could help to address the current political and economic injustices (Dolenec, 2013). Therefore, the rule of law became important to be secured for the society to begin to engage democratically. People everywhere wanted their voice to be heard and political aspirations to be fulfilled which often put the question of transitions from authoritarian rule towards democracy. The transition process from an authoritarian rule towards democracy was an extended process rather than a single event. The first step in the process of transition as mentioned by Lowenthal and Bitar (2015) took place quietly even invisibly within the authoritarian regime itself. Most of the transition from an authoritarian regime to democracy took years to reach a maturity and institutionalisation. In countries of Brazil, Philippines, Chile, Poland and South Africa, it was many years of pressure from the opposition movements that led to the process of transition in bringing down the authoritarian regime (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015). The process towards transition often differed in their inception, sequence and trajectory. The democratic regime in Southeast Europe emerged out of authoritarian regimes where the ruler were sovereign in a classic sense of being able to make decisions unconstrained by law (Dolenec, 2013). The democratic governance has been widely accepted internationally as the most legitimate basis for the political order. With the pressure of globalisation and the consequent openness to international influence and the strengthening of international legal regime and institution has often made it impossible for the authoritarian government to maintain systematically anti-democratic practices and suppress human rights (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015).

## **Authoritarianism: Conceptual Understanding**

Authoritarian rule denotes any political system that concentrates power in the hands of a leader or small elite that is not constitutionally responsible to the body of a people; it is basically a principle of blind submission to authority as opposed to individual freedom of thought and expression. The conceptual understanding of authoritarianism is quite complicated. The scholars find difficult to understand authoritarianism between a personality trait, an attitude or an ideology (Hetherington and Weiter, 2009). Authoritarianism is a personality trait as mentioned by Adorno a repression of hostility towards parental authority and its displacement in societal out group (cited in Hetherington and Weiter, 2009). The term authoritarian have been characterised under three categories of submission, conventionalism and aggression (Altemeyer, 1996, cited in Hetherington et.al, 2009). Authoritarianism as a theory or a system of government is often in contrast to democracy. It is a principle based obedience to authority and opposes autonomy of individual in thought and action. As a form of government, it generally concentrates power in the hands of a leader or a small elite not constitutionally accountable to people. Such authoritarian regime is established in a way to bring order and to secure it against variety of threats to social cohesion (Hetherington and Weiter, 2009). Many a times the leaders in the authoritarian regime exercise their power arbitrarily without considering the existing law. Linz (1975) define authoritarianism as a political systems with limited, not responsible, political pluralism, without elaborate and guiding ideology, intensive nor extensive political mobilization except at some points in the development, and in which a leader or occasionally a small group exercises power within formally ill-defined limits but actually quite predictable ones. Modern authoritarian systems usually operate through single dominant parties which control government and other key parts of the society, including the economic, media and education. They usually do not hold a free election, which could replace them with the competing party. The term authoritarianism is sometimes used interchangeably with the word dictatorship, which is a form of government in which one person or a small elite group holds the absolute power with few or no constitutional restrictions. But the term authoritarian is an analytical characteristic while dictatorship is a form of government which manifests authoritarian characteristics. An authoritarian political system is one in which individual freedom is completely subordinate to the power of the authority of the state.

The post-authoritarian regime in different countries of Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Myanmar had been challenged by the opposition movements which were often calling for democracy (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015). People everywhere in the world wanted their voices to be heard and heeded. The particular aspiration for the political expression has led the process of transition from authoritarian rule towards democracy. Lowenthal and Bitar (2015) states that building democracy to replace authoritarian regime has not been easy or quick nor it will be in the current and the future case. Most of the transitions from authoritarian rule towards democracy were an extended process rather than a single event. Transition typically had their origins long before the memorable moment when the authoritarian regime finally ended. The steps toward transition from authoritarian regime to democracy often took place quietly, even invisibly in the political opposition, within the authoritarian regime itself, in civil society or in multiple places. For opposition movements, these pre-transition phases, sometimes involving political parties, study groups, think tanks, labour unions, women's and student movements, and other domestic Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) helped establish or deepen personal connections and fostered trust among disparate opposition sectors. In some cases, they also improved communications and developed mutual understanding between figures within the authoritarian regime and leaders in the opposition (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015).

The transition from authoritarian regime took many years to reach maturity and institutionalisation. In countries such as Brazil, Chile, Philippines, Poland, South Africa and Spain a continuous pressure from the opposition movements was needed to end the authoritarian rule. Their process towards the transition from the authoritarian rule had some common features, but they do differ in their inception, sequence, and trajectory. The type of authoritarian regime that existed was the personal dictatorship within military backing in Spain, Indonesia and Philippines, institutional military rule in Brazil and Chile, quasi-military rule by a charismatic autocrat in Ghana, one party dominant system in Mexico and Poland and an exclusionary rule by a white oligarchy that had long repressed the black majority in South Africa (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015). The authoritarian regime generally banned parties or tried to weaken or destroy them which could mobilise people to oppose the existing regime. But there were influencing factor which often mobilises pressure on the authoritarian governments, like The African National Congress in South Africa, the coalition for 'No' and then concentration in Chile,

Socialist Party and Communist Party in Spain, solidarity in Poland and other parties, political movements (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015).

The authoritarian government did not relinquish its power easily, until at least one important sector within the regime perceived that doing so was the only way to avoid major unwanted consequences, such as when there came a severe loss of public support, civil violence, a split of the armed forces, economic damage, international ostracism or threats to the nation's territorial integrity. Therefore, approaches by the opposition parties were used that could induce such elements within the authoritarian government to be open to a transition process.

### **Typology of Authoritarianism**

During the 1950s and 1960s, non-democratic regimes were distinguished into authoritarianism and totalitarianism (Hadenus and Toerell, 2006). A more refined classification is done by Diamond (2002), depending on the degree of competitiveness that is Competitive authoritarian or Hegemonic electoral authoritarian. But, there comes a drawback in Diamond (2002) regime classification because instead of fastening on truly categorical regime traits, classificatory schema marks out groups of countries located at different intervals along a single underlying dimension in the degree of competitiveness. If the degree of competitiveness were to be made the only basis where the regime differed then there was no need for other typologies. In contrast to Diamond, Geddes (1999), typology highlights qualitative distinction among the authoritarian regimes such as personalist, military and single party regime. Military regimes are the most fragile, and their life expectancy is the briefest while personalist regimes tend to last longer. Most long-lived, however, are the one-party states.

The military regimes have weak roots in a society which mean they find it hard to control or to withstand any type of popular protests or opposition. The military tends to prefer negotiated solutions to total conflict. The officer corps strongly desires, as a rule, to maintain its internal cohesion and hierarchy. Such internal structures are easily threatened when the regime comes under pressure from the outside. Such future prospects mean it also has an interest in safeguarding its resources and autonomy (Hadenius and Teorell, 2006).

On the other side, Personalist regimes display a greater cohesion and so do not break up as easily. They also tend to root themselves in society through more developed networks. These networks are typically structured on a clientelistic basis. They lose everything when the leader

falls. They have a strong incentive to resist change as long as possible which makes it possible for personalist regimes greater staying in power than military regimes.

One-party regimes also display a relative cohesion. There may be different groups within the party sharing a common interest in monopolizing power. They typically built up an elaborate system for rooting themselves and thus controlling both the state apparatus and the larger society. The different branches of the state and the various areas of social activity have been strictly subordinated to the leadership of the party. This makes one-party regimes more resistant to opposition. They have access to a stronger organisation of supporters within the population, and at the same time they find it easier to control dissidents. This endows them with a longer life expectancy (Geddes, 1999). There also comes limitation in the Geddes's contribution in the study of the typologies of Non- democratic regimes. The fact that an authoritarian regime has fallen does not necessarily mean democratisation has begun.

There are different types of authoritarian regime and it is important to identify the nature of those authoritarian regimes. A qualitative distinction between democracy and autocracy is done. It could be argued that it is an advantage, in general, to apply a continuous conception in which degrees of democracy could be distinguished, but in which no discrete cutoff point separating the two need be singled out. Using the means of the Freedom House and Polity scales, the regime is identified as more or less stable and whether it provides favourable soil for democratic advancement (Hadenius and Teorell, 2006). This is basically carried out to make a distinction between democracies from autocracy. Hadenius and Teorell (2006), makes a distinction between three different modes of political power maintenance, (1) hereditary succession, or lineage (2) the actual or threatened use of military force and (3) popular election. These three modes of power maintenance correspond to three generic types of regime: monarchy, military regime, and electoral regime.

1. Monarchy- Those regimes in which a person of royal descent has inherited the position of head of state in accordance with accepted practice or the constitution. The “dynastic” Gulf monarchies, where the successor is chosen by royal family consensus serve as a forceful reminder of this. The transfer of power must take place in accordance with accepted practice and the constitution. The regime in Saudi Arabia is a typical example of a monarchy.

2. Military regimes- The states in which military officers are major or predominant political actors by virtue of their actual or threatened use of force. The armed forces may exercise political power either directly or indirectly. Chile in the year 1973-1989 was a typical military regime. Many times an overwhelming majority of transitions often took the form of military coups that ousted democratically elected leaders, or executive coups in which democratically chosen chief executive effectively ended democracy by concentrating power in their own hands, usually by declaring a state of emergency or martial law (Huntington, 1991).
3. Electoral Regime- The definitional requirement of this particular regime is the popular elections to be held for parliament or the executive office. Within electoral regime there is again three different types the first being the no party regime where elections are held but all political parties are prohibited. Elections in no-party regimes may display an element of competition, but only among individual candidates. The Maldives serves as examples of this regime type. In one party regime, all parties but one is forbidden from taking part in elections. North Korea is a notable example. A small number of non-party candidates may also be allowed to take part and get elected as was the case in Iraq under Saddam Hussain. There may further be satellite parties which are autonomous in name, but which cannot take an independent position as in China (Hadenius and Teorell, 2006). There is also a limited multiparty regime that holds parliamentary or presidential elections in which at least some candidates are able to participate who are independent of the ruling regime. Though elections take place where there is a degree of competition between candidates who either represent different parties or who choose to act as individuals but this does not hold the elections to be free and fair.

There are basically five different types of regime monarchy, military, no-party, one party and multiparty. Monarchies also carry out elections in various forms such as multiparty elections, no-party elections, one-party elections in the case of Iran in 1970. There are also several minor types of authoritarian regimes. In a theocracy decisive political power lies in the hands of religious elite such as in the case of Iran since 1979. Furthermore, there are countries in which the official government does not, in reality, control the territory. This may be due to civil war as in Somalia since 1991 or occupation by foreign troops as in Afghanistan in 1979–89. There is a residual category called others that includes a few cases that do not fit under any other regime. It was in the 1970s and 1980s, military regime and one party state were the most common type of authoritarian government. However, in the early 1990s, the limited multiparty regime has

been most frequently found a form of authoritarianism (Hadenius and Teorell, 2006). The breakdown of any authoritarian regime is replaced by another authoritarian regime. When traditional monarchies change, it is most often into non-party monarchies in which party-less election are held. Sometimes the result is a multiparty system within the monarchical framework. In most cases, there is a subsequent return to a traditional monarchy. Traditional one-party states show a more complex pattern of change. The shifts that take place are typically in the direction of two other forms of authoritarian rule that is a dominant multiparty system, or to a traditional military regime. When traditional military regimes are changed, the most frequent result is a limited multiparty system of a traditional sort. In the case of military or one-party regimes, the most common change is to a traditional military regime.

The authoritarian regimes have different likelihoods of breaking down and of being transformed into a democracy. The limited multiparty system is the most fragile form of authoritarianism. When it is dismantled, moreover, it has the highest propensity by far of being transformed into a democracy. Getting to democracy is easier from a regime in which competition is encouraged and the main challenge is to broaden participation, getting to democracy is much more difficult from a regime that has no tradition of political competition, however, inclusive and participatory it might be. But the multiparty government has become the most frequent form of authoritarianism in recent years (Hadenius and Teorell, 2006). Democratic systems were replaced in many cases by historically new forms of authoritarian rule. Fascism was distinguished from earlier forms of authoritarianism by its mass base, ideology, party organisation and efforts to penetrate and control most of the society. Bureaucratic authoritarianism differed from the earlier forms of military rule in Latin America with respect to its institutional character, its presumption of indefinite duration and its economic policies. Italy and Germany in 1920s and 1930s and Brazil and Argentina in 1960s and 1970s were the lead countries in introducing the new forms of non-democratic rule, which was the form of authoritarian government in response to the social and economic development (Huntington, 1991).

## **Origins and Development of Democracy**

The concept of democracy as a form of government goes back to the Greek philosopher; however its modern usage dates from the revolutionary upheavals in the western society at the end of the eighteenth century (Dahl, 1998). The concept of democracy is more often referred with the writings of traditional thinkers like Aristotle, Tocqueville and Schumpeter. Aristotle (cited in Cunningham, 2002) mentions the different form of government in which power is exercised by one person, by a few people or by many people. The proper government is one where the exercise of power is done with an interest of common good while the improper one aims to serve private interest. The initial classification of six different form of rule came into existence that is royalty where one person rule in the common interest, tyranny, where one person rules in his private interest, aristocracy a rule by few, oligarchy which was the deviant form of aristocracy, polity which is the rule by many and lastly democracy (Cunningham, 2002). Among the six different form of government Aristotle considered democracy as the most tolerable considering that more people could gain profit. Similarly, democracy for Tocqueville was the rule by people and just assessing people with voting right or holding public offices was not considered a condition for democracy (Cunningham, 2002). Schumpeter reduced the traditional definition of democracy in a method of institutional arrangement in selecting public officials for arriving at political decisions in which an individual is given power to make a decision based on competitive struggle for the people's vote (Schumpeter, 1962).

Schmitter (1995) and Karl (1993) define democracy by distinguishing between the three, the concepts, the procedure and operative principles. The existence of a broad category of citizens is regarded to be the most distinctive feature of democracy at the conceptual level, which can hold their rulers accountable for their actions in the public realm through the competition and cooperation of elected representatives. Democratic procedures are often indispensable for the persistence of democracy, although it does not provide a sufficient condition for its existence. Finally, with regard to operative principles, Schmitter (1995) and Karl (1993) define the way in which democratic regimes actually function. They amplify 'by the consent of the people' to a more cumbersome and conditional formula' by contingent consent of the politicians acting under conditions of bounded uncertainty (Whitehead, 2002).

The development of the political ideals in Athens was an initial source of inspiration for the modern political thought (Held, 2006). It upholds a feature of political equality among the citizen. But there has been a conflicting conception regarding the definition of democracy, it talks about the rule of the people but who exactly can be considered people, therefore an attempt in the history has been made to restrict the meaning of the people to certain groups, among others, such as owners of the property, white men, educated men, those with particular skills and occupations. As the ancient democracy was the democracy of patriarch, only the Athenian men over the age of 20 were eligible for active citizenship, women had no political rights and their civic rights were strictly limited, and even there were large numbers of residents in Athens, who were ineligible to participate in any formal discussions of the state. Therefore, it is a matter of fact whether the politics of ancient Athenian can be regarded as democratic. The system of government in Athens being democratic where the power is not in the hands of minority but population as a whole where everyone is equal before the law regardless of their membership in any particular class (Held, 2006). The main feature of the Athenian democracy was the general commitment towards the city-state and the subordination of private life to the public affair and common good; they regarded the virtue of an individual as the virtue of the citizen. Their main aim was to make an active participation of the men of every background and the attributes, in the political interaction of the state.

The initial research on democracy was done by the Europeans born in the nineteenth century, who approached democracy from a diverse set of disciplinary orientations and who published their ideas on democracy during the first decades of the twentieth century (Munk, 2011). The writing of this period helped in distinguishing democracy from the non-democratic regime. But the real origins of thinking about modern democracy are in the nineteenth century, when democracy was increasingly used as a term with a positive normative connotation to characterise the politics of modern states and when it began to make sense to talk about democratisation and democratic practices in at least a handful of countries.

A second phase in the research on democracy was done during the World War II. The enduring impact of the literature produced during the initial Post-World War II decades is undeniable. Dahl's (1991) ideas about the nature of democracy remain an essential point of reference. This Second phase in research on democracy was truly a foundational period in the study of democracy. The remarkable descriptions of the classical democracy can be found in the work of

Aristotle's 'The Politics', where liberty is quoted as the basic principle of any democratic constitution (Held, 2006). According to him, in a democracy the poor have more sovereign power than the rich because they are more in numbers and the decision of the majority becomes sovereign. There are certain features of democracy according to Aristotle (1981):

1. Elections to office by the entire citizen among all the citizens.
2. Rules of all over each and of each by turns over all.
3. Each individual assigned to a particular work in the administration of the state.
4. The tenure for holding an office doesn't depend on the accumulation of property.
5. The same person cannot hold the office twice.
6. The juries are to be selected from the whole of the population by the entire citizen to decide in the matters related to constitution, scrutinize and contract regarding the most important matters.
7. Low income, mechanical occupation regarded as a typical of democracy.
8. No any office has a perpetual tenure.

Similarly, there was another political thinker Plato (cited in Held, 2006) who defined democracy as a form of society which treats all men as equal and which ensures that every individual is free to do what he likes. Therefore, liberty and equality is the hallmark of democracy according to Plato. But there were limitations in terms of a theoretical and practical model of classical democracy which were bounded within the life of the ancient city-states. The real origins of thinking about modern democracy can be traced from the nineteenth century, when democracy was increasingly used as a term with a positive normative connotation to characterise the politics of modern states and when it began to make sense to talk about democratisation and democratic practices in at least a handful of countries (Munk, 2011). In terms of modern politics, democracy defined by the United States (U.S) President Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg address of 1863, "Government of the people, by the people and for the people". The government of the people means self-governing a direct democracy and the people are the object of the government and they are governed, governments belong to the people, it is chosen and guided by the people and it is responsible to the people. The last phrase government for the people meant in people's interest and for their benefit.

Similarly, there are academic scholars who define democracy in different terms. Sodaro (2004) defines democracy as an essential way where people have the right to choose who governs them. They elect the principal governing officials and hold them accountable for their actions. According to him democracy also imposes legal limits on the government authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedom to their citizens. He also introduces the four faces of democracy that is popular sovereignty, rights and liberties, democratic values and economic democracy. Similarly, Buhlmann (2008) defines democracy with the three core principles of freedom, equality, and control. To qualify as a democracy, any political system has to guarantee freedom and equality to its citizen. Moreover, it has to optimize the interdependence between the two principles of liberty and equality by the third principle control. And this can be understood as control by the government as well as control of the government.

Another important modern formulation of democracy was by Schumpeter (1942), in his path breaking study “Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy”, where he spelled out the deficiencies of what he termed as the classical theory of democracy, which defined democracy in terms of “the will of the people which is identified as the source of the democracy and the common good, which is regarded as the purpose. He defines the twentieth century political system as democratic to the extent that it’s most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote. He also defines a democratic method as the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individual acquire the power to decide by the means of the competitive struggle for the people’s vote. In addition, Dahl (1998), mentions about the two different dimensions of democracy, contestation, and participation, which implies the existence of those civil and political freedom to speak, publish, assemble and organize any political debate and conducting the electoral campaign. The two different dimension of democracy provided by Dahl makes it possible to judge to what extent a political system around the world is democratic. For instance, there were countries which denied the voting participation to part of its society, as the South African system did to the seventy percent of its population, that was black, as Switzerland did to the fifty percent of its population which were female or U.S. did to its ten percent of its population that were black (Dahl, 1998).

Huntington (1991) mentions about the three different historical waves of democracy. The first wave started in the first half of the nineteenth century with the introduction of the right to vote to the male population in the United States. The second wave was launched after World War II and lasted until the 1960s. In the mid-1970s, the third wave of democracy was seen extending to the democratisation process of countries in Latin America and in post-Communist Europe. Similarly, the fourth wave of democracy is also being used to address the transition problems to democracy in post-communist countries (Faul, 2002).

According to Dahl (1989), there are six requirements in terms of Greek view that any democratic regimes have to satisfy:

1. Citizens must be harmonious in their interest so that they can share and act upon, a strong sense of general good which should not contradict their personal aims and interest.
2. They must be homogenous in terms of economic resources and any other material available to them, in order to avoid any kind of political conflict and sharp disagreement over public good.
3. The size of the citizen's body must be small in order to serve as the sovereign ruler of the city.
4. The citizen must be given a right to participate in all the law making and policy making process.
5. The participation of the citizens was not limited only to the meetings of the assembly but they actively participated in the administration of the city.
6. The city-state must be fully autonomous, it must be self-sufficient in terms of economic and defense. Indeed, it should possess all the requirements necessary for good life.

Indeed, there are also four different characteristics which are fundamental to the understanding of modern democracy (Dahl, 1989)

1. It mentions universal suffrage and participation of the citizen in politics where they are free to elect their representative to the legislature. Each citizen is equal and the votes are not weighed on the basis of any class, creed or religion of the citizen.
2. The second element is that each citizen is equal before the law.
3. The government is subject to constitutional checks by the judicial system.
4. There should be freedom of speech, press, right to pursue and make free choices as long as these choices do not infringe on the liberty of other citizens.

## Theories of Democracy

There exists not only one theory, concept or models of democracy but a pluralism of different theories and models. According to Tocqueville the word democracy and democratic government brings about the great confusion which unless clearly defined, people tend to live in inextricable confusion of ideas. Democracy as an idea and a political reality has been contested over a long time, from the period of ancient Greece to a present day the thinkers have been critical of the theory and the practice of democracy (Held, 2006). In this process, we find different set of scholars defining democracy in their own terms. There are scholars who define democracy in the narrow, minimalist or procedural term, whereas, on the other side, there are scholars who define democracy in the broadest, maximalist term (Sodaro, 2004). Buhlmann et.al. (2008) introduces three different typology of democracy: minimalist which will be an elitist government of the people and an effective governance, medium would be participatory form where there will be qualitative participation and representation and the maximalist which will be government by and for the people providing high representation and social justice for people. The narrow definition of democracy focuses on the democratic procedure such as elections while the other definition focuses on the substantive policies or other outcomes which might be viewed as democratic dispensation such as representation, equality, participation, dignity, rationality, security and freedom. Taylor (1999) defines democracy a system that obliges one to show much solidarity and much more commitment to one another in the joint political project than was demanded by the hierarchical and authoritarian societies of yesteryears.

There are four important contemporary theories of democracy (Terchek and Conte, 2001). They are:

- (1) **Protective democracy:** It is an extension of the early liberal theories of Locke, Paine and Madison. A governmental system driven by its dual and sometimes competing commitments to liberty on one hand and its attentiveness to the mass political interest group on the other. Hayek (1979) accounts that an active government is a threat to freedom and that popular rule can serve the cause of liberty best when it commits itself to restraining government to the narrow confines of the predefined public sphere. Democrats have always worried about the dangers associated with empowering the few at the expenses of the many. Protectionist democrats sought to call attention to the dangers associated with empowering citizens in many ways that extend beyond the formal guarantees of legal, political equality and freedom. Protective democrats such as

Friedman states that limited government promise the best possibility of social cohesion by reducing the scope of issues that are subject to political conflict (Terchek and Conte, 2001).

(2) Pluralist democracy: According to the pluralist, any society is composed of individuals with assorted concern; the good polity will be open to the citizens who join with other like-minded individuals to pursue their shared interests. They believe that people with similar interests naturally come together to protect and promote their interests, and in politics this means they form interest groups that seek to be heard and influence policy. The best known pluralist today is the Robert Dahl, whose work emphasise the naturalness and necessity of groups in an open polity and reject the idea that only a small elite group can govern the society. The pluralist system develop and thrive when important resources are widely dispersed throughout society and every potential group is able to gain some leverage in the issue area that most concern them. At the same time, political pluralism has been criticised because it reinforces conventional arrangements and does not allow for the needed changes. Responding to the arguments that political pluralism leaves the unorganised and vulnerable unrepresented, pluralist point to the ways new groups, such as racial minorities, women, environmentalist, and the host of other that were politically invisible inaudible not so long ago have a strong presence in contemporary liberal democracies. The main reason behind the criticism towards pluralism is its conservative nature which is not so extensive as to preclude the arrival of new groups with new demands (Terchek and Conte, 2001). Bently (1967) defines pluralist theory focusing on the interest group where an individual actively participate in different organisations to advance their interest.

(3) Participatory democracy: Every democrat subscribes to the idea that some degree of popular participation is necessary to guarantee government by consent. The thing that distinguishes participatory thinkers from other democrats is their fundamental belief that the real benefits of democracy can only be appreciated and sustained by the society that is characterised by relatively high levels of citizen intervention in the task of governing. In a way an additional modes of political activity is introduced beyond voting and other conventional ways of formal democratic expression that can help to retrieve the substantive promise of democratic life. The participatory democracy brings the lesson of an expanded idea of political activity to what have conventionally been non-political areas of social life, such as the work place, bureaucracies, the home and the schools. For these democrats, voting and similar modes of political activity are too confining, particularly in a complex, mass society. The most vulnerable members of the society

are overwhelmed by two party competition and interest group politics. Therefore, participatory democrats find such model inevitably turning citizens into increasingly disinterested spectators (Terchek and Conte, 2001). Cunningham (2002), view this approach as opposite to all the liberal democracy that see active politics as the domain of the government and interest group leaders. Instead, it maximises the participation of citizen in the process of democracy where they can make best use of a representation and competitive voting in formal election.

- (4) Performance democracy: When the voters are more concerned about how policies affect me rather than affecting as a whole society. According to the performance model of democracy, the move from the collective conception of politics to the individual one is the mark of modern democratic politics and realistically illustrates the way that both voters and candidates understand themselves today. Schumpeter (1942) makes an influential revision of classical democratic thought with performance democracy. Schumpeter (1942) finds voters asking first and foremost of their own good instead of the common good. If government performs well their interest, they tend to retain it, if not, and then they vote to replace it. According to him, this type of assessment has been developing for many centuries as society has become more secularized and ideas about common good have become demythologized. He finds such changes against self-moderating impulses and shared agreements about the common good and replaces them with narrow, short-term self-interest. Another important variation of performance democracy appears in the work of Downs (1957), who is more reliant on economic analysis to theorize about democracy. According to him, politics is guided by the same kind of reasoning found in an economic market where citizen acting as a political consumer try to get the best deal they can have for themselves. In an environment of limited time and information resources, persuasion takes center stage in the political process and enhances the role of the successful persuader to that of an invaluable intermediary between the citizenry and the state. Both Schumpeter (1942) and Downs (1957), describe it as a political dynamic in which citizens have come to expect their government to be more responsive to their individual interests. In their perception towards democracy, we are given a market model where political discourse is not meant to enlighten citizens but to mobilize preferences. Voters for their part are expected to be pragmatic rather than civic. Those who are attracted towards this model of democracy insists that it represents the way existing modern democratic governments and citizens and leaders really do behave (Terchek and Conte, 2001).

## **Conclusion**

There are different scholars who make a different conceptual understanding on Authoritarianism and Democracy. Authoritarianism has been a theory or a system of government which is often linked with dictatorship in contrast to democracy. The process of transition from authoritarian regime to democracy starts not only with the change in the way the existing government offices are accessed but an entire change in the political unit. Authoritarianism as a form of government concentrates power in the hand of few leaders or a small elite group not constitutionally accountable to the people. The leaders in the authoritarian regime often exercise their power arbitrarily and consider themselves above the existing law. There came a process of transition to democracy as a form of government with the dissolution of an existing authoritarian regime. Democracy is a term whose meaning can fill out in various alternative ways according to temporal and spatial context. The origin of democracy roots back to the ancient Greek city states of the fifth century B.C, with Athens as the most prominent example (Campbell, 2005). In the modern politics with regard to the so-called Gettysburg Address of the U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (1863) who termed democracy as a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The essential idea of democracy is that people have the right to determine who governs them. Therefore, the citizen elects their principle governing officials and holds them accountable for their actions. Democracy imposes legal limits on the government authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedom to their citizens. As mentioned by (Schumpeter, 1950) the process of democratisation is that institutional arrangement based on the participation of the individual citizen where they acquire power to take a political decision by the means of competitive struggle for the people's vote. There are different theories on democracy which portrays the diverse and a wide understanding by different scholars.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Phases in the Path to Democracy**

#### **Introduction**

The phases in the path to democracy cannot be defined by some fixed and timeless objective criterion. Basically, the process of democratisation begins with the exit of an authoritarian regime and ends after the competitive elections which often give rise to the transfer of the government from one regime to another (Whitehead, 2002). The process of democratisation is understood as a complex, long-term, dynamic and open-ended process towards a more rule based more consensual and more participatory type of politics. The transition is that interval between one political regime to another with the process of dissolution of one authoritarian regime to another by the installation of some form of democracy or the other revolutionary alternative (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986). Rustow (1999) transition process towards democracy is not always a uniform process that it always involves the same classes, the same type of political issues or the same method of the solution. According to Whitehead (2002), there were few democratic transitional processes kept within the predictable limits through the tacit and explicit collaboration of the major power contenders whose identities were apparent from the outset.

Stradiotto and Guo (2010) define democratic transition as an interval between an authoritarian policy and democratic one, where the transfer of power is especially identified as the key element. Democratic transition consists of two simultaneous but to an extent autonomous process with the dissolution of the authoritarian regime and the process of the emergence of democratic institutions (Przeworski, 1989). It is also an intermediate phase which begins with the dissolution of an old regime and ends with the establishment of a new one (Cortona, 1991).

Democratic transition is also defined as the political process of movement aimed at establishing a democratic political system, initiated either from the above or below or a combination of both, promoting democratic values and goals, tolerating oppositions, allow bargaining and compromise among different political forces, for the resolution of social conflict, institutionalising the pluralist structure and procedure by which different political forces are allowed to compete over the power, regularising transfer of power and engaging in the fundamental transformation of political structure (Stradiotto and Guo, 2010).

The process of transition can be divided into two main dimensions: the relative balance of power among incumbent and opposition elites during the transition, and the smoothness of the transition. However, the first dimension has an impact over the second one. The balance of power or the relative power advantage of competing groups tends to shape the nature of the transition process. When the opposition groups and the incumbents are relatively equal in power, the transition tends to be characterised by bargaining and negotiation. But, if there is a large disparity between powers, the result of transition is often violent. There may be a situation when the existing regime is unwilling to negotiate a democratic transition then the only means of removal is through foreign intervention, when a more powerful state forcefully removes the incumbent government. This mode of transition is always a violent one (Stradiotta and Guo, 2010). There is another mode of transition, a negotiated one which is characterised by compromise and void of violence. This is where the balance of power comes between the incumbents and the opposition groups. But even such negotiated transitional process carried a dramatic tension while they were in the process.

The transitional process towards democracy is not only achieved by those top of the political leaders. But, mass movement, civil society organisations and the instrument they employ have been crucial in all the democratic transition (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015). Political organisations have played a major role in most of the transitional process. They often establish regional and territorial networks, developed ties with social movements and civil society organisations, and implement strategies to combat the authoritarian regime, and mobilised international support. The functioning of any democratic institution is not possible without any political opposition. The notion of a loyal opposition often finds its origin in monarchial rather than democratic politics. If there is not the possibility of an opposition being perceived as a realistic alternative to the government of the day then the likelihood of turnover is diminished and crisis for the government are correspondingly more likely to become crisis for the democratic regime (Suttner, 2004).

For the essential democratic development and consolidation, the people should be free to relate to organisations that advance their interests. Beyond the need to recognise the right of existence and operation of social movement, a substantial role in ensuring sustainability and legitimacy of the democracy may relate to the existence and viability of opposition parties as a vehicle for people to express themselves politically. In many cases, the authoritarian regimes generally

banned parties or tried to weaken or destroy them. They restricted the access of such opposition parties to campaign funding and the media, and often repressed or intimidated opposition leaders. Most of the leaders who worked to end authoritarian regimes and foster democratic governance began by building or reviving political parties.

### **Approaches to the transition to democracy**

There are basically two different approaches to the transition to democracy. The first one being the macro-level approach which suggests that the transition from the authoritarian regime to democracy is a function of an economic development that the countries experience (Przeworski, 2000). The second approach focuses in the micro-level to explain the transition to democracy as a result of choices and strategies between different and significant political actors that are elite in and outside the regime and civil organisations. Democracy is the outcome that results from the interaction between the different political forces. Przeworski (1991), in his study transition to democracy, makes the use of both the macro and micro level point of view, where the micro-level approach successfully explains the transition process, which the macro-level fails to do, yet the macro level identifies the factors that determine the survival of a democratic regime. The transition process in Sikkim towards democracy can be studied under the micro-level approach of Prezworski (2000), where we find the role of different political actors and organisations in bringing up the democratic process in the country.

The stimulating reward that makes the elites for the regime change is not only shaped with a probability of gaining or losing power, or by their probability of success if they decide to rebel, but also by their material well-being under the existing regime. The transitional process also takes place when the existing regime is not able to satisfy the material needs of all the political forces, some of these groups may have strong incentives to rebel against the status quo and establish another type of regime. But, in certain cases, the transition to democracy not only takes place in the want of the material needs but sometimes it is also a result of the creation of autonomous organised groups in the civil society. The process will be the result of the interaction between a cracked authoritarian regime and an organised civil society. Some groups in power perceive the dissatisfaction of society and take advantage to consolidate their power by forming alliances with certain sectors of the society.

There have been different types of transitional process to democracy with different institutional consequences. Some transitional process to democracy also ends up with a very autonomous military force that can create instability. The contemporary South Asia have witnessed the transition process with two different ends, while there was a success of democracy in India, but at the other side, there was a failure in the neighboring Pakistan and Bangladesh (Jalal, 1995). But the thing that is common between all the transitions are the result of bargaining between the elites. The construction of the democratic institutions will depend on how much each competing political elite knows about the relationship of the force between itself and the rest of the elites. Przeworski transitional model suggests that in order to achieve and maintain the democratic equilibrium, every significant political interest has to be protected and at the same time it has to generate material well-being. These two factors are important because they create the incentives for compliance with the democratic institutions. If these incentives are lost, elites may be tempted to change their strategy and rebel against the regime.

### **Phases in the Transition to Democracy**

Transition to democracy has been a complex process stretching over a decades and democracy by definition is a competitive process which is not feasible, unless all the players of the political system commit themselves to stay on a particular track on all political matter (Thapa, 2015). According to Prezworski (2015) one of the most important factor for the foundation of the democratic society is that all democratic regime require firm agreement on the most basic set of rules and constitutional order to accelerate the process of democratisation at the minimum level. Democracy cannot be achieved in absence of representation, rule of law, accountability, responsiveness, freedom and equality.

Sikkim as the monarchy under the Namgyal rule continued roughly for a period of 333 years. The condition that prevailed in Sikkim during that particular period was characterised by a lack of political consciousness, widespread illiteracy, and economic dependence of the vast majority of the people upon the economically dominant class who were the beneficiaries of the feudal system. As mentioned by Basnet (1974), the peasant population of Sikkim was under the feudal yoke and very much ignored the outside world.

However, certain changes were noticed during the period of mid-forties of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in the course of the Indian struggle for the freedom. The end of the British rule in India in a way inspired articulate sections of people in Sikkim to sow the seeds in the political field with an eye to harvest the long cherished desire of the suffering mass (Sengupta, 1985).

The democratic transition in Sikkim can be divided into three phases as follows:

### **Phase I- Democratic movement and formation of political parties**

The momentous changes that took place in India in 1947 brought a shock wave in Sikkim (Basnet, 1974). When the people in India began to deal with problem of newly independent country, on the other side, under the leadership of some enlightened members of peasantry, the ideals of Indian leaders were looked upon and sought to free themselves from the feudal bondage. The birth of the political parties in Sikkim was basically against the practice of feudal system that prevailed in Sikkim. The subject people or the ryots had no voice in the administration and they have long groaned under the pernicious yoke of landlordism (Basnet, 1974). The landlords comprised of the Kazis and the Thikadars who considered themselves belonging to the old nobility and for a long time they have accustomed to oppress the people and were subjected to domination. The International Convention announcing the abolition of the forced labour was never explained to the peasant neither the practice of forced labour was abolished. Instead a forced labour without the minimum daily wage was practiced in Sikkim (Basnet, 1974). Basnet (1974) said “In every revolution, some sign, some symbol comes to occupy a pre-eminent position. And that particular sign or symbol becomes the watchword for the masses. In Sikkim the people’s suffering, their woes, trials and tribulation came to be symbolised by Kalo Bhari”. Kalo Bhari means a black load of a special consignment compactly packed in black tarpaulin which contained a huge load and were to be carried by the people and transport to China by Tibet. This was enough to blow the wind of revolution towards the collapse of the authoritarian regime in Sikkim. Yet peasants were ignorant and unorganised to bring a collective action in removing the curse of oppression.

A regime does not collapse unless and until some alternative is organised in a way which gives a real choice for the isolated individuals. The three political parties that came up were the Praja Sammelan at Temi Tarku under the leadership of Gobardhan Pradhan and Dhan Bahadur Tiwari, Praja Mandal at Chakhung formed by Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khansarpa and the Praja Sudhar Samaj (PSS) in Gangtok under leadership of Tashi Tshering, Sonam Tshering and Kezang

Tenzing (Basnet, 1974). The three organisations that came up were particularly a welfare body of Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali subject of Sikkim. Each political party had their own particular ideology, as Sikkim Praja Sudharak Samaj (SPSS) was formed for the welfare of the Bhutia-Lepcha and Nepali community. In 7th December 1947, Sikkim witnessed one of its first public meetings under the auspices of political parties and it was a day when the people of Sikkim heard first political speech (Basnet, 1974). The plight of the peasant was brought to the light where speakers dealt with the past sufferings of the people, the inequities happened to them by the administration. On the basis of the similarities among the three political parties Sikkim State Congress (SSC) came into existence under the presidentship of Tashi Tshering (Basnet, 1974).

The main objective of the party was the abolition of the landlordism, to form a responsible and popular interim government and the merger of the country with the Indian Union (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). On 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1947, the five member delegation under the leadership of Tashi Tshering met the King for incorporating their demands. The King promised to curtail the power of landlord and assured the abolition of the practice, the inclusion of the three members of the State Congress as the Secretaries to the king and the third demand was kept under consideration (Basnet, 1974).

There came another political party, Sikkim National Party (SNP) which was regarded as the king sponsored political party and was brought to oppose the Sikkim State Congress. They stood against the democratic agitation and opposed the demand of the State Congress for the accession of Sikkim with the Indian Union. According to the National Party accession of Sikkim with the Indian Union was unacceptable because of the following reasons (Basnet, 1974)

1. Sikkim had a distinct identity in terms historical pattern, culture, language and it shared a closer tie with Bhutan and Tibet.
2. Sikkim was never a part of India; it shared only a political relation which was imposed on her.
3. The religion of Sikkim is Mahayana Buddhism which is established religion of Tibet and Bhutan. Hence from the religious point of view Sikkim was quite distinct from India.

The formation of the Popular Ministry in Sikkim on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1949 marked an important milestone in people's march to democracy as mentioned by Basnet (1974). When Sikkim State Congress (SSC) felt that their demands were being neglected, they came to form the interim popular government with three state congress leaders, Tashi Tshering who was appointed as the Chief Minister, other two members were Dimik Singh Lepcha and C.D. Rai. However, this government could not last for a long. The political situation of Sikkim led the Government of India to send its Deputy Minister Dr. B.V. Keskar to normalise the situation between the ministry and the Darbar (Basnet, 1974). But there were no any such changes in the political situation of the country. The state congress was still holding with their demand to form a responsible government in Sikkim.

In the process of bringing a stable and responsible government, within no time an advisory committee was formed with the representative of major political parties. The Panchayat System was introduced by the committee with an aim of distribution of seats among the major communities in future assembly as well as in government job. Panchayat election was held in December, 1950. But this election was boycotted by the National Party on the basis of neglecting the interest of the indigenous population of Sikkim (Basnet, 1974). However, the demand of the State Congress accession of Sikkim with the Indian Union slowly started to fade but its voicing for the full fledged popular government was still awake. The political parties started to question on the representation of different ethnic groups in would be assembly or council. The outcome of the concern regarding the representation among different ethnic communities in the council ended up with the Tripartite Agreement between Sikkim State Congress (SSC), National Party and the representatives of the Government of India in 1951 (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). It envisaged the famous parity formula in which the Nepalese were equated with the Bhutia-Lepcha in the distribution of seats in the state council.

### **Phase II- Constitutional Proclamation and Formation of State Council**

Huntington (1993), states that the most direct implication of third wave democratisation is the people elemental attachment with their political system and the most visible gain have been the election as the functional basis for the political power. In January, 1952, Royal Proclamation was passed by the king that laid the mode of election to the State Council. The qualifying age of the voter was fixed at the age of 21 and age for the candidate was 30 (Basnet, 1974). On the 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1953, another Proclamation was brought known as the Constitutional Proclamation

which laid down the rules of the governing the formation of the State Council, the Executive council, their powers and function. The State Council (SC) consists of a President who was nominated and appointed by the king. In 1953, a most visible gain was seen in Sikkim with its first general election for the state council on the basis of the parity formula. There were twelve elective seats in the state council, where six were reserved for the Nepalese and other six for the Bhutia and Lepcha. The Maharaja was to nominate five members. Thus seventeen members of state council were formed with the Dewan as the President (Sengupta, 1985). The Constitutional Proclamation of 1953 formed a diarchy in a way where the certain reserved subjects were kept under the executive control of the king and which was beyond the jurisdiction of the state council, while only the transferred subjects were to be administered by the people's representatives. The following subjects were reserved under the executive control of the king (Basnet, 1974)

1. Ecclesiastical Affair
2. External Affair
3. State Enterprise
4. Home and Police
5. Finance
6. Land Revenue
7. Rationing
8. Establishment

The following subjects were placed under ‘Transferred Subjects’:

1. Education
2. Public Health
3. Excise
4. Press and Publicity
5. Transport
6. Bazaars
7. Forest
8. Public Work

The First General Election to the SC took place in 1953 where State Congress and National Party participated in the election. As mentioned by Basnet (1974) the list showed the 50,000 eligible voters but less than 30 percent participated in the election. The leaders of the State Congress realized that they have been brought down ostensibly to the level of National Party but in actual sense far below it. The State Congress virtually fallen in the Political morass. This was seen as violating the principle of democracy and the state congress declared the election as a farce. They came to a point that even though if they participate in the election and if secure victory, they won't be joining the government if the freedom to work for the welfare of the people was violated (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). However, the general election for the council took place where the State Congress secured all the six Nepali seats and on the other side National Party took over six Bhutia-Lepcha seats. In the mean time, there came another stroke with the replacement of Tashi Tshering to Kazi Lhendup Dorji from the seat of President of the party (Sengupta, 1985). The removal of Tashi Tshering was seen as a violation of the constitution because as per the constitution there required at least 2/3<sup>rd</sup> members present and voting in the Executive body (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). In a mean time the oath taking ceremony took place in the presence of Tashi Namgyal, the Maharaja of Sikkim. Sonam Tshering and Kashi Raj Pradhan were appointed as the Executive Councillors. Sooner or later, the Executive council started its function but the State Congress was still disappointed with the limitation of the new constitution which was not able to satisfy the aspirations of the people.

Before the Second General Election, the Royal Proclamation of 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1958, was issued according to which the seats in the Council were raised from 17 to 20. Six Bhutia-Lepcha and six Nepali seats remained unaltered. Two new elective seats, one General and one Sangha were added. The number of nominated seats was raised from 5 to 6 (Basnet, 1974). With the clear majority of 8 out of 14 elected seats in the council, the State Congress came out to be victorious and fulfilled all the conditions needed to form a one party Executive Council (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). The election procedure was questioned for malpractices, due to which Election Tribunal was appointed to investigate the matter. The outcome of the investigation led to the disqualification of three members K.R. Pradhan, President of State Congress and N.K. Pradhan secretary general of the State Congress had been found guilty of corrupt practices and imparting false propaganda for which they were disqualified for holding up the office for next six years (Sinha, 2008).

At the same time, Sonam Tshering of National Congress was also disqualified for holding up the office for next six years. But, later the year of disqualification was reduced to six month for Kashi Raj Pradhan and Nakul Pradhan and three months for Sonam Tshering (Sinha, 2008).

A Joint Convention took place in 1959 which reiterated the old Congress demand for a responsible government and introducing the new demand for the drafting of democratic constitution for Sikkim which should incorporate the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles as inspired by the Indian Constitution (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). They demanded the interim coalition government and the convention came to a point that democracy could be established only with the introduction of the Joint Electorate System based on universal adult franchise as was in India (Sengupta, 1985). But, in response their resolution was totally disregarded by the Sikkim Darbar. This led the political parties to realise their weakness in not able to avoid the conflicting and divergent views regarding each other. Therefore, keeping in the mind the welfare and the interest of the people at large, a new party came into existence that was Sikkim National Congress. It was in 1960; new party came into existence through the merger of Swatantra Dal, Praja Sammelan, the dissident of Sikkim State Congress and the dissident of National Party led by Sonam Tshering (Sengupta, 1985). The new party was a serious threat to the Sikkim Darbar. The leaders of the Sikkim National Congress (SNC) forwarded their demand for establishing a responsible government, adoption of a written constitution, universal adult franchise based on the joint electorate. Within no time Sikkim National Congress became the most powerful political party in the state (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). Kazi LhendupDorji Khangarpa was elected as the President, Sonam Tshering and D.B. Tiwari was elected Vice President and Bhim Bahadur Gurung was elected as the General Secretary (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012).

The Royal Proclamation of 1966 granted a representation to Tsong and the Schedule Caste and also increasing the Bhutia-Lepcha and the Nepali seat in the State Council (SC). With that the third General Election for council was held in 1967 where National Congress came out to be majority securing 8 out of 18 elective seats, National Party with 5 seats, the State Congress with two and one each of the Tsongs and Schedule Caste seats were won by the unattached independents (Sinha, 2008). In a mean time, there came inner conflict within the political parties which led to the factions within the party. B.B. Gurung who was the General Secretary of the National Congress was expelled from the party and he formed a faction of the National

Congress. Even a minor party like Schedule Caste League went through a split. The more confusion was added up with the formation of the new party Sikkim Janata Party (SJP) by L.B. Basnet. The Janata Party adopted socialism, democracy and the unity of the entire Sikkimese citizen as its basic principle (Sengupta, 1985). The fourth general election also took place in April 1970. With that in 1971 to 1972, there came some rapid developments which led to the ultimate reflection on the Indo-Sikkim relations. In mean time Kazi Lendup Dorji was expelled from the Executive council in 1972 and non-bailable warrants of arrest were issued against him and N.B. Khatiwada (Sengupta, 1985). On December 18, 1969, a new political party was formed Sikkim Janata Party under the leadership of L.B. Basnet who held a central position as a general secretary of the Sikkim National Congress (Basnet, 1974). The ideology adopted by the party was based on Socialism, Democracy and the unity of the Sikkimese people at its basic creed. The Government of Sikkim issued a Proclamation to conduct the 4<sup>th</sup> General Election in 1970 (Basnet, 1974). In the preceding year of the 4<sup>th</sup> General Election, the political situation of Sikkim remain stagnant and remained far from reaching a goal of progressive association of the people of the State with Indian Union (Basnet, 1974).

The process of counting the votes was done on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1973 and on 2<sup>nd</sup> February as mentioned by Basnet (1974) an incident took place which spark a fire for the revolt. Sikkim National Congress (SNC) protested against the members of the Election Committee when it was found that some of the ticket polled at Rabong Polling Station in the South Constituency had not been separated at the perforated point. This resulted to a heated exchange of words between Sikkim National Congress and Sikkim National Party. The election of 1973 was regarded to be null and void. Therefore, the Sikkim National Congress and Sikkim Janata Congress submitted a written protest to Chogyal for alleging the polling at Rabong and demanding the arrest of those officials involved in rigging (Basnet, 1974).

However, the negligence of the Palace towards their demand brought both the party together under one banner and formulated a list of demand for creating a full-fledged democracy, a written constitution, fundamental rights, one man one vote principle and the abolition of the Parity System. But their voices were being neglected and the Palace was busy in the celebration of the Chogyal 50<sup>th</sup> birthday on 4<sup>th</sup> April 1973 (Sinha, 2008). On the other side, a Joint Action Committee was formed under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa upholding the demands against the Palace. However, the negligence of the Palace towards the mass uprising

resulted in serious lathi charge and firing where thousands of demonstrators were pouring from all the parts of Sikkim (Sinha, 2008). It was a time when the morning atmosphere echoed with the Anti-Chogyal slogan. The Chogyal made a request to the Government of India to intervene the situation and restore law and order and to take over the administration too. The revolt came to an end when Government of India intervened. The Government of India appointed B.S. Das to look over the administration and Indian army to have a hold over the situation. The Tripartite Agreement of 8<sup>th</sup> May 1973, which was signed between the Chogyal, the Foreign Secretary, Government of India, and the representatives of three political parties which provided the basis for future Constitutional set up in Sikkim and its relation with India (Sengupta, 1985). The Agreement called for the establishment of fully-responsible government in Sikkim with more democratic constitution, the guarantee of fundamental rights, the rule of law, an independent judiciary and greater legislative and executive power for the elected representative of the people (Basnet, 1974). This led to the introduction of the Legislative Assembly on the basis of one man one vote, the election on the basis of adult franchise and a cabinet which will be responsible to the State Assembly (Sinha, 2008).

Since then the democratic setup became visible in Sikkim with the introduction of the newly constituted State Assembly where there was 15 representative of Bhutia-Lepcha and 15 Nepalese and one each representative of Sangha and the Scheduled Caste. The communal practice of voting was replaced by the principle of one man one vote. Meanwhile, the National party lost its power and Sikkim Congress came to the picture headed by Kazi Lhendup Dorji (Sinha, 2008). The Government of Sikkim Bill was introduced in 1974, according to which the whole administration of Sikkim was to be restructured. A three-tier system was established with the Chief Minister and his Cabinet responsible towards the State Assembly. Such drastic developments were not acceptable by the Chogyal and he refused his consent to section 30(c) of the constitution which he claimed to deteriorate the Sikkim separate identity and international personae as a protectorate of India under the Indo- Sikkimese Treaty of 1950 (Sinha, 2008). Finally, the disagreement between the Chogyal and the State Congress over the Government of Bill 1974 led to the merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union.

The 35<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act was passed by the Indian Parliament providing Sikkim the status of an Associate State of India and later completely became the full-fledged Constituent State of India by 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment, 1975 (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). A referendum was called upon on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1975 to know the opinion of the people towards the political set up in Sikkim. Thus, the result of the referendum came as removal of monarchy from Sikkim and development of the democratic institution for the State. It was mutual distrust and antagonism which reached such a height that a Sikkim Assembly passed a resolution seeking the abolition of the institution of Chogyal and demanding merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union (Sengupta, 1985).

### **Phase III- Democratisation and Electoral System**

Until the early seventies, the political scenario of Sikkim was a hereditary monarchy. With the 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1974, Sikkim became the associate state of India and with 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the Indian Constitution it became the 22<sup>nd</sup> state of the Indian Union. When the merger of Sikkim took place with the Indian Union in May 1975, the first measure taken by the Government of India was the abolition of the intermediaries which created a provision of land rights to the landless tillers, enforced ceiling law of landholding, distribution of the surplus land and protection through legislation like The Sikkim Cultivator Protection Act, 1975, The Sikkim Agriculture Land Ceiling and Reforms Act, 1978, and the Sikkim Land Act, 1978 (Chakrabarti, 2012). According to Revenue order No.1 of 1917 the land right of indigenous Lepcha and Bhutia was protected where it was mentioned clearly that the land of Bhutia and Lepcha community could not be transferred to other community and this Act continued even after the merger with the Indian Union because of the tribal status of those two ethnic communities.

Soon after the merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union, the foremost development that came up was the competitive general election and formation of democratically elected government. The principle of one man one vote was adopted based on the universal adult franchise. As mentioned by Yasin and Chhetri (2012), the feudal structure in Sikkim did not permit the masses to organize themselves for the democratic rights but after the merger with the Indian Union, there were more than eight political parties that contested the Assembly election. This was the first election that was held after the merger based on the principle of adult suffrage and under the provision of the constitution of India. In no time, many other elections took place in the Legislative Assembly with an interval of five years. The establishment of the democratic

governance and the introduction to the universal adult suffrage since 1975 has undermined the influences of the aristocrat, giving a way for a mass participation of the citizen in the decision making process. After Sikkim was incorporated as the 22<sup>nd</sup> state of the Indian Union, a special provision was inserted into the Indian Constitution under the Article 371F to meet the special need and the circumstances of Sikkim in 1975, when it became a democratic state of India. As per the Constitution of India, Article 371F gave a special provision in respect to the state of Sikkim notwithstanding anything in the Constitution. The Article 371F of the Indian Constitution has safeguarded the ethnic minority rights with preferential reservation of seats in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) to the Buddhist Sangha and the indigenous Lepchas and Bhutias which ensured them an official voice in decision making and internal administration (Arora, 2012).

The merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union brought the Parliamentary democracy and the notion of equality, individual freedom, and modern legal system. As mentioned by Gurung (2012) the cultural difference and the ethnic politics of Sikkim would marginalised the notion of equality and individual freedom but on contrary, new political parties and organisations were formed with community oriented claims and demands. The other development that came up was the Bhutia population of Sikkim was now the ordinary citizen of a larger Indian nation and in the spirit of the Constitution of India there came a modification in the existing rules governing the affairs of the minority community of Sikkim (Gurung, 2012). The two categories of the Schedule Tribe and Schedule Caste were incorporated as per the new norms. The Schedule Tribe Order came to existence in 1978 which declared the Lepcha and the Bhutia (Chumbipa, Dopthapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopa, Yolmo) as the Schedule Tribe of Sikkim. Further, Sikkim was allotted one seat in the Lok Sabha or the lower house to the Indian Parliament and whole of Sikkim Constituted one Parliamentary constitution.

The other development that came up after the merger with the Indian Union was the establishment of various government departments as par with the other state of India. The employment of huge people in the different area consisting of bureaucrats, trained professionals for service sectors and all sorts of labourers for the construction work contributed to the growth and the development of urban sectors in particular the capital Gangtok (Choudhury, 2012).

## **Conclusion**

The democratisation process often begins with the end of an authoritarian regime and the establishment of the new democratic system. The process of transition to democratic regime is characterised by a complex and a long term procedure towards a more rule based, more consensual and participatory type of politics. For the essential democratic development and the consolidation, the people in the system should be free to relate to organisations that advance their interests. In the process of transition to democracy Sikkim has witnessed the different phases. The initial stage in the process of democratisation begins with the Indian independence of 1947 which brought a shock wave in Sikkim, where the group of intelligent peasant taking inspiration from the ideals proclaimed by the Indian leaders. The peasant group who were subjected to domination by the upper circle of the administration comprised of the Kazi and the Thikadars considering themselves belonging to the old nobility. In the process of bringing change in the existing regime, the three political parties, Praja Sudarak Samaj, Praja Sammelan and Praja Mandal came into existence. Soon, the first General Election to the State Council took place in 1953 and simultaneously other election was also conducted. The Royal Proclamation passed by the king brought the changes in the allocation of the seat in the State Council. Within no time Sikkim witnessed a massive change brought by the 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1974, which gave Sikkim a status of associate state of India and later, the 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1975 led to the full-fledged merger of the State with the Indian Union. After the merger of the state with the Indian Union, Sikkim became the 22<sup>nd</sup> state of India. The Sikkim Assembly formed through the election of 1974 with 32 members became the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim. The further development was the allotment of one seat in the Lok Sabha and the whole of Sikkim constituted one Parliamentary Constituency. The Article 371F of the Indian Constitution, gave a special provision to the State of Sikkim notwithstanding anything in the Constitution. The most important development that came to be visible in the process of the transition to democracy was the participation of the common people in the politics that generally remained isolated from the political activity.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Democratisation, Constitutional Development and Electoral System**

#### **Introduction**

The process of democratisation is defined as a long term process of social construction. As Rustow (1970) in his theories of democratisation at the end of 1960s emphasises on the structural and socio-economic factors that have been responsible for the process of democratisation. There have been great variations in the process of democratisation as well as significant qualitative differences in the form of political development that took place. The process of democratisation cannot be defined by some fixed or timeless objective criterion. The process towards democratisation begins with the exit of an authoritarian regime and ends after the competitive elections that give rise to a successive peaceful transfer of government between the contending parties (Whitehead, 2002).

A simple theory on democratisation has been constructed by Acemoglu and Robinson (2006), according to which the process towards democratisation begins when two different sections in the society starve for two different goals, where citizens want democracy and elites want non-democracy. Both the citizen and the elites prefer to have their respective policies today and tomorrow but there is no guarantee that the policy that they have adopted today will be similar in near future. Because the society may be non-democratic today which looks after the policy of elites but tomorrow there may come a change in the society where citizens are granted political power to make new policies. Therefore, in the process of democratisation political institutions plays an important role because it is expected that the institution that is democratic today remains same and allocate the political power in the near future too.

Democracy as a form of government is one where the whole population participate in the decision-making process and determine the policies whereas non-democracy exclude much of its population in decision making process (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006). The democratisation process means the change in the political institution and with increase in citizen representation in the system. Similarly, in Sikkim, elections were conducted and people were participating from 1953 onwards but they wanted more representation which called out for the change in the political institution of monarchy to constitutional democracy. The non-democratic system more

often excludes the participation of citizens in the political system but they cannot be neglected as they comprise the majority population of the system and can even challenge the existing political institution and create significant social unrest or even pose a serious revolutionary threat. While, such revolutions did not take shape of a violent form in the case of Sikkim but there was political upset in the existing institution. Many of the democratisation process does not simply happen because the citizen demands them but often elite controlling the existing regime extend the voting rights to the people to avoid the mass revolution where the citizen can even overthrow the system. In Sikkim, when the wave of India's Independence was inspiring the educated Sikkimese people, the King became aware of the imminent change that might take place in Sikkim too. Therefore, the King expanded his members in the State Council (SC) including the representative from the three communities of Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali (Basnet, 1974). But those members were incapable of bringing a change in the working of the administration.

In the process, Royal Proclamation was passed by the King and the first general election to the State Council was held in 1953 on the basis of parity system where Nepali population was equated with the Bhutia- Lepcha in the distribution of seats in the State Council (Sengupta, 1985). Acemoglu and Robinson (2006), mentions that the process of democratisation takes place in the face of significant social conflict and when there comes a possible threat of revolution. The introduction of Universal Adult Suffrage in Latin America in the first half of the twentieth century was due to the factions in the society between the rich and poor (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006). Similarly, the base of the democratisation process in South Africa was due to the conflict between the rich whites and the poor blacks. And in Sikkim, the seed to the transition process was sown much before when the mass population of Sikkimese were subjected to the domination and discrimination by the landlords.

### **Democratisation and Electoral System**

The process of democratisation is said to be complete when the significant political actors accept that the electoral process has become the only game in the town in the allocation of political power among the citizens (Whitehead, 2002). The establishment of the electoral system tends to affect the democratic performance of the existing regime by influencing the popular perception of the political process, shaping the party system and often determines the composition of governing organs (Birch, 2003). The electoral institutions are designed in such a way to have a decisive influence on the success of political reform because they are among the principal

institutional structures that act as a bridge between popular demands and policy outcomes. Birch (2003) mentions that the process of democratisation includes the two basic changes in the political structure that are the inclusion of the citizen in electing its leaders and maintaining an accountability of those leaders who have been elected through the democratic mechanism. The development of the electoral system let the citizen to participate in the decision-making process which is the basic principle of democratisation and which differentiate democracy from any other form of non-democratic government. The widespread inclusion of citizens in the electoral process is a necessary condition for the process of democratisation. The success of democracy is based upon the participation of the large section of the population to be included in the representative institutions which must be structured around the political parties rather than an individual politician (Birch, 2003).

The consolidation of democracy requires the inclusion of the citizen in the electoral and representative process. Therefore, the participation of the citizen in the electoral process is very much important in the process of democratisation for two main reasons: one being the voting which is often seen as an indicator of the strength of democracy where it clearly portrays the participation of citizens in the representative politics. It is for this reason that that most important feature of democracy includes the level of electoral participation (Inkeles, 1991, cited in Birch, 2003). The quantity of the electoral participation is an important aspect of the quality of democracy (Powell, 1982; Lijphart, 1999 cited in Birch, 2003).

The other important aspect in the process of democratisation is the participation of the citizen in the electoral system which helps in the consolidation of democracy. Since the essence of a democratic regime is one in which governments are formed by individuals who win elections through free and fair means of an electoral mechanism (Valenzuela, 1990). But a regime cannot be considered a consolidated democracy if those who win in the elections are given only a limited power and other policy making position are subordinated by the non-elected elites (Valenzuela, 1990). In Sikkim after the constitutional proclamation of 1953, certain reserved subjects were kept under the exclusive control of the king and beyond the jurisdiction of the State Council, while only the transferred subjects were to be administered by the people's representatives (Sengupta, 1985).

As Valenzuela (1990) mentions that no any democratic government is above the law and all the institution is subjected to the constitution in case of protection of basic laws, human rights and to guard against corruption and abuses of power.

In the early nineteenth and the twentieth century European democracy also wanted to eliminate that tutelary power which was held by the monarch. They wanted to make their system accountable by where the prime decision-making policies will be taken by the elected government rather than a crown (Valenzuela, 1990).

### **Democracy and Constitutional Development**

The drafting of the constitution or its development is an essential process for any country that experiences a transition from authoritarian rule to a democratic system. It deals with all the important aspect of the institutionalised system from socio-economic rights to the details of the electoral system, from the role of the military to the reform of the justice system (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015). The evolution of the constitution can be traced from the ancient time itself, the idea of limited government or constitutionalism was much more old then the discipline of political science (Bern, 1919). Bern (1919) explains the statement made by Tocqueville where he mentions constitutionalism as a means of utilisation of the power of the government and it also prescribe how the power should be exercised and by whom. The development of constitution is an essential criterion in the process of democratisation because it acts as a pillar in representing the interest of the large section of the population of the state. The Constitution lays down the provision for the separation of power between the organs of the government. The introduction of the constitution is regarded to keep the democracy safe if the words of the president of American Political Science Association (APSA) and United States (US) Woodrow Wilson are to be believed (Bern, 1919). As in United States, the introduction of the constitution was able to establish a government that was of the people, for the people and later by the people.

The constitutional development takes place with the establishment of a democratic government that derives all its power either directly or indirectly from the great body of people through an electoral mechanism. The development of the constitution has led to the free and reasonably fair elections, imparting a meaningful restraint on the executive power and guaranteed essential political rights such as freedom of speech and assembly and individual freedom in most of the countries that went through a transition from authoritarian rule to democracy (Lowenthal and Bitar, 2015).

Lowenthal and Bitar (2015) mentions about the incorporation of certain aspiration of the citizen in building a broad support of any new constitution, which was seen in Brazil 1988 constitution with the revision of the entitled armed services to participate in the cabinet. Thus, the constitutional development helps in promoting the stability and standard for any democratic institutions, and it begins with the introduction of the Constitutional Assembly where the leaders will be emphasizing in the accommodation of basic rights and privileges of the citizens.

### **Democratic Transition**

The purpose of the study was to understand the process of democratic transition and constitutional development in Sikkim. The nature of condition that existed in Sikkim which led to the transition from an authoritarian regime to liberal democracy. The process to democracy has never been a uniform process as mentioned by Rustow (1970) as it involves different types of political issues or even methods of solution. The advent of democracy is always seen with the presence of foreign influence which inspires the citizen for bringing the change in the existing regime. As in the case of Sikkim, the wave of India's Independence of 1947 inspired the few educated people of Sikkim in a way to bring a change in the political system. The transition process in any country from one existing regime to another has never been a smooth one. The process is usually identified by the transfer of power and the immediate dissolution of an old regime with the establishment of a new one. The transition process is a result of an oppression of the authoritarian regime towards its general citizen, and it is the politically deprived section of the population that participates in the dissolution of the existing regime. Sikkim as mentioned by Basnet (1974) was under the yoke of feudalism and the peasants had no voice in the administration.

In order to understand the condition that prevailed in Sikkim where the citizen participated in the process of transition, the question was put forward to the respondent to know their perception whether the transition that took place in Sikkim was choice of a citizen or the different political actors. The opinion of the 80 percent of respondent was that the process of transition in Sikkim was partly a choice made by them under the influence of the political leaders who promised them to free from the feudal bondage, the kazi-Thikadar system. They gave a brief picture of the condition that existed in Sikkim under the monarchial regime, where the general citizen was subjected to the domination of the Kazi and Thikadar. The remaining 20 percent did not have any idea on the condition that existed nor the citizen that participated in transition process that

took place in Sikkim. The perception shared by the respondent was that the administration system that existed during the monarchial regime was weakened by the elite group who misused their power in the suppression of the general citizen. According to the respondent the transition process that took place in Sikkim was basically due to the plight of the common citizen under the monarchial system. The citizen was looking for a change in the working of the administration and the power concentration among the few and they were against the feudal system but not against the King. The response from the general citizen and the local political leaders gave an insight of the condition that prevailed in Sikkim, where the general population was subjected under the domination of the feudal lords. Though, an entire population did not participated in the transition process but somewhere people were looking for a change in the administration system, which could be possible only with the dissolution of the existing regime.

If the general population of Sikkim were not against the Chogyal then what was the changes they were expecting in the process of development. In respect to the subject, the question was put forward to the general citizen. The 70 percent of the general respondent viewed transition as the change in the system of the administration. They claimed that people were subjugated by the landlords and was not even paid their daily wages. They did not enjoy their basic freedom not even could raise their voice for the basic rights. The 30 percent of the respondent said that the transition that they wanted was the abolition of the monarchial regime and establishment of new democratic regime. According to the respondent view the condition that prevailed in Sikkim at that stage was citizens were suppressed by the elite group who was referred as Kazi and Thikadars. They enjoyed the enormous privileges in the administration and the mass populations were subjected under them. Based on the perception of the respondent the citizen who were subjected to those tortures looked for the change in the system as they were experiencing the discrimination and the domination by the elite group but they did not aspire for the dissolution of the monarchial system but a little change within the administration itself with the abolition of the landlordism. The process of transition in Sikkim came up in the wake of discrimination and domination by the feudal landlords and the power which was concentrated in the hand of few elite classes. Thus, the citizen was looking for a change in the working of administration but as per the finding, it was not the dissolution of the entire monarchial regime.

### **Political condition under the authoritarian rule**

When a country is under the rule of authoritarianism, they minimally enjoy any sort of political freedom. Basnet (1974) describes the political condition of Sikkim under the authoritarian rule where citizen minimally enjoy their political rights. The State Council was there but it comprised of landlords and the secretariat only, there was absence of common citizen. The International convention which mentions the abolition of the forced labour but in Sikkim instead of the abolition, the labour was forced to work without a minimum daily wage. They were often accompanied by the cruelty of the landlords (Basnet, 1974). The Kazi claimed themselves belonging to the old nobility and compare with the barons of the feudal system. There was other set of group called Thikadars who content to play the second fiddle to the Kazi and thus shared other privileges in the administration. Therefore, to understand the political nature of condition that prevailed in Sikkim under the authoritarian regime the question was put forward to the respondent. The 50 percent of the respondent said that there was no such political freedom as they enjoy today. The respondent mentioned about the system known as Kalo Bhari, where the peasants were forced to carry huge loads to China by Tibet, and this is even mentioned by Basnet (1974) where the practice of forced labour was done. According to one of the general respondent, he remember when Indian Independence of 1947 took place, the people in his village were talking about the change which could be brought in Sikkim too. The 30 percent of the respondent had no idea on this subject of political condition and rest 20 percent of the respondent felt that the authoritarian rule under the Chogyal did provided a limited political freedom but the mass population was unaware of the issue related to the political rights and freedom. According to one of the respondent, the political condition of Sikkim was not that restrictive as it is the case of authoritarian regime in many other countries, where authoritarian means an absolute rule neither there exist political parties or opposition. But after having a glance at the overall response of the general respondent, the political awareness among the people came only in the wake of India's independence movement. Before that there was very little effort made by the authoritarian regime to enhance the political development of the state.

## **Origin of Political parties and organisations**

The essential aspect of any transitional process has been the involvement of the organisations and political leaders who had the capacity to persuade and inspire others. As mentioned by Basnet (1974), the subjugated citizen was so ignorant and unorganised, even if they were subjected to discrimination; they never gave a thought for forming a group and raising their voice. With the advent of the change taking place in India, in 1946 the three representatives from each community of Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali was given a seat in the State Council (Basnet, 1974). In no time, there emerge three political parties that are Praja Sudharak Samaj (PSS) under the leadership of Tashi Tshering, Sonam Tshering and Kezang Tenzing. Praja Sammelan was formed under the leadership of Gobhardhan Pradhan and Dhan Bahadur Tiwari and Praja Mandal under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa. A question was put forward to the respondent to know about those organisations and political parties that played an important role in bringing out the remarkable burst of democratisation in Sikkim. The 30 percent of the respondent was able to trace few names of the political parties but the rest 70 percent of the respondent was not able to trace those names of the organisations and political parties.

One of the respondent mentioned about the three political parties in the wake of the democratic process in Sikkim and that were Sikkim National Congress (SNC) under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa, Sikkim National Party (SNP) under Netuk Tshering Lama and Sikkim Janata Party (SJP) under K.C. Pradhan. Sikkim National party was regarded to be pro-Chogyal political party and an opposition to the Sikkim State Congress (SSC). It was only on 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1947 as mentioned by Basnet (1974) citizen for the first time participated in the political event and was able to put forward their grievances. This was the first step towards the democratisation process in Sikkim. The burst that Sikkim experienced in the process of transition was only after 1946, when the movement for a change was taking place in the neighbouring India. Before that the general citizen never experienced their participation in political activity.

The other question that was put to respondent in order to find out whether the authoritarian regime allowed the existence of political parties because any authoritarian regime does not withstand the presence of opposition or other political party which holds a threat to the existing regime. According to the general respondent there existed political party such as Sikkim State Congress (SSC), Sikkim National Party (SNP) and Janata Party in presence of the authoritarian regime. But all this party came up only after 1946 in the wake of India's independence

movement. Before that the general respondent could not trace a single political party that existed under the authoritarian regime. The Sikkim State Congress (SSC) kept its three fold demand for the abolition of landlordism, formation of an interim government and accession of Sikkim with Indian Union. The demand of State Congress was forwarded to the king and he promised to curtail the power of landlords, the three nominees of the State Congress to function as the secretaries in the State Council and to consider the interest of accession of Sikkim with the Indian Union (Basnet, 1974). As the time rolled on there came no positive feedback from the king nor the demands made by the State Congress were fulfilled. But the initial stage to the democratisation was already laid down by the political parties which came up in the in Sikkim was only after 1940s and before that there did not existed any political party under the authoritarian rule.

### **Royal proclamation and the electoral procedure**

With the advent of political parties, the initial stage in the process to democratisation was seen with the Royal Proclamation and the introduction of the electoral system. The interest of the three different communities of Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali were discussed by the king Palden Thondup Namgyal, Sonam Tshering, the representative of National Party, Dimik Singh Lepcha and Kashi Raj Pradhan, the representative of State Congress (Basnet, 1974). As a result, Parity Formula was introduced where the elected seat in the State Council was divided equally among the Bhutia-Lepcha and the Nepali community and there were five nominated members by the king. In order to get the perception of the respondent, the question was put forward on the subject of Royal Proclamation. The respondent thought that the Royal Proclamation of 1952 was based on the interest of the three communities of Bhutia-Lepcha and the Nepali population and this came up as an outcome of the voice raised by the political parties. Before that there was no such step taken up by the Chogyal in the interest of the communities of Sikkim. The 30 percent of the respondent saw a positive intention behind the Royal Proclamation made by the king and the rest 70 percent had no idea regarding the Proclamation neither they had heard it before. It was through this Proclamation, the first mode of election was proposed to the State Council. The eligibility of the voter was fixed at 21 years and the candidate was to be 30. It was on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1953, the Constitutional Proclamation was passed by the king who laid down the rules governing the formation of the SC, Executive Council and their powers and functions (Basnet, 1974). According to the perception of the respondent, Proclamation brought the system of diarchy

where the reserved subjects were kept under the control of king and other subjects were administered by the people's representative. While, certain reserved subjects were kept exclusively under the control of the king and which was beyond the jurisdiction of the State Council (SC). The first general election to the State Council was held in the mid-1953 which saw the participation of the Sikkim State Congress (SSC) and the National Party (Basnet, 1974). In a mean time, many other proclamations were passed by the King in the process of democratisation. The seat in the State Council(SC)was increased from 17 to 20 through the Royal Proclamation of 17<sup>th</sup> March 1958, two new elective seats were introduced, one general and other reserved for the Sangha and the number of nominated member was raised from five to six (Basnet, 1974). With that the second general election to the State Council was held in 1958. Another Proclamation of 1966 added four more seats in the State Council. The seats reserved for the Bhutia-Lepcha and Nepali was raised from six to seven and the one for the Tsongs, known as Limbus, and one for the Schedule Caste was created. With that the third general election to the State Council took place in 1967 (Basnet, 1974). The new political party came up in 1969, Sikkim Janata Party (SJP) led by Lal Bahadur Basnet on the principle of Socialism, Democracy and the unity of all the Sikkimese people (Basnet, 1974). Soon the fourth general election to the State Council was decided to conduct on April, 1970, through the Proclamation made by the king. As per the respondent view, the proclamation passed by the King was the initial stage in the constitutional development of Sikkim. In accordance to those proclamations the election took place in Sikkim which saw the participation of the people in the political activity for the first time in the history of Sikkim.

### **Movement in the process of transition**

The process to the democratic transition has never been an easy one. There have been great variations in the process of democratisation. In most of the countries, the process of democratisation took the shape of violent conflict where the political elites engaged themselves in the mass repression to avoid having to share their political power. The process of democratisation has been peaceful while in others the establishment of democracy was a result of violent social conflict triggered by uprising of the politically and economically deprived classes (Cervellati, 2011). A question was put forward to the respondent in order to know the perception whether process to democratisation in Sikkim took a shape of violent movement or not. The 70 percent of the respondent said that the movement to democracy in Sikkim dint took a shape of a

violent form. But the remaining 30 percent had no clue about the question put forward to them. According to the respondent, there was no such violent movement that took place in Sikkim in the process of democratisation. Based on the response by the respondent the actual sense of the people of Sikkim was never in favour of revolution. As mentioned by Basnet (1974), in the process of the electoral procedure and counting of the 1973 election which was held in White hall where the verbal exchange took place between the Sikkim National Congress (SNC) who happened to be a Nepali and Sikkim National Party (SNP) whose member happened to be a Bhutia which led to a communal distrust. The very next day, both the political party forwarded their request to the king arresting those officials who were involved in the rigging of the election procedure. When they saw that their demand being neglected, in turn, they formulated the list of demands for the full fledged democracy in Sikkim, a written Constitution, fundamental rights, one man one vote based on adult franchise and the abolition of the Parity Formula (Basnet, 1974).

When the result of the election was declared by the election committee, the Sikkim National Congress (SNC) and Sikkim Janata Congress (SJC) regarded it as conspiracy of the Sikkim National Party and they criticised the government administration. As mentioned by Basnet (1974) there were 2000 people who had gathered in the palace lawn and hold a demonstration for a couple of days. According to the respondent and also mentioned by Basnet (1974) the 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1973 where the entire Sikkim Government were busy in the preparation of the birthday celebration of Chogyal, on the other side Sikkim National Congress (SNC) and Sikkim Janata Party (SJP) formed a Joint Action Committee (JAC) issuing an ultimatum to the king to fulfill their demands. On the basis of the perception made by the respondent the mass population of the citizen had actually came for the celebration and were forcefully taken up by the Indian army to the present day Paljor Stadium to create a picture of movement against Chogyal. As mentioned by Basnet (1974) the policemen were beating the innocent people because they were simply wearing a Nepali dress or a Nepali Cap while in Palace a celebration was in progress as if nothing had happened. Though, Sikkim witnessed a demonstration in the process of democratic transition where an authoritarian regime was being challenged but it never turned out into a violent revolution. Based on the findings made from the respondent few incidents took place in the movement to the democratisation process such as the Sikkimese flag were brought down, rippled and trampled underfoot.

The Chogyal was asked to sign the draft petition, according to which it allowed Government of India to intervene the situation and restore law and order. In the mean time with the intervention of the Government of India, the movement came to an end. But, the overall process of democratisation never escalated into a violent form.

### **The Constitutional Development**

The basis for the development of the constitution was already laid down by the Royal Proclamation passed by the King but the formal institution of democracy was possible only after the dissolution of an authoritarian regime. On 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1973, B.S. Das was appointed as the chief administrator of Sikkim. The Joint Action Committee (JAC) made a list of demand and was put before Chogyal. The demand was made for the Written Constitution, Fundamental Rights, full-fledged democracy, one man one vote, abolition of Parity Formula. A question was put to the respondent to get their perception on the impact of democratisation process in the constitutional development of Sikkim. The 20 percent of the respondent shared their perception on the impact of democratisation on the constitutional development that took place in Sikkim, whereas, the rest 80 percent had no clear idea on the subject of constitutional development. As per the response from one of the general respondent the impact brought by the process of democratisation was in terms of change in provision of the electoral procedure where one man one vote was introduced with the removal of the policy of one Bhutia-Lepcha vote, equal to four Nepali votes and which was seen against the spirit of democracy. The 8<sup>th</sup> May Agreement of 1973 between the Chogyal, Foreign Secretary of India, Joint Action Committee (JAC) and Sikkim National Party (SNP) is regarded to be the basis of the future Constitution of Sikkim. As mentioned by Basnet (1974) the Agreement called for the establishment of fully responsible government in Sikkim, the guarantee of Fundamental Rights, rule of law, an independent Judiciary, greater legislative and executive power and demanded for the election based on the Adult Suffrage, equitable representation of all the sections of the society and one man one vote. On the basis of the 8<sup>th</sup> May Agreement, the king and the people of Sikkim made a request to the government of India to provide the Head of the Administration and an Assembly in Sikkim.

The Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) was introduced and the elections were to be conducted every four years and the assembly had the power to make laws for the welfare of the people on any matters listed below (Basnet, 1974)

1. Education
2. Public Health
3. Excise
4. Press and publicity
5. Transport
6. Bazars
7. Forest
8. Public work
9. Agriculture
10. Food supply
11. Economic and social planning including state enterprise
12. Home and establishment
13. Finance and Land Revenue

It was further substantiated that the Assembly ‘shall not discuss the matters related to the King and his ruling family or any matter which concerns the responsibility of the Government of India, under the agreement between India and Sikkim’.

Executive Council was formed which consisted an elected members of the Assembly and was appointed by the Chogyal. The power of the Chogyal was reduced and India’s hold over Sikkim became firm. The Tripartite Agreement of 8<sup>th</sup> May 1973 was the basis for the constitutional development that took place in Sikkim.

As mentioned by Chakravarti and Nepal (2012) the Proclamation of Representation of Sikkim Subject Act was passed in 1974 by the king and in accordance to this act, the Sikkim Assembly comprised of 32 members and Sikkim was divided into 32 Territorial Constituencies and one Sangha Constituencies. Out of 32 seats the 15 seats were reserved for the Bhutia-Lepcha and 15 seats for the Nepali and 1 seat for the Sangha, the other was reserved for the Schedule Caste. On 16<sup>th</sup> March 1974, the King promulgated the Sikkim Election Offences and Corrupt practices Act, prohibiting meeting on the particular day of the election and the preceding day, offences relating to the disturbance in the polling station, offences for generating enmity between the

different communities. The election to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) took place in 1974 based on the principle of one man one vote. Sikkim Congress secured victory by winning 27 seats out of 28 contested seats. On 10<sup>th</sup> May 1974, the king inaugurated the newly constituted Sikkim Assembly and soon a Government of Sikkim Bill was passed by the Assembly. According to the bill, the council of minister was to form and king appointed a four member council of ministers in 1974 with Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa as the Chief Minister. However, soon or later the conflict between the King and the ministry led the Sikkim lose its identity as a Protectorate, first being an Associate State of India by the 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, 1974 and later a complete merger with the Indian Union by 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1975 (Chakravarti and Nepal,2012).

As mentioned by one of the respondent, Article 371F came up with regard to the 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1975 in the Indian Constitution, which is regarded as one of the immediate political step that came up at the cost of losing the country to the Indian Union. As per the Constitution of India, Article 371F gave a special provision in respect to the State of Sikkim notwithstanding anything in the Constitution. Sikkim became the 22<sup>th</sup> State of Indian Union and was allotted one seat in Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Parliament and one seat in the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Parliament. Thus, the impact of democratisation on the constitutional development and electoral procedure at the initial stage was with the introduction of Royal Proclamation by the King which laid down the norms for conducting the first general election to the State Council (SC). In the process much other development took place including the changes that took place in Sikkim after its merger with the Indian Union.

### **Merger of Sikkim**

The small kingdom of Sikkim got merged to the Indian Union in the process to democratisation. Therefore, to know what the people of Sikkim think about the merger of country with the Indian Union, a question was put to the respondent that in their opinion Sikkim merger with Indian Union was a wise decision or Sikkim as a monarchy would have been better. The 80 percent of the respondent perception was against the merger and they felt that the merger was not the wise decision because they believed that Sikkim shared a unique identity and which cannot be related with India. They identify themselves as more of Sikkimese before calling themselves as Indian. According to the response from the general respondent, they wanted the basic element of democracy with the monarchial regime but not a full merger of state with the Indian Union. The

rest 20 percent of the respondent believed that merger was a wise decision because the development that we enjoy today is only because of merger with the Indian Union. The opinion shared by one of the respondent was that the merger of Sikkim with Indian Union was not at all a decision of a mass because the interest of the entire population was not involved. However, in no time Sikkim lost its identity as a Protectorate, first being an Associate State of India by the 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, 1974 and later a complete merger with the Indian Union by 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1975. The king could not withstand the new existing political system. The transitional process from an authoritarian system to liberal democracy came to an end after 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1975 that constituted Sikkim with the Indian Union.

In the process there came liberal democracy but as stated by Sartori (cited in Whitehead, 2002) a democracy exists only in so far as its ideals and values bring it into being. A question was asked to the respondent in order to understand the present political scenario of Sikkim that whether that standard and stability are provided to the political institution which the authoritarian regime failed to do so. The response that came up gave a different picture of the existing regime. The perception of the 70 percent of the general respondent was that they do enjoy certain basic elements of democracy and especially when it comes to the freedom of expression. The rest 30 percent of the respondent feel that the present political system has been able to provide that minimum standard but there comes a limitation in its function. As stated by one of the respondent “all the political party that came up in forming democratic governance did not have any base for the overall development of Sikkim. Democracy came too early in Sikkim”. He substantiated his statement saying that Bhutan King took an example of Sikkim and brought the changes in the existing regime by providing the basic elements of democracy. It was done in order to prevent an uprising by the politically deprived classes and fueled by failed attempt of repression.

## **Conclusion**

Democracy is a multi-faceted phenomenon that embraces the citizen participation in the electoral procedure, the participation in the political activity, their satisfaction and trust in the State institutions. Sikkim has witnessed the wave of democracy from 1940s itself when the three political organisations sprang up, Praja Sudarak Samaj (PSS) under the leadership of Tashi Tshering, Sonam Tshering and Kezang Tenzing, Praja Sammelan under the leadership of Gobardhan Pradhan and Dhan Bahadur Tiwari and Praja Mandal under the Kazi Lhendup Dorji

Khangarpa. The formation of the political parties was the initial step in bringing down the change in the system of government. The wave of change that Sikkim experienced soon after India gained its independence in 1947 which sent a shock wave in Sikkim as well. The chapter trace down the process involved in the transition to liberal democracy. It is concerned with exploring and explaining the process that came through transition period from an authoritarian rule to liberal democracy. The mutual distrust and antagonism reached to a height where ministry found it difficult to carry on with the King as the head of the state and on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1975, the Sikkim Assembly unanimously passed a resolution seeking the abolition of the institution of monarchy and demanding a full-fledged merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union. The perception of the general respondent and the local political leaders has been cooperated on the different subject of transition, condition of the people during the authoritarian regime, the evolution of the political parties, electoral procedure, constitutional development and the status of Sikkim after merger with the Indian Union.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Conclusion**

#### **Introduction**

In the way back in 1940s when India was under the wave of change and establishing democracy, the mass populations of Sikkim were subjected to the domination of the feudal lords. The administration in Sikkim was ruled by the upper circle of feudal lords known as Kazi and Thikadars, who claimed themselves belonging to the old nobility. It was Indian Independence of 1947 that encouraged the few intelligent people of Sikkim to come together with pronounced political aim. The root for the transition to democracy was laid down much before when mass population of Sikkim were subjected to the discrimination of landlords. The seed to the process for democratisation was sown by the three political organisations, Praja Sudarak Samaj (PSS) at Gangtok under the leadership of Tashi Tshering, Sonam Tshering and Kezang Tenzing, a second organisation was Praja Sammelan at Temi Tarku under the leadership of Gobhardhan Pradhan and Dhan Bahadur Tiwari, and Praja Mandal at Chakhung under Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa. In the history of Sikkim, for the first time people participated in a political meeting organised by three political parties in the polo ground, present day Paljor Stadium. The similarities in the ideology brought the three political organisations under one political party known as Sikkim State Congress (SSC). They formed a resolution for bringing up the political and economic reform in Sikkim and this could be possible through abolition of landlordism, formation of interim government and accession of Sikkim with Indian Union. In a mean time another political party came to existence Sikkim National Party (SNP) which was regarded to be pro- Chogyal party as it stood against the ideals of the Sikkim State Congress (SSC). The democratisation process would be in complete if citizen do not participate in the electoral system. It was in January, 1952, the Royal Proclamation was passed by king who laid down the mode of election on the basis of Parity Formula where the twelve elective seats in the SC, of whom six were reserved for the Bhutia-Lepcha community and six for the Nepali community. The other five members were to be nominated by the King itself. The State Council of seventeen members was formed with the Dewan as the President.

The first election to the State Council was conducted on the basis of Parity Formula in mid-1953. In the process many other elections were conducted where the elective seats in the State Council was raised through Royal Proclamation.

The demand was made for the drafting of democratic constitution for Sikkim incorporating the fundamental rights and the directive principles as inspired by the Indian Constitution. The other demands for the one man one vote based on adult franchise were also put forward by the political parties but the king and his administration negligence to those demands resulted in the 1973 uprising. This period saw a mass agitation against the king where the situation went out of the control and only through the intervention of Government of India, the uprising was practically over. In the mean time, the Government of India appointed B.S. Das as Chief Administrator of Sikkim and the process was already laid down for merging Sikkim with the Indian Union. The 8<sup>th</sup> May Agreement of 1973 between Kewal Singh, the foreign secretary of India, the Chogyal, the Joint Action Committee (JAC) and Sikkim National Party (SNP) laid down the basis for the future Constitution of Sikkim as well as future Indo-Sikkim Treaty. The Agreement called for the establishment of the full-fledged responsible government in Sikkim with the democratic constitution, the guarantee of fundamental rights, the rule of law, an independent judiciary and greater legislative and executive power for those elected representatives of the people. Based on it on 10<sup>th</sup> May, 1974, a newly constituted Sikkim Assembly was inaugurated by the King. The Government of Bill 1974 was passed by the Sikkim Assembly, where the council of minister was to be formed on the basis of 1974 election with the Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangsarpa as the Chief Minister. Soon a conflict developed between the ministry and the King, where the Council of minister found difficult to carry on with the Chogyal as the head of the state. The newly formed Sikkim Assembly passed a resolution seeking the abolition of the institution of monarchy and demanding a merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union. The landmark in the history of Sikkim was losing its identity as a Protectorate, being an Associate State of India by the 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, 1974 and later a complete merger with the Indian Union by 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment 1974. In the mean time, the Sikkim Assembly was formed by the 32 members on the basis of 1974 election and Sikkim was allotted one seat each in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and the whole of Sikkim constituted one Parliamentary Constituency.

Thus, the process of transition to form a liberal democracy came to an end with the full-fledged merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union and Sikkim became the 22<sup>nd</sup> state of India.

### **Summary of the study**

The process of democratisation takes place when people start participating in the group discussion and put forward their demand for a better institution. The demand for the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic system begins when people start realising that they are subjected to the domination and discrimination by the existing institution. Similarly, in Sikkim the mass population of the peasant group was under the feudal bondage of the Kazis and Thikadars. The process of transition brings down the immediate change in the political arrangement of the society and the role played by the existing institution. In the mean time there comes up many organisations which facilitates and enhance the desirability of democracy. Those organisations bring up the demand for the written constitution, fundamental rights and socio-economic development as a whole.

The chapter one highlights the research study made in the transition process that took place in Sikkim from 1953 to 1975. An effort has been made in understanding the two important dimension of democracy that is participation and contestation of citizen in the electoral process. Before understanding the transition process in Sikkim from an authoritarian regime to liberal democracy, a conceptual study has been done in Chapter 2. The authoritarian regime as mentioned by scholar such as Linz (1975) is a political system with limited and not responsible government towards its citizen in which a power is concentrated in the hand of few individual. There is always a presence of single dominant authority which rarely holds an election with a fear that they could be replace by the other dominant party. There are different form of authoritarian regime as mentioned by Hadenus and Toerell (2006) monarchy where the person of royal descent has inherited the position of the head of the state, other one is the military where the military officers hold the authority of the state by virtue or threatened use of force and electoral regime where dominance of one party rule exist and prohibits the existence of other political parties. Therefore in a process a transition takes place from authoritarian regime to liberal democracy. There are different theories of democracy such as Protective democracy, Pluralist democracy, Participatory democracy and Performance democracy and each of this theory has been described in Chapter 2. In the process of democratisation, there involves different phases from the evolution of the political organisations, participation of the people in

the democratic movement, establishment of the electoral system and bringing down the existing authoritarian regime. The Chapter 3 includes the phases in the path to democracy in Sikkim, where at the initial stage the evolution of the three political organisation took place which brought the wave of democratisation in Sikkim. It highlights the establishment of the electoral system with the Royal Proclamation of 1952 which laid down the procedure to conduct the first general election to the State Council in Sikkim in 1953. And many other Proclamations were passed by the King in accordance to which other election to the State Council was conducted. The final phase in the establishment of liberal democracy in Sikkim was seen with the full-fledged merger of the state with the Indian Union through the 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1975 which gave an identity of Associate State of India and later with the 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, Sikkim was fully merged with the Indian Union as 22<sup>nd</sup> state. The Chapter 4 highlights the process of democratisation that took place in Sikkim and the condition that prevailed which led the people to bring a change in the system. The process towards democracy is possible only when people come together to form an organisations and place their demand to the existing regime. The chapter 4 includes the perception and the understanding of the general respondent and the local political leaders on the subject of democracy, transition, electoral process and the constitutional development.

### **Summary of the study key findings**

The major finding of the study was that the transition process in Sikkim came in the wave of the India's Independence of 1947. Before that the people of Sikkim never experienced their participation in the political activity. According to the 80 percent of the respondent, the process of transition to democracy was partly a choice made by the citizen under the influence of the political leaders who made a word with the local people to free them from the domination of the feudal lords known as Kazi and Thikadars. The rest 20 percent of the respondent did not have any specific answer to the question. As per the respondent view, the political structure that prevailed in Sikkim under the monarchial regime was basically weakened by the upper circle of the elite classes who misused their power in the suppression of the general citizen and the mass population of Sikkim under the authoritarian rule were not against the King but with the administration under the monarchial regime. In accordance to the finding made on the type of transition that citizen were expecting, the 70 percent of the respondent perception was the change in the working of the administration under the monarchial regime. The rest 30 percent of

the respondent view was that the citizens were suppressed under the domination of the feudal lords but their understanding on the transition was not the dissolution of the entire monarchial regime. Under the authoritarian rule in Sikkim the citizens minimally enjoy their political rights. According to the finding made on the political condition of citizens under the authoritarian rule, the 50 percent of respondent said that they did not enjoy any form of political freedom as they enjoy today. The 30 percent of respondent had no idea on this subject and the rest 20 percent of the respondent perception was that there exist only limited political freedom but as compared to other monarchial regime, Sikkim did give minimum political freedom to its citizens. The remarkable burst in the process to democratisation is marked with the origin of the political parties and the organisations which provides the platform for the common citizen to put forward their grievances. Only 30 percent of the respondent was able to trace the name of the organisation and those political parties but the rest 70 percent of the respondent was not able to trace those political parties and the organisations. According to the respondent the political parties that came up in the wake of bringing change in the existing regime were Sikkim National Congress (SNC) under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorji Khangarpa, Sikkim National Party (SNP) under Netuk Tshering Lama and Sikkim Janata Party (SJP) under K.C. Pradhan. Thus, the evolution of the political parties in Sikkim was only in 1940s in the wake of India's Independence movement. As per the finding made from the respondent, there did not exist single political party before 1940s when Sikkim was dwelling under the authoritarian rule of Chogyal. It was only in 1946, the three political parties that came up in Sikkim in the presence of the authoritarian regime such as Sikkim State Congress (SSC), Sikkim National Party (SNP) and Janata Party.

In the process of democratisation, the constitutional development also took place in Sikkim. The 20 percent of the respondent shared their perception but the majority 80 percent of the respondent did not have a clear idea on the constitutional development that took place in Sikkim in the process of democratisation. According to the respondent perception the introduction of the Royal Proclamation from 1952 laid down the basis for the constitutional development and which brought a system of diarchy where the reserved subjects were kept under the control of the King and other subjects were administered by the people's representative. The transition process to democratisation has never been a smooth one; either the process of democratisation takes shape of a violent revolution or through the peaceful negotiations. According to the 70 percent of the

respondent the process of democratisation in Sikkim never took a shape of a violent form. The people of Sikkim in actual sense were never in the favour of revolution. They were against the system of feudalism and were aspiring for a change in the working of administration. The rest 30 percent of the respondent did not give the answer to the particular question. In the process of establishing a liberal democracy, Sikkim witnessed the intervention of Government of India, and the absolute power of the King was reduced and he remained only the head of the state. The formation of the Sikkim Legislative Assembly on 10<sup>th</sup> May, 1974 took place in the process which comprised of 32 elected members (Chakravarti and Nepal, 2012). It was based on the principle of Parity Formula. The 32 seats were divided into 15 each for the Bhutia-Lepcha and the Nepali community and other 2 reserved for the Sangha and the Scheduled Caste (SC) respectively. For the first time the election to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly took place in 1974 which was based on the principle of one man one vote. According to the perception of the respondent, the introduction of Article 371F in the Indian Constitution was the development that came up, after merger with the Indian Union, in accordance to the 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act, 1975. This Article 371F gave the special provision to the state of Sikkim notwithstanding anything in the Constitution. The merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union was not a wise decision as per the 80 percent of the general respondent because they believed till date Sikkim shares a unique identity which cannot be related to India. They identify themselves as more of Sikkimese before calling themselves Indian. According to the respondent, merger of Sikkim with the Indian Union cannot be regarded as a decision because the interest of the entire population was not kept under the consideration. The respondent expressed their feeling that if Sikkim would have been separate Kingdom, we would have our own king, national flag and a separate identity. The 20 percent of the respondent view towards the merger was a positive decision in the process of establishing a democratic institution. The process of to the transition from an authoritarian regime to liberal democracy came to an end with the complete merger of the state with the Indian Union. Sikkim witnessed the evolution of the liberal democracy but according to the 70 percent of the respondent view, the citizen under the present political institution of Sikkim does not enjoy the basic freedom of expression. While, the 30 percent of the respondent feel that the present institution has been able to provide the standard and stability, which a democratic institution experience. Based on their response, all the political parties that came up in forming democratic governance did not have a base for the overall development of Sikkim and the

process to the transition to democracy came too early in Sikkim. The subjugated condition of the peasant and the inefficiency of the administration under Chogyal have sown a seed for the transition from an authoritarian regime to the establishment of a liberal democracy.

### **Conclusions**

The study on the Democratic Transition and the Constitutional Development in Sikkim, 1953-1975, traces out the political condition that surfaced Sikkim under the monarchial regime. The process towards democratisation in Sikkim came up only in 1940s, when the wave of Indian Independence inspired the few educated people of Sikkim. Until 1946, there did not exist neither a single political organisation nor political parties under the authoritarian rule. The mass population of Sikkim was under the subjection of discrimination and domination by the feudal lords who were termed as Kazi and Thikadars. They minimally enjoyed any political freedom. The illegitimate practice of forced labour existed in Sikkim during the authoritarian regime. Sikkim was under the feudal yoke for more than 300 years. It was only in 1946, when the three political parties were introduced in Sikkim, which brought the remarkable burst in the phase of democratisation in Sikkim. In the process, the Royal Proclamation of 1952 was passed by the King which was the initial step in the constitutional development of Sikkim. On the basis of this Proclamation, the first election to the State council was held in 1953 based on the Parity Formula. The people of Sikkim never participated in any political activity, until 1946, when the three political parties organised a movement in the process of bringing change in the administrative system. The different phases in the process of transition took place only after the wave of India's Independence. Sikkim never witnessed a violent form of movement in its transitional process because the mass population was never in the favour of revolution. The transition process of Sikkim from authoritarian regime to liberal democracy witnessed the intervention of Government of India and its impact on the political system of the state. The state came across the stage where it lost its identity as Protectorate and became the Associate State of India by the 35<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act of 1974 and later a complete merger with the Indian Union by 36<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act 1975.

### **Suggestion for the further studies**

The study on the Democratic Transition and Constitutional Development in Sikkim (1953-1975), has examined the political condition that prevailed in Sikkim under the authoritarian rule and those organisations that provided a political platform for the common citizen to raise their voice against the discrimination and domination by the feudal lords. The impact of democratisation in the electoral system and constitutional development has been done, but more future research in the particular area can be made from the larger perspective, where the constitutional development can be studied separately that came up after the merger with the Indian Union. Due to the constraint of time, the more detail on the perspective of India could not be studied and which can be incorporated by the future scholar who does a study in particular area.

### **Contribution of the Study**

The contribution of the study to the literature and knowledge is as follows; firstly this work provides the detail of the democratic transition process that took place in Sikkim. Secondly, the knowledge generated by this study may be useful in understanding the constitutional development and electoral system in the state of Sikkim.

### **Limitations**

The study on “Democratic Transition and Constitutional Development in Sikkim, 1953-1975” had some limitations. Firstly, the study gets limited when it comes to the larger perspective where the role of international agents in the transition process of Sikkim could be studied. Secondly, the constitutional development could not be studied in more detail manner due to the constraint of time. Lastly, the study was limited in terms of finding a respondent who had witnessed the transition period because most of them had already passed away.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson. A. James (2006). *Economic Origin of Dictatorship and Democracy*, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Altemeyer, Robert (1996). *The Authoritarian Spectator*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Anderson, Lisa (2011). *Democracy, Authoritarianism and regime change in the Arab world*, London School of Economics and Political Science, Middle East Centre, Cairo.
- Arora, Vibha(2012). The Democratic Challenge to Secularizing Sikkim's 'Scared' landscape in Mohammad Yasin and Durga P. Chhetri (ed.) *Politics, Society and Development: Insights from Sikkim*, Delhi, Kalpaz Publication:48-54.
- Basnet, L.B. (1974). *Sikkim: A short political history*, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co. Pvt. Ltd.
- Bently, Arthur (1967). *The Process of Government*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Harvard University Press.
- Bernhard, Michael (1993). Civil Society and Democratic Transition in East Central Europe, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.108, No.2:307-326.
- Bern, Walter (1919). *Democracy and the constitution*, Washington D.C, The AEI Press.
- Bhadra, Madhumita (1992). *Sikkim: Democracy and Social Change*, Calcutta, Minerva Associates Publication Bern, Walter (1919). *Democracy and the constitution*, Washington D.C, The AEI Press.
- Birch, Sarah (2003). *Electoral system and political transformation in post-communist Europe*, Hampshire, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Campbell, Kim and Sean C. Carroll(2005). *Sustaining Democracy's Last Wave*, Georgetown Journal of International Affairs6, no. 2 :45–52.
- Cervellati, Matteo, Fortunato, Piergiuseppe, Sunde, Uwe (2011). *Democratisation and civil liberties: the role of violence during the transition*, Germany, IZA.
- Chakrabarti, Anjan (2012). From share tenancy to agrarian reform: Sikkim in perspective In Mohammad Yasin and Durga P. Chhetri (ed.) *Politics, Society and Development: Insights from Sikkim*, Delhi, Kalpaz Publication.
- Chakravarti K.R, Nepal Y. P (2012). Sikkim: A Historical Perspective on the Politics of Merger in Mohammad Yasin and Durga P. Chhetri (ed.) *Politics, Society and Development: Insights from Sikkim*, Delhi, Kalpaz Publication:149-185.

- Choudhury, Maitreyee (2012). Challenges of urban management and sustainability of towns In Mohammad Yasin and Durga P. Chhetri (ed.) *Politics, Society and Development: Insights from Sikkim*, Delhi, Kalpaz Publication.
- Cortona, Pietro, Guilli. Di (1991). From Communism to Democracy: Rethinking regime change in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, *International Social Science Journal*, 43(2):316.
- Cunningham, Frank (2002). *Theories of Democracy: A critical introduction*, Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge.
- Dankwart, Rustow (1970). *Transition to democracy: towards a dynamic model*, New York, Vol.2 (3):337-363.
- Das, B.S (1983). *Sikkim Saga*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House.
- Dahl, Robert (1998). *On Democracy*, Yale, Yale University Press.
- Diamond, Larry and Plattner, F. Marc (2002). *Democracy after Communism*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dolenec, Danijela (2013). *Democratic institution and authoritarian rule in Southeast Europe*, U.K, ECPR Press, University of Essex.
- Down, Anthony (1957). *An Economic Theory of Voting*, New York, Harper and Row.
- Geddes, Barbara (1999). What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2:115–44.
- Gurung, Suresh (2012). State policies and tribal communities of Sikkim: An ethnic perspective In Mohammad Yasin and Durga P. Chhetri (eds) *Politics, Society and Development: Insights from Sikkim*, Delhi, Kalpaz Publication.
- Hadenius, Axel, Teorell, Jan (2006). *Authoritarian regime: stability, change and pathways to democracy, 1972-2003*, The Helen Kellogg institute for international studies, Kellog Institute.
- Hayek, Friedrich A (1979). *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, Volume 3: The political order of free people, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Held, David (2006). *Models of Democracy*, California, Stanford University Press.
- Hethrington, J. Marc and Weiter, D. Jonathan (2009). *Authoritarianism and Polarization in American Politics*, U.K. Cambridge University Press.
- Huntington, P. Samuel (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press.

- Inkeles, Alex (1991). *On Measuring Democracy: Its Consequences and Concomitants*, New Brunswick and London.
- Jalal, Ayesha (1995). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A comparative and historical perspective*. United Kingdom, Cambridge University: 29-31.
- Linz, Juan (1975). Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes In Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds.) Addison-Wesley
- Lizphart,Arend(1999).*Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.
- Lowenthal F, Bitar, Sergio (2015). *From Authoritarian Rule towards Democratic Governance: Learning from political leaders*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott (1989). *Transition to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative issues*, Kellogg Institute, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.
- Munk L, Gerardo (2011). *Democratic Theory: after transition from Authoritarian rule*, American political Science Annual Convention.
- Powell, G. Bingham (1982). *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Przeworski A, Alvarez M,Cheibub A. J and Limongi F (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Rai, Dhanraj (2013). Monarchy and Democracy in Sikkim and the contribution of Kazi Lhendup Dorjee, *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Volume 3, Issue 9:1-13.
- Rustow A. Dankwart (1999). Transition to democracy: Towards a dynamic model in Lisa Anderson (ed.) *Transition to democracy*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Schmitter, Philippe (1995).*On Civil Society and the Consolidation of Democracy: Ten Propositions*, mimeo, Stanford Department of Political Science.
- Schmitter, Philippeand Karl, Terry Lynn (1993).*What Democracy is . . . And is not* In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds).
- Schumpeter, A. Joseph (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, New York, Harper.
- Schumpeter, A. Joseph (1962). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, New York, Harper.

- Sengupta, Nirmalananda (1985). *State Government and Politics of Sikkim*, New Delhi, Sterling Publisher, Pvt.ltd.
- Sinha, A.C (2009). *Sikkim: Feudal and Democratic*, New Delhi, Indus Publishing Company.
- Sodaro, Michael. J (2004). Comparative Politics: A global introduction, New York, Mc Grawhill.
- Stradiotta A. Gary, Sujian Guo (2010). Transitional modes of democratization and democratic outcomes, *International journal of world peace*, Volume XXVII, No. 4: 5-36.
- Suttner, Raymond (2004). *Democratic Transition and Consolidation in South Africa: the advice of the experts*, Pretoria, HSRC Publisher: 337-363.
- Terchek J. Ronald, Conte C. Thomas (2011). *Theories of democracies*, United States of America, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Thapa, Bahadur. Ganga(2015). *Does Democracy matter? A study on challenges for peace in Nepal*, International Journal of Political Science and Development, Vol. 3(7): 301-325.
- Valenzuela J. Samuel (1990). *Democratic consolidation in post- transitional settings: notion, process and facilitating conditions*, University of Notre, Dame Press.
- Whitehead, Laurence (2002). *Oxford studies in democratisation*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Yasin, Mohammad and Chhetri P. Durga (2012). *Politics, Society and Development: Insights from Sikkim*, Delhi, Kalpaz Publication.

\*\*\*\*\*