MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY
UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
IN SIKKIM, 1970-1994

A Thesis Submitted

To

Sikkim University

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the

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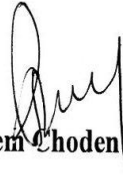
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July 2019

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled **"Monarchy to Democracy Understanding Political Development in Sikkim, 1970-1994"** submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, is my original work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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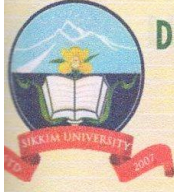
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i

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled *"Monarchy to Democracy Understanding Political Development in Sikkim, 1970-1994"* submitted to the Sikkim University for partial fulfillment of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies and Management embodies the result of bonafide research work carried out by **Pem Choden Tenzing** under my guidance and supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any other Degree, Diploma, Association and fellowship.

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

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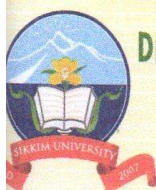
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List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

APCC	:	All Party Citizenship Committee
COI	:	Certificate of Identification
DTYC	:	Denzong Tribal Yargay Chogpa
INC	:	Indain National Congress
MISA	:	Maintenance of Internal Security Act
PO	:	Political Officer
SAM	:	Scandinavian Alliance Mission
SC	:	Sikkim Congress
SDF	:	Sikkim Democratic Front
SJC	:	Sikkim Janta Congress
SJP	:	Sikkim Janta Parishad
SNP	:	Sikkim National Party
SPC	:	Sikkim Pradesh Congress
SSC	:	Sikkim State Congress
SSP	:	Sikkim Sangram Parishad
ST	:	Schedule Tribe
SYPM	:	Sikkim Youth Pioneer Movement
UN	:	United Nations
USA	:	United States of America

Contents

CHAPTER – 1

Introduction

On 16th May 1975, by the passing of the 36th Amendment Act, Sikkim became the 22nd state of India. Sikkim had made a transition from a tradition-bound Monarchy to Democracy as institutional changes were made, and democratic processes were put in place. Within a historical context, Political Development from a more traditional political form to a more inclusive, participatory and accountable type of political system had occurred. However, merely establishment of institutions and setting up of democratic processes do not engender democratic values in the populace. Historical legacies in the form of political culture have a bearing on the workings of a political system. Therefore, to understand the practice of democracy and Political Development in Sikkim, it is imperative to understand the political culture that prevailed in Sikkim under Monarchy. This then contributes to a better understanding of the determinants of Political Development in Sikkim.

Political Development as a theory emerged after the Second World War. The Cold War that followed had divided the world along ideological lines and as the process of decolonisation ensued, the desire to better comprehend the newly independent countries led the Western academics to focus on area studies. Through the area studies they aspired to tackle the problems of these areas and also develop a theory of Political Development. Consequently, Political Development as a concept gained considerable academic attention and different scholars began to arrive at different interpretations. Some perceived Political Development as a step towards economic development while a few others regarded it as something typical of industrial societies. To a lot of writers Political Development was synonymous with

Political Modernisation, while others saw it as the operation of the nation states. The concept has also been defined in terms of administrative legal development, while a few see Political Development as building democracy, while still others insist that stability and orderly change are more the mark of a politically developed society. Political Development also began to be perceived in terms of arriving at a certain standard of development found in the Western countries. However, in order to break away from ethnocentric definitions, at various levels Political Development began to be viewed in terms of existence of certain variables like role differentiation, cultural secularisation as in importance being given to rationality with rulers developing secular targets and existence of structures that are autonomous in their own specific field.

As more academic research was carried out, the understanding of Political Development began to undergo a shift. Political Development began to be understood not as much in terms of arrival at a certain said standard or in terms of existence of certain variables but also in terms of a process of change, or a transition from a more outmoded to a more inclusive, participatory and accountable type of political system. Many began to view it as a product or consequence of tensions within the political system and society. Many times, the transition that comes about from one kind of political system to the other is accompanied by legacies that impact the functioning of a new system. Political orientations, attitudes and political behaviour of a populace are often dictated by historical legacies. Collective memory and political orientations are ingredients that contribute to the development of a political culture. Political culture often determines the changes that come about in a polity. Often merely establishment of institutions and setting up of processes that are democratic in nature does not portend a democratic political culture.

Following a similar line of thought, in 1975 Sikkim became a part of India and a transition had occurred from a Monarchy to a Democracy. In order to understand this transition, it becomes necessary to delve into the political culture in pre-1975 Sikkim and trace its Political Development. Academically this aspect of Sikkim's past lies unexplored and this research remedies this shortcoming as it assesses Political Development of Sikkim through the lens of the former subjects of the kingdom.

Rationale and Scope of the Study

At any historical juncture certain demands requiring drastic changes are made on a political system by the environment. Political Development is often the resultant process that enables the adjustments leading to a progressive change or decay. Sikkim from the mid-1940s began experiencing an upsurge of demands on the system. In order to meet the changing nature of society and to fulfil the growing clamour for change, Sikkim began travelling a path that eventually culminated in its union with India, consequently leading to institutional change from a Monarchy to a Democracy. The procedures for a democratic Sikkim were set in place. The peculiarities that surrounded Sikkim's foray into democracy opened up the questions of the nature of democracy in the state. Studies, which examine political events sequentially and analysed Sikkim's 'merger' with India, have been carried out. A few issues of conflict in post-1975 Sikkim have been the focus of many authors but when delving into Political Development of Sikkim none of the studies have specifically investigated the assessment of the transition from Monarchy to Democracy by the 'transition-generation'. The 'transition–generation' consists of those groups of people who experienced Sikkim's transition from a Monarchy to a Democracy. With each passing year, there is a steady depletion in numbers of this group of people and there

is a need and an urgency to study and understand Political Development of Sikkim through their lens. This research contributes to the growing body of literature on Sikkim and will help in understanding issues of conflict and practice of democracy in post-1975 Sikkim, and impact of political culture on political outcomes.

The main thrust of this study would cover the years from 1970 till 1994.

Political Development: Theoretical Perspectives

Political Development as a term gained usage in the 1960s. As the Second World War came to a close, an ideological division of the world led to a Cold War developing with the western democracies headed by the USA on one side, and the Communist bloc led by the erstwhile Soviet Union on the other. In this backdrop many new nations emerged out of the colonies that were undergoing a process of decolonisation. The communists believed in spreading their ideology to the new nations while the western powers sought to contain them. In order to do so the western nations needed to have a better understanding of these regions. As different scholars undertook this task they came up with different theories of Political Development.

The decolonised nations, each came from different socio-cultural and economic background and hence a set of peculiarities marked one different from the others. Therefore, as the scholars sought to arrive at a theory of Political Development, the definitions of the concept that emerged were diverse, making the term ambiguous. If some perceived Political Development as a necessary condition for economic development, others began to use the term synonymously with Political Modernisation, while others wrote about it in the context of nation states. Very many scholars defined Political Development in terms of administrative legal development,

still others stressed on development of a participatory system of government. Political Development was also perceived in terms of arriving at a certain, minimum standard which the nations of the West had previously achieved. Different criteria began to be used to identify a politically developed society, though the approach towards equality was generally considered important. Stability and orderly change were also held very important by some as a mark of politically developed society.

The debate on Political Development continued to unfold. Accordingly, some were of the opinion that Political Development was a consequence of socio-economic changes (Chakraborty, 2005: 304). In a similar strain, writers like Karl Deutsch recognised the role of social mobilisation in Political Development. He explained that when the process of modernisation occurs it requires large number of people to move from the places they originally inhabited as they get employment elsewhere. This results in them facing new experiences and altered circumstances eroding their earlier psychological and economic ties. As they are uprooted from the familiar, they become a part of clusters elsewhere. Their needs change and the traditional government despite making a superficial attempt to keep up with the times become unable to meet the demands made on them. As demands increase, so does the pressure for a more drastic change. This then eventually results in Political Development. Similarly, the process of decolonisation also brought rapid changes unleashing a challenge for nations of Africa and Asia to accomplish within a short time what the West had taken centuries to achieve[1] (Deutsch, 1996).

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[1] "In developing countries of today,however, the increasingly ineffective and unpopular traditional authorities cannotbereplaced successfully by their historic successors in theWesternWorld,the classic institutions of the 18th and 19th century Liberalism and Laissez-faire.For the uprooted,impoverished and disoriented masses produced by social mobilization,it is surely untrue that that government is best that governs the least. They are far more likely to need a direct transition

Political Development studied in the European context traces its origins to emergence of nation states in the 16th century as a product of internal process, the renaissance which stimulated nationalistic feelings and reformation which laid stress on individual's rational capacity (Aruri, 1972). The western states to arrive at their level of Political Development did not do so smoothly and in the course of few years. Liberal democracy, which they hold up as a model, took centuries of violent struggle and accidents of history, according to Francis Fukuyama. In his (1992) book 'End of history and the last man' and his other writings and lectures, he talks of the liberal democracy as constituting a possible end of history. He puts forth an ideal form of developed state in 'Denmark'. Denmark is put up as an example for its democracy, low level of corruption and the fact that it is well governed. He also talks of a move of various European states that through accidents of history evolved from patrimonial states to a more impersonal state. He also puts forth the view that in studying Political Development, the Chinese as early as 3rd century B.C. had evolved a very strong state system. Strong state being one of the key components of his idea of Political Development. He, however, says that the Chinese fell short in other components like accountability.

Fukuyama tries to remedy the preoccupation of Political Development in context of western states and tries to highlight some contributions made by the eastern civilisations like those of China and India. To avoid ethnocentric

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from traditional government to the essentials of a modern welfare state. The developing countriesof Asia,Africa and parts of Latin America mayhave to accomplish,therefore,within decades a process of political change which in the history of Western Europe and North America took at least many generations;and they may have to accomplish this accelerated change almost in the manner of a jump, omitting as impractical some of the historic stages of transition through a period of near Laissez–faire that occurred in the West(Deutsch,1961:498)."

interpretation of Political Development, attempts were made to understand Political Development in terms of three distinguishable attributes. Accordingly, he identified the state, rule of law and accountability of government as essential.

Most views on Political Development agree on importance of mass involvement in political activities whether it be democratic or totalitarian mobilisation, a codified system of law which is universalistic in character and impersonal in application, merit in appointment or recruitment to political office. Another important characteristic is related to efficiency and effectiveness of a political system. The assumption is that a developed society would be able to do a lot more work and in a more thorough way. Political Development would also involve rationality in administration, a secular approach to policy making and differentiation and specialisation, which implies functional specificity, and integration of complex structures and processes within the system. Strengthening of democratic culture and practice too is an important element of Political Development (Pye, 1972). Some writers have tried to study Political Development by assessing three major variables, e.g. Role differentiations, cultural secularisation and subsystem autonomy, the last of which implies the existence of autonomous structures performing their role in their specific area. The implication being politically developed society would exhibit these characteristics (Almond and Powell, 1966).

Political Development has also been described as an aspect of multidimensional process of social change that occurs within a political system as a result of tensions within the political system and society. For Huntington in order to have stable governance the building of political institutions was key (Huntington,1968).One of the key problems that these transitional societies faced in the process of change was the problem of integration. The governments of the new

7

nations were ill-equipped to handle the tasks before them and issues such as national identity, territorial control, relation between the people and those who governed them began to create problems of integration (Weiner,1965).In the newly decolonised societies the existence of traditional structures, linguistic divisions and aspirations of contesting groups gave a unique twist to Political Development in different countries of the Third World.

Political Development in the Third World

With the onset of decolonisation in the 20th century and the emergence of the newly independent nations, the discourse and study of Political Development gained momentum. As an idea, Political Development was not new, however as an area of study it was decolonisation that gave a fillip to this concept. In fact, it was enlightenment that left a legacy of liberalism and socialism,both of which dealt with issues of equality and freedom that form the core of a politically developed society. As decolonisation ensued, there were serious concerns as to the path the new nations would take. As most of their economies were in disarray it was feared that many would opt for a communist model of development if unchecked. There was a need for stable framework through which development would be enabled.

The state was the instrument and the framework through which social and political will was to be made manifest. Strong states emerged while the political societies remained weak. This meant low levels of participation, accountability and even lesser democratisation. In some countries, organisations such as army gained strength at the cost of other social institutions leading to institutionalized violence. Political Development began to mean not as much as arriving at a western standard of liberal democracy but rather a process. It involved human political relations, aspects

of application of power and change. Political Development began to be understood as a process of change, a transition to a more inclusive, participatory accountable type of political system from an older and an outdated form (Kingsbury, 2007). This meant a shift in the perception of Political Development from arriving at a fixed standard as put forth by western democracies to a process of adjustment of political system to demands made on it by economic, social, cultural and political structural conditions at that point of time in history (Jaguaribe, 1968).

Political Development of Third World nations in some cases ran contrary to the ideas of change following an acceptable path. The western liberal democratic ideas were not always accepted in totality as traditional historical influences as well as different ethical legacies at least in some of the Pacific Asian countries served to make the people reluctant to accept political practices of their colonial masters. Though the democratic trend was visible in different corners of the world, the nations of Pacific Asia were more suspicious of any attempt to spread democratic values. They perceived such attempts as a patronising move targeted to destabilise them and shackle them ideologically (Jones,1997). In the Middle East the same attempt to promote values and institutions of democracy are seen as an extension of colonial experience. When western policymakers made efforts to frame policies for peace and state building in the Middle East, their effort was looked upon with suspicion (Jung, 2006). In addition to the reluctance to accept ideological influence of the West, geographical and root civilizational differences, e.g. Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Confucianism had a major impact on society, politics and every aspect of socio-Political Development. The concept and ideas of nation states and authority had developed over a period, and the nations of Europe did have some commonality of history, but this was something lacking in Asia (except of course the colonial rule).

9

However, the Asian Political Development was affected by peculiarities that existed in the society which involved issues of identity and dignity related to the leaders; a network and nature of relationship between the superior and subordinate and such subtle cultural peculiarities that guided any ideas of progress (Pye and Pye, 1985).

The tiny Asian Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan in South Asia is a case in point. It has its own unique story of Political Development. Bhutan was a theocratic state from 1616 to 1907, after which it became an absolute monarchy. However, the initiative for change in the system came from the Monarch himself. The third king Jigme Dorjee Wangchuk after his ascension began to encourage the involvement of his people in his government as he established a Tsogdu (National Assembly) in 1953. It was a 154-member Parliament with 105 elected members. In 1965 he established an advisory body called Lodey Tshogdey to further the welfare of people and look into the interest of the Bhutanese kingdom. In the latter half of 1960, the king tried to mix elements of democracy with Monarchy (Labh, 1996).

An election was held in 2007 in January on the basis of universal adult franchise to constitute the Parliament. It seemed to suggest that the absolute monarchy had technically come to an end. The draft constitution that was in operation made it possible for two parties to contest. The People's Democratic Party (PDP) led by Sangay Nedup, the king's uncle, and the Druk Pheunsum Tshogpa (DPT) led by Jigme Y Thinley. The latter won 45 out of 47 seats. Both these parties did not have clear cut ideology but both were clear on one issue, their loyalty to the king. The picture that emerges in the absence of autonomous civil society and free media is an imposed democracy on the reluctant masses (Mathew, 2008).

Political Development: The Indian Experience

India's tryst with democracy begins a little after the country came under the rule of the crown in 1858. Having witnessed the 1857 revolt against the rule of the (East India) Company, the British realised the need to involve Indians in institutions of governance. The Council Act of 1861 saw the enlargement of the legislative council and Lord Canning included three Indian members in the council in 1962.The Indian intelligentsia were encouraged by this move and so localised political organisations sprang up in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. A.O. Hume was interested in starting a forum or an organisation that would enable Indians to voice their grievance. This led to the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, which held its meeting annually and spoke up for enlargement of legislature; passed resolutions that were forwarded to the government in India and the secretary of state. Through various charter acts of 1892, 1909, 1919 and 1935, the British began to not only increase Indian involvement in legislature but an effort was made to increase Indian involvement while the British retained the control. This slow measure of constitutional development eventually culminated in the Act of 1947 by which the British granted India its Independence. It brought to a close a rule that had lasted 182 years. The British in course of their rule had consolidated India, built up an administrative and a political system that left a legacy of a democratic India (Menon, 1957).

Within three years of India's independence a Constitution came into force in 1950. It was a fruition of a demand made by Gandhi in 1922 that Indians be allowed to decide their own destiny and Nehru's clamour in1934 for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly. At that point of time in history the nationalist movement was gaining steam with some sections turning revolutionary in their zeal. The more senior

leaders were careful to balance things out as the gathering storm seemed to threaten their entrenched interest. The Congress, meanwhile, had developed structurally and ideologically and so was able to mould itself into a political party in the aftermath of securing independence. It was able to exercise central authority over the erstwhile princely states and provinces with the aid of institutional legacies the British rule had left in the form of a strong bureaucracy, military and the police force (Bose and Jalal,1998:169). Meanwhile, the Constitution through a negotiated understanding incorporated elements that strove to achieve social justice as well as establish a welfare state. The constitutional structure was centralised as provisions for a federal structure were also made. Residuary powers were also to be given to the Centre after the division into the State, Central and Concurrent List. Certain provisions like those of Art 249, 256 and 257 empowered Parliament to make laws on state subjects. A change had beset India as the western educated lawyers were instrumental to a great extent in framing the new Constitution.

Old societies such as India experienced certain sharp disruptions as they were exposed to new set of ideas that had found global acceptance. The traditional structures of society, like those of tribes and caste that had not only served as checks to drastic change but also contributed to stability in society, were now exposed to a sweeping dominant ideology of change. For a period, the older way of functioning coexisted with the adoption of more democratic elements in the local and national institutions. With time a slow erosion of earlier values was bound to happen. Ideas and values that were greatly influenced by exogenous factors, once it sets in, do so with rapidity. Therefore, with erosion of traditional base of society, a need arose to develop institutions and institutional relationships sustained by structures of opportunities that were legitimised by the new set of ideas and values. Political

opportunism of survival became very important. Peculiarly in societies like India, they had a legacy of ideological urges, belief system and aspirations of western societies without having the economic, ideological resources, institutional props and broadened political base to include mass functions. The initial years of India's independence had prominent men inspiring the nation. However, with their departure the new set of leaders had the challenging task to consolidate state power, agree on the goals of a transitional society, and use their authority. These challenges they had to meet were in a fairly apolitical society with not a fully developed rationalist creed, therefore they had to rely on institutional strength. As Political Development is a long-term process, India tried to accommodate and incorporate the best of the modern world in a society still with its traditional structures and diversity in place, therefore problems of development took a backseat to the immediate concerns and politics of integration (Kothari, 2010).

Nation building became an immediate task but by the 1990s the compulsions of electoral politics had led to catering to the traditional and emerging cleavages of society based on caste, religion, etc (Bhambri,1999).

Political Development in the Princely States of India

India as it stands today is a country composed of territories that were a part of British India and a constellation of princely states that were ruled by different ruling houses. Of these there were categories, and those who were entitled to be members in their own right were 109, as they were entitled to 109-gun salute. The second category numbering some 127 could choose 12 representatives from amongst themselves and 327 estates or Jagirs who were not represented. In total there were 563 princely states (Bose, 1994). Each of these states had their relation with the

British carved out through various treaties. The British decided that with the independence of India, treaties entered into earlier would end and paramountcy would not be transferred to a third party, though they thought the states would gain by joining the Indian union. However, the Princes would not be coerced (Ramusack, 2004).

The Indian Princes each had a different equation with the British. Some were more autonomous than the others. The British, however, had introduced far reaching changes in land ownership and revenue collection and did rule indirectly.There was resentment in some quarters and so chamber of princes, a consultative body, was created in 1921 to counter these sentiments. There was also the need felt bythe British to emphasise the policy of non-interference by recognising the Princes' autonomy, though impact of British involvement had had structural consequences in politics as well as economy. However, ideas of autonomy did result in some of the princes gaining a measure of independence with the British departure, therefore their policy of lap of paramountcy worked in their favour to an extent (Ernst and Pati, 2007).

The bigger princely states welcomed this development though an imminent threat of Balkanisation of India loomed large. The relation the Princely states had forged with the British was not limited to treaties but extended to defence, security and economic compulsions. With the lapsing of paramountcy, the slate had been cleaned for the new Indian government and the princely states. However, the economic, defence and security compulsions remained. The threat of Balkanisation and suspicion of a possible inveiglement by Pakistan required the Indian government to act fast. This was done through a standstill agreement. By and by the princely states realised that they would have to give in to a responsible government of the people. Amidst criticism of the Government of India stampeding the rulers, through

bilateral agreements the princely states integrated into the Indian Union. Autocracy, benevolent or otherwise, had given way to a more inclusive participatory democracy (Menon, 1955).

One could say Political Development of some scale had taken place in the former princely states as these tradition-bound states traversed the path from monarchy to democracy. Sikkim nestled in the Himalayas is one of the last kingdoms to have joined the Indian Union. With the departure of the British from the Indian subcontinent and emergence of India as a nation, Sikkim began witnessing domestic unrest. Forums for public debate and demand began to appear with the establishment of political parties. The genesis of the political parties lay in the demand for reform (Basnet, 1974). Public ire had mounted against the institution of lessee landlord, a creation of the British raj. Initially, the peasants who formed the core of the resistance employed hidden transcripts and other methods of sabotage to express their discontent. However, with the emergence of political parties led by the educated sections of the people, the isolated resistance in pockets found an organised expression through it (Upadhyay, 2017).

Demands for abolition of landlordism, accession to India and formation of an interim government was put forth by these parties (Rai,2011).Though an interim government was set up, the demand for accession to India was removed while lessee landlordism was abolished. The ministry was short lived, and with the arrival of Indian political officer Harishwar Dayal and John Lal as Dewan, and the signing of the Indo-Sikkim treaty, the politics in the kingdom began to undergo changes. With the emergence of a communist China in 1949 in the immediate neighbourhood, a perception of threat was voiced by leaders like Sardar Patel. Sikkim's strategic importance was underlined. With the signing of the Indo-Sikkim treaty of 1950, a

step forward was taken in Sikkim's association with India (Tenzing, 2011). A series of events followed India's close involvement with affairs in Sikkim with an Indian Political Officer arriving in Gangtok (Das, 1983). The local parties became more active politically.As they made demands on the system, through a series of Darbar proclamations a process of Political Development ensued. Meanwhile, the Chinese shadow over India's frontiers became a valid threat with the Indo-China war of 1962 (Bajpai,1999). Besides, the marriage of the Sikkim's Prince to an American socialite garnered unnecessary international media attention for the small kingdom. Sikkim began to be looked upon with some concern by the Indian government (Dhar,2008). A culmination of many of these factors resulted in Sikkim becoming at first an associate state and later by May 1975 the 22nd state of India (Sengupta, 1985).Writers like Suresh Gurung in his book "Sikkim Ethnicity and Political Dynamics a Triadic Perspective", makes an attempt to put forth his reasons for the churning out of events. He suggests that discrimination meted out to the Nepali community during the theocratic monarchy had resulted in demands for democratic government to eliminate discrimination (Gurung, 2011). Writers like Sunanda Datta-Ray (1984) point to the annexation of Sikkim, while G.B.S. Sidhu counters that it was a merger(2018), though he acknowledges that there was an instruction from Indira Gandhi to R.N.Kao, the then head of Research &Analysis Wing (R&AW) "to 'do something about Sikkim'."

Despite the varying claims on the nature of Sikkim's union with India, there is no denying that Sikkim as a state of India had made a shift from a tradition-bound Monarchy to a democratic form of government as put forth by the Constitution of India. This transition required establishment of institutions and replacement of some older ones. Institutional changes took place and it created avenues for wider

participation of people in governance. Amendments to the Indian Constitution enabled the extension of certain laws like the Representation of People's Act 1950-51 already applicable in the rest of India (Tenzing, unpublished). The stage had been set.

However, one cannot equate establishment of institutions, extension of laws and   setting up of democratic processes with emergence of a democratic political culture. Existence of public space will not automatically lead to development of civil society organisations that are sophisticated (Ngok, 2007). Establishment of institutions cannot wipe out the effect of collective memory and experience in formation of values and orientations regarding politics, therefore they have deep-seated effect on cultural legacies (Bjorkman, 2007). Often where people have over time learnt to unquestioningly obey those in power,the people become weak, lacking confidence and become unable speak up and resist(Sharp, 2010).

With democratic procedures in place, the pertinent question is how history had an impact on political participation and political culture in Sikkim. In fact, a few studies have been done.Writers like Jigme N. Kazi (1993, 2009, 2013) gives a journalistic record of events in post-merger Sikkim. L.B. Basnet (1974) writes a political history covering the post-independence India and Sikkim. N. Sengupta (1985) covers aspects of constitutional development in Sikkim and post-1975 Sikkim, roughly covering two decades. Suresh Gurung (2011) touches on ethnic issues and political dynamics of democratic Sikkim. While Sapna Gurung (2018) makes an attempt to study the politics of present-day Sikkim. However, by and large, most of the writings on Sikkim are somewhat repetitive. There is a need to study the Political Development of Sikkim, issues of contest that emerged during the first two decades of Sikkim's merger in order to understand the evolving nature of democracy in Sikkim. One glaring deficiency found in published works on Sikkim is that no study

till date has been done to make an assessment of the Monarch, Monarchy and the transition of Sikkim from Monarchy to Democracy from the point of view of the transition generation. They are the generation who experienced both Monarchy and Democracy, and there is a need and urgency to record their assessment of the period without which a proper understanding of the transition would be lost forever. In order to cover the existing deficiencies in the study of Political Development of Sikkim, this study approaches the transition-generation and studies Sikkim's Political Development through their lens.

Research Objectives

- To understand the various theoretical perspective on Political Development.

- To study the history of Political Development in Sikkim in the period prior to India's Independence.

- To study the Political Development of Sikkim in the immediate years after India's Independence, the factors that led to its union with India, and the issues that dominated the politics of democratic governments under its first two chief ministers.

- To study the assessment of the Monarch, the Monarchy and the transition of Sikkim from Monarchy to Democracy by the 'transition-generation'.

Research Questions

- What are the different theoretical perspectives on Political Development?

- What are the significant milestones in Political Development of Sikkim, prior to India's Independence?

- How did the institutional change from Monarchy to Democracy in Sikkim come about and what were the issues that significantly affected the politics of the governments under its first two chief ministers?

- How do the people who lived through the transition view the last Monarch, the Monarchy, and the transition from Monarchy to Democracy?

Research Methodology

The study has focussed on Sikkim's transition from a Monarchy to a democracy covering the time frame 1970-1994. Both primary data and secondary sources were used. Secondary sources such as Books, Journals, Newspapers and Magazines were consulted. Primary data was collected from the field through questionnaires, interviews, observation and other primary sources like administrative reports and government gazettes formed the basis of the study. For the purpose of understanding political culture of Sikkim as well as studying Political Development of Sikkim, a target group of 200 former subjects/COI holders constituting the 'transition-generation[2]' above the age of 50 have been taken. The number 200 was arrived at becauseit was not possible to get an accurate data of the number of Sikkim subject holders/COI, much less above the age of 50 because on the issue pertaining to fake COI the matter is before the court. However, by identifying Sikkim subject holders by a snowballing method as much as possible, the more senior members of the group were approached. In order to understand the perceptions of the citizens of democratic Sikkim regarding the former ruler and the possible reasons for Sikkim's union with

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[2]'transition generation' in the present case refers to Sikkim subjects of the former kingdom and COI holderswho lived through the transition period of Sikkim from a monarchy to a democracy.COI means the certificate of identification that was primarily issued to the descendants of the former subjects.

India, a purposive sampling of 200 citizens below the age of 50 was taken to assess difference/similarities in perception of the two groups. This serves as indicators of the process of political socialisation. Their response when compared to those of the 'transition-generation' is an indication of not only the political culture of present-day Sikkim but it does reflect the import of political socialisation as a process. The views of the former subjects on Monarchy, their assessment of some key indicators of Political Development like political participation, freedom, accountability of government etc, in both pre-and post-1975 Sikkim, provide not only a better understanding of the transition of Sikkim from a Monarchy to a Democracy but also give an insight into the Political Development covering the timeframe understudy(1970s-1994). Their response on questions on Monarchy and Democracy provide an indication of the kind of political culture that prevailed during the period roughly covering the 1970s to 1994.

The field visits were interesting to say the least. Majority of people were reluctant to talk on matters of politics and this reluctance spread even to respondents below 50 years of age. After a bit of coaxing they relented when they were given the option of not writing their names and community. The respondent after giving an evasive interview wanted an assurance that a notice from the government would not be served to him for his views. A couple of them were uncomfortable that they had not been given the time to prepare, and when reassured that preparation of any kind could amount to defeating the purpose of this research, they became ready to talk. Some wanted to know if their answers were right, while others tried to evade the questions by saying they were not well informed. Especially a couple of the educated people residing in the East district of Sikkim were most reluctant. Many did not return the questionnaire on one pretext or the other. A small number would give

interview with a degree of ease but would close up if they found their fellow villagers passing by. Another problem that beset the interview was the tendency of the elders to lose focus as they rambled about the mundane.

Despite these shortcomings, 83 of the respondents were females.117 were males from the 50-plus group. To arrive at a more systematic analysis of the responses, I have divided the data collected into three broad categories. The first category is divided into two sections. The first section pertains to issues that were primarily related to the Monarch and aspects of governance during the Monarchy. The target group consists of people who have Sikkim subject/COI and are above 50 years of age. This section deals with the perception and awareness of the target group on the aspects of governance in pre-1975 Sikkim and Monarchy. The second section of the first category will deal with data on Sikkim's union with India, revealing the perceptions of 50-plus former subjects while some questions will be dealt by citizens below 50. It also covers a brief comment on the differences or similarities in perception of the two target groups on some of the issues of the pre-1975 Sikkim.The first category will be sub-titled 'Monarchy and pre-1975 Sikkim: Perceptions'

The second category of data pertains to a comparison and assessment of Monarchy as a system with democracy and the democratic governments under Kazi Lhendup Dorjee and Nar Bahadur Bhandari as Chief Ministers of Sikkim. The respondents rated the different indicators of Political Development individually on a scale of 10.The cumulative responses helped to arrive at the overall rating percentage. Through the comparison of people's perception and understanding of the period of transition from Monarchy to Democracy one can assess Political Development of Sikkim during the period under study. This category of data will be classed under 'From Monarchy to Democracy: Perceptions'

The third category pertains to the prevailing political culture within both the 50-plus age group those below 50 years of age, their assessment of the system as it exists.This category of data will be presented under the title 'Democracy in Sikkim: Perceptions'.

Study Area and Sample

Sikkim constitutes four districts, namely North, East, West and South. As the number of Sikkim subjects and COI holders above the age of 50 is unknown and constantly depleting, a purposive sampling of 50 from each district constituting a sample size of 200 with special focus on people above the age of 50 formed the target group. Sikkim subjects and now those holding COI [3] constitute the sample of the study pertaining to the merger era. This is the group that has experienced Sikkim's transition from Monarchy to Democracy. It is the 'transition-generation' (people who lived through the transition from Monarchy to Democracy) who were respondents of this study where 200 were former subjects. Of the 200, 83 were females and 117 males. Every effort was made to take the more aged of the former subjects as respondents, therefore, the gender difference in the respondents. From the below 50 age group 200 citizens were the target respondents where 114 were males and 86 females.For a comparative analysis of the political culture then and now, a purposive sampling of the younger generation below 50 years have also been taken.

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[3] COI stands for Certificate of identification.It is a certificate given to former subjects (and their children) of the kingdom of Sikkim.

CHAPTERS

Chapter I Introduction- This chapter outlines the Nature, Scope, Rationale and Objectives of the Study and Research Questions. The inherent gaps in existing literature has been highlighted.

Chapter II Political Development: Theoretical Perspectives-This chapter lays the theoretical orientation on Political Development as a subject. It will examine various perspectives on Political Development and explain the importance of political culture as an aspect of Political Development.

Chapter III Political Development in Sikkim: A historical Analysis- This chapter is a historical analysis of Political Development in Sikkim. Briefly touching on a few theories of state formation, Political Development under the Namgyals and later the British is covered by this chapter. It roughly covers the period 1642-1947.

Chapter IV Sikkim's Transition from Monarchy to Democracy- This chapter studies the transition from Monarchy to Democracy. The period roughly covered by this chapter starts from India's independence and continues through Sikkim's union with India.It covers the democratic governments under the Chief Ministers L.D.Kazi and N.B.Bhandari.

Chapter V Political Development and Political Culture: A study of the Transition Period-This chapter studies people's assessment of the transition from Monarchy to a democracy. It covers Sikkim under its last Monarch Palden Thondup Namgyal and the governments under the first two chief ministers of Sikkim. This chapter studies the assessment made by the transition-generation of the Monarchy and democracy, as well as the key indicators of Political Development i.e. participation,

freedom, accountability of governments, transparency, legitimacy, etc in both pre-and post1975 Sikkim. Through this study the political culture of Sikkim has been assessed and the determinants of Political Development in Sikkim identified.

Chapter VI Conclusion- This chapter has the summary of the earlier chapters and the findings of the study.

CHAPTER – 2

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

Political Development as a concept and an approach to the study of political science emerged after the Second World War though as an idea and a process it evolved over centuries. There is much debate over the meaning of the term and reason for the growth of this academic field. The post Second World War period witnessed the setting up of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 with its emphasis on sovereign equality of member states. As it recognised the principles of self-determination, decolonisation was one of its goals. In keeping with its aspirations, rapid decolonisation was witnessed in Asia and Africa. A bipolar world had begun to emerge with the beginning of the cold war. The changes that were stirring in Turkey and Greece, the strategic importance of these two European states in the politics of Europe began to gain attention of countries like the USA. The victory of the communist over the Chinese mainland reemphasised the need to focus more attention on the growing sphere of communist influence. USA and countries like Britain began to fear the appeal and spread of communism in the newly emerged nations of Asia and Africa. Containment of Communism was seen as a necessity and this led to an increased focus on area studies,[4] concentrating on the Third World, in order to

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[4]The division of the world into ideological blocs, the stress on area studies especially by countries like the USA,a rethink in the academic discipline of the comparative approach to the study of politics all proved to be the key catalyst to the theory of Political Development emerging. The Western Political Scientists were beginning to find the traditional method of the formal legal approach insufficient to study the newly developed nations. The scholars wanted to not only understand and predict problems of these new societies but also wanted to solve their problems. As interest in these nations grew, a need was felt to construct an framework through which conditions prevailing then could be studied so that a theory of development could be put forth. The focus on area study gained grounds and researchers travelled long distances and spent long hours doing field work as they

understand and develop policies that could help these countries follow development patterns of western democracy. As the area studies continued to flourish, a plethora of writings began to put forth the theories of Political Development. This chapter looks at the different theoretical perspectives that emerged and the various classifications put forth by different authors of the theory. One problem, however, emerges as the work of some of the writers cannot be classified chronologically as they have written on the subject across decades and it becomes difficult to bind them into particular categories. Therefore, the work of the individual authors has been looked into individually as well as part of categories they have been classified into by authors like Samuel P Huntington.

2.1 Theories of Political Development

The Social Science Research Council's committee on comparative politics, which was started in 1954, became a centre through which extensive research was carried on and attempts were made to work on a Political Development theory. The extensive research led to a plethora of definitions and perspectives to emerge. To some, the Political Development theory provided a different option to bring about change than the one provided by the Marxists (Berger, 2003:428), while Political Development was viewed by many as another facet of development theory. A few of the writers acknowledged the different political processes that were existing in the

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undertook a more scientific approach to the study. This required time, money and a method of studying politics. The field of comparative politics was open to change as behavioural approach had gained a foothold. Empirical methods were incorporated by the scholars to study the newly emerged nations, bringing in an era of a multi-disciplinary approach to comparative studies. Meanwhile, the US government, in keeping with their foreign policy interest, generously funded area studies focussing on the newly emerged nations. Quite a number of Academics involved themselves with government organisations, and many political scientists and historians were linked with the strategic services. Many of themwere heavily influenced by the cold war and it reflected in their work.'(Berger,2003: 429-30). A lot of young men who had served in the army in the region also took up academics to study these areas and the Ford Foundation sponsored many of them.

non-Western society but they were of the opinion that colonial rule had affected the society, economy and culture and therefore the former colonies could be studied against these backdrops (Varma, 1974:333). A number of writers believed it to be as synonymous with modernisation, while some opted to call it Political Modernisation. Writers like S.N.Ray suggest that it was the Cold War that led American researchers to come up with the concept of modernisation and Political Development (Ray,1999: 22-25). Harry Eckstein, however, believes that the changes that had occurred in the pre-Second World War world, like the rise of authoritarian regimes in Germany and Italy and the excesses of Soviet communism were as much a reason for the interest in the study of the transitional societies as the post-Cold War scenario (Eckstein,1996:39-40).

Despite these different suppositions, one cannot deny that the Cold War had a great impact on the emergence of the theory. The underpinnings of the Cold War politics lay in the problems that erupted in Greece and Turkey, and the appeal made by the government of Greece for financial aid, technical assistance and American administrators to help control the menace of communist led groups in its northern border. They faced economic crisis and wanted help in that quarter too. This led to the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine in March 1947.This doctrine in its pledge for support to Turkey and Greece not only gave a new direction to US foreign policy but it also acknowledged the real dangers of Soviet expansionism. In some sense it heralded the policy of containment thus starting the era of Cold War politics. Following closely was the Marshall Plan, also termed as the European Recovery Plan, wherein aid was provided to some of the European countries too.

In this backdrop, along with attempts to sponsor the forming of the theory of Political Development, the richer nations especially the USA and Western Europe

started strategising to ease the development of the weaker and poorer nations of Asia and Africa after the independence of these former colonies. This was the period when modernisation theory began to gain a greater foothold.

2.1.1 The Modernisation Theory

The modernisation theory perceived development as something unilinear. The writers who initially worked on Political Development studied not only the power equation in the newly emerging states but they made an attempt at identifying hallmarks of politically developed society. The growing emphasis on ideas of development and viewing it in the national context was another feature of this period. Nation states and national identity gained currency within the framework of global nation state system. Nation states became a focal point of studies by the modernisation theorists. The dominant idea that prevailed for two decades after 1940s was to develop in a unilinear fashion towards a capitalist modernity following the path earlier charted by western democracies. Universalisation of nation state system as units in international system also led to the idea of equality of state and equality of citizens within the nation states. Consequently, ideas of democracy and human rights, extension of suffrage became important as did the focus on area studies by the Committee on Comparative Politics, which had stalwarts like Pye, Almond, Rostow, Clifford Geertz. This committee played a key role in putting forth the Modernisation theory and Political Development theory and they were aware that they were involved in the task of providing an alternative to the Marxian theory of change for the developing nations.

W.W. Rostow was one such academician and he tried to identify certain sequences of economic, social and Political Development and the difficulties that they

faced along the way. Rostow put forth unilinear stages of development that went through five phases.[5] Traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take off, drive to maturity, and high mass consumption. This explained more the stages of economic growth. Like Rostow, Kenneth Organski also identified stages of development. For him political unification and consolidation of state power was important because it could lead to industrial development and consequently enable the people to avail of the fruits of economic growth. He was not particular about the kind of state that brought this about (Varma,1975:337).

The focus of writers like Rostow was geared towards writing more on economic aspect of development. As for Political Development, many writers have tried to study the developing nations and have come up with such diverse meanings of the term and made several attempts to come up with a theory of Political Development. The vast literature available has led many to try and classify writings under certain typologies, phases and approaches. Apter, Varma[6], Huntington, Packenham are few such names. Varma while writing on Political Development has divided the literature as it emerged in phases, e.g. First phase, second phase, third phase. For the purpose of clarity on the subject, this chapter follows Varma's classification into different phases but with minor changes. The chapter is divided

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[5]W.W. Rostow in his book *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* put forth a unilinear model of development.

[6]Though Writers like Verma have given a very good account of the writings on Political Development, his attempt to present them as phases seem erroneous as the word phase does seem to imply a distinct period. Writings by authors like Pye, Huntington, ,Almond, etc. cannot be confined to a single phase as they constantly wrote and revised their writing on the subject. However, for want of a better word, the word phase has been retained for classifying the literature on Political Development in this work.

into the first phase, second phase[7], third phase and a fourth phase, the last of which includes writings of authors like Fukuyama. From amongst the writers classified under these four phases some have given their own classifications. Huntington, Apter, Packenham are some of them, therefore their classifications will be dealt with under the writings of the individual authors.

2.1.2 Different phases of work on Political Development

2.1.2.1 The first phase

The first phase of literature on Political Development involved the study of developing countries. Various scholars tried to understand the characteristics of governments, the problems plaguing them. In these countries prior to their independence certain nationalistic movements had been central to the politics, therefore these movements as well as constitutional developments during these periods were also studied. As most of these studies were monographic studies, a lot of data on individual countries were collected, surveys were undertaken. Despite the ability to assess the extent of development, the reasons of the stages of the process of development were not looked into at this stage. Many writers considered the nation state as the focus and they were of the opinion that the developing countries in order to follow the patterns of the Western form of development were required to be subject to a cultural transmission of sorts.The initial emphasis was on studying the structures but with time the ability of political institutions to fulfil the demands of the people began to be considered as much a reflection of Political Development. Writers like

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[7]The third according to Varma was the social process theory, however, in this work it is put as a second phase considering some writers like Lerner Deutsch put forth their theory much before writers like Huntington whom he categorised as the scholars who wrote in the third phase.

Packenham also began giving importance to political culture. Writers[8] like, David Apter, Almond, Pye, Packenham and Shils were contributors to the theory of Political Development in this phase.

2.1.2.1.1 David Apter

David Apter and C. Andrian(1968) identified certain trends in the studies of the new nations. According to him the initial studies concentrated on understanding the structural authority as it existed in the transitional societies, the nature of transitions e.g. whether it was forced or natural. An attempt was also made in the first phase to understand the processes. The work undertaken was primarily monographic. It was writers like Apter and Lucian Pye who were initially involved in such works.

The second phase of studies involved comparative studies of different societies, of which the issue of Political Development was central. The comparisons involved the traditional society as well as in some cases two new nations. The monographic works were comparatively studied, an example of one such work was undertaken by Apter as he tried to study Uganda and the (Ghana) GoldCoast. The studies on new nations also undertook to glean the constitutional development that took place during the colonial rule, and the democratic reform as well as different groups in society. Decentralisation of power and strengthening the authoritative structure of the new system, as well as nature of transitions were all being studied. New set of categories associated with ideas of democratic systems were put forth. Stability of political systems was also a prime concern. Almond, Shils, etc. were some authors whom he identified as those involved in the research in this phase.

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[8]D Rustow, C.E. Black were other writers who wrote in this phase.

Apter and Andrian were of the view that a shift occurred in the study of developing nations as national systems were no longer the focus (Apter and Andrain, 1968:372-416). Increasingly, use of quantitative data especially by writers like Karl Deutsch gave new dimensions to the study. David Apter perceived the development path of traditional systems as being dictated by the value system and the kind of government prevailing at the time of modernisation (Varma, 1975:338). So, Political Development was a historical change in political arrangements as well as change in values, a response to changes taking place elsewhere in society (Apter, 1963:550). He was aware that decolonisation was a result of spread of ideas that had been birthed in revolutions. These ideas spoke of liberty, representative governments and increased participation of people. However, he was aware that questions of legitimacy of governments in such societies existed. He writes:

> "Not only is there a question of the form and spirit, the techniques and mechanisms that seem appropriate, but the basic authority of the state must also be agreed in principle by the citizens of new polities. How to make authority legitimate, that is, how to create the constitutional framework and give it meaning is one important matter...." (Apter, 1963: 550).

The newly independent nations were faced with a populace who had developed an anti-authority attitude, while the governments were fragile as new institutions had been transplanted over older ones resulting in a defective integration, which added to the already existing problems (ibid: 647). He further states that the new nations sought to solve their problems by borrowing ideas and using techniques that had been followed elsewhere like planning, and at times taking recourse to using force (Apter, 1963: 554).

In his later writings he highlighted the role of political parties in developing countries as an instrumental modernizing agent because not only was it a link

between the state and the people but party solidarity often set the rules of society. With direct access to the people and they made use of other agencies of modernisation like schools, religious institutions, press etc to establish their authority. They brought together different and divergent groups in society under an organisation. In states like Mali and Ghana he contends that by organising from the base far beyond the influence of government they serve as a proxy to the colonial governments. The political party often gives the individuals in the developing nations an identity beyond the primordial relations that binds one in a traditional society. The party contributes to the process of socialisation, political education, circulation of elites and contributes to mobilising and disciplining the populace. The existence of party also enables a peaceful transfer of power and through competitive systems exposes deficiencies of power holders (Apter, 1979:86-95).

Another academic who made significant contribution to the theory of Political Development was Gabriel Almond. Writers like Almond in the 1950s were aware of the social and political changes that were occurring in the developing nations especially so in Asia and in their studies they began using the more inclusive term 'political system' instead of the 'state'.

2.1.2.1.2 Gabriel Almond

One of the significant contributions of Almond was the use of the term 'Political system', in place of 'State', which he felt was a vague term interpreted in many different ways. The use of the term political system would prevent exclusion of marginalised groups. Almond explains that political system could include a reference to activities and processes involving the complete range of political activities in a society including traditional structures, caste and kinship groups, interest groups, political parties, media etc. The term 'state' had a narrower definition as it referred to

a set of institutions with legal and institutional connotation, institutions as found in Western society (Almond and Powell,1966: 16-18). Almond was of the view that all political systems could be studied comparatively by studying the structure and functions. According to him, in some societies one individual may play a dominant role,eg. leader of a primitive band; while in other cases there may be very many structures performing their own particular function(Almond and Powell,1966:30-31)

According to him, when comparing Political Development between different political systems he felt the need to study "...capabilities, conversion, functions, and system maintenance and adaption functions, and the interrelations among these three kinds, or levels of function" (Almond and Powell, 1966:30-31). By capabilities he meant the ability of a system to cope with the challenges and stress the system faced. He puts forth five types of capability functions-- extractive, regulative, distributive, symbolic and responsive capability.

Extractive capability- It is related to the ability to draw out resources both human and material by the system to perform its functions.

Regulative capability- It refers to the system's ability to guide and control behaviour of its citizens and perhaps the economy.

The distributive capability-It is related to a system's capacity to distribute and allot goods, services and opportunities. Symbolic capability refers to a system's ability to instil values such as patriotism etc in the minds of its citizens. It also means the ability of a system to inspire loyalty towards the nation and symbols representing the system.

The responsive capability-It relates to an effective feedback system as it maintains a link between inputs and outputs of a system. And it is through feedbacks that conversion takes place.

Conversion depends on capabilities of a system; the process of conversion itself is an aspect of political change. When demands are made on the system from the environment and through feedbacks, adjustments are required and inputs go into the system, this results in the system converting the inputs into outputs. This process which brings about change and policies is what Almond meant by conversion process. Almond realised the importance of stability of the system and for this purpose he felt political socialisation and recruitment by the system would help in creating support for the system. It was also important to have inputs converted to outputs without straining the system in order to maintain the system. Stability of a system was a very important aspect of his theorizing as he felt that it would help contain Marxist expansion.

However, Almond's structural functional approach to studying Political Development met with severe criticism. Wiarda in bringing forth the criticism of some area specialist writes,

> "...the use of a common set of categories for all nations ...and...the effort to stuff all the world's culturally diverse political systems into one overarching scheme was artificial and false....They also read the area specific chapters, which followed Almond's long and theoretical introduction in The Politics of the Developing Areas, as an attempt to impose supposedly universal categories on areas where they didn't fit very well and did a disservice to a better understanding of these regions" (Wiarda,1989:67).

Huntington describes Almond's co-edited 'The Politics of the Developing Areas' as more of a book on comparative politics rather than a theory of development. He writes,

> "It is concerned with the analysis of political systems of societies which are presumed to be developing (or modernizing) and the comparison of the systems with political systems presumed to exist in modern societies. Its key categories are system, role, culture, structure, function, socialisation. With the exception of socialization, no one of these refers to a dynamic process...they are not oriented to change and development of political systems" (Huntington, 1971: 299).

Huntington does appreciate Almond's contribution in accepting all political systems, both modern and traditional as transitional.

According to Huntington, Almond's writings on Political Development are found in his later work which he co-authored with C. Bingham Powell Jr. In this book, Huntington writes,

> "Political Development, Almond and Powell argued is the response of the political system to changes in societal or international environments, and in particular, the response of the system to the challenges of state building, nation building, participation and distribution....The three criteria of Political Development were held to be structural differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and cultural secularization" (Huntington, 1971:300).

Almond while pondering on Political Development identified the international environment, domestic reasons and the role of the political elites as crucial.

2.1.2.1.3 Lucian Pye

The growing interest in Asian studies was accompanied by the emergence of guerrilla communism and Pye, an advocate of modernisation theory, drew heavily upon Almond's work 'Appeals of Communism', which dealt with the success of communism in drawing recruits in Europe from psychologically alienated,

maladjusted people who were able to resolve their identity crisis in the structures provided by the communist party. Berger writes that Pye (1956) in his book 'Guerrilla communism in Malaya' looked at the problems in British Malaya through the lens Almond had provided. Accordingly the transitional societies and its populace in the face of change became insecure. It was in such societies that the structure of the communist party served to provide stability. In such societies they began to see the more immediate results of efforts than in the traditional society. In order to prevent recruitment of peasants into the communist fold it was important to tackle issues of legitimacy and participation and provide appealing and effective institutions for governing. He felt mobilising the citizens to be more active in political life was one way of controlling them. Pye like other modernisation theorists assumed that if correct strategies of nation building were employed then citizen's allegiance to the modern state could be got and that could become a central aspect of their identity (Berger,2003: :421-437).

Pye's insights into problems of a developing society, provide a peek into the problems of Political Development. He found the newly developed nations and the political systems that existed there were unpredictable and unstable. Lack of proper organisation was a serious shortcoming. The Europeans despite being in minority in those areas had been able to control such societies because of the traditional arrangements that existed. The colonial rule had brought about a sea of changes that had led to weakening of older systems and created a necessity for introduction of a system of administration to support the social order. Therefore, at a point in time of colonial history the western administrative structures were introduced despite resistance in some quarters (Pye, 1966:7-11). In this second stage, Political Development was seen in terms of administrative capabilities that were rational,

competent and efficient. This also required creation of administrative and bureaucratic structures. The idea that nation building should succeed development of capable and efficient administration was a factor that led to the USA and some other states doling out financial aid and technical assistance to the newly emerged nations as colonialism ended in some of these states. These developments set in motion elements of change and modernisation resulting in the outbreak of tension in societies that had been static and this began to impinge on the stability of nation state system. As the traditional order weakened, erosion of one system placed a greater demand upon the other (Pye, 1966: 8-14). Both the colonial and American aided experience stressed on the efforts to create strong administrative structures, and Pye felt that administrative development was essential for national Political Development, but he adds:

> "...civil administration, like the legal system, furnishes too narrow an approach to the task of nation building. There is a more fundamental level of the nation building process--the level of creating coherent political forces that can make meaningful a people's feeling of association with its polity....just as it was once necessary to go beyond the formalities of legal system and build up administrative capabilities to maintain law and order and advance public policies, now it is necessary to go beyond instilling administrative skills and techniques and to strive at shaping the political context underlying formal governments" (ibid:16).

He was aware that a greater task lay in developing political processes that were more sensitive to the political forces in society. The colonial administration had been set up to rule rather than to respond to forces of political nature and the challenge lay in converting these structures into agents of representative politics. He further added that changes in the international scenario as well as individual psychology within the nation affected Political Development, and he wrote:

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"We can see that there is a minimum level of what were once western but are now world standards which the new states must accept if they are to survive in a world of independent nation-states. Thus the international political and cultural fashions of the day set the general direction of development for the new states" (ibid:10).

Meanwhile, Pye was of the opinion that as Political Development occurred, the merit of democracy became apparent (ibid:87). Attitudes, personality characteristics, memory, expectations coupled with socialization processes all go to contribute towards political culture. And it is when we talk of values and the specific response to changes taking place in society, that the importance of political culture in the process of Political Development comes into play.

Another aspect of Pye's work on Political Development was his attempt to expose the myriad meanings of the term Political Development. Lucian Pye (1966) identified as many as 10 ways the concept had been interpreted. They were: Political Development as a prerequisite of economic development, Political Developement seen in terms of administrative and legal development, and as something synonimious with Political Modernisation. Political Development was also associated with mass mobilisation, participation, establishement of democratic institutions, stability, orderly change, capability of a system and multi dimensional social change. (Pye:1966: 33-45).

Lucian Pye, after having put forth these 10 interpretations of the concept of Political Development, concedes that within the themes presented there may exist other variations that define the term. To simplify the confusion, he tries to locate the most widely accepted characteristics of Political Development. Functional specialisation, differentiation, capacity of a system, and the stand on equality were the common threads running in most of the definitions of the concept. Elaborating

further, he states that attitude towards equality was the first broadly accepted category. Participation of the people and their involvement in political affairs along with the existence of laws of universalistic nature with impersonal application was a feature of equality. This also could be translated to mean a codified system of law. Equality also meant merit and not an ascriptive consideration for recruitment to political office.

The second characteristic he elaborates on is the capacity of a system. By capacity he means the efficiency and effectiveness of the outputs of a system in form of policies, and their proper execution. The third characteristics relates to differentiation of structures and functional specialisation. He clarifies that differentiation does not involve fragmentation and isolation but integration of complex structures and the processes. Pye also states the path to development is not always unilinear. The attitude towards equality, a system's capacity and functional differentiation and specialisation though lies at the centre of the process of Political Development, they do not always complement each other. In fact, historically it has been seen that tensions exist between one aspect or the other of these three characteristics. He then goes on to say that problems of equality are associated with political culture while capacity of a system is perceived in terms of the performance of government structures, and differentiation is related to performance of non-authoritative structures and the other political processes in society. He then comes to the conclusion that Political Development revolves around relationship between political culture, authoritative structures of society and the political process.

2.1.2.1.4 Robert A. Packenham

After gleaning the traditional and contemporary sources, Packenham came up with five different approaches to Political Development. They are as follows:

- The legal formal approach

- The economic approach

- The administrative approach

- The social system approach

- The political culture approach

The Legal formal approach- The legal formal approach was the dominant approach till 1950. This approach emphasized the importance of the rule of law, separation of powers, the constitution and the state developed society could and a politically developed society would display the existence of these characteristics. He identified works of Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Woolsey as falling within this approach.

The economic approach- The economic approach emphasized the importance of economy to Political Development. According to him Karl Marx's ideas related to politics and economy find resonance with this approach to Political Development. This approach draws on a correlation between economic and Political Development. The economic output and distribution were important aspects of Political Development.

The Administrative approach-This approach stresses on the importance of maintenance of law and order in a politically developed society. The colonizers in the colonies had also stressed on the importance of good administration. Neutrality,

rationality, and merit in promotion and selection were considered features of a politically developed society. American writers have also recognised the importance of law and order. They also stress on the importance of stability.

The social system approach-This approach lays stress on popular participation, existence of communication and social mobilisation. Karl W. Deutsch is an exponent of this approach. Deutsch in his article "Social Mobilisation and Political Development" touches upon social mobilisation as an aspect in the process of Political Development. By social mobilisation he means a process of change that encompasses change in residence, social setting, occupation roles experiences, expectations, the need for new patterns of affiliation and any other such issues faced by large population moving from a traditional set-up to a more modern way of living. Deutsch feels that such a process leads to an increase in the number of politically relevant people. These include people other than the ruling elite and therefore a change also occurs in the demands made. Since most of the demands may not be met by traditional type of government, attempts are made to bring small changes through appointment of advisors from foreign countries to help the traditional rulers. Such a move Deutsch feels are superficial and does not lessen the pressure to make changes in institutions and political practices. Consequently, this results in a change in the quality of politics.

Deutsch points out that the traditional authority in the developing countries though unsuited to the changing times cannot be replaced by the laissez faire liberal state of Europe of the 18th and the 19th century. He feels the social mobilisation has in these countries resulted in poverty and disorientation of masses who require a more positive role of the state. Therefore, within a span of a few decades the developing countries move from a traditional set-up to a more welfare-oriented state. This by

implication puts pressure on the governmental sector requiring an enhancement of the capabilities of the government. This also calls for reform in administration and politics. It may result in expansion of bureaucracy and make the bureaucracy more competent. However, he feels quantitative expansion of bureaucracy may not result in increased competence of the civil service.

Deutsch believed that social mobilisation also brings a transformation in elite recruitment, functioning and communication as the older traditional elite may not have the competence to deal with the changes and demands of the time. Political leadership may get transferred to a new set of people who are more in touch with changes. He further states that the greater scope and need for political decisions and governmental role could result in the increased mobilized population to participate more in politics. Sometimes even non-political societies that exist may acquire a political tinge, more so in societies were political freedom is limited. This approach also has writers like Tocqueville suggest the importance of groups as centres of decision making and power sharing in a democracy. This approach also accommodates a lot of writers like Almonds with his emphasis on structures and function.

The Political Culture approach-This approach emphasizes the importance of political culture in Political Development. Scholars like Lucian Pye, Almond and Verba have worked on this dimension of Political Development. According to Almond and Verba, 'The term "Political culture"...refers to...political orientations – attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of self in the system'(Almond and Verba, 1989:12). They identified three pure forms of political culture a) parochial, b) subject and c) participatory. They tried to assess the political culture of a place on the basis of four indicators. The first indicator

pertained to the awareness of the political system, history and characteristics which could broadly be called a constitutional system, power, etc. The second indicator involved the ideas about the structure, roles and his opinion of policy proposals etc. The third indicator involves output objects while the last involves the perception of individuals of their role in the system. If the citizens expect nothing from the political system then the political culture is said to be parochial. There may be a dim awareness of figures of authority but their feeling towards it is not certain.

However, when citizens are aware of the governmental authority, may have affective orientation, but have a more passive relationship, then the political culture is a subject political culture. If the citizens see a more positive role, in fact active orientation towards political objects, then the political culture would be deemed as a participant political culture (Almond and Verba 1989:16-18).

Writers like Amond and Verba when talking of development of a democratic polity stated that it was not enough to merely develop institutions but it was necessary to have a democratic political culture. They argue that in form even totalitarian governments have participatory institutions in place. Even in terms of the democracy introduced in the newly emerged nations, despite the lofty principles that accompany it, are in its working affected by cultural components that mark the society (Almond and Verba,1989:3).

2.1.2.1.5 Edward Shils

Edward Shils while writing on the Political Development in the new states saw it in terms of a move towards modernity, a Monarchy giving way to Republic, etc. Modernity according to him was equated with democracy and issues of equality featured prominently in such societies. This would spell out in terms of unseating

traditional authorities and removing the basis of their power, eg. introducing land reforms, etc. He also saw modernity in terms of economic progress, national sovereignty and a state that was dynamic. He saw modernity in terms of being western without depending on the West. In pursuit of Political Development he talks of the role of elites in the new states and the contradictions they were faced with in pursuit of achieving a modern state. He saw the new states as those that were non-Western though all non-Western states were not new states. He identified certain characteristics of the new states. They were recently decolonised and still had a traditional set-up. The elites of these states in different degrees sought to modernise by developing institutions and other supporting agencies, however, the peculiarities of older societies continued to hamper the workings of the government. Kinships, caste and such organisations though positively brought stability to a system but it also continued to impede the development of a unity of spirit necessary in a modern political set-up. These ties of the traditional society affected administration, recruitment and adjudication as well (Shils, 1960:265-292). The problems of the new states and the contradictions in the path of development of modernity became a focus of Shils in his work on Political Development.

2.1.2.2 The second phase- The second phase of writings on Political Development had writers like Danial Lerner, Karl Deutsch, P.Cutright who put forth the theory of social process. This approach's merit lay in that it was able to correlate the changes in one set of variables with changes in the other (Varma,2002:345).

2.1.2.2.1 Daniel Lerner

Daniel Lerner's "The passing of traditional societies, modernizing the middle east", was a study based in Greece, Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey,

45

and he conducted the study with Lucille W. Pevsner. Lerner in his work shifts the focus from the consequences of social change on physical and social mobility to psychic mobility[9] as an important marker of modernisation (Varma, 1975:333- 334).

According to him, urbanisation leads to changes. In the urban areas one finds skills and resources that are the characteristic of an industrialised society. In such a society literacy and media develop. With a rise in literacy, media develops in form of newspapers, radios etc. Media contributes to raising the level of literacy as they have a reciprocal relationship. Eventually, the outcome of the inter-relationship and interplay results in development of participatory institutions. These institutions according to him are found in modern societies (Mcrone and Cnudde, 1967:74).

2.1.2.2.2 P.Cutright

P.Cutright in his article "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis" sought to measure the relation between Political Development and socio-economic development. Accordingly, he finds that communication, urbanisation, education and agriculture have a bearing on Political Development. The level of Political Development accordingly could be understood from how complex and specialised its national political institutions were. His findings seem to suggest that the development of communications was the most potent correlate of Political Development (Mcrone and Cnudde, 1967:73-74)

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[9]According to Varma, Ratna Dutta explains "Psychic Mobility" as "the ability for quick empathic identification with new aspects on one's environment" (Varma,1975:440)

2.1.2.3 The Third Phase

The Third phase period roughly corresponds to the writings that came at the end of the 1960s. In this phase a slight shift came about as Political Development began to be seen not only in the context of arriving at a goal but also in the context of a process. The social, economic as well as psychological factors were perceived as important to Political Development. Institutionalisation and order in a politically developed society were considered important. Writers like Almond began stressing more on differentiation. Better capabilities and efficiency were said to be traits of a more politically developed society. The uni-linear approach of development was rejected by writers like Huntington who claimed that political decay was as much an issue. The trend that had perceived politics as a dependent variable was shrugged off as Huntington stressed that institutions and structures did play a determinative role. A writer who contributed to the theory of Political Development in this phase was Huntington.

2.1.2.3.1 Samuel P. Huntington

According to Samuel P.Huntington, economic and social changes resulted in increased involvement of people in political activities and modernisation, both created problems of governance. The traditional systems that are centralised were able to handle economic and social modernisation but less able to accept the broadening of political participation. Traditional authorities who were more decentralised were better able to adapt to increased political participation. Accordingly, interaction between social forces brought issues of conflict to the fore. Conflict and violence resulted because changes in society and mobilisation of more groups into politics had outpaced development of political institutions. It is these

47

conflicts that serve as test of the ability of leaders and institutions to cope with the problems in a stable manner. If conflicts are handled well and the social forces are incorporated within the existing arrangements, or some acceptable changes are made and disputes resolved, political decay may be averted. He writes:

> "Historically, political institutions have emerged out of the interaction among and disagreement among social forces, and the gradual development of procedures and organizational devices for resolving those disagreements. The breakup of a small homogeneous ruling class, the diversification of social forces, and increased interaction among such forces are preconditions for the emergence of political organisation and procedures and the eventual creation of political institutions" (Huntington,1968: 11).

According to him, a system where an individual rules or there is reliance on a single individual, that system is the simplest and most unstable. However, if different institutions exist in a system then it is able to modify and adjust to suit the need of times. He contends that if one kind of institutions is required at a particular point of time, a different type of institutions may be required to fulfil the needs of that particular period (Huntington,1968:18-19).He remarked that failure to adapt similarly in the modernizing societies had led to weak political institutions. For Huntington political organisation and procedures in society were important because on its strength depended the political community and its importance lay in resolving disputes, selecting authority and maintaining community between two or more social forces.

The level of Political Development could be assessed by not only involvement of people in political activity and their identification with the institutions but also the relationship between political participation and institutionalization. By institutionalization he meant a process whereby an organisation and the procedures

become important, acquiring stability. And it is the process of institutionalization that helps an organisation acquire functional adaptability. He adds that in the more politically developed society, organisations are less likely to be affected by outside influence and therefore have more integrity. Political organisation and procedures that are less autonomous are seen to be corrupt and it becomes easier for new groups to leave their mark. In a politically developed society where institutionalization has taken place, political socialization can influence new groups; and mechanisms exist that can assimilate new forces or lessen the impact of these new groups, thereby helping maintain the autonomy of organisations and procedures. He points out that unlike most governments of modernizing countries, in the USA, Great Britain and Soviet Union the government governs. He states that in all the three countries the civilian government has control over the military. They also have political institutions that are comprehensible and are able to modify according to the needs of time. He states that these countries have effective mechanisms to not only bring about smooth transfer of power but also control any kind of political conflict. Other features common to the three countries are a very high level of participation of people in public affairs as well as political parties that are highly organised (Huntington, 1968: 1). If institutions are not able to handle higher levels of participation then instability may result and military may take on the role of an arbiter. Military intervention can come about if the civilian leaders and institutions are unable to handle the situation, or in cases where the government turns radical and begins to make policies that are likely to reduce the military into a fringe organisation. He writes that in modernizing societies the roots of military intervention in politics lay in the policies followed by colonial rulers. The colonial rulers had not encouraged the development of political organisation, and on being granted independence the developing countries lacked

such structures (Huntington, 1968:200). And to prevent military from taking a central role another organisation was needed to keep the system stable. According to him, the political party was that organisation.He felt that a political party would not only fill the vacuum but lend support to the existing institutions. Political party would also serve in structuring the expansion of increased participation. In this matter he had high regard for Lenin who he felt understood the prime importance of disciplining the masses. He goes further to add that Leninism was a theory of Political Development because it not only dealt with issues of political mobilisation but also institutionalisation and the foundation of political order. Huntington appreciated a strong party system as it provided institutionalised organisation and a means for assimilation of new groups into the system. Strong party system therefore contributes to stability in the modernizing nations.

Huntington also made a clear distinction between modernisation and Political Development. For one, he did not believe development followed a uni-linear path, and progress was not inevitable but development involved both progress and decay.

"...Political Development is identified one aspect of, or as intimately connected with, the broader processes of modernization in society as a whole. Modernization affects all aspect of society; its political aspect constitutes Political Development" (Huntington, 1965: 386-87).

Huntington in his article (1965) "Political Development and Political Decay" explains two broad understanding of Political Development and seeks to explain them in some detail. According to him, one of the more popular notions is to equate Political Development with modernisation and the other is to view Political Development as institutionalization.

2.1.2.3.1.1 Modernisation approach to Political Development

In this view Political Development is seen as being connected closely with the broader process of modernisation. Among the modernisation writers too he points out different interpretations of the term Political Development. For a start, he picks up Lucian Pye's acceptance that 'no single scale' could be used to measure Political Development and goes on to pick on writers like Rostow who listed characteristics of a modern polity. Rustow defined Political Development in terms of broader participation and increased unity of a nation. Some of the modernisation writers were more comfortable with using the term political modernisation to explain Political Development. Huntington concedes that most characteristics identified as that of Political Development were facets of the process of modernisation. Some of the features he identified were rationalization, national integration, democratization, mobilization and participation.

Rationalization, Huntington explained, involved "movement from particularise to universalism, from diffuseness to specificity, from ascription to achievement and from affectivity to affective neutrality" (Huntington, 1965:387).With regard to the issue of national integration, Huntington explains that nation building was considered an important facet of Political Development. Democratisation was another feature that many writers considered very important to the process of Political Development. Democratisation involves increased participation and mobilization. Participation is seen as a distinguishing feature of a modern polity, in contrast to the non-participatory nature of its traditional counterpart. Huntington feels that definitions of Political Development are not clear-cut and the modernisation approach is a parochial take on the process of Political Development. Understanding Political Development in terms of modern nation states limits the

relevance and applicability of the process to analyse any other political system other than a modern state. The second approach which Huntington discusses at some length is Political Development as institutionalization.

2.1.2.3.1.2 Political Development as Institutionalisation

This approach according to Huntington removes the limitations the modernisation writers had put on the concept of Political Development as something related to the modern nation states. This approach also does not view Political Development as something unilinear but highlights the interactions that occur in the process of modernization, and the strength, weakness and issues of stability in traditional, transitional and modern political structures (Huntington,1965:393). The level of institutionalisation affects organisations and processes. The level of institutionalisation can be gauged by adaptability, clarity of its procedures and organisations, autonomy, etc. The adaptable organisation and procedure, are institutionalised and lesser the adaptability, lesser is the degree of institutionalisation.

Huntington (1971) some years later wrote at length about different approaches to Political Development. He reiterated that Political Development and Modernisation were not the same thing. In fact, Political Development when perceived as Political Modernisation had the effect of limiting the concept in terms of "time and space". Political Development as a concept would then only be applicable to a particular historical phase and one wouldn't be able to talk of Political Development in the context of Greek City States or the Roman Empire. He felt that if Political Development's meaning was equated only with Modernisation then it would be very limiting(Huntington,1971:302).He also saw a problem in the multiplicity of meanings of Political Development, which led him to quote Pye who had indicated that no

single yardstick could be used to measure the scale of Political Development. However, viewing it through a narrow lens and seeing it in terms of a unitary concept like he did in his earlier writings, where the focus had been on institutionalisation, would also limit the applicability of the term. Another problem was in defining the concept either descriptively or in terms of goals. He writes that this would imply seeing Political Development in the context of 'direction' rather than in terms of 'content'. The plethora of meanings itself made the concept emerge complex (Huntington, 1971:303). Huntington accepts that various scholars in the fifties and sixties had used different approaches to study Political Development out of which he focuses on the three important ones – system-function approach, social process approach and comparative approach.

2.1.2.3.1.3 System-function approach

System-function approach employs structural functional approach to compare and study the different kinds of political system. David Easton, Talcott Parson, Gabriel Almond were some of the scholars who used this approach. According to Huntington,

> 'The principal contribution of these scholars has been to develop a set of concepts and categories, central to which are those of "system" and "function" for the analysis and comparison of types of political system. Among their other key concepts are structure, legitimacy, input and output, feedback, environment, equilibrium' (Huntington: 306-307).

Huntington points out the scholars of this approach focussed more on different models of political system, thereby neglecting the dynamic element of change.

> "The system function scholar begins with a concept of the political system, then differentiates different types or models of political systems, and finally attempts to spell out the consequences and implications of these distinctions" (Huntington,1971:309).

2.1.2.3.1.4 The social process approach

The social process approach focuses on the process rather than the system. This approach also uses quantitative methods to study the processes and arrive at the reasons for political change. Raymond Tanter and Deutsch are exponents of this approach. According to Huntington, the merit of the social process approach is its ability to detect relationship between variables and how changes in one set of variables leads to changes in another lot of variables. He, however, identifies shortcomings in this approach. The availability of data poses a problem, especially so concerning the developed nations. The difficulty is more in terms of availability of data over a period of time (Huntington, 1971:310).

2.1.2.3.1.5 The Comparative Theory Approach

The comparative theory approach according to Huntington compares the evolution of two or more societies and studies the different stages of development of societies. By doing so they try and come up with patterns of Political Development, for they believe every society must pass through various stages to arrive at modernity. The merit of this approach lies in their focus on real developments in history, their attempt to detect patterns and explain the differences, and the reasons behind the differences.

Leonard Binder reviews the work of Huntington among others and seems to suggest that Huntington's work mainly focussed on two dimensions, e.g. participation and institutions. The growth of institutions accordingly is affected by the level of participation. The institutions can grow strong only if the level of participation is at the level the institutions can cope (Binder,1977 :751-760).

2.1.2.4 Fourth Phase

The fourth phase of work on Political Development has contributions of writers like Francis Fukuyama, Damien Kingsbury etc.

2.1.2.4.1 Francis Fukuyama

In his book 'Political Order and Political Decay', Fukuyama writes, "Political Development is change overtime in political institutions"(Fukuyama,2014:23). He explains that modernisation writers as early as Adam Smith, Durkheim etc explained political, economic and social phenomena unfolding in Europe and concluded it to be a part of the wider process of modernisation. Fukuyama opines that this claim was refuted by Huntington who believed Political Development followed its own logic and was not necessarily a part of the same process and it needed to be studied separately. He studied the evolution of a modern state. He declaresthat there are biological reasons for politics. He says to have a better grasp on the subject one needed to go back to pre-human ancestors of human beings. According to him, there is likeness between how chimpanzees organise themselves socially and the way humans do. Fukuyama also tries to trace the evolutionary progress from a kinship based system to that of a modern state. According to him, by nature human beings are genetically inclined for a social behaviour. Even at the hunter-gatherer level, human beings live in bands akin to chimp colonies. These bands some 10,000 years ago develop agriculture and organise themselves in complex groups based on descent. The next step is the emergence of tribal level society from a band level. This he terms 'the first major institutional transition'. These tribes like the bands did not have any central authority and were egalitarian in nature. Both these societies had their roots in kinship and with the tribes came the religious ideas. He states that this was "an early

example of ideas playing a critical independent role in development" (Fukuyama,2014:9). He also gave an important place to warfare as an aspect of human evolution. Violence and cooperation accordingly were closely intertwined factors that lead to evolution of human society. According to him, humans learn to cooperate to face other competing groups and the tribe level society are better able to be militarily equipped than a band-level society. At this level too, violence and military competition plays a very important role leading to transition from a tribe level society to a state level society.

Fukuyama while talking of development says that the earlier forms of social organisation does not completely die out when new forms evolve. In fact its remnant affects the higher form of organisation. He gives the example of the role of lineage organisation in India and China. Kinship and a patrimonial system he feels linger on in the higher forms of society and he argues that human politics is propelled by the desire to use institutions sometimes for the benefits of one's family.

Fukuyama emphasises the role of violence in development of society and writes that values like peace, morality and respect came out of such trials. He goes further and identifies key components of a politically developed society. According to him, the State, Rule of Law and Accountability of governments are the three most important components.

State- According to him, a state has five characteristics. It has centralized hierarchical society with jurisdiction over a territory. Its authority is legitimate. He writes,

> "The state is a hierarchical, centralised organisation that holds a monopoly on legitimate force over a defined territory...early states were indistinguishable from the ruler's household and were described as

"patrimonial" because they favoured and worked through the ruler's family and friends. Modern, more highly developed states, by contrast, make a distinction between the private interest of the rulers and the public interest of the whole community. They serve to treat citizens on a more impersonal basis, applying laws, recruiting officials and undertaking policies without favouritism" (Fukuyama, 2014:23).

Rule of Law -Fukuyama, in the context of development, chooses to explain 'Rule of Law' as a set of universally applicable binding rules of behaviour, reflecting a broad agreement within the society (Fukuyama, 2014:24).

Accountabiity-The third component of Political Development is accountability. Accountability is explained by him not only in terms of procedural but even in terms of substantive accountability. By procedural accountability he means the existence of alternatives in terms of multi-party elections that are held at periodic intervals in a free and fair manner. By substantive accountability he refers to a government and the rulers who are answerable to the society. He concedes that the three components of Political Development do not always exist in a society simultaneously but may exist in a combination or independently (Fukuyama, 2014:24-25). He puts forth the ideal in a mythical state he calls Denmark. According to him, Denmark

> "...is a prosperous, democratic, secure and well governed, and experiences low levels of corruption.Denmark would have all three sets of political institutions in perfect balance -- competent state, strong rule of law and democratic accountability" (Fukuyama,2014:25).

He believed that "getting to Denmark" was one of the goals but concedes that very fewer studies had focused on the transition made by a patrimonial state to that of a modern state. Fukuyama in his book 'The Origins of Political Order' and in 'Political Order and Decay' seeks to fill this gap.

Fukuyama opines all societies do not automatically evolve into state. In fact, he says, Melanisia was stateless before the coming of the colonial powers. He also goes on to put forth two broad explanations for state formation given by anthropologists. The first is pristine and the second is competitive state formations. Pristine state formations talk about the first appearance of state. Among the theories he picks up is the Hobbesean state appearance through a contract. He considers this approach faulty not only because of lack of records but he finds it unconvincing to think of the emergence of state through a rational agreement among tribal groups. He also thinks Hobbes was wrong in supposing that creation of a state could resolve the problem of violence. He feels creation of state and imposing its rule does not solve issue of violence but elevates it to a different level, eg level of states. However, he appreciates Hobbes' supposition that violence was one strong reason for emergence of state. Competitive state, meanwhile, is explained in terms of emergence of a state leading to others forming similar powerful organisation in a state to prevent their own demise. Fukuyama also identifies certain other factors that contributed to evolution of political societies and the process of Political Development. Historical circumstances, ideas, accidents of history were some of the other important causes of Political Development. Historical circumstances were key in creation of institutions. Sometimes institutions were copied and improved upon while layering them on the already existing ones. Sometimes institutions arose for non-political reasons and here he gives the example of private property, which arose out of the necessity to have a place to bury the ancestors and appease the dead.

He also gives ideas a very prominent place in the process of Political Development. He believes 'shared mental models' in form of religion plays a crucial role. The role played by charismatic authority and religious tenets in Political

Development was of significance. He showcases the example of Islam and Prophet Mohammed. Prior to 7th century, Arabs, he points out, were marginal social groups constantly at war with each other but both Islam as a religion and Prophet Mohammed were able to unite non-kinsmen warring groups into a community of believers that was not based on genealogy. He also attributes a great responsibility to the Catholic Church for helping European societies move away from kinship based organisations. According to him, the Catholic Church in the eleventh century stratified itself on modern lines after it made itself independent of the temporal rulers. It made rule of law that could be applicable across the nations (Fukuyama,2011:444). Christianity had also given the idea of equality and this led to the development of a need for a political system that valued human dignity and rights of human beings. Modern democracy was perceived to be a form of government embodying such values. He opines that such ideas were put forth in the writings of Locke and it eventually contributed to the emergence of the ideas of accountable government.

He adds that accidents of history often play a major role in evolution of political societies. To explain this, he gives the example of the Catholic Church in Europe, which sought to uphold the rights of women in inheritance. He writes that it was not with the reason to empower women the church took this stand but because it wanted some good real estate that were owned by various clans. This move of the church had an impact on kin based organisations in Europe.

Shifting the focus from the ethnocentric approach applied by most western authors to Political Development, Fukuyama claims that almost 1800 years prior to Europe, a modern state was built in China in third century B.C. The Chinese, however, lacked the other two essentials of Political Development e.g. rule of law and

public accountability. Elaborating further, he says like all states at any one point of time in history, the Chinese had a tribal society.

> "The transition from a tribal to a state-level society took place gradually in China, with state institutions being layered on top of kinship-based social structures... under the Zhou dynasty ...true states with standing armies and administrative structures began to emerge" (Fukuyama, 2011/99-100).

As wars were fought, a need grew to mobilise people and this required more resources. The increased need for greater resources led to taxation and a need arose to create organisations that could extract these resources. These organisations needed to be manned and this eventually led to the creation of bureaucracies. The centralized public administration, the lack of strong aristocratic leaders and other organised groups led to concentration of power in the hands of the ruler. In the period of Qin rulers an attempt was made to introduce replace kin ties with impersonal administration in China once they had control over it. The Han dynasty in its earlier period was able to establish an impersonal form of administration but in the latter period kinship ties began to play a big role once again. According to Fukuyama,

> "Impersonal state administration was restored only during the Song and Ming dynasties beginning in the second millennium A.D."(Fukuyama, 2011:101).

Besides bureaucracy, military organisations also evolved as a result of the constant wars. Earlier aristocrats on chariots fought wars but the chariots could not be of use in all kinds of terrains. Qin states of the west began to replace chariots with cavalry and foot soldiers, while the state of Chu conscripted farmers into military service. This resulted in the need for additional resources to pay and so taxation and population registration became important.

"Bureaucratisation began in the army with the expansion of service from aristocrats to commoners. The army hierarchy needed to conscript, equip, and train large number of people, which required record-keeping and logistics services. The need to fund the army then increased demand for a civilian bureaucracy, in order to collect taxes and ensure the continuity in large-scale mobilisation. The military bureaucracy also served as a training ground for civilian bureaucrats and facilitated growth of command-and-control infrastructure...principles of promotion by merit rather than birth began to take hold slowly as the ranks of the nobility became depleted" (Fukuyama,2011:114).

Fukuyama claims the Chinese state fulfilled all the criteria of a Weberian State. The second component of Political Development that Fukuyama identified was the rule of law.

Rule of Law- He interprets rule of law as not only limitations on state power but existence of body of laws, which he states "is sovereign over legislation, meaning that the individual holding political power feels bound by the law...." (Fukuyama, 2011:246). This does mean that those entrusted with law making powers can make laws but they are bound by rules set by laws that already are in existence.

The third component of Political Development was accountable government. Accountable government meant that rulers would keep the interest of people above their own interest and be answerable to them (Fukuyama, 2011:321).Moral education was known to contribute to an extent to accountability of governments. He gives the example of the role of Confucianism in China, and brought forth the example of the Hashemite kings of Jordan, who despite not being formally accountable were known to exercise moral accountability by being responsive to the demands of the different groups that existed in society. He writes that in England accountability was seen in terms of rule of law that represented the consensus of society. It implied that the ruler be answerable to the body of law. However, with the onset of democracy laws began

to be made by people and procedural accountability and substantive accountability became important. Fukuyama believed both procedural accountability in the form of periodic free and fair elections and substantive accountability in the form of a government that was responsive were important. The presence of one without the other would not be able to guarantee accountability. For instance, he writes that a responsive ruler without constraints to his power could not be trusted to be accountable all the time, and similarly existence of procedural accountability was also no guarantee of substantive accountability (Fukuyama,2011:332).

According to Fukuyama,

"development of all three sets of institutions becomes a universal requirement over time. They do not simply represent the cultural preferences of Western societies or any particular cultural group...there is no alternative to a modern, impersonal state as a guarantor of order and security, and as a source of necessary public good" (Fukuyama, 2014:37).

According to Fukuyama the number of democratic countries in the world in 1792 was just three, e.g. France, Switzerland and the US. However, in the twentieth century there was around 62-63 democratic countries covering almost 40 percent of the world population. He opines that when a country becomes economically well off, its citizens get educated and this results in them desiring to participate more in the political affairs of their country. This eventually results in extension of democracy. He also suggests that there is a strong relation between economic prosperity and democratic stability. The second and the more pertinent reason he gives for extension of democracy is a non-economic one. He draws up on Hegel's theory of evolution of societies, which based the conversion of societies into higher kinds of political organisation on the struggle for recognition and dignity. A liberal democratic system based on popular sovereignty and individual rights seems

to recognise the dignity of individuals and comes closest to suit human nature. Fukuyama assumed that there was an end point in Political Development and an end of history. This was refuted by Damien Kingsbury. He argues that despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of US hegemony, the US had an enemy in the global terrorism in militant Islamism.

> "State budgets changed, priorities shifted, and new, often draconian laws that undermined conventional notions of the rule of law were passed within liberal democracies. Both normatively and in historical fact, politics and political evolution of humanity does not and cannot have an end point" (Kingsbury, 2007:13-14).

2.1.2.4.2 D. Kingsbury

Kingsbury writes that Political Development should be understood in terms of a process rather than arriving at a goal. He says that earlier writings on Political Development had reflected the post-colonial preoccupation with ideas of development on economic terms and they had focused on national identities, establishment of order and political stability and confused politics of development with Political Development (Kingsbury,2007:14). Kingsbury feels that the focus on order and stability in the newly emerged nations led to a compromise on principles of freedom and equality, thereby leading to the rise of authoritarian regimes. He writes,

> 'The claim for and emphasis upon political stability as a feature of Political Development is supportable if it refers to orderly political processes, including (sometimes frequent) change. Change and its frequency are not a problem for Political Development; a lack of respect for and adherence to political rules is... orderly political processes and an adherence to political rules are the guarantors of equality-based freedom' (Kingsbury, 2007:15).

The three decades development was understood in economic context but he feels that it was necessary to perceive it in terms of 'creating an environment in which

people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives that they value'.

The goal of development is human freedom, and in pursuing capabilities and realising rights, this freedom is vital. People must be free to exercise their choices and to participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives' (ibid:16-17). Consequently, Political Development was perceived in terms of change "away from archaic political forms. More developed or mature political system at the opposite end of the political scale could be typified by being inclusive, participatory and accountable, accurately reflecting the aspirations of most citizens" (ibid:17). According to him, a participation in free and fair election, protection of civil and political rights and rule of law are indicators of Political Development. Political Development, according to Kingsbury, is a process that "is intended to produce the greatest amount of freedom most equitably shared, in which there is an increased capacity by individuals and social groups to determine their own affairs; Political Development is an end in itself" (ibid:21-22).

2.1.2.4.3 Richard Higgott

Richard Higgott (1983) writes that problems of the Third World were perceived to be technical and it was assumed could be solved by application of "theoretical constructs" that were gleaned from the experience of western historical evolution. He opined that the problems had far outlived the earlier expectations of the social scientist and the plurality of literature on development failed to impact the areas under study significantly. He states that literature on Political Development has misrepresented reality as in most writings one could sense the Third World being

tarnished by one brush though in reality Third World countries were anything but homogenous (Higgott:3)

Development theory and any new idea, Higgott suggests, goes through three different phases.The first phase it meets with opposition as some of the older ideas come under scrutiny. In the second stage the idea gets accepted and therefore garners support. The third stage is considered more interesting as the perspective is evaluated critically. In line with his argument he described the first stage as the era when modernisation theory was beginning to wane in its appeal as the optimism of 1950s and 60s began to grow dim. The second stage was the slow arrival of the dependency theories as an alternative in the late 1960s and 70s. The third stage was the era beginning 1974 when dependency theory itself began to be questioned.

2.1.2.4.4 Tasneem Sikander

In her article "Political Development and Political Decay" (2015), she equated Political Development as the political aspect of Modernisation and development of institutional framework capable of catering to the demands placed upon it. She lays stress on the importance of effective institutions. According to her, political participation is an essential aspect of Political Development, and the former is dependent on the existence of institutions that enable political participation at the mass level. She goes further and writes "The traditional society is non-participant whereas modern society is participant society" (Sikander:144). Therefore political modernisation meant the weakening of the hold of traditional sources of authority, specialisation, differentiation and popular participation. Tasneem further states that effectiveness of a political system is an indicator of the level of Political Development because merely increased political participation and social change

without strong effective institutions would result in instability. Competence of institutions, according to her, depends on functional specialisation and so a politically developed society would not only be competent but have higher participation, socialisation and recruitment of citizens.

Having waded through the multiple definitions of Political Development and the multiple approaches to the study, it is apparent that though the conditions that encouraged the building of the theory of Political Development no longer exist, the relevance of the subject remains. Fukuyama's description of Political Development as change overtime in political institutions, his mentor Huntington's refusal to equate Political Development to political modernisation as limiting in time and space in his later works, all adds to support that Political Development as a discipline has transcended the earlier intent and suppositions that shrouded the concept. Political Development was perceived by modernisation writers as a non-communist theory of change, a non-Marxian alternative for developing nations, and in the backdrop of the Cold War, development was viewed in national context thereby leading some writers to equate modernisation with Political Development. Pursuing the study on those lines, a focus on area study seemed to suggest the need for a theory of Political Development to not only understand the problems faced by these societies but possibly to help predict and contribute to solve the problems of these societies as and when they crop up. Attempts were also made to compare institutions of these nations in terms of their function and structure by writers like Almond who were criticised for trying to use supposed universal categories in places where it would not stand the test of relevance. His conscious attempt to use inclusive terms like political system instead of state, his understanding that all political systems were transitional not only widened the scope of study but helped negate Fukuyama's claim of an end of history.

If Fukuyama perceived the end in arriving at his mythical state of Denmark, Kingsbury seems to disagree with him as he believed Political Development was an end in itself and therefore rather than focussing on goals, he felt more importance should be given to the process. He wrote that for Political Development if establishment of procedures were important, so were values. Like him, decades earlier Apter had in his writings understood the importance of values in the process of Political Development and it had led himto refer to Political Development as not merely a historical change in political arrangements but also a change in values. Apter had also put forth an important insight that Political Development was a specific response to changes that were taking place within different spheres of society or environment of a system.

Despite the multiplicity of postulations on Political Development, the idea of change, response of a political system to the demands made upon it and the enduring regard for equality seem to be a common thread running in most interpretations of Political Development. Though Pye did categorically state that no single yardstick could be used to measure Political Development, for the purpose of studying Political Development from monarchy to democracy in Sikkim, it becomes important to identify certain key variables that would be used to make the task simpler. For the purpose of the study "From Monarchy To Democracy understanding Sikkim's Political Development 1970-1994", not only is it important to have a historical narrative of the Political Development to understand the changes that took place, the demands that were made on the system and the response of those in Government to these demand. If the historical narrative provides the springboard to have a better understanding of the transition of the independent Himalayan kingdom to that of the 22nd state of India, it would require one to assess Political Development through the

lens of political culture, by assessing key variables like freedom, equality (participation of people, merit/fairness in terms of selection for employment) functional specialisation and accountability of government.

Summary

Political Development as an idea and a process is age-old but the development of the theory was a product of the conditions that prevailed in the post-Second World War world. Post 1945,the world began to slowly see dramatic changes as ideologically it was divided into the Western liberal democracies on the one side and those espousing communism as a different bloc. The Cold War that had begun was faced with rapid decolonisation resulting in the emergence of new independent states that did not belong to either camps, initially. As communism began to spread its tentacles, the West was in a hurry to contain this move. The social,economic and political upheavals that decolonisation brought to these nascent states made it a fertile ground for ideologies like communism that promised to bring rapid changes in society through planned development. Meanwhile, the Western democracies funded area studies to understand the conditions prevailing in these new countries, assess the problems and find solutions for the same. It was felt that the traditional method of formal legal approach was found wanting and so in the foreign policy interest of the USA many scholars began going to the field to study these new nations, and also provide a theory of Political Development. For this purpose empirical methods were increasingly used and the Social Science Research Council set up in 1954 played a crucial role.

Political Development emerged as a dominant branch of political science in the 1950s and early 60s as different writers began to study and come up with different

definitions for the same. Some called it the alternative theory of change or the non-communist theory of change while for some it was equated with modernisation. As nation states gained currency, Political Development began to be perceived in the context of development of nation states. Human rights, suffrage and democracy were important components of a politically developed society. The system that existed in the West was understood to be a goal to be arrived at. Therefore, Political Development was seen in the context of a goal to be achieved. However, with the wide-scale work on Political Development, different writers put forth their understanding of Political Development. The first phases of writers were more involved in studying the problems and institutions of developing nations. It was generally agreed that since these nations had been formerly colonies, they had been exposed to Western institutions. The accepted line of thought was that the new nations had to follow development on the model of Western democracies.

The second phase of study highlighted the importance of social process in Political Development. According to the theorists writing in this period, changes in one set of variables consequently resulted in changes elsewhere. Writers like Lerner were of the view that urbanisation would result in growth of literacy. This consequently led to development of communications like press, television etc. This in a reciprocal way would contribute to more information spread and consequently to increased level of literacy. Eventually these interactions would contribute to development of participatory institutions.

This phase had scholars like Huntington writing on the subject. They laid great stress on stability and institutionalisation. Huntington also made a great contribution by stating that unlike what earlier writers propounded, Political Development was not something unilinear. The fourth phase of writers constitutes

scholars like Fukuyama. He stresses on going back to biological factors in order to understand human involvement in politics. He attempts to trace progress in an evolutionary form from kinship based system to that of a modern state. According to him violence, accidents of history, competition and cooperation all contribute to Political Development. He also goes further to identify key components of a politically developed society e.g. state, rule of law and accountability of government. In his work on Political Development, he tries to shift the focus from a more ethnocentric approach and includes the development of certain key components of Political Development in societies like China and India. He feels that over the passage of time the three components he identified become a universal requirement. Accordingly, he talks of the end of history as the end point in Political Development when a liberal democratic system based on individual rights, popular sovereignty and recognition of human dignity comes into place, fulfilling the longings of human nature. Kingsbury, however, did not agree that there could be an end point of political evolution. He laid stress on the process of Political Development rather than the end point. According to him, the years immediate in the post-colonial era had people focus on economic development, order, stability and though he had no problem with order, he was apprehensive of the compromise on freedom and principles of equality leading to authoritarian regimes. He felt that despite Political Development being understood through an economic lens for three decades, it was important to understand it in terms of having a conducive environment where people could lead lives that are creative as well as productive -- the kind of life they valued. He felt a politically developed society would entail the existence of rule of law, protection of civil and political rights and free and fair elections.

Richard Higgot, while writing on Political Development, was critical of theoretical constructs created out of western experience, and the assumption that it would solve problems of the Third World. According to him, the Third World was anything but homogenous and therefore attempts to represent it accordingly did not reflect the facts on ground. He felt that an idea,be it the development theory, always had to go through three stages.The first stage is when an idea is put up bringing the existing theories under scrutiny,the second stage when the idea gets accepted and the third stage when the idea is looked upon critically. In terms of the theories of development, the first stage was a period when modernisation theory was beginning to lose its sheen, the second stage according to him was the 1960s and 70s when dependency theory was ushered in and the third phase being the one in which even dependency theory was being looked upon critically.

Another writer who put forth her ideas on Political Development was Tasneem Sikander. According to her, political participation meant development of an institution that was capable of meeting the demands made upon it and therefore she perceived it in terms of modernisation. She felt functional specialisation enabled competence so it was one of the features of a politically developed society.The other features being higher participation, socialisation etc.

Political Development theory has remained despite the many conditions that led to its rise no longer existing. Political Development as understood by some of its theorists as a change in political institutions over time and their refusal to limit it in time and space, has added a new dynamism to the theory transcending the earlier purpose. From the multiplicity of definitions and meanings what emerges is that Political Development encapsulates the idea of change, the response of a system to the demands made upon it and the deep regard for equality.

CHAPTER – 3

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN SIKKIM:

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Introduction

Sikkim's transition from Monarchy to Democracy was a culmination of events and accidents of history that spanned across centuries. It becomes imperative to study the history of Political Developments in Sikkim as it is on this foundation that a succession of events and political configurations unfolded, eventually leading to Sikkim's union with India.

Any history of Sikkim without reference to the pre-Namgyal era would be incomplete. However, because of lack of well documented sources, the history of the period remains sketchy. Oral narratives and writings of a later period, though insubstantial, have thrown light on possibilities of the existence of rulers predating the Namgyal dynasty. However, most works on the history of Sikkim seem to suggest that the period beginning mid-seventeenth century and the establishment of the Namgyal dynasty as crucial to state formation. Origin of any state has always been mired in controversy and theories regarding the same have been many. The social contract theorists like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau attributed the beginnings of state to a contract at a point in time that enabled a move away from the 'state of nature'[10]. There were others like James VI of Scotland who attributed the existence of a state to divine origin, while others believed it to be a product of evolution. Many academicians were of

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[10]'State of nature' as put forth by social contract theorists is a pre-state society in which a contract was entered leading to the creation of a state. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau elaborately talked of different kinds of contract; the idea of these scholars regarding 'the state of nature' also differed.

the view that the state was birthed in violence. This chapter will look at some of the theories of origin of state cursorily in order to understand the possible path leading to the emergence of the state in Sikkim, and it will study events and the landmarks in the process of Political Development in Sikkim till 1947. For the purpose of clarity, this Chapter will be divided into three sections, namely:

1. Theories of origin of state and the early state formation in Sikkim

2. Namgyal era starting mid-seventeenth century till the arrival of Claude White as the Political Officer in 1889.

3. Sikkim from 1890-1947.This section focuses on the impact of British rule and the development of administrative institutions like the Council, the Courts, etc.

3.1 Theories of origin of state and the early state formation in Sikkim

Fukuyama, in his classic book 'The origins of political order' deliberates on the emergence of the state. According to him human beings lived in small nomadic groups much like the primate bands. They occupy a certain area but as time passes, they come in contact with other groups. The result of the increased interaction leads to conflict in defence of their territory, or it may result in their moving away altogether. However, consequently as population increases, changes creep in and they may resort to a more settled agricultural way of life. The level of organisation that bind these groups also begins to change as clans and tribes emerge. The groups are based on descent. Heads of family in order to control the group may invoke the idea of the spirit of legendary ancestors, and this helps him not only to keep the group united but also mobilize numerically larger groups, thereby ensuring the possibility of collective action against a common enemy. As this process ensues, ideas of religion emerge and this not only unites autonomous groups but also plays a very important role in the process of state

formation. Religion becomes an instrument to bring a more free tribal society to a closer knit hierarchical one. Along with religion, he states that violence could be crucial to state formation as conquest of one group by the other results in a hierarchical structure, with repressive institutions being established to maintain the status quo.

Mancur Olson is another writer who puts forth an interesting theory on the emergence of the state. He takes an example from China of 1920s, wherein large areas were controlled by leaders of armed men who declared themselves to be masters of territories under their control. They taxed people and gave them protection from other bandits, while they themselves as warlords were stationary bandits who filled their own coffers, and indulged in occasional plunder. He gives the example of Feng Yu-hsiang, a warlord whom his people preferred as a better alternative to the roving bandits. Despite him lacking legitimacy, people preferred to pay regular taxes as that got them protection. This resulted in a monopoly of theft but it also left the people with the incentive to produce because they were only deprived of a portion in taxes. Anarchy is avoided while the bandit by providing a peaceful order within his domain becomes the ruler. A government then comes into being. According to Olson the ruling dynasties explain or legitimise their rule by claiming that they rule because of a grand purpose. He writes:

> "...the rational self-interested leader of a band of roving bandits is led, as though by invisible hand,to settle down, wear a crown....
>
> These violent entrepreneurs naturally do not call themselves bandits; but on the contrary, give themselves and their descendants exalted titles. They sometimes even claim to rule by divine right.Since history is written bythe winners, the origin of the ruling dynasties are,of course, conventionally explained in terms of lofty motives rather than self-interest. Autocrats of all kinds usually claim that their subjects want them to rule and thereby nourish the unhistorical assumption that government arose out of some kind of voluntary choice" (Olson 1993: 568).

The social contract theorists on the other hand point out that state was something that came about by way of a contract. To suppose rigidly that the Sikkimese state could be explained through any one these theories alone would be wrong though one can speculate that state formation may be rooted in a mix of these.

Most writers of history see the establishment of the Namgyal dynasty as the starting point of the formation of a state, but a few writers like General Mainwaring makes a mention of various Lepcha rulers who predated the Namgyal dynasty. He makes reference to King Turve or Turve Panu[11], who was succeeded by three Panus, his descendants. According to him, it was with the death of the last Panu Tur-yek that the new era began under Phuntshog Namgyal.[12]

Saul Mullard too seems to suggest the existence of a possible rudimentary state. He writes:

"...even prior to the date of the establishment of Phun tshogs rnam rgyal as the Chogyal of Sikkim, there were rudimentary systems of stratification and tax collection in place. This indicates that the start of the formation of the Sikkimese state predates the enthronement of Phun tshogs rnam gyal as Chos rgyal...." (Mullard, 2011:30).

History of the Namgyal rulers of Sikkim is linked to the arrival of the three Lamas namely Lhatsun Chenpo , Ngadak Sempa and Kartok Lama ,and their meeting in a place which came to be called Yuksum from the Lepcha 'Yuk mun sum' meaning three Lamas. Their arrival, meeting and a search for the future ruler of Sikkim is

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[11]S.K. Gurung in his book "Sikkim ethnicity and political dynamics A Triadic Perspective" writes that Turve Panu ruled Sikkim in the period 1230-1316. He also mentions another Lepcha ruler Pohartak Panu, who he believes was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta Maurya. pg 32

[12]H.H. Risley makes reference to a Lepcha ruler called Mangal Gyelpa or Shintu Shatisen who was 'overcome' with the aid of one of the three Lamas. This does seem to indicate the existence of Lepcha rulers predating the Namgyal rulers. pg 10

explained in [13]terms of fulfilment of prophecies made long before. In quest of the person, they sent a search team consisting of a **'**Tongden' and a lay person. The story goes on to explain that the team found Phuntshog Namgyal milking a cow, which was considered to be an auspicious sign. He is then called away to Yuksum to meet up with the three Lamas enroute Sang and Rumtek. The two places derive their name from this event as the place where the incense is burnt came to be called Sang[14] and Rumtek where Lepchas were said to have lamented 'our God has left us'. On arriving at what came to be later called Yuksum**,** the three lamas or 'Yuk mun sum'[15]enthroned the Chogyal Phunsthog Namgyal as the first Chogyal of Sikkim, thus starting a dynasty that was to rule some 300 years over Sikkim. Consequent to this event was the creation of some ministers and governors to help the administration of the country and therefore 12 Bhutias were chosen as Kalons or Ministers, and 12 Lepchas were given charge as Zongpons[16] or Governors.

If one were to draw the lens over Sikkim's history, the state formation cannot be earmarked to a particular year but the process spans across generations. However, if one did take the setting up of the Namgyal dynasty as a starting point in the process of state formation then the establishment of Buddhism by the three Lamas in Sikkim is crucial in the process of state formation. This event had a precursor in the events that unfolded in neighbouring Tibet.

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[13] A 'Tongden' was a spiritual practitioner of the Nyingmapa sect.

[14]an incense burnt by Buddhist

'[15]Yuk Mun sum' means three Lamas in Lepcha language (rong ring). Yuksom probably derives its name from the meeting of the three Lamas in that place. Wangchuk and Zulca agree that the name is derived from the Lepcha language and they interpret it as "the place of the three learned men" (pg 87)

[16] Dzongpons, zongpons

As history would have it, in seventeenth century Tibet, a political upheaval took place with the arrival of the army of Gusri Khan into Tibet, and setting up of the Dalai Lama as the supreme ruler of the land. Consequent to the event was the persecution of monks belonging to other sects. This persecution resulted in the practitioners of different sects fleeing south to safer zones like Sikkim and Bhutan. At about this time in the southern regions neighbouring Tibet, Zabdrung was in the process of unifying the Druk state[17]. A Bhutanese account seems to suggest that as the Tibetans began to flee, they were not openly welcomed inBhutan. Some of them therefore came into Sikkim. Meanwhile in Sikkim, the death of Tur-yek Panu, a Lepcha ruler, had left a void. According to Mainwaring, Sikkim was ruled by a Lepcha ruler called Tur-ayek Panu[18] at about this time and he states Phuntshog Namgyal came to acquire power after the demise of the Lepcha ruler (Mainwaring, 1876, reprinted 1999: x).

It is not clear how the change in dispensation came about but the catalyst that eventually led to the setting up of the new dynasty in Sikkim was the arrival of the Lamas from Tibet fleeing persecution from the forces of Gusri Khan. The exact date of enthronement of the Namgyal ruler is debated, but 1642[19] is generally accepted as the year when Phuntshog Namgyal was crowned by Lhatsun Chenpo. However, historians like Saul Mullard contends that Phuntshog Namgyal was enthroned thrice. In fact, Mullard after going through the available sources in history points **to** an enthronement taking place in 1644. He writes:

> "… coronation involving Phun tshogs rig' dzin as the spiritual preceptor happened in 1644...Lha btsum chen po only arrived in Sikkim towards the end of 1646" (Mullard,2011:128).

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[17]an area roughly that of Bhutan came about in the year 1650
[18]'Panu'means a king in Lepcha language.
[19]H.H. Risley in the Gazetteer of Sikkim writes 1641 A.D. as the year of enthronement pg10

Inconsistencies in the narrative become significant as popular historical narratives seem to give a more prominent role to Lhatsun Chenpo. In fact, the history written by the royal couple Hishey Doma and Thutop Namgyal, when writing about the pedigree of the 'Kazis', seems to suggest that the 'Tongden' who identified Phuntshog Namgyal accompanied Lama Lhatsun Chenpo into Sikkim. This deepens the ambiguity surrounding the coronation. Keeping the inconsistencies aside, when one looks at the more consistent aspects of historical narratives, one finds Norbugang was the chosen site of enthronement. This implies that the chosen site of coronation was of some significance to the Lepchas and the rituals performed at the site were not only a form of power assertion but also an attempt to legitimise the new ruler (Mullard, 2011: 136). This touches an important aspect of state formation and Political Development: the question of legitimacy.

Legitimacy is an important aspect of any state. In the process of state formation, issues of legitimacy, territorial integrity, political relations between parties play a very important role. An authority to find acceptance needs to be perceived as legitimate. In the process of state formation coercion, consent and propaganda play a role in extracting allegiance and morally justifying the establishment of a system of government. Legitimacy is, therefore, an essential aspect of a state that binds people together and allows the exercise of power, control and authority to the rulers. Kevin P. Clements while explaining legitimacy writes that legitimacy is "...the stated or unstated acceptance of unequal political relationships where some are given, assume, or inherit power over others" (Clement, 2014: 13).

Historical narratives of the establishment of the Namgyal rule is littered with suggestions thatprophesies had been made of the same by the earlier saints. Phuntshok Namgyal[20] was identified as the fourth Yogin brother. In order to legitimise the start of a dynasty an attempt was made to trace his lineage to the Indrabodhi and ruling houses of Tibet. The new rule, the setting up of the dynasty and the choice of Phuntsho Namgyal were explained in terms of fulfilment of a prophecy (Mullard, 2011: 23-50). In a similar vein, Tenzin C. Tashi writes:

> "Much of the pre-1642 history of the Namgyal rulers, and Sikkim of their times, is shrouded in mythology and divine beginnings.However, this is not an uncommon account. A study of the genealogy of most of the ruling families anywhere in the world will inevitably include a claim that they descended from a line of gods or divine beings; the underlying premise would be their justifiable claim to be the chosen ones, who are above mere mortals and therefore destined to rule" (Tashi, 2011:78).

Despite the attempts to legitimise the rule of Phuntshok Namgyal, his hold over the state was total and was not recognised by all as valid(Gurung,2011:33, Mullard: 136). Most of the reign of Phuntshok Namgyal was spent in consolidation of areas (Risley,1894:10). Imam Singh Chemzong claims that Phuntshok Namgyal had to fight wars with the Limbus and Magars before he could consolidate his hold over Sikkim. He claims that the 'Lo-Men-Chong' council was to be formed to rule Sikkim. The Magars having lost the war left Sikkim forever(Chemzong,2003:162-3). It was only in the year 1663, with the signing of the Lho Men Tshong sum treaty that Phuntshok Namgyal emerged as the ruler. The Lho Men Tshong sum treaty was an agreement that had signatories from the Bhutia, Lepcha and Tshong community and was signed after a conflict. It was a treaty that consolidated Phuntshok Namgyal's hold over Sikkim,

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[20]Phuntshok Namgyal was the first king or Chogyal (Dharma raja) of the Namgyal dynasty.Phun tshog rnam rgyal is another spelling of the same name used by writers like Mullard.

forced compliance to the deeds written, calling on the deities to bear witness and bring about wrathful consequences from them on non-compliance. Mullard suggests that this could be a reflection of not only the lack of trust in the signatories but also the need for Phuntshog Namgyal to reaffirm his place as the ruler.

Regardless of a sketchy start, one cannot deny that the Namgyal dynasty once established, ruled for about 300 years.Their rule as well as the path of Sikkim's Political Development was conditioned by geopolitical compulsions and domestic power equations. For a more systematic understanding of the developments that took place after the installation of the Namgyal rulers the chapter has been divided into various sections.

3.2 Sikkim under its early Namgyal rulers (1646-1889)

Sikkim in this period witnessed consolidation of the power of the early Namgyal rulers, building of institutions, political adjustment and a series of wars with its neighbours.

3.2.1 The first Chogyal -Phuntsho Namgyal (1646-70)

Phuntsok Namgyal was the first Chogyal of Sikkim. His rule marked the beginning of a dynasty that spanned roughly 300 years. The period under him marked the consolidation of a Sikkimese state through conquests and agreements. Another development was the establishment of the Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism in Sikkim.[21] Perhaps the Lepchas crying out "our God has left us" on Phuntshok Namgyal's identification, though attributed to their dependence on Phuntshog's generous

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[21]Rustomji writes that the three Lamas who performed the consecration ceremony were connected with establishing Buddhism in Sikkim. (pg9)

predisposition, could also be explained in terms of their awareness of a religious transformation that had begun with the arrival of the missionary Lamas and setting up of a system very different from what they were used to. Fukuyama in his writings does suggest that introduction of religion and religious ideas act as an instrument in bringing the more free tribal societies under a more closer knit hierarchical structure. He also writes that religion plays an important role in bringing autonomous units closer together in the process of state formation. Religion not only legitimates the transfer into a more hierarchical structure but also explains how autonomous groups become willing to come and permanently give authority to an individual to rule over them. He, however, stresses that it should be a new form of religion that is able to overcome the shortcomings of ancestor worship and other practices prevalent.[22] Perhaps Tibetan Buddhism, the Nyingmapa sect in particular, played that role.

In the process of legitimising his power, the Lho Men Tshong sum treaty was crucial. The Lepcha chiefs and the Limbu chiefs, both signatories to the agreement accepted his over lordship. The treaty sought allegiance through offers of reward for those who supported him, and threats of supernatural and other consequences for those who betrayed him. For any state to continue its hold over constituent units it needs institutions to hold it together. Often these institutions are repressive in order to maintain status quo. Laws dealing with treason were framed(Mullard, 2011: 145- 152) and the Lho Men Tshong Sum treaty, by its very invocation of supernatural consequences and use of other religious references both Buddhist and otherwise, was a repressive instrument to maintain a status quo that the treaty established.

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[22] Wangchuk and Zulca do mention that when the three Lamas arrived in Sikkim they found that it did not have an organised religion (Introduction, page not indicated).

The signatories of the Lho Men Tshong treaty, in all probability, were chiefs who were allowed to retain their lands, their rights to administer the area under them, collect taxes in return for peace and acceptance of overlordship of Phuntshok Namgyal. The relationship among the three communities, the Bhutias, the Lepchas and the Limbus is often seen in terms of the father(Bhutia), the mother (Lepchas)and the children(Limbus)[23](Subba,2011: 125). Historical narratives seem to suggest the deeper involvement of Bhutias and Lepchas in the administration of the land at least in the earlier period. In all probability with the retention of the rights of Lepcha chiefs over their land, they became the Dzongpons or Governors. The Bhutias were inducted into the administration as ministers if not in the time of the first Chogyal but certainly by the second Chogyal. The question that arises is about the role of the Limbu chiefs in the early Sikkim administration. Perhaps the Limbu chiefs were the outer, more or less independent tributaries sworn to cooperate for the mutual defence.[24] One can speculate that the marriage alliance entered into by the second king seems to suggest such a possibility.

Another important issue for any new state is its scarce population and concerns of raising money. A census was undertaken under the first Chogyal's rule and a rudimentary system of taxation began to be implemented. By 1657 a political

[23] Subba, pg 125

[24]Perhaps Tambiah's take on centre periphery relations in galactic polities of South East Asia explains this aspect of the early state formation in Sikkim too. He writes, '...in the center was the king's capital and the region of its direct control, which was surrounded by a circle of "provinces" ruled by princes or"governors" appointed by the king, and these again were surrounded by tributary polities more or less independent... provinces were received from the king and governed on the same lines as the capital... being sworn to cooperate... for mutual defence and on campaigns of conquest.' (Tambiah:509-10).Writers like Imam Singh Chemzong agrees to such a possibility. Imam Singh Chemzong writes, "Punchho Namgyal became the king of all Sikkim including the Northern part of Limbuan state..The kirat chiefs... agreed to regard Punchho Namgyal as their king and paid him a nominal tribute.King Punchho Namgyal gave full autonomy to the Limbu chiefs for their districts and remained himself their nominal king. (Chemzong:162-63)".

organisation had been put in place with ministers given the responsibility of raising taxes and trade and looking after areas under their control (Mullard,2011:153 -155). In terms of institution building an attempt was made to follow the patterns that had been prevalent in Tibet, especially with regard to land holdings.

3.2.2 The Second Chogyal -Tensung Namgyal (1670- 1700)

Tensung Namgyal's rule was a step in the direction of establishing institutions and putting in place a system of governance for he sought the help of Tibet to understand the Tibetan legal system better.A correspondence started with the Desi Sangay Gyamsto to introduce a legal system similar to that which existed in Tibet. One can speculate the role of Tongdens and the three Lamas in setting up the early institutions, as they were familiar with the system as it existed in Tibet. In all likelihood a great possibility exists of the importance of the three Lamas and their disciples, the 'Tongdens', in setting up the early institutions. In tracing the lineage of the 'Kazis' of Sikkim, the royal couple's book[25] the 'History Of Sikkim' speaks of the importance of one such 'Tongden'family. [26]At least during the initial period of Namgyal rule, along with the Lepcha chiefs, they seem to have had a role to play.

Another important aspect of governance was the necessity of raising and maintaining an army thatrequired proper administrative structure and a constant flow of revenue (Mullard,2011: 152-62). He appointed a Changzod, eight ministers or Kalons from amongst the Bhuteas[27] (Dolma,unpublished:24). A palace was also built at Rabdentse during his reign, besides he married a Bhutanese, a Tibetan and a Limbu

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[25] History of Sikkim by Maharani Hishey Doma and and Maharaja Thutop Namgyal
[26](Thutop Namgyal and Hishey Doma 'History of Sikkim' pedegree of kazis:7).
[27] (Thutop Namgyal and Hishey Doma 'History of Sikkim' pedegree of kazis :7), mentions some of the early Kalons or ministers and reference to the family of shar kalon seems to suggest that 'Tongden' or 'Tongdens' were appointed as ministers in the early Namgyal rule.

princess, the last of whom brought along seven more maidens who were married to high officials of the kingdom.[28] These were probably marriages of alliance to ensure support for the dynasty and secure a greater control. [29]Such alliances were not alien to the Asian ruling houses as is evident from a similar example found in South East Asia. Tensung Namgyal died in the year 1700 and this resulted in one of the first conflicts of succession.

3.2.3The Third Chogyal- Chagdor Namgyal(1700-1715)

The ascension of the third Chogyal to the throne of Sikkim was not a smooth affair. The death of the second Chogyal brought to the fore conflicts of succession.Though Chakdor Namgyal ascended the throne in the year 1700, Princess Pande Ongmu, a consort of the descendent of Ngadak Sempa called Ngadak Rinchen Gong felt she should rightfully rule as the eldest daughter. She was a daughter of the Tensung Namgyal by his Bhutanese wife. This led to an invasion of Sikkim by the Bhutanese. Meanwhile, Yuthing Tishe, Karma Dargay and Tatsang Lama carried the king and fled into Tibet,leaving Yuthing Aroopp, the son of Yuthing Tishe in charge of the palace and the affairs of the kingdom.The Bhutanese took Yuthing Aroop as a hostage and occupied the Rabdentse Palace, rebuilt it and built a water building(Dolma, unpublished:25-26).[30]A Bhutanese source writes of the event thus:

"Bhutanese occupied large stretches of eastern Sikkim including the capital Rabdentse by 1700.One Sikkimese source reports that Panding

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[28] Chemzong writes the second king who built the Rabdentse palace asked his Limbu wife as to what he should call the place to which she replied 'Song Khim' meaning new palace. He writes that it is from this word the name Sikkim is derived. (pg 164).

[29]Tambiah writes, '... the king actively represented the subjects through obligatory and/or politically feasiblemarriage or concubinage alliances with women kinfolk of princes and officials and rulers of regional provinces and principalities. Once again, true to the galactic model, the princes,nobles, and officials in turn replicated the kingly model with courts and harems of their own.' (Tambiah:515)

[30]History of Sikkim was written by Maharani Hishey Doma and Chogyal Thutop Namgyal. It was translated by Kazi Dawa Samdup into English.

Wangmo, the daughter of the 2nd Sikkimese king Tensung Namgyal (b.1644) from a Bhutanese queen, invited the Bhutanese forces with the intention of wresting power for herself during the minority of her half-brother, Chagdor Namgyal(1686-1715). Bhutanese activity along the Western frontier seems to have generally continued throughout the early decades of eighteenth century. Sometime in 1725-26, we find the religious figure of Ngawang Gyaltsen lamenting the terror and havoc the war with Sikkim was causing to many people. Moreover, Tibet was also keen on maintaining its grip over Sikkim" (Phuntshok, 2013:310).

Chakdor Namgyal spent some 12 years in Tibet, served as a court astrologer and wove connections that were to bring widespread changes in Sikkim on his return. While in Tibet he met Jigmed Pao, an incarnate of Lama Lhatsen Chenpo and forged a friendship. Meanwhile, the Tibetan government wrote a letter to Bhutan encouraging a more cordial relation involving Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim. Chakdor Namgyal was escorted back into Sikkim by the Tibetans and on his arrival the Bhutanese welcomed him cordially and left Rabdentse, though they occupied portions of Sikkimese land. Some of the forces were expelled from Sikkim and for his services in chasing the Bhutanese out of some areas Karma Dargay was rewarded by granting him a Sanad (Dolma,unpublished:26-27).

While in Tibet, Chakdor Namgyal had met the hierarch of the Mindoling, Gyurmed Dorji. The Raja extended the invitation to Gyurmed Dorji repeatedly to visit Sikkim, which the hierarch declined and instead suggested Jigmed Pao visit Sikkim (Dolma, unpublished:27). In 1709, Jigmed Pao arrived in Sikkim. His arrival proved to be a tactical move. For the Tibetans, it was gaining a foothold into Sikkim's affairs by the Tibetan government, which had been having trouble in the southern borders from the belligerent Bhutanese.

The arrival of Jigmed Pao had far reaching consequences. Chakdor Namgyal was able to counter Pande Ongmu's influence on the Ngadakpa sect, which

till then was the more prominent religious group. Ngadak Rinchen Gong's relation with the princess had tilted the scales on her side so Chakdor Namgyal was left with little option but to welcome the changes that Jigmed Pao, as the incarnation of Lhatsun Chenpo, sought to introduce. Consequently, it led to the rise of the Lhatsen Chenpo's religious lineage and Pemayangtse monastery was catapulted from a small monastery to become a premier monastery in Sikkim. Pemayangtse Monastery's representatives were deputed to various monasteries and a religious network of a kind began to be woven[31] (Mullard,2011:165-67).

To counter the Bhutanese influence, a tilt in the policies towards a more pro-Tibetan approach led to introduction of administrative changes on the lines introduced in Tibet. Carving of Monastic estates being one such step. Chakdor Namgyal, once back in Sikkim was faced with the ground realities that existed. Taking help from Tibet had been a necessity driven by the support his half-sister had from the Bhutanese. In course of time, as the influence of Jigmed Pao increased over the affairs of the kingdom, the Chogyal began to focus on developing a more cohesive nationalistic culture within Sikkim. One can speculate that it was an attempt to try and find his own foothold in the kingdom's affairs. He started the Rong Cham[32], made Panglhabsol[33]a celebration for the whole of Sikkim. He tried to assimilate aspects of what he had picked up from his travels in Tibet with indigenous beliefs. He read up religious literature and is credited in some circles as the founder of the Lepcha script. This claim is contested by the Lepchas, but in some sense the Lepcha script did get recognition from the new rulers. He also

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[31]Mullard writes that pema yangtse became a branch of the Mindoling and as monks went to the parent monastery to receive religious training(Mullard,2011:170)

[32] A religious dance

[33] A state wide celebration. Mount Kanchendzonga, which had been revered for ages as a guardian deity, began to be worshipped.

sought to gain a greater foothold into the eastern regions of Sikkim (Mullard, 2011:165).

From what we know about the reign of Chakdor Namgyal one can speculate the beginnings of a split in the court between a pro-Tibet faction and a faction that was more Sikkim centric.This divide was to plague the history of Sikkim under the Namgyal rulers and was to be one of the driving forces that defined the path of Political Development the kingdom was to traverse. Meanwhile, relation of the Sikkimese government with Tibet was on decline as Sikkim not only failed to pay tributes but was also deprived of certain estates given to the Chogyal on his earlier visits to Tibet.

In the latter half of the reign of Chakdor Namgyal, the influence of Jigmed Pao aided by the Pemayangtse Monastery's network of lamas had a hold on the affairs of the kingdom, much to the neglect of the powers of the Chogyal through accident or design. The account by Rani Hishey Doma and Thutop Namgyal in 'History of Sikkim' suggests that the Raja fell ill and was not only not able to aid the Tibetans against the Bhutanese, but 'was removed' to Sangecholing monastery, where he wore the Lepcha chaddar and spent his time in devotional exercise. Closely following the narration is a vision seen by Jigmed Pao wherein he identifies the source of misfortune[34] to a group of Lepchas whom he accuses of having "conspired to raise a general insurrection"(Dolma, unpublished:30). The person identified with having led this movement was alleged to be possessed by an evil spirit. This was a tactical move. That the insurrection was of some magnitude, can be assessed from the response of the government. The narrative continues, "Those monasteries which had not been rendered impure by the evil spirit

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[34]Phuntshog in 'History of Bhutan' explains that it was commonplace in Tibetan history to use divination, false prognostications and astrology to deal with controversial issues. pg:113. Politics in Sikkim was to a great extent affected and influenced by Tibet.

were rewarded highly, with thanks and monetary presents." (Dolma, unpublished: 31-33). The Sangachoeling monastery was one monastery that was rewarded richly.

The narrative does seem to suggest the influence of the group of Lepchas in the Sangachoeling monastery where the Chogyal had 'been removed'. Though the explanations are mired in supernatural terms, one can speculate a deeper level of politics than is apparent in the narrations by the royal couple.

On hindsight, Chakdor Namgyal's reign was marked by intrigues that eventually cost him his life. At the Ralang hotspring the Chogyal's main arteries were pierced with a lancet and he bled to death. His death was kept a secret by Jigmed Pao and the monks of Pemayangtse monastery, who performed his last rites in secrecy. After the death of Chogyal Chakdor Namgyal, Princess Pande Ongmu, perceived as the incarnate of a wicked Tibetan queen, was killed by the men sent by the government. With the two claimants to the throne dead, Lama Jigmed Pao became the regent till the next Chogyal gained maturity.[35] One of the first steps of Jigmed Pao's regency was a move of reconciliation with Tibet, as he deputed Kyla Tashi Rabden to Phari and in return for gifts and a memorial obtained the estate of Dobta and secured a promise for either Zar or Paldentse (Dolma, unpublished :33).

3.2.4 The Fourth Chogyal - Gyurmed Namgyal (1717-1733)

The third Chogyal died in the year 1715 and Lama Jigmed Pao became the regent till the fourth Chogyal was enthroned in 1717. According to the historical narratives, Jigmed Pao claimed that he wanted to perform the installation of the new Chogyal in accordance with the prophetic utterance of the third Chogyal. However,

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[35]It was in the interest of Tibet to have a Tibetan regent in Sikkim

88

contrary to his wishes, narratives seem to suggest that the young Prince at that time "...started off on the frontier tours towards the lower portions of the hills, inhabited by the Lepchas" and therefore was unavailable (Dolma, unpublished:36). Once again, we find Jigmed Pao using prognostics to achieve his objective. He pronounced the Chogyal's actions as being a sign of inauspiciousness. Finally, the regent's wishes prevailed and the ceremony was carried out in accordance with Nga-wang Rinchen Barwa. For the first time the Pemayangtse monastery played a prominent role in the enthronement of a Chogyal (Mullard,2011:168).

This whole episode as well as the former Chogyal's move towards the creation of a Sikkimese identity seem to suggest the tensions that prevailed in court politics of Sikkim. It does seem to throw up the question about the legitimacy of Jigmed Pao's Regency. Such a speculation is given tool by a Bhutanese account that seems to suggest that the Tibetan government had a keen eye on Sikkim and wanted to maintain its grip over the land. Phuntshog writes:

> "...Tibet was...keen on maintaining its grip over Sikkim.We can... see this when Lhazang Khan fined the Sikkimese king for not promptly showing up with troops to support his impending campaign against Bhutan. The Sikkimese were delayed because King Chakdor Namgyal had died suddenly in 1715 and his death was being kept a secret" (Phuntshog, 2013:310)

It is understandable for the Tibetans and their Mongol overlords to value Sikkim in its southern borders as their other southern neighbour, Bhutan had time and again defied and defeated the Tibetans in the wars fought between the two countries.

Closer home, after the ascension of the fourth Chogyal to the throne, the intrigues that plagued his father's life continued to make its appearance in his life too. Five Lepchas made an appearance and began influencing the young king, who

apparently was well versed in the Lepcha script and language. According to the royal couple's account, the young Chogyal was favourably inclined towards the Lepcha wizards, which eventually resulted in a show of powers with the Pemayangtse monks. Eventually the Pemayangtse monks chased the wizards and pelted stones and killed them at Teshe–lung-tsog and Teshe Garad (Dolma, unpublished:33-34).

Meanwhile, in Tibet an invasion by the Mongols led to the consort of the hierarch of Mindoling and her daughter fleeing to Sikkim to take refuge. True to a frequent use of spiritual injunctions and prophecies to explain and justify actions and events during the regency of Jigmed Pao, the arrival was also explained in terms of a religious prophecy. The regent then arranged for a marriage between the young lady and the Chogyal Gyurmed Namgyal in the year 1721. However, the marriage proved unsuccessful and the lady returned to Tibet.[36] The attempt to strengthen a closer tie through a marriage failed. However, at another level, changes were being introduced and one could speculate that the monasteries with their effective network began to be agencies of socialisation. Slow incorporation and replication of styles of chanting followed in Mindoling was accompanied by incorporation of Tibetan styles in architecture while constructing and renovating structures. Tibetan hegemony began to be quietly ushered in. The Limbu subjects and the Mangars who were involved and employed for these activities began to get alienated and it led to their moving away to areas that constitute the Limbuwan, and they severed their ties with Sikkim. Changes in landholding patterns were introduced. Land previously given to a Gelong Rinzing Long-yang in Phulbari in the plains for perpetuity, was on his death taken by the Pemayangtse Lamas in 1730s on the pretext of offering prayers for the deceased and the

[36]Risley makes a mention of the Chogyal's refusal to live with the Mindoling lady and describes her as plain looking. pg 14

King. The Dakarpas had also been granted sizeable chunks for their services and their land bordered the Pemayangtse estate. The Pemayangtse estate was made free from paying taxes to the state. Codes of succession began to be altered as land disputes regarding succession were settled (Dolma, unpublished :38).

Meanwhile, Lepchas continued to be a force to reckon with. A certain Tishe Bidur is mentioned as having collected followers around him to stop the flow of revenues from the plains to the Chogyal and aligned himself with Mangar Rajas to raise a rebellion against him.A force under Yuthing Desit, another Lepcha, was sent and he killed the Tishe near Chakung for which he was rewarded (Dolma,unpublished:35).

During this period even the Bhutanese were very active in the vicinity. Rumours of their invasion abounded. Boundary disputes between Sikkim and Bhutan erupted. From the accounts of both Sikkimese and Drukpa sources one can deduct that the Sikkimese forces were of considerable strength in the fourth Chogyal's period. They were not only used to quell rebellion but were strong enough to wreak havoc on a neighbouring belligerent kingdoms like Bhutan.

Something more pressing than the border trouble with Bhutan was looming large over Sikkim. The fourth Chogyal's marriage to the Tibetan lady from Mindoling had not borne an heir. [37]The question of succession was pressing and the fourth Chogyal died in 1733.He had not left an heir. It was claimed that on his death bed he had confessed that a child born to a nun of Sanga Choling monastery was his. A war of succession ensued.

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[37]One can speculate the Chogyals of Sikkim were often sought to be covertly influenced by making them marry, or be encouraged in that direction for a political reason.

A powerful minister called Changzod Tamding who contested the legitimacy of Namgyal Phuntshok as heir, grabbed power and ruled Sikkim for three years from 1738 till 1741.However, another powerful minister called Changzod Karwang supported Namgyal Phuntshok and took the young prince to Sinchel and used his own resources to fight a battle for the throne. The young Prince was taken to Bhutan, as the war continued. Only when 'Lepcha Kazis' won the war, the prince was brought back. Meanwhile, Changzod Tamding fled to Tibet and "submitted a representation to the Tibetan Government" (Dolma, unpublished :39).

The Bhutanese writer also gives an account of the period and mentions the important help given by the Bhutanese that resulted in the Bhutanese being allowed to retain a garrison and collect taxes from a number of households (Phuntshog, 2013:330).In Sikkim the war of succession had a bearing on the rise and fall in fortunes of families, depending on which side they had supported. One family that emerged prominent was the Lepcha Kazi[38] family of Karwang. They virtually governed Sikkim, making both Gyurmed Namgyal and Namgyal Phuntshok his pawns(Mullard,2011: 175).

3.2.5 The fifth Chogyal -Namgyal Phuntshok (1733-1780)

Namgyal Phuntshok's reign began in strife and his rule like his predecessors was affected by power play and court intrigues. In 1741, trouble broke out when a man from Northern Limbuwan called Srijunga Dewangsi began to revive the Limbu literature and

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[38]Kazi is a word which traces its origin to a Persian word Kazi or Kadi , an office equivalent a magistrate when India was under its Mohammadan rulers ,according to Upadhyay. Though it was initially a word to denote an office ,some families have chosen to retain it as a surname .With the arrival of the British very many individuals who were pro British were given landholdings on lease ,some of the older families who had served in capacities of ministers and Dewans were also included in the newer administration as lessee land lords. They were the more influential section of the Sikkimese polity and they are of Lepcha-Bhutia origin.

92

the Mundhum religion. The Pemayangtse Monks killed him at Singthebe, near Martam. The Limbu script and literature were not to be allowed in Sikkim. The Limbus revolted and the Sikkimese began to lose their grip on Limbuwan (Subba:144-145,Chemzong:167).

Meanwhile, the Tibetan government, not to be outdone by the Bhutanese presence and influence, sent Rapden Sharpa. He came to Sikkim to enquire about the succession issue and make a report but stayed back in Sikkim (Risley:16).He involved himself in politics and began to act as a regent in 1747. Rabden Sharpa lured the Sikkimese by giving them a plate of salt, a rare commodity, when they came to him. He took down their names and conducted a census of a kind. This led to the introduction of a more systematic collection of annual rent from the following year. Regency under the Tibetan nominee saw peace being restored in Sikkim. (Dolma,unpublished: 39-40). He was a regent for some five years (Subba:144-45).

During his regency Rapden Sharpa along with Karwang called all the subjects of the king at Mangsher and a constitution was framed.This convention was called the "Mangsher duma" wherein powers and duties of Bhutia and Lepcha headmen were defined. A tax called Zolung was fixed and levied.This was to be a regular source of income for the ruler. Another impact of the Tibetan regency was the souring of ties with the Mangar chief, attributed primarily to the regent's refusal to acknowledge the invitation extended for the installation of a new Mangar chief (Dolma, unpublished:41).

The Tibetan regent left after the enthronement of the new Chogyal of Sikkim. However, before his departure the Tibeto-Sikkimese border was fixed at Kumbu Rakha. Meanwhile, the Tshongs were raising a rebellion against the king. Karwang with his ingenuity and force put down the rebellion.Presents were handed out to appease the

community and they were given the privilege of bearing banners and having kettle drums beaten according to their rank. Written permits were issued to both Tshong and Mangar chiefs to have drums beaten on their arrival as a mark of honour. Silk robes were handed out to some. This ensured peace from this quarter at least for the time being(Dolma, unpublished :42-43).

Though there was internal peace after having won over the recalcitrant Limbu and Mangar chiefs by Karwang, in the year 1767, Deb Zhidar ascended the throne in Bhutan, and two years prior to that Raja Prithivi Narayan Shah had brought the whole of Nepal under him. Both these rulers to the east and west posed a serious challenge to the Sikkimese. In 1770, Bhutan invaded Sikkim and took over portions of the kingdom, coming as far as Barphung and Mangbru (Dolma, unpublished:45). This war was concluded by signing of a treatyin 'Pob-chu' near Rhenock. As a result, Sikkim got some areas that formerly belonged to it, that which had been taken in 1706 from Sikkim (Pradhan, 1991:121). As for Nepal, Mullard writes that though most sources opine that the Gurkhas first attacked Sikkim in 1774, he claims that taxable regions of Sikkim were attacked only in 1888-92**.** The 1774 skirmishes were probably related to areas claimed by Sikkim but were not the boundaries of modern Sikkim (Mullard, 2011:176-77).[39] Prithivi Narayan Shah's forays in the east were fuelled not just by adventure but a moredeeper economic reason to take control over the revenue-yielding plains of Morang. Since Sikkim claimed eastern and northern part of Limbuwan, the move was bound to cause problems. In 1774, it is claimed that Prithivi Narayan Shah told his generals "the son of Sikkim Dewan has come to confer with our officers...it does not appear that there is any bad intention against us"(Pradhan, 1991 :132).

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[39] Pradhan says that the Gurkhas did not attack Sikkim between the years 1775-1788. pg 142

Sikkim did lay a claim over Kankai as its western boundary, portions of Illam, Pachtar and Taplejung. During the Gorkhali attack on Limbuwan many people from the area fled to Sikkim and the Gorkhali king decided to sign a treaty and have those who fled extradited. He sent along emissaries to Sikkim but they were killed (Pradhan,1991: 132-33). On not being able to reach an agreement, the Gurkhas decided that Sikkim should be attacked.

3.2.6 The Sixth Chogyal-Tenzing Namgyal (1780-1793)

Tenzing Namgyal ascended the throne in 1780. He married the daughter of Karwang, who had been virtually ruling Sikkim by keeping the Chogyal's father and grandfather as mere puppets. The rule of Tenzing Namgyal was marked by aggression from its neighbours both in the east and west. During this period an aggressive house of Gurkhas emerged. Incursions in the bordering areas took place especially under Nepal's ambitious regent Bahadur Shah. The Bhutanese had a good relation with the house of Gurkhas. In fact, Bhutan from the east and Nepal in the west struck an alliance and Bahadur Shah at the point of attacking Sikkim asked Bhutan not to intervene on Sikkim's behalf. In return, the Bhutanese were given some areas of Buddhist significance in Nepal. The Gurkhas attacked Sikkim and took over the capital in 1788[40].The royal family fled to south Tibet where they suffered greatly. It was then that the Bhutanese came forth with humanitarian assistance to help the Sikkimese who had been offended by Bhutan's role in Sikkim's invasion (Phuntshok,2013:367-68). With the aggression of Gurkhas, Sikkim's capital shifted from Rabdentse to Tumlong.

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[40] General **Jor** Singh-led force of the Gurkhas attacked Rabdentse. The raja appealed for help from Tibet in 1790, according to Risley, pg.18. Pradhan writes that Sikkim was attacked from two sides, one force under Purna Ale entered from Illam and came to Chakung, another force under **Johar** Singh attacked Rabdentse. pg 144-145

According to Phuntshok, around this time the Nepal-Tibet war of 1788-92 also started because the Tibetans were unhappy with Gurkha expansionism. They were unhappy with the Gurkha attack on Sikkim but the Gurkhas were relentless. The Chinese heard about the pillaging so they deputed a Chinese Manchu officer with troops. Sikkim was asked to join the attack (Phuntshok, 2013:368-69).

The war between Nepal and Tibet in 1788 had far-reaching consequences in the region. The Chinese sought assistance from both the Sikkimese and the Tshongs.They proclaimed that they would leave no trace of the Gurkhas, and for the support rendered the Sikkimese and the Tshongs were promised the land they helped conquer, besides rank and favour from the imperial government (Dolma, unpublished:50-51).The defeat of the Gurkhas by the Chinese, who pursued them till 20 miles off Kathmandu, made Nepal a tributary of China. The Gurkha expansionist policy towards Sikkim received a jolt as they were dislodged from areas they had occupied. The young Prince Tshugphud Namgyal was installed on the throne of Sikkim while the former Chogyal died in Lhasa in 1793 (Phuntshok, 2013:369) .

3.2.7 The seventh Chogyal -Tshugphud Namgyal (1793-1863)

Tshugphud Namgyal took control of his administration at the age of 12. His reign marked a series of important events that were to have far-reaching consequences on the political affairs of the region. Despite the loss suffered by the Gurkhas at the hands of the Chinese, their expansionist policies and the threat from them remained. The capital in Sikkim was shifted from Rabdentse to Tumlong in 1814 (Dolma, unpublished:54-55). Tumlong situated far North was at a greater distance from Nepal's

border than Rabdentse. [41]The area near Nahagari fort was still controlled by the Gurkhas, and the British who needed an ally against the Gurkhas found one in the Sikkimese. The British involvement in the region was initially fuelled by their commercial interest,[42] but they were persuaded by the Sikkimese to help them expel the Gurkhas from the region.

A rumour of the Bhutanese and the Nepalese forces joining hands against the British led to the latter cultivating ties with Sikkim. The British asked Sikkim's help in return for helping it recover its lost areas from Nepal.[43]Risley writes that by 1815[44]the Nepalese had been removed and the treaty of Titalia was signed on 10th October 1817.[45] All mountainous areas east of Mechi were returned to Sikkim.Dolma explains that the British had helped to drive the Gurkhas out of Nahagari fort in 1815, and in 1816 a letter was sent from Sikkim to the Governor General thanking him for the aid in terms of money, a kharita , ammunition and a double-barrelled gun. The Sikkimese appealed to the British to help in the demarcation of a boundary between Nepal and Sikkim, as the earlier attempts by the Chinese and Tibetans had failed[46](Dolma, unpublished:55-56).

In 1817 the treaty of Titalia was signed. By this treaty the Sikkimese king agreed not to aggress upon Nepal, and should any dispute arise concerning his

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[41] In 1814, a palace began to be built in Tumlong. Risley, pg 19
[42]According to Pradhan, by 1770 the British were very focused on opening Tibet. Pg 121
[43]Captain Barre later established the contact with the Sikkimese authorities. (Rao:2)
[44] Treaty of Segauli signed in Dec 1815, large tracts of land were ceded to the Company by Nepal and Captain Barre later was given authority to give the land between Tista and Mechi to Sikkim under some conditions that were elaborated in the treaty signed in 1817, Treaty of Titalia (Rao:2-3)
[4545]According to Risley, "For some years, Pemiongchi and all the South Tista tract paid their rent to Nepal, until 1815 when the Nepalese were expelled by the British government, who by the treaty of 1817 restored all this country together with the Terai to the Sikhim Raja." pg 19
[46]According to Risley,when peace was declared and General Hosi-Thang was settling issues after the war, the Tibetans refused to hear out Sikkim saying they had not helped in the war with Gurkhas and Sikkim's boundary with Nepal was to be the left bank of Tista (pg 19). Pradhan also mentions how Sikkim was not represented at the talks. (Pg 151)

subjects and those of Nepal or any other state in the neighbouring areas, it should refer it to the British for arbitration. The Raja was also bound to join and support the British when they were involved or employed in the hills. The treaty also required that before allowing any British, European or American subjects to reside in Sikkim, permission from the British be taken. In some sense this treaty brought Sikkim within the British sphere of influence. It also required the Raja to provide a free transit of merchandise and protection of traders from the Company's[47] provinces (Moktan: 8-9,Rao:186-87).

By this treaty Sikkim became a buffer between Nepal and Bhutan, and it also checked the Gurkha move towards the East. Sikkim became important for the Company in terms of the security of India. Two months after the treaty of Titalia was signed, the grant of Morung was made. An important condition was put forth,that during emergency the orders of the Governor General was to be obeyed as though the orders came from the Chogyal himself (Moktan:10,Rao:3-5). This was an important step in a sense as it was just the beginning of the compromise of the Sikkim ruler's powers vis a vis the British.

However, in 1819 trouble began to brew in the royal family. The problem involved the maternal family of the Chogyal.

3.2.7.1 Kottapa issue

Changzod Bolod, the younger son of Karwang was alleged to be using the Raja's red seal indiscriminately. Attempts were made to resolve the issue amicably between the king and his maternal uncle in 1819 and 1820.However, Changzod Bolod disregarded the agreement and one last bid at reconciliation was made in 1824, but this

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[47] Company refers to the trading company called the East India Company.

attempt, too, failed and finally in 1826 Changzod Bolod was killed. His brother and most of his immediate family met the same fate. An open feud began with the Kottapa family.[48] A branch of the family under Kottapa Kunghahad already settled in Illam earlier as the Jongpon or Governor, but with the assassination of the Changzod, son of Kottapa Kungha, Jerung Denon and Kazi Gorok left Sikkim along with around 800 Lepcha households (Dolma, unpublished:58).This opened another front of skirmish for the Sikkimese as Kottapas began raiding Skkim's territories, often seeking aid of the Nepalese. The Kottapas began to attack areas such as Gezing, Barfong, Ghar, Daramdin etc. The Maharaja appealed to the Chinese resident and the Tibetan government to persuade the Gurkha government to remove Kottapas from the borders of Sikkim to areas more closer to their own capital. Despite efforts from the two governments, the Gurkhas did not comply. The Maharaja made another effort to influence the Chinese and the Tibetan governments, and this time their pressure on the Gurkha government worked. Bhikesar Pande Kazi was sent to fetch the Kotappas, Yug Dathup and 13 followers to the Gurkha Darbar. From there they were sent to Tumlong in 1830. The Tibetans acted as mediators. The Kottapas asked that they be reinstated as Changzod, the income from the Terai, and removal of officers who had been antagonistic to them. In return for this agreement written and sealed by the Maharaja, they promised their allegiance. The king's courtiers found the demands unacceptable. The Kottapas left for Illam, leaving the impression that they would try and win back their followers but never came back. They continued their earlier raids into Sikkim with their Lepcha followers and were a steady source of pain for the Sikkim rulers (Dolma, unpublished:59-61).

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[48]According to Pradhan, Jayanta Khatri wrote about the killing of Lepcha, Limbus and other older groups in Sikkim. (pg 158).

Writing on the issue, Mullard opines that the dispute was a consequence of the power exerted by the descendants of Karwang, while the Chogyals had been like puppets in their hands after 1741, except for a brief period under Tibetan regency. The early years of Tshugphud Namgyal's rule was a continuation of that power equation, wherein the Chogyals of Sikkim were used to add legitimacy to the rule(Mullard,2011:181).

In the meanwhile, another chapter in Sikkim's history began to unravel with the visit of Llyod and Grant. These two Britishers came to inspect the boundary in Sikkim as a problem had arisen with regard to the Ontoo hills that were being claimed by both Nepal and Sikkim. It was during this inspection that they saw Darjeeling and found it suitable to start a sanatorium. After a series of council meetings finally Llyod left for Sikkim in 1835.They began talks with the Sikkimese ruler as Darjeeling fell within Sikkim's jurisdiction. However, the Kottapas considered it their patrimonial land and made a gift of it thus complicating the issue.[49] Dr A. Campbell arrived to take charge of Darjeeling as its superintendent. He gave the Ontoo hills in 1839 to Nepal. A year later, he took an estimate of the population and put the figure of Lepchas at 3,000 and Bhutias at 2,000 in Sikkim [50](Jha,1985:53).

In Sikkim, by then the strife between the Lepcha aristocracy led by Cheebu Lama and the Bhutia faction under Pagla Dewan had come to the fore. Pagla Dewan,who had a monopoly of trade with Tibet did not take kindly to the visit by Dalton Hooker and Dr Archibald Campbell,who had arrived to not only survey but also to assess the possibilities of trade. Despite protests, the two Britishers continued to carry

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[49] Pradhan writes that the Lepchas under Kottapas sought the help of the British and they voluntarily gave Darjeeling to the British as they claimed it to be their patrimonial property. Pg 159

[50] Darjeeling, according to Risley, had seen a massive rise in population with about 100 people in 1839 to 10,000 in 1849 as people from Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim migrated to the settlement. pg 20.

out their assessment and crossed over to Tibet, in defiance of the Raja's authority. This led to their arrest in 1849. In 1850, Lord Dalhousie deputed a force that took control of large areas between Teesta and Ranjeet (Rangeet?) in East, Raman in North, Nepal-Sikkim border in the west and discontinued allowances for Darjeeling. With the loss of Morang the king of Sikkim dismissed Pagla Dewan and tried to gain favour of the Company through Cheebu Lama. For the loss of areas like Morang by Sikkim to the British, Tibet decided to give the Raja an allowance, thereby increasing its hold on Sikkimese affairs.

Pagla Dewan was reinstated at court and with the retirement of the Raja to Chumbi, it was Dewan Namguey who began wielding power. In 1859, in the name of the king he started demanding Rs12,000 per annum or return of land the British confiscated in 1850 (Rao,1972:32). Campbell put forth demands for restoration of British subjects who were kidnapped, security from being aggressed by Sikkim in the near future. On non-compliance he threatened to occupy the Sikkimese territory. When the Raja ignored threats of Campbell, it resulted in Campbell crossing the Rammam River with a small force. Fighting ensued. It resulted in the retreat of the British after being almost routed by the Sikkim troops. This forced the Government of India to send a military expedition again into Sikkim. They had to make up for the blow given to the British prestige by the Sikkimese by sending a troop under Captain Gawler and Ashley Eden all the way to Tumlong. Eden was instructed to ensure that Pagla Dewan was to be dismissed and banished from Sikkim. A treaty was to be signed between Sikkim and Government of India and a person more acceptable to the British was to be put in place of the Pagla Dewan(Rao,1972: 32-40).

3.2.7.2   The treaty of Tumlong, 1861[51]

On 1 February 1861, a British expeditionary force started off from Darjeeling for Sikkim. The Pagla Dewan fled Sikkim for Tibet with the approach of the British forces. A treaty was signed between Sikkim and the British called the treaty of Tumlong. This treaty brought significant changes; the Raja would henceforth be a Maharaja (Rao,1972:42-43). New Dewan was to be appointed with approval from Eden. Cheebu Lama became the new Dewan. Maharaja could not stay more than three months in Tibet and a Vakil[52] was to be sent from Sikkim to Darjeeling. Sikkim became a protectorate in the de-facto sense and came securely under the sphere of influence of the British (Rao,1972:43).

3.2.8 The Eighth Chogyal - Sidkeong Namgyal (1863-1874)

Sidkeong Namgyal in the absence of his father, who was at Chumbi, began ruling Sikkim though it was only in 1872 that the Chogyal abdicated the throne in favour of the ruling prince (Wangdi,2011: 95). During the reign of this Chogyal important changes took place and it was under him that the treaty of Tumlong was signed, the grant for Darjeeling which had been taken away was reinstated in 1861 and increased in 1873 to Rs 12,000 annually, but the condition was that Sikkim Durbar would help to not only open but also expand trade with Tibet. Attempts by the court to seek pardon for Donyer Namgyal from the British fell on deaf ears. By 1861, the British began extending their control in the hills as they started putting conditions on the Sikkimese Chogyal and his government (Mullard,2011:35).

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[51] Chogyal who was often referred to as Raja began to be referred to as a Maharaj after the 1861 treaty. Chogyal, Raja and Maharaja are different nomenclatures for a king, though Chogyal has a religious connotation as well.

[52] Vakil means an advocate, in this case the term could be explained in terms of a representative.

Another significant step was the formal leasing of land in 1867to Luchimidas, a Nepali Newar. This move was to have a far-reaching consequence on the politics and society of the Himalayan Kingdom. The Chogyal was not too keen on settlement of Nepalese and trouble did break out between the Pemayangtse Lamas and Luchmidas in 1872 (Jha, 1985:56-58). The Chogyal like his predecessors before him was wary of the Nepalese settlement but the British were keen to encourage immigration and they assured the ruler that as long as the British were in Darjeeling, the Maharaja had very little to worry. The lands were leased out by various Kazis and power was given to the Nepali lessee to investigate and try cases according to the customary laws of the Nepalis, except in case of murders. However, the Chogyal passed away in 1874 and the administration began to be carried out by Changzod Karpo, who was an illegitimate son of Chogyal Tsugphud Namgyal.

3.2.9 The Ninth Chogyal - Thutop Namgyal (1874-1914)

The ninth Chogyal Thutop Namgyal under British patronage became the new ruler. As he was recognised by Edgar the British began consolidating their place in Sikkim under his rule. Sir Richard Temple visited Sikkim in 1875 and by 1877 construction of a road from Darjeeling to Jelep pass was also undertaken (Rao, 1972:64).With the British influence increasing, they made an effort to settle more Nepalese for economic development and also to counter the influence of the pro-Tibetan factions. This policy was not liked by people and it whipped up anti-British feelings (Rao,1972: 65).

Thutop Namgyal despite having the British patronage, refused to yield to various limitations imposed on him by the Tumlong Treaty of 1861. As stipulated in the agreement, he could not stay away from Sikkim for more than three months and was to

appoint someone to look after the affairs of the kingdom in his absence. He stayed in Chumbi for around three months and he not only did not appoint someone to look after the affairs of the kingdom but also failed to answer the government's order on settling of Nepali Ryots.

The British meanwhile, sought a more favourable relation with the Tibetans and tried to persuade the ruler to develop closer ties through North Sikkim. For the purpose, Macaulay was sent in 1884 to talk to the Maharaja. Phodong Lama and Khangsa Dewan advised Macaulay to increase the allowance of the Maharaja, help in building a new house for the Raja and asked him to insist that the Raja should stay in Sikkim permanently. The Maharaja was also to be influenced in ruling from Tumlong and to go to Lachen and Lachung instead of Chumbi if he felt the need to spend time in a cooler place. The increase in allowance was to depend on the success at promoting a friendlier relation with Tibet thus improving commercial ties, as well a better administration from the Chogyal. However, a secret exploration carried out by Sarat Chandra Das[53] in 1879 and 1881 angered the Tibetans who stopped their trade which had begun in Sikkim-Tibet border (Jha:1985, 15-21).

At around this time another important development took place and it was to have far reaching consequence. As the British influence in Sikkim increased, they began encouraging the Nepalese to settle in Sikkim primarily to counter Tibetan influence and to generate more revenue. The new settlers were industrious and this created resentment in some circles and as a result a problem arose in 1880 between the pro-and anti-

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[53] A head master at the Bhutia Boarding School in Darjeeling was sent on a secret mission by the British into Tibet.The purpose of the mission once revealed made theTibetans suspicious of British India government's motive.

settlers. In 1883 one family belonging to Luchmidas, a Nepalese, acquired the right to mint coins.

Meanwhile, the government of Bengal asked Macaulay to find out the reason for stoppage of trade. He arrived in Sikkim for the purpose in 1884 but the Maharaja[54] could not give him any information but told him that on 20th October trade had resumed on the frontier. This seemed to point to a decline in the influence of the British in Sikkim, especially so as the former queen's death and the Chogyal remarrying a Tibetan had seen the tilt towards the Tibetan faction in Sikkim (Rao,1972:67-68). Macaulay reported back that permission should be obtained from the Chinese government for a mission to Lhasa. The government of India was reluctant but Macaulay on his holiday in England approached the secretary of state Randolph Churchill who agreed to the idea and wanted to send him to Peking to secure. Macaulay arrived in Peking in 1885 but by this time a lot of noise had already been made on the subject and the Tibetans and Chinese were both not favourable to the idea. As Macaulay was interested in a political mission rather than just a commercial one, it required a small force to accompany him, the idea of which was looked upon with suspicion. In 1886, preparations for the mission started at Darjeeling and the news was received with alarm in Tibet. The Tibetans armed themselves and reached the frontier while the government of India asked Macaulay not to move from Darjeeling and the mission was aborted as a condition to securing China's recognition of the annexation of Burma by the British (Rao,1972:72-81).

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[54]The Maharaja arranged for a meeting between Macaulay and Jongpen* of Khambazong who told him that though the Tibetan government itself was liberal it was the monks who had reservations because they would lose out on trade and influence. (Raizada:101-102)

* Jongpen, Jungpen,Dzongpen -- an officer of some rank,sometimes used to refer to a governor of some province.

The countermanding of the Macaulay Mission was not to be a solution in the hills of Sikkim. The Tibetans had moved into upper reaches of North Sikkim and they showed no hurry to withdraw the troops. The Sikkimese King seemed to support the move saying the land the Tibetans had occupied actually belonged to them because the people of Sikkim had exposed their land to the British (Rao,1972:82-83).

The continued presence of the Tibetans in Sikkim was a cause for worry for the British. The government of India decided to wait but the Tibetans seemed to be in no mood to withdraw, rather they seemed intent on annexing Lingtu. They began levying taxes while the Maharaja was invited to Darjeeling to enter into a new agreement with the British. In 1887 the invite was sent despite some in the British quarters advocating the use of force. The Maharaja declined the invitation and was once more invited in October 1887.This time there was a warning attached that the refusal of the Maharaja may require other means to solve the problem and in future two people, Khangsa Dewan and Phodong Lama, would be regarded as the administrators to whom future correspondence from government of India would be directed. The Maharaja declined the invitation yet again stating that he was bound by the treaty signed in 1886 with China and Tibet, which forbade him to cross over into British territory.

The British realized that their inaction and soft-peddling to the Maharaja had been interpreted as a sign of weakness. They decided to take action. In December 1887,[55]the Chogyal was advised to take the advise of Phodong Lama and Khangsa Dewan in the future and was not to go to Tibet henceforth. He was also to stay away from Bermiok Kazi, Yangthang, Dalam and Libing Kazis and he was also not allowed

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[55]According to Dr Raizada, on December 1887 when the Chogyal returned to the kingdom the pro- British faction felt that the Maharaja may take steps against them for their support of the government of India. To reassure them the government (of Bengal) kept some reserve police at Kalimpong.pg 66

to collect taxes (Jha,1985:31). Despite a delay, in March 1888 a force of 2,000 under General Graham reached Lingtu and clashed with the Tibetans and took over the place. A.W.Paul as Political officer and J.C.White accompanied the force. Despite their loss, two months later the Tibetans again launched a surprise attack on the British at Gnatong but were routed. A small force under General Graham expelled the Tibetans from Gnatong in September 1888.The force then entered Gangtok, which alarmed the Maharaja who fled to Chumbi but was brought back (Raizada:66-69,Rao:88-92).

Negotiations began with the Chinese Amban[56] in 1888 as the British were intent on getting a formal recognition of Britain over Sikkim and restoring friendly ties with Tibet. The talks, however, failed. A telegram was also sent in the same year, 1889, by Edgar from Gnatong to the Government of India stating that it was advisable that Sikkim be administered by a British officer with the deputy commissioner's help.He suggested that White could be kept back if it was agreed upon by the Lieutenant Governor.He informed that the Raja was at Pedong and it was advisable to keep him away, while White couldsettle things in Sikkim. In accordance with the advise, the Raja was moved and J.C.White was appointed as the Political Officer of Sikkim.He was to look after the administration (Jha,1985: 30-32).

In 1889, a fresh attempt was made to come to an agreement. Once again certain issues proved to be an obstacle and finally in 1890 a Sikkim-Tibet convention was signed at Calcutta. This Convention had reaffirmed and got recognition of Sikkim as a protectorate of the British, a process begun by the treaty of 1861. This convention had the participation of the British and the Chinese but no representation of the Sikkimese or the Tibetans (Rao 1972:96-198).

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[56] An officer, an amban was placed by the Chinese in Tibet

3.3. Sikkim-A British Protectorate (1890-1947)

Sikkim from the 1890s entered a new era with John Claude White taking a firm control over Sikkim's administration. Lucian Pye has mentioned in his work on Political Development that when the indirect approach falls short, a time comes when the nation states impose their administrative structure on the traditional system. After the earlier attempts by the British to engage the ruler through the treaty of Tumlong, and such other measures, perhaps that hour had begun for Sikkim. Changes to align the system comprehensible to the Western notions of government began to be introduced in peace-meal measures throughout the time White was in the Political Office and afterwards. One of the first step was the appointment of a council. The first council had the Maharaja, the Phodong Lama, the Khangsa Dewan, Purboo Dewan,Gangtok Kazi, Tashiding Kazi, Sheu Digpon, Dorje Lopon to represent the monks and Claude White as its members.This Council collected revenue, managed the administration of the state and settled disputes (Jha,1985:33).The presence of the Maharaja in the council and the native councillors legitimised the changes by way of the council. In "1890 a rough survey and settlement was made with a view to demarcate the boundaries" (Administrative Report, 1905-6:3). In 1892 the land was redistributed and the set of lessee land lords were created by giving them 'patta' by the council without the consent of the Chogyal. Sengupta writes "…Claude White liquidated the 'private estates' of the Royal house and the lands of the loyalist elements and distributed them mostly among the pro-British elements" (Sengupta 1985:223). However, the decision of the council was upheld when the political officer made it clear that the Chogyal had handed over his powers to the council when he had left Sikkim for sometime.

The Chogyal as a ruler had been dependent on the subsidies from the British and the state coffers was lacking, record of revenue collection was not maintained well and

revenue was paid in both cash and kind (Jha,1985:71).White writes, "The coffers were empty, and the first thing to be done was to devise some means by which we could raise a revenue. A commencement was made roughly surveying the different districts and assessing them at so much per acre, taking into account the nature of the soil...." (White,2009:26-27). Despite shortcomings, in the Raja's record he found rents paid in kind was worthRs2,474. In cash it was Rs 5,320, in copper mine Rs 250, lime quarries Rs 200, Timber Rs 200, adding to a total of Rs 8,444 (Jha,1985:72).

Of the many, one shortcoming of bad record-keeping was that the demands made on the Ryots were not standardised whether in terms of produce, forced labour or money. Therefore, the ordinary people did not have good living conditions. He knew money was needed to bring about changes and one of the ways to generate money was to make revenue collection more systematic and improve record-Keeping. White writes, "....the country was very sparsely populated,and in order to bring more land under cultivation, it was necessary to encourage immigration, and this was done by giving land on favourable terms to Nepalese,who, as soon as they knew it was to be had,came freely in" (White,2009:27). He had been impressed by positive changes he had seen in Rhenock area where Nepali settlers had made vast improvement, therefore he did not wantto delaytheir settlement. Therefore, after collecting Rs 6,177 as earnest money they considered the petitions and gave land in and around Pakyong and Pathing after approval of the Kazis (Jha,1985:72). He also realized that one of the things he needed to do was to carry out survey of the land for which he employed two Bhutia natives. He also tried to assess the land belonging to the original cultivators and took measures so as to not deprive them of their land. He wanted them to pay a lower rate of revenue in comparison to the newcomers and did not allow alienation of their land through sale or otherwise (Jha, 1985:73). He wanted the Mandals and Kazis to collect revenue and in

return he made their land tax-free and for their work of collection they were to get 5% of the revenue in case of Mandals and 15% in case of Kazis, while 80% was to go to the state coffers. For the purpose of state visit and road building, annually seven days free labour was to be the lot of the Darbar.

Once these measures were applied there was substantial increase in the revenue and the British used the increased revenue on road building, repair and maintenance of public works, payment to Kazis and also an allowance to the royal family (Jha,1985: 122-23). He was able to make changes as forest was brought under control and illegal felling put on leash, excise was also introduced and he went about the kingdom settling minor disputes and issues, talking to people. Despite the changes that had begun to set in Sikkim, the Maharaja relentlessly tried to fight off the British pressure by trying to flee Sikkim. The British wanted the heir apparent in Sikkim but had not been able to persuade the Maharaja to their ways. In 1892 when the Maharaja did not bring his son from Tibet he was kept at Darjeeling and it was suggested that his second son Sidkeong Namgyal should be introduced to Western education (Jha,1985:24). It was suggested by the Commissioner of Rajshahi division P.Nolan that the Maharaja be deposed for some period and be kept under house arrest. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal agreed to the suggestion and without much noise the Maharaja was deposed by the Government of India for a period of three years from 1892. The Maharaja and the Maharani[57] were kept in Kurseong. In 1894 they made a request that they be allowed to go back to Gangtok. Sikkim's council and Claude White were reluctant to have him back.They were more keen on Prince Sidkeong Namgyal's enthronement, and this was put forth in April 1895 at the Darbar of the Lieutenant Governor (Jha,1985: 38). However, the Maharaja was

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[57] Maharaja Thutop Namgyal and Maharani Yeshay Dolma

reinstated to his throne in 1895 on two terms, the first required him to write to his eldest son to return and the second was to agree to the new constitution made for Sikkim. He agreed to both the requirements and it was understood that he would continue to administer despite limitations to his powers as the real power lay with the political officer. It was given to understand that his powers would be restored completely in a couple of years if he was able to get the Tibetans and British to have good commercial relations. When attempts to bring the Maharaja's first son back from Tibet failed, it was decided that Prince Sidkeong Namgyal would be recognised as the successor by the council, much against the Maharaja's request (Jha,1985:25).

The British were intent on having a more malleable person on the throne of Sikkim despite the fact that it was Claude White who administered with the aid of the Council he had created. Amidst all the political intrigues that were afoot in the court of Sikkim, the British began introducing changes that were in course of their ascendency over Sikkim to form not only the basis of their rule but also introduced and streamlined institutions that paved the way for functional specialisation.The British were directly in control of the affairs of the state till 1918 after which powers were fully granted to the new ruler, Chogyal Tashi Namgyal. Despite the shift in 1918, the British continued to exercise influence at court and were instrumental in transforming Sikkim. According to Margret D.Williamson:

> "In 1918 Sikkim was granted full autonomy.The political officer continued in residence, however, and although in theory he merely acted in an advisory capacity in the sphere of internal affairs, in practice his presence in Gangtok meant that he continued to enjoy considerable influence.As regards external affairs,these were controlled by the Government of India through the Political Officer" (Williamson, 1987:14).

This meant that the changes that White introduced were carried forward by other British officers who succeeded him. Introduction of police force, setting up of a judicial

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system, western education, bureaucracy and a state council were some such measures. These in itself proved to be significant steps that further pushed Sikkim on the path of Political Development.

3.3.1 Police Force

The absence of jails and a police force made the Maharaja rely on men supplied by the monasteries to substitute for police. White realised that as long as this continued, the dependence on pro-Tibetan monasteries to substitute as police would be detrimental and with the increase in population, the chances of a rise in crime also grew. He felt the need for a police force, especially in the wake of the force at Gnatong withdrawing. White appealed and the Government of Bengal and theyprovided for a Jamadar and eight policemen to be appointed. By 1899, two more policemen were given and they began guarding the Jethmull Bhojraj Bank(Jha, 1985: 49). Police trainings were also carried out as more natives began to be hired.

The monasteries were also centres of learning and institutions of socialisation to all things Tibetan. The Tibetan code that had been borrowed by the early Maharajas needed to be replaced and therefore judicial reform was undertaken and effort was made to establish institutions of socialisation and western education was to be introduced.

3.3.2 Judicial Reform

The Tibetan legal system that was emulated by the second Chogyal continued to exist. One of the steps to neutralize the Tibetan code started with the simplistic concession to the new Nepali lessee to try and investigate cases according to the customary laws of the Nepalis, except in case of murders. Later, the set of lessee landlords created to assist in governance through tax collection were given some

judicial powers. They were the state agents who settled most of the cases. Most of the cases were tried by the landlords but there did exist cases that were also tried in the court of H.H. Maharaja, in council, and in that of the political officer (Sikkim State Gazetteer 1901-1902:6).

As a slow transformation took over and within decades a judicial system on Western lines was set up. The administrative report of 1929 records the existence of 57 Adda courts[58] divided into four grades, the first of which could settle cases where a sentence of one month was merited and a fine of Rs 100 for matters of criminal nature. For civil suits the jurisdiction covered Rs 500. The second grade courts had jurisdiction over civil cases amounting to Rs 300, while in case of criminal suits Rs 50. The third grade courts had jurisdiction covering Rs 25 in criminal offences and Rs 200 in civil cases. The fourth grade Adda court covered cases deserving penalty of Rs 15 and Rs 100 in case of civil suits.

Above these courts was a chief court with both original and appellate jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases and it was to be preside over by a chief judge. The highest court, however, was that of the H.H. the Maharaja[59]. Before any issue came up before it, the suitability and merit of the case was to be assessed by a judicial committee,after its scrutiny the case was brought before the Maharaja for his opinion.The British subjects did not, however, come within the court's criminal jurisdiction (The Administrative Report,1929: 21-23).

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[58] Law courts
[59]His Highness the Maharaja's court

3.3.3 Western Education

Western education in Sikkim began at the initiative of the missionaries of Church of Scotland and Scandinavian Mission Alliance.White was not very keen on overt mission activity in Sikkim but he was not averse to the work they carried out in the field of education and medicine. It was in the interest of the British to have English educated elites who could not only provide the native element in governance but could also contribute to the changes they desired to bring in the form of institutions. They started their venture at the top by educating the heir designate Prince Sidkeong Tulku who was brought to Darjeeling for the purpose and was later sent to England to complete his studies. Meanwhile, the schools started by missionaries began to be partially aided by the state.

The boys from elite families were sent to acquire Western education. Claude White sent 18 boys from elite families to Darjeeling for schooling and a stipend was also given to them. In August of 1912, female education was discussed and the Maharaj Kumar Sidkeong Tulku was keen on this venture. Consequently arrangements for education of Kazi's daughters were made with a school opening in 1912 (Kharel,2013:434-441). According to Dick Dewan,

> "...English was widely used in government services, everyone wishing to pick up a job would want to learn English and wanted this language to be taught in schools...people would assume knowing English as the equal of getting the requisite education" (Dewan,2012:255).

He goes on to write that "Sikkim had acquired English education from very good schools of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong ...educated ones had already occupied high posts of the government services" (Dewan,2012:264).

Despite these radical changes the British were introducing and the hold they had over Sikkim, they continued to acknowledge the Maharajas of Sikkim as the de-jure rulers of Sikkim. According to Rao, the influence of the British was so deep rooted by 1906 that the neighbouring countries like Tibet and China posed little trouble. This great hold of the British over Sikkim could be witnessed when after the death of Thutop Namgyal, Sidkeong Namgyal ascended the throne despite his elder brother Tchoda Namgyal being one of the main claimants to the throne (Rao,1985:145). Sidkeong Tulku, however, died later that year and was succeeded to the throne by Maharaja Tashi Namgyal who had his final installation on the throne in 1916. Full powers were handed over to Tashi Namgyal who was on friendly terms with the British (Rao,1985: 145).His rule in Sikkim, except for the final years, for most parts was uneventful though a sea of changes occurred administratively with the guidance of the British officers.

An indication of the rule of Tashi Namgyal can be assessed from the Administrative Report of 1925-26.It reports that the administration was carried out in the name and under the control of the Maharaja. Different departments were functioning by then. A revenue department, a general department, registration department carrying registration of documents, a judicial department dealing with law and justice, police, jail, arms and ammunition, revenue and judicial stamps, medical, sanitation, vaccination, veterinary, education, ecclesiastical and census. By this time there were 57 landlord courts, chief court and finally the appeal to the Maharaja is the highest court in some cases. The Court of His Highness the Maharaja heard appeals of both Criminal and Civil nature and also cases of extradition (Administration Report, 1925-26:4-20).

The Political officer was the British representative and he "...continued to advise the Darbar on all important matters of administration" (Administration Report, 1930-31:3). It was also stated:

"The ruler of Sikkim is the source of all authority, Judicial, administrativeand legislative. The Government of the country is conducted under the direct control of His Highness who is assisted by an organised secretariat on the lines of that of the Government of India. The entire administration is carried on through specific departments. The recommendations of the Departmental officers are carefully considered in the Secretariat and the decisions of the Darbar are issued in English by the Secretary of the Government in form of orders, proceedings or letters" (Administration Report, 1930-31:5).

The administration was carried on with the help of three secretaries and an engineer who worked as the secretary of public works department (ibid).

The changes that were visible during Chogyal Tashi Namgyal's rule were in fact a continuation of changes that had begun with the arrival of Claude White as the Political Officer.

One of the first institutions put in place by the British after their control over affairs of Sikkim was the creation of a state council.

3.3.4 The State Council

The State Council was made up of mostly the land lords. It would be wrong to surmise that the Council was primarily a legislative body. However, it did perform the role of a legislature from time to time. Administrative reports of different years give us an insight into the workings of the Council over a span of four decades. The 1909 report mentions Council meetings held by the Political Officer in the Palace. Both the Chogyal and the Maharani are mentioned to have attended all 12 meetings of the Council.

The year 1910 saw the passing of the 'Sikkim debt law' by the Council on the 7th of November. A section of this debt law was altered by the council in 1913-14. The

meeting also agreed that Marwaris and Modis[60] could not possess or control land, though the rule was an unwritten one. Besides,

> "The State Council at a meeting held in September sanctioned the introduction of cooperative council credit societies under the control of the Maharaja Kumar and a sum of Rs 10,500 was put at his disposal for granting loans to the societies…." (Administration Report, 1913-14: 2).

In the month of June 1913, the council also passed a resolution regarding abolition of polyandry in Sikkim. A further light into the workings of the council can be gleaned from the five meetings held in 1915, in one of which it was decided that the management of the Chakung estate was to be done on rotation by the members of the Council.

On 15th may 1916, the final installation ceremony of Chogyal Tashi Namgyal to the throne of Sikkim took place. It was, however, two years later on 5 April 1918, that the Kharita of investure was handed to Sir Tashi by Charles Bell, the then political officer, on behalf of the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford. This conferred full powers over the administration into the hands of the Chogyal. Two council meetings were held during the course of this year. Interestingly, the 1918-19 period in Sikkim saw 21 Kazis and 25 Thicadars assist in the administration though the council had only eight members. This indicates that all Kazis and Thicadars were not inducted into the council.

The AdministrativeReport of the years 1925-26 shows a slight variation in the composition of the council. Three people, namely Rup Narain, Pestonji Jameshjiand Rhenock Kazi,were inducted as official members, while Yangthang Kazi, Tassang Lama, Rai Sahab Lobsang Choden, Babu Ratna Bahadur Pradhan, Babu Balkrishna Pradhan, Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Pradhan were appointed as the non-official members of

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[60] Bussiness communities from plains of India

the council. The council was also stipulated to meet at least twice a year on 15th of March and 15th of September for ordinary purpose and it could meet any other time for emergent needs.

By the end of 1920s the council began to be called the "State Advisory Council". It consisted of three members who represented people of all caste, creed and nominated from all over Sikkim and they were experienced men with right to criticize the budget though the prerogative to pass decisions independent of the council lay with the ruler who could also sanction the budget. The purpose of the council was to advise and provide experience and sound judgement. The council membership in the years 1930-31 was increased to eight but the nature and function of the body remained the same as it had been at the close of the previous decade.

By 1938 the State Advisory Council with its three members remained mainly an advisory body. The increased functional role of different boards, the existence of a Secretariat and the recognition that the ruler as the source of all authority, judicial, legislative and administrative in some sense was a reflection of the growing powers of the ruler, a process that had begun in 1918.The institution of the Chogyal (though India recognised the title only in the 1960s), at least in theory had become powerful, the exercise of these powers by the rulers depended on many interweaving factors.

By the end of 1940s and early 1950s the council as a body had ceased to exist. However, the Maharaja in anticipation of greater involvement of people in the administration reorganised and revived the State Council wherein Lamas, 10 prominent citizens and retired officers were included as members (Datta-Ray,1984:55). By then, most important decisions and announcements of the state were made through a series of Royal proclamations from the throne. However, for this to come about various events

unfolded that were to leave an indelible imprint on the future status of Sikkim. The most important of which started in the 1940s.

The 1940s brought about a wind of change in the Indian Subcontinent and Sikkim too was engulfed in the process as the British departed and India became Independent. As a protectorate of British India, it had not been immune to the success of the power of mass movements. It was evident from the Administrative Report of Sikkim state for 1929 that the primary focus of the British had not been to encourage democratic aspirations of the people but to set up institutions in order to rule. The Report read,

> "The government ...is conducted under the direct control of His Highness who is assisted by an organised Secretariat on the lines of Government of India. The entire administration is carried on through specific departments. The recommendations of departmental officers are carefully considered in the secretariat and the decisions of the Darbar are issued in English by a secretary to the government in the form of orders, proceedings and letters...The system is based on good old patriarchal monarchy...where subjects stood as children of the Ruler; and with the simple Hill people unaffected by the virus of democracy and elections, the system works excellently" (Administrative Report,1929:4-5).

If centrally the government was organised thus, at the provincial level it was the lessee landlords who still held sway. It was against the lessee landlords that small groups began to come together and eventually as these groups mobilised the peasants and Sikkim saw the birthing of its own political party in 1947. This particular development was to have far-reaching consequence not only on the status of the Himalayan kingdom after 1975 but it proved to be the harbinger of change that was to engulf the 333-odd years of the Namgyal dynasty and pave way for transition from a Monarchy to a Democracy.

Summary

The origin of a state is always an interesting place to start the study of history of Political Development. Various writers have delved into this area and it has led to a plethora of theories developing. Some attribute the origin of a state to the divine, others believe it to be a product of a social contract, while some speculate that states were birthed in violence. Accidents of history, the role of religion and historical evolution from families to bands and then to tribes are some of the paths taken to eventually arrive at a state.

Sikkim's state formation is generally traced to the arrival of the three Lamas in Yuksom, which led to the consecration of the first ruler of the Namgyal dynasty, Phuntshok Namgyal. However, writers like General Mainwairing contend that there were at least three Lepcha Panus or rulers who preceded the Namgyal dynasty and it was with the death of the third Panu Tur-yek that a vacuum occurred and it resulted in the consecration of a new ruler. Writers like Mullard also agree to the possibility of the existence of a rudimentary state prior to the one established by the three Lamas. Whatever be the case, the signing of the Lho Men Tshong sum treaty was an instrument to further legitimise Phuntshok Namgyal's authority over the Limbus and Lepchas.The very nature of the treaty appeared to maintainthe status quo achieved and included in it were portions from which one could deduce the laws of treason.

Another significant consequence of the establishment of the Namgyal rule was the foundation of the Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism in Sikkim, which to a degree was responsible for the Namgyal dynasty coming into existence. The interplay of religion and politics was to have far reaching consequence not only on Political Development of Sikkim but also impact its ties with its neighbours.

Phuntsok Namgyal's rule also saw the slow process of establishing institutions of governance. By 1657, delegation of responsibilities for taxation, governing certain territories and other such works had begun. After his death, his son Tensung Namgyal ascended the throne. He married three ladies, one from Tibet, another Limbu princess and yet another from Bhutan. These were probably marriages entered in the form of alliances. Tensung Namgyal's rule saw the initial steps to set up of a legal system by borrowing ideas from Tibet. His rule saw the building of Rabdentse palace, and creation of eight Bhutia ministers or Kalons. A process of institution-building which is so much an integral part of Political Development was underway.

The reign of the third king Chakdor Namgyal was marked by internal problems, and it was after a war of succession with his half-sister Princess Pande Ongmu that he finally ascended the throne. As the Ngadakpa Lama, from the powerful Nyingmapa sect in Sikkim, had sided up with the Princess, the meeting of the third king with the hierarch of Mindoling, Gyurme Dorje,in the years he was in Tibet, brought about a change in the power equations within the Nyingmapa fold. This was to have far-reaching consequences on Sikkim's Political Development.

It started with an invitation to Gyurme Dorjee who instead sent Jigmed Pao in 1709. His arrival and stay in Sikkim was to open a new chapter in religion and politics in the kingdom.By this time Tibet's interest in Sikkim's affairs was on the rise. Their belligerent southern neighbour Bhutan was difficult to influence and control and in Sikkim they sought to establish a firm grip as Jigmed Pao took on the role of a regent and this saw the ascendency of the Lhatsen Chenpo sect of Buddhism in Sikkim. Consequently this resulted in the rise of importance of the Pemayangtse monastery of West Sikkim, and the ushering in of Tibetan hegemony.

A network of monasteries was established and attempts to replicate the styles of the Mindoling, land distribution patterns were affected as estateson the lines of Tibet began to be carved out.Monastic estates were created. Prognostics became an effective tool to control the rulers and events and direct the course of Sikkim's Political Development. One factor that emerged after the Tibetan ascendency was a fracture in court politics.

From the time of the third Chogyal one could perceive the attempts by him to create a cohesive nationalistic culture in Sikkim. In some circles he is credited with inventing the Lepcha script. He sought to create something more indigenous to Sikkim as he invented the Rong Cham and incorporated the worship of Mount Kanchendzonga as a guardian deity and celebrated the Pang lhabsol as a state wide event.

As the tussle for influence over the Chogyal progressively developed with each passing ruler, the conflict came to the fore in the form of another war of succession. The fourth Chogyal died without an heir in 1733. A war of succession began between a minister called Changzod Tamdrin who usurped the throne and the Lepcha faction in court who put up Namgyal Phuntshok.The latter, it was claimed, was a child born to Gyurmed Namgyal and a nun at Sanga Choling. The Lepcha faction led by Karwang won and Tamdrin fled to Tibet after his defeat in 1740. Namgyal Phuntshok became the 5th Chogyal. This period marked the rise of Lepcha faction in court politics of Sikkim with Karwang ruling and the Chogyals mere puppet for some generations of the descendants of Karwang.

Meanwhile, not to be outdone, Tibet sent Rapden Sharpa as a regent. He by giving out salt conducted a rough census. He along with Karwang called a convention called Mangsher Duma wherein a more systematic attempt was made at tax collection.

A tax called Zolung was levied and powers and function of headmen in villages were defined.Before the departure of Rabden Sharpa for Tibet,the Sikkim-Tibet border was defined. This period also saw the first Gurkha incursions into Sikkim.

From 1788 onwards Sikkim was caught up in wars that involved the conflicting interests of its neighbours.If the Gurkhas followed an expansionist policy, the British desired control over these regions because for them Sikkim became important from a strategic as well as commercial point of view. Internal feud in the royal family opened up Sikkim to British intervention and meddling from the Gurkhas. It was while inspecting the boundary after a Sikkim-Nepal boundary dispute, that the British chanced upon Darjeeling. They were interested in the hill station and were working out an arrangement with the Chogyals but soon Darjeeling became a hotspot of misunderstanding between the British and Sikkim. The misunderstanding came to a boil with an open conflict that culminated in the signing of the treaty of Tumlong in1861.

The treatyof Tumlong became an important landmark in Political Development of Sikkim. By this treaty, Sikkim became the de-facto protectorate of the British. Meanwhile, the court politics in Sikkim between different factions continued at some level. If the Pro-Tibet faction had an understated support from Tibet, the Lepcha faction cultivated a pro-British approach.

The British initially tried to influence the Maharaja in order to improve their chances for commercial ties with Tibet. However, their attempts were met with little success. A treaty at Tumlong in 1861 was signed but the Chogyal of Sikkim refused to be bound by the various articles of the treaty. Eventually, the British decided to follow a more direct approach. J.C. White was sent as the first Political Officer in Sikkim. With

the signing of the Anglo-Chinese agreement in 1890, Sikkim was recognised as a protectorate of British India.

The arrival of Claude White as the first political officer had far-reaching implications on Political Development of Sikkim.For the initial period, the Chogyal of Sikkim was kept in the British territory while White went about the task of bringing administrative reforms with the help of a council that he created. The state council had as its members both the Maharaja and the native subjects of the ruler and White.

One of the first tasks undertaken was the survey of land. Lessee landlords were created, record keeping and collection of land rent was systematic. With time, a police force was created, Western education made available, judicial reform, and overall transformation in administration took place as at some level functional specialisation sought to be introduced despite a constant reminder through administrative reports that the government was run under the control of the Maharaja. There is no denying that it was the British who ruled Sikkim through its political officers who had chosen Sidkeong Tulku to be the prince-designate instead of his elder brother. He was made to undergo Western education and was sent to England for some years. However, the prince who ascended the Sikkim throne in 1914 died later in the same year. He was succeeded by Maharaja Tashi Namgyal whose installation was complete by 1916.The British handed full powers to him in 1918.The new Maharaja had very good understanding with the British, and in the administration of the state the British officers served as advisors while different departments performed the functions they had been delegated. The lessee landlords, by their presence in different departmental capacities, continued to play an influential role, while at the provincial level the magisterial powers given to them helped them retain influence despite the transient nature of their leasehold.

However, in the decades that followed the lessee landlords and other agents of state began to be looked upon by the populace with trepidation. The practise of forced labour, Kalo bhari, Theki-bheti and kuruwa had led to a growing resentment amongst the masses.

It was in the early 1940s that small groups began to coalesce against the agents of state, which eventually resulted in the emergence of three political parties in Sikkim, the very same year India became Independent. As India embarked on a democratic path, its protectorate got exposed to the whirlwinds of change that would eventually take the kingdom from a Monarchy to a fledgling Democracy.

CHAPTER – 4

SIKKIM'S TRANSITION FROM MONARCHY

TO DEMOCRACY

Introduction

The journey of Sikkim's Political Development from Monarchy to Democracy to a great extent was affected by changes that occurred much before the Indian government-guided constitutional development began taking place. Sikkim's Political Development to some extent exemplifies Lucian Pye's take on Political Development in traditional societies under colonial rule. Sikkim had come into contact with the British Indian government which indirectly tried to spread its influence in the kingdom, but as it constantly faced uncertainties in regard to handling matters political as well as in its relation with the then rulers, it sent Claude White as the first political officer. John Claude White's arrival heralded a new phase in Sikkim's history. After imprisoning the Maharaja he overhauled the administration and created lessee landlords. The colonial government ruled through White and his successors directly for a period, assisted by a council of which the Maharaja was a member. White and his successors to the office slowly introduced some changes aligning the system to those found in Western societies. Akin to what happened in Sikkim Pye had in his theory suggested that initially 'indirect approach' was used by the colonisers but when such methods were found wanting then they introduced Western administrative structures.This change meant rationality, efficiency and competence became important in administration.Consequently, certain changes occurred that unleashed tension in society. Similarly introduction of Western administrative

structures marked a shift in Sikkim as it was accompanied by introduction of Western education and Western medicine. These changes marked a shift from a politics and healthcaresteeped in prognostics and superstition.[61] Through the introduction of Western education a class of educated elite emerged and the desire to communicate the problems of the masses to the government and their demand for change unleashed tension in society.

Pye was clear that the colonial administration was created to rule and not to be sensitive to political forces. Likewise in Sikkim, one of the most important institutions used in colonial rule was the lessee landlord system. It was an institution that had been created to help the British administration, and therefore it was notsensitive to political forces. In a very short time after the British left Sikkim, an agitation to abolish landlordism rent the air, and it was the educated elite who became the torchbearers of the movement. The task of creating structures of representative politics therefore fell on the governments that succeeded the colonial rule. The Monarchical government was faced with a rising demand for reforms from the leaders of political groups. Against the demands made by the political leaders, the government of Sikkim guided by Indian officials set about the task of constitutional development in Sikkim. The events that unfolded with the Indian Independence led to a churning in the subcontinent, and for Sikkim it culminated in its union with India.

The year 1947 was undisputedly an important one in the history of the Indian subcontinent. It not only marked the departure of the British and emergence of two nations, India and Pakistan, but also brought to the fore the unresolved questions on the

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[61] Often prognostics and superstition were used to manipulate events and it served as a means to control events and people groups. Ill health was often explained in terms of evil influence or a consequence of certain actions. With the introduction of Western education and medicine the reliance of the ordinary person on the priests and traditional practitioners often lessened to a great degree.

status of princely states like Sikkim. On the eve of their departure from India, Sikkim began to witness a political stirring as at the ground level popular sentiments began to come together against perceived exploitation of villagers by local-level agents of the state and institutions that the British had put in place for administrative convenience.A group called Member Party emerged in the 1940s to bring together such disgruntled sections in Temi Tarku (Upadhyay,2017:75). Six years later, the Rajya Praja Samelan was formed in Temi Tarku, and another party was formed in Chakhung called Rajya Praja Mandal. The Praja Sudhar Samaj was formed in Gangtok. This was a significant step, a landmark of sorts in the political history of Sikkim. The tentative step towards political affairs of the kingdom by groups such as these was to mature eventually and lead to Sikkim's union with India, and Sikkim's transition from Monarchy to Democracy. This chapter looks into the institutional change that took place through a process of constitutional development from Monarchy to Democracy in Sikkim. The chapter covers an important phase of Sikkim's Political Development. It studies Sikkim's transition from a Monarchy to a Democracy, and the issues that plagued the governments under its first two chief ministers.

4.1 Kingdom of Sikkim post India's independence

India became independent on 15th of August 1947. It was in December that year that the Sikkim State Congress came into being as a result of coming together of Praja Sudharak Samaj, Praja Mandal, and Praja Samelan. This party was to play a key role in the politics and Political Development in Sikkim as it led to the movement for the abolition of lessee landlordism. From the following year a subtle shift in politics began to occur with the setting up of the National Party, which began to be projected as a party of the 'Sikkimese people', though in later years it was alleged by the opposition to be a pro-palace political party. As for the state's affairs, the eleventh

Chogyal was still the official ruler but the Crown Prince Palden Thendup had begun to take a keener role in the affairs of the kingdom, his primary focus being the retention of the 'Sikkimese identity' for the kingdom.

Meanwhile, the politics in Sikkim was gradually unfolding to incorporate popular sentiments as the sufferings of the people were put forth by Tashi Tshering in a pamphlet[62]. On 8th of December, in a party meeting it was agreed that a memorandum would be prepared containing three demands: abolition of landlordism, formation of an interim government and accession of Sikkim to India. With the memorandum they decided to meet the Maharaja the next day (Rai, 2011:102-103).

The Maharaja[63] agreed that the lessee landlordism would be abolished and he appointed three secretaries who were to be the nominees of the Sikkim State Congress. Accession of Sikkim to India was no longer to be a demand.

In the meanwhile, India's Independence had raised the question of Sikkim's status as the scenario under which Sikkim had become a protectorate ceased to exist.[64] A standstill agreement of 1948[65] was signed in order to solve the problem at least for the time being. Harishwar Dayal joined as the first Political Officer[66] in Sikkim in April 1948. His arrival ushered in a series of changes. It was alleged that he was playing a role in the political unrest in Sikkim by encouraging indiscipline and

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[62]A pamphlet titled 'A few facts of Sikkim'

[63] 'Maharaja' a title interchangeably used with the Chogyal is a term used by the government of British India.

[64] Dr Shefali Raizada writes in (2012) 'Merger of Sikkim: A new perspective' pg 130: that the British departure gave the king the 'opportunity to disengage the state from India on one hand and to re-establish the royal authority that had been eroded by the British on the other'. (Swati Publication, Delhi) She contends that it was the increase in royal power **that** was resented by the popular sections.

[65] An agreement that defined Sikkim's status as a protectorate of Independent India.

[66] Das writes that initially the P.O. had executive powers and used to administer Sikkim reducing the Maharaja to be a nominal head. The appointment of a Dewan brought about a shift and the Sikkim authorities began perceiving the P.O. more in terms of a diplomatic representative. Pg11

the Maharaja had to send his secretary to the residency to complain (Tenzing, 2011:56). This resulted in a meeting that decided to set up a ministry in May 1949. This ministry[67] comprised of the frontline political leaders of Sikkim led by Tashi Tshering. This proved to be a short-lived trial as the ministry was dissolved and Dayal took over the administration for the interim period (Tenzing:109). However, on 11th of August, 1949, John Lall was appointed as the new Dewan[68] to administer Sikkim for a short time. However, the office of Dewan continued to exist and function for about 23 more years (Datta-Ray:58).

Meanwhile, an announcement from the external affairs ministry made in the early part of 1950 recognised that Sikkim would continue to enjoy internal autonomy though the Indian government would be responsible for ensuring good administration and law and order. As for the status of Sikkim, it was agreed that it would continue to be a protectorate (Datta-Ray:58-59,Raizada :138).

4.1.1 The Indo- Sikkim Treaty of 1950

On December 5, 1950 the Indo-Sikkim treaty was signed (Moktan,2004:47-51).The status of Sikkim as a protectorate was now sealed by this treaty. By this treaty, Sikkim's defence, territorial integrity, external affairs and communication would be looked after by India. A letter from the Political Officer's office also indicated that from thence India would play a role in developing self-governing institutions. If problems arose, like a difference in opinion between the ruler and the

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[67] Often referred to as a 'popular ministry', this ministry was not an outcome of an election, therefore it is erroneous to cal it one.

[68]Dewan, a post akin to a prime minister. According to Das power tussel began between the P.O. and the Dewan as the Dewan began to exercise power on behalf of the Chogyal.This ,he argues resulted in the Chogyal becoming powerful.pg11

Dewan, the issue would then be taken to the government of India. The matter would then be resolved according to Indian government's advice(Datta–Ray,1984:61).

The appointment of a Dewan and his role in administration as well as the final say of the government of India had effectively curbed the powers of the ruler. One can speculate that this step of appointing a Dewan was taken in context of the changing international scenario and the immense pressure that was being exerted on Nehru by leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was especially concerned about the emergence of a communist China and the consequent effect on Tibet. Patel had misgivings, more so when he perceived the recent happenings and assessed them in the context of the ethnological similarities of the border population with people of China and Tibet with the states in the Himalayan belt. Sikkim with its strategic location was particularly vulnerable as it was a society in transition that had seen its disgruntled peasantry pour out on the streets to demand abolition of decades old institution of landlordism. The vulnerable and disgruntled masses could always prove to be a fertile ground for ideas that had arrived at India's Himalayan doorstep with the disappearance of Tibet. Perhaps, in keeping with what they felt was the need of the hour, a step towards increased involvement of people in the affairs of the state was already being planned.[69]

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[69]Pye in his book 'Guerrilla communism in Malaya' had mentioned that societies in transition often left people insecure .He had advocated the provision of effective institutions for governing as well as tackling issues of participation and legitimacy, as he felt it could deter the populace from falling victims to the appeals of communism. He had also recommended mobilising the citizens towards a more active political life because he felt that was one way of controlling them.

According to N. Sengupta by 1951 a system of parity[70], a formula was worked out and in the following year an agreement in an all-party meeting resulted in the finalisation of the method and division of seats between communities. In April 1952, a move in this direction was taken by the Darbar.[71] An order from the Maharaja stated that it was the declared policy of the Government to involve people in the administration and an election to the council was to take place while the framing of a constitution was being considered. The order was historic for it laid out that franchise would be available to both men and women above the age of 21.The other specific requirements was that a voter had to have resided for atleast 15 years in Sikkim. An Election Order No.19 stated that only people who had obtained certificates of fixed habitation could file for the nomination. An application of fixed habitation was to be applied for from the 9th a notification in a Gazette in the Month of January 1953 stated. (Sikkim Darbar Gazette, January, 1953:2).

Certain criteria for ineligibility for voting were put forth. Unsound mind, convicts, people found guilty in a court of law on moral grounds, serving a criminal sentence and those found guilty of corrupt practices during elections were debarred. On 15th of October 1952, an order from J.S.Lall, made it clear that public servants were not permitted to take part in elections or be associated with any party activity. (Sikkim Darbar Gazette Sept 7 Oct 1952)

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[70]'Parity' A principle which gave equal representation to Lepcha-Bhutia or BL community and the Sikkimese Nepalese in this case in matters of representation to the council.(Explained in greater detail in Chapter five).

[71] 'Darbar ' a word which means palace or an audience with the king . However, in case of Sikkim the word has been used by writers often in context of the government during Monarchy. Das in his book writes that parity as a formula extended to scholarships and government appointments ,and it was a system to continue the supremacy of the Bhutia –Leocha community s they were more loyal to the ruler (Das:8)

In January 1953, it was specified that the office of Mandal though an office of profit, would not be counted as grounds for disqualifying one from contesting elections (Sikkim Darbar Gazette December,January 1953).

As these changes were being introduced, a series of attempts began to be made by some leaders of Sikkim State Congress to try and link up the party with the All India Congress Committee and a delegation had met with some leaders in 1953.The delegates had at this juncture requested for representation for Sikkim in the Indian Parliament, a totally responsible government and extension of five-year plans, but Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru had advised them to build their base amongst the Bhutia and Lepchas and not just Nepalese population (Sidhu 2018:74-79) .

4.1.2 The Dewan's Darbar address of February, 1953

On 14th of February, 1953, in the Dewan's Darbar address he promised that within months a chapter in constitutional history would begin and a new elected legislature, the first of its kind, would be established (Sikkim Darbar Gazette, 1953:3). By constitutional proclamation four territorial constituencies were announced: Gangtok, North Central, Namchi and Pemayangtse. Twelve seats would be contested of which six was allotted to the Bhutia-Lepchas and six was reserved as Nepali seats. Gangtok and North central constituencies were to have two Bhutia/Lepcha representatives and a Nepali representative each in each of the constituencies. Meanwhile, Namchi and Pemayangtse constituencies would have two Nepali representatives and a Bhutia/Lepcha representative each from each of the two constituencies. It was specified that though the Nepali seats were to be contested directly, the Bhutia/Lepcha seats were to undergo first a primary election and then the elected candidates of the primary elections would contest the final elections.

The Council, however, was to be composed of 17 members. Along with the 12 elected representatives, five were to be nominated by the Maharaja. A person to be chosen as a member of the Council had to be at least 30 years of age and be a subject of Sikkim and have other qualifications as prescribed by the Maharaja. For the purpose of conducting the election an election commission was set up. The commission would have the Dewan as its member and the commission was to coordinate with returning officers. The State council and Executive Council proclamation of 1953 stated that the State Council would have a President to preside over the meetings. He would be a person nominated by the Maharaja. In his absence a person chosen by the Maharaja would chair the meetings.

The State Council was to meet at least twice every year, and as and when the Maharaja summoned the council. It was to have powers to enact laws for peace and order. There were certain reserved subjects for which the State Council needed prior sanction of the Maharaja to even consider the matter. The Maharaja could veto any decision made by the Council and the Executive Council.

Having thus laid the ground rules, the first Council elections took place in the year 1953. Four parties took part in the election. Sikkim National Party, Sikkim Rajya Samelan, Sikkim Scheduled Caste League and Sikkim State Congress. The Sikkim National party won the elections in the primary elections for the Bhutia/lepcha seat and not a single Bhutia/Lepcha candidate from the Sikkim State Congress secured a place in the final elections. Top leaders like Tashi Tshering and Kazi Lhendup Dorjee were soundly defeated as they secured only 315 and 332 votes respectively of the 6,450 valid votes cast in the Gangtok constituency in the30th of March 1953 primary elections. Consequently, the National party won all the six Bhutia/ Lepcha seats in the final election. The Sikkim State Congress, however, did secure all six Nepali seats.

The council of 1953 met for its first session on 7th of august 1953.The table given below is that of the first council constituted after the 1953 elections.

Table No. 4.1 First Council of 1953

Constituencies	Bhutia /Lepcha	Nepali	Nominated	President of the Council
North Central	Sonam Tshering Lepcha, Martam Topden	Khus Narain Pradhan	Rai Bahadur Densapa, Tekbir Khati, Palda Lama, Hon Lt Prem Bahadur Basnet	J.S. Lal
Gangtok	Chodup Lepcha, Netuk Bhutia	Adhiklal Pradhan		
Namchi	Kunzang Rapgay	Kashi Raj Pradhan ,Jai Narayan Subba		
Pemayangtse	Sonam Wangchuk	Dhan Bahadur Gurung ,Nakhul Pradhan		

Source:1)Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Vol II 2 No.12 May 1953

2)Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Vol III,No.2 July 1953

3)Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Vol III No.3 August 1953

The elections of 1953 had elected a council of three years and so elections were due in the year 1956 but by an order of His Highness Sir Tashi Namgyal "in

pursuance of section 19 of the state council and executive council proclamation,1953"(Sikkim Darbar Gazette, 1956:1), the council term was extended till 'His highness's further pleasure'(ibid). On 6th of August 1956, a proclamation from the throne specified that the term of the Council would be extended till 31st December 1957.

Another proclamation from the throne dated 26th September 1957 ordered the Council elections to be held soon and for the purpose Rai Bahadur Densapa and Motichand Pradhan were appointed to form an election committee.

4.1.3 The proclamation of March, 1958

In March 1958, a proclamation was made whereby the Council membership was enlarged to 20 with the nominated members raised to six, a seat for the Sangha representing the monks, and a general seat that could be contested by all three communities living in Sikkim. They were required to fulfil the criteria otherwise provided or it could also mean Indians living in Sikkim provided they had terminated their fixed habitation in the country they originally belonged to. From then on it was decided that there would be a single election and for a candidate to secure victory he required not only maximum votes from his community but required at least 15% of votes from the other community[72]. If he failed to secure 15% votes of other community despite securing the highest vote in his community, the next person who secured highest vote after him would be elected provided he had managed to get 15% of votes of the other community. There was, however, one condition. The difference of votes garnered in their community by the two candidates was not to exceed 15%. If

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[72]The two communities referred here would be Sikkimese of Nepali origin and the Bhutia Lepchas (BL). The later group is often reffered to as Bhutia-Lepcha or Bhutia/Lepcha.

the difference was in excess of 15% then irrespective of whether the latter candidate has secured 15% of the votes of other community, the first person with higher vote in his community would be declared elected (Sengupta,1985: 76).

The Council election of 1958 was conducted in the latter part of the year and it was overseen by an election committee which had T.D.Densapa and M.P. Pradhan as its members.In the months of November December 1958, the elections results were out.

The 1958 council elected is found in the table below.

Table No. 4.2 The 1958 council

Constituency	Bhutia /Lepcha	Nepali
Gangtok	Sonam Tshering Kesang wangdi	Narendra Narsingh
North central	Martam Topden Thendup Bhutia	Nakhul Pradhan
Namchi	Kazi Norbu Wangdi	Sangkhaman Rai Kashiraj Pradhan
Pemiongchi	Gaden Tashi	Sher Bahadur Gurung Bhujit Mukhia
General	Chaksung Bhutia	
Sangha	Lharipa Rinzing Lama	
Source: Sikkim Darbar Gazette, Vol viii, No.7 December 1958		

The executive council members chosen resumed their duty from 24th December 1958.

In the year 1960, a party called the Sikkim National Congress was formed. The party had among its members dissidents of the Sikkim National Party and the Sikkim State Congress and this group had its leader in L.D. Kazi. The party was started in Singtam and it was stated that they advocated a responsible government with its executive being answerable to an elected assembly, a constitutional monarchy, rule of law and an independent judiciary (Phadnis:1239), and all features of a modern democracy. A copy of the party's declaration was sent to Prime Minister Nehru (Sidhu, 2018:82-83). This party was to have a significant role in Sikkim's Political Development and it was able to secure the general seats in all three elections beginning 1967(Phadnis:1241).

The third election was due in 1961 but it could not be held that year. The Darbar, meanwhile, had begun to lay more emphasis on the importance of a Sikkimese identity though the process had begun through the launching of the Sikkim National Party in 1948. However, the years after the party joined the election fray, it had begun to acquire a pro-palace image.

Despite this setback in its attempt to bring together Sikkimese people across ethnic lines, the Darbar made another attempt through Sikkim Subject Regulation of 1961. However, this step did not go down well with some quarters of the populace. Demands began to creep up from some Councillors for political reform, holding of an election in order to have a fully responsible government. In 1962 an announcement was made for the third Council election but it was held in abeyance because of the more immediate problem that was to overshadow the politics of the region with the outbreak of the Sino-Indian conflict.

4.1.4 The Representation of Sikkim Subject Regulation, 1966

In 1966, the Representation of Sikkim Subject Regulation was put into effect and it stated that the Council would be enlarged. Fourteen reserved representatives, seven each from Bhutia/Lepcha and seven from Nepali were to be elected from five territorial constituencies. Scheduled caste and the Tshong community was to be represented through a seat each. A General seat and the Sangha seat would also be retained. Six nominated Councillors would be chosen by the Chogyal. Gangtok constituency from henceforth was to have just a Nepali representative and a Bhutia/Lepcha representative while the East constituency from henceforth was to have two Bhutia /lepcha representatives and one Nepali representative in its stead.

In the council elections of 1967, the Sikkim National Congress won eight of the elective seats including the General seat while the State Congress won two seats and the National Party won Five. Tshong seat, Sangha seat and the Scheduled caste seat went to people without definite allegiance to a particular party (Sengupta,1985:84).

The three-year term of the Council was to be completed in 1970.In anticipation of the fourth Council elections, demands began to crop up for an independent election body in the form of an election commission to replace the election committee. The Darbar on its part promulgated the Representation of Sikkim Subjects Act 1969 by which the electoral arrangements made in the previous elections with regard to constituencies and other details pertaining to elections remained unchanged (Sengupta,1985:86)**.**

Demands for a written constitution and incorporation of fundamental rights had begun to crop up, and around this time L.D.Kazi wrote a letter to the editor of

Amrita Bazaar Patrika wherein he had been uncomplimentary towards the Chogyal and the Council. A privilege committee was set up to inquire into the whole matter (Sengupta, 1985:203).

Meanwhile, Sikkim was becoming a hotbed of politics. Minor irritants in its relation with India cropped up. An article in 1966 by the Gyalmo Hope Cooke in an Tibetology bulletin titled 'Sikkim's theory of landholdings and the Darjeeling Grant' created a controversy in Delhi circles and according to G.B.Sidhu Mrs Indira Gandhi had to explain to the Parliament that demands for retrocession had not come up (Sidhu,2018: 93-94). An article in the Economic and Political Weekly of October 1968 carried stories of anti-Indian demonstration being carried out by school children and labourers in the Indian independence day celebration, and an indication of what was to follow could be derived from the piece. The author wrote,

> "…the Government of India must not allow its dealings to be so restricted to the palace and its entourage as to shut out the feelings and aspirations of the people of Sikkim. The Independence Day demonstration was stage managed is clear….Ultimately, India must allow its policy towards Sikkim to be influenced not by …Chogyal's charmed circle but by the wishes of the people at large" (Economic and Political Weekly, 1968: 1570-1571).

In the backdrop of all the tension with India was the growing cry within Sikkim for revision of the Indo-Sikkim treaty accompanied by the process of creating a unique Sikkimese identity. The strength of the Sikkim Guards was increased, a new National Anthem was created and a study forum was started (Sen, 1975: 354, Raizada, 2012:149-150).

According to Datta-Ray,

"While India and China bickered over the border, the Chogyal was busy recasting Sikkimese society in a modern frame…The judiciary was revised to leaven the Indian Penal Code with the traditional features of Buddhist justice…Panchayats were formed and entrusted with rural administration..." (Datta-Ray,1984:93).

It was suspected that the forum which had been formed to discuss issues in Sikkim was a political organisation to inspire anti-Indian sentiments and incite cessationism amongst the Sikkimese. The Gyalmo was alleged to harbour dreams of an independent Sikkim. Apace with these developments were the demands for a more responsible government from some quarters.

At about this time different parties began to undergo intra party tensions resulting in a series of splits. The State Congress saw the departure of Kashiraj Pradhan and the mantle was taken up by Nakhul Pradhan while in the National Party Netuk Lama, NimaTenzing and Nayan Tshering Lepcha were facing problems from some members of the party led by Namgyal Tsering Bhutia. The former group elected new office-bearers for the party and got ready for the elections that was to take place shortly. Another development was the formation of a new party called Sikkim Janta Party formed by L.B.Basnet, a person who had left the National Congress and joined hands with K.C.Pradhan. The National Congress suffered another jolt when D.B.Tewari led a group against the Sonam Tshering and L.D.Kazi group (Sengupta, 1985:162-63). Behind the scenes of what was visible in Sikkim, by September 1970 a draft of revised treaty offering a changed status from a protectorate to permanent status was already being readied by T.N.Kaul, and when Bajpai came to Sikkim in 1970, he assessed the situation that existed on ground and advised the government to be firm with the Chogyal. He also was of the opinion that the Chogyal had usurped

141

considerable powers that the Dewans and Sidlons[73] from India had earlier exercised. But despite all this he felt that the situation was not really very bad and could be exploited in the interest of India. Through various parleys at the highest level touching Sikkim's status was being discussed. Even on questions of entering a new agreement in place of the 1950 treaty ,the Chogyal insisted on the insertion of 'Sikkim in full sovereign status', which was not acceptable to India (Sidhu:107-114).

Meanwhile, the Council election of 1970 was held and more than 50,000 cast their votes. The National Party secured eight seats, which also included the sangha seat. The Sikkim National Congress won five seats while the State Congress won four seats. Despite no party securing a majority both Kazi and Netuk Tshering appealed to the Chogyal that the council be renamed and departments such as planning, food, commerce and industry be under an executive councillor (Datta-Ray,1984 :133-34).

In 1972, L.D.Kazi was removed from the council.

The three main parties were beginning to experience setbacks and in 1972.The Sikkim State Congress and Janta party merged to form the Sikkim Janta Congress on 15th August 1972 (Raizada,2012:156). Krishna Chandra Pradhan was its President. This party began to demand the abolition of the parity system. They spoke up for one man one vote but communal overtones of some leaders and vituperative attacks against the other communities proved to be costly.

4.1.5 1973 Elections

With the passage of three years, the election to the Council of 1973 was round the corner. The electoral manifestos of the principal parties could not be more

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[73] An administrative officer,

dissimilar. The National Party spoke up for peace, prosperity and development of the nation under the guidance of the ruler. The Sikkim National Congress called for abolition of the Parity system, a written constitution and a demand for an independent Judiciary. Kazi Lhendup Dorjee was again embroiled in controversy regarding an article titled 'Sikkim at crossroads', which "accused the Chogyal of absolutism,"(Datta-Ray:160). The Council elections were held in this backdrop. The National Party emerged a clear victor securing 10 of the elected seats plus the Sangha seat. It has widely been claimed that Sikkim was politically divided on communal lines. There is no denying that certain sections of the leadership thrived on communal agenda but were the general populace really divided on communal lines politically? According to the Sikkim Darbar Gazette dated February 15th, 1973, Kazi Lhendup Dorjee of SNC won the General seat securing 7,288 in comparison to Nakhul Pradhan of JC who secured 4,531 and Indira Bahadur Gurung of Sikkim National Party who secured 3,252.Kazi Lhendup Dorjee despite being from the minority community secured the general seat by a heavy margin.

The Sikkim Janta Congress which had two seats and the Sikkim National Congress with its five seats [three Nepali, a Tshong and the general constituency] formed a Joint Action Council to voice their grievance against the election which they held was rigged.

The new Council was sworn in. The Chogyal on the 26th of March 1973 through an order appointed the executive council comprising of six members namely Mr Netuk Tsering as the senior Executive Councillor, Mr Harka Bahadur Basnett, Mr Nima Tenzing, Mr Kunzang Dorjee, Mr Bhuwani Prasad Dahal, and Mr Chatra Bahadur as the Executive Councillors.

Netuk Tsering as the leader of the National Party began to assert more authority while the Janta Congress still smarting under their poor electoral performance was waiting for an opportunity. They along with the SNC held political rallies and Krishna Chandra Pradhan was arrested for communal incitement. The demand for a constitution, cancellation of the just concluded election and release of Krishna Chandra was taken up by L.D.Kazi in a letter he handed to Chogyal on 27th march (Datta-Ray:pp.174).

In his response, the Chogyal made it clear that on his own he could not tamper with the constitution as the present arrangement had been the outcome of agreements held where all three communities of Sikkim had participated. As for Krishna Chandra, the law would take its course and the election commissioner would be able to take up cases with regard to electoral disputes (Datta-Ray:174).

The Joint Committee not satisfied with the outcome began to mobilize men in the villages and incite them. On the Chogyal's official birthday crowds began pouring into Gangtok. As the law and order problem deteriorated, 'the Chogyal requested the Indian authority to take charge of the law and order of the state and later requested them to take over the administration (Sengupta:26).

The taking over of the administration by Indian authorities was not to be a permanent solution. The political demands from a section of the population had to be resolved. A series of meetings were held by the Indian foreign secretary with different groups (Tenzing:117) and on the 22nd April a draft agreement was prepared, and according to B.S.Das, an altered draft was presented to the Chogyal.

4.1.6 The 8th MayAgreement, 1973

A tripartite meeting was held and an agreement was signed on 8th May involving representatives of the political parties, the Indian Government and the Chogyal.

The Tripartite agreement called for certain changes which were seen to be in greater interest of the people of Sikkim in the long term. This agreement indicated the direction of the path of constitutional development in Sikkim.

It was agreed by this document that a fully responsible government was to be set up with greater powers both legislative and executive to be given to the elected representative. It also made mention of a more democratic constitution wherein fundamental rights would be guaranteed, there would be rule of law and independence of judiciary.

The agreement also took up the controversial demand of one man one vote and spoke up for equitable representation through adult suffrage.

This agreement proved to be historic because it provided for a chief executive to head the administration in Sikkim. He was to preside over the council meetings and he had the responsibility to ensure the implementation of the changes both constitutional and administrative put forth by the agreement. Besides, as the head of the administration he could take unilateral action in Chogyal's name in case of emergency and then later seek his approval for the same. It was also specified that should a difference of opinion arise between him and the Chogyal, the matter was to be referred to the political officer in Sikkim who would then obtain the advice of the government of India and the decision thus made would be binding. (Moktan,2004:52-

55). The office of Chogyal by this agreement was no longer to be the fount of authority as he was now to function in accordance with the constitution.

As regards the Council, it was specified, an assembly was to be set up in Sikkim and it was to have a four-year term. The elections were to be conducted under supervision of a person appointed by government of Sikkim but who was to be a representative of the election commission of India.

As demands for speedy election grew louder, a Sikkim Youth Pioneer Movement, met on 11 November 1973.Like the National Party, this group also felt that elections should be conducted as per the 1953 Royal proclamation and not on the basis of one man one vote. Despite their united stand on this issue, some strange things began to unfold in the camp that was supposedly pro-Chogyal. According to G.B.S.Sidhu, the financer of the National Party Sonam Gyatso refused financial assistance to prospective candidates except for providing Rs 200 for filing nomination. The same gentleman also did not want to support the SYPM. This meant the candidates were to fend for their own candidature..

On the 5th of February 1974 a proclamation of the Chogyal cited as the representation of Sikkim Subjects Act 1974 was made. By this, 31 territorial constituencies were to be demarcated for the Assembly elections and one seat for the representative of the Sangha. All 32 seats in one sense or the other were to be reserved seats.

Of the 32, sixteen constituencies was to be reserved for Sikkimese of Bhutia/Lepcha origin out of which one was to be the Sangha seat. The remaining 16 was reserved for Sikkimese Nepalis, which included the Tsong and others while one seat was specifically reserved for the Scheduled Caste. The 31 territorial

constituencies election would be on the basis of adult suffrage while those of the Sangha would be through an electoral college. It was specified that only persons who were Sikkim subjects and not less than 25 years of age could qualify for a seat in the assembly provided he was not debarred as per proclamation dated 18th December 1973 and did not hold office of profit under the Sikkim government, other than those which were not considered a disqualification. e.g. office of a Mandal.

The 1974 elections had several firsts. The elections were to be fought on the principle of 'one man one vote'. The demarcation of territorial constituencies was made to suit the changes as 32 territorial constituencies emerged. By a February 8th1974 Sikkim Darbar Gazette notification that two parties, namely Sikkim Congress Party and the Sikkim National Party would be the two parties to be given reserved symbols, the ladder with seven strings and he Swastika respectively. Seven free symbols were provided for the Independent candidates, e.g. Cock, Horse, Elephant, Bell, Spade, Flower, and Cycle.

According to the Sikkim Darbar Gazette dated 5th March 1974, the nominations of six candidates from Sikkim National Party, 52 candidates from Sikkim Congress and innumerable independent candidates were declared as valid. March 9 was the date for the valid candidates to withdraw their nomination. According to the Sikkim Darbar Gazette dated 11th of March 1974, 27 Sikkim Congress candidates entered the fray, while five candidates from Sikkim National Party (Pathing, Dzongu, Rakdong Tintek, Lachen Mangshila, Kabi Tingda) contested the election. The National Party contested all three seats in the Northern District and two from East District. Sidhu in his book narrates an interesting occurrence in the Nothern district, the Lachen-Mangshila constituency. He writes:

"We learnt on 10 March that a majority of locals in Chungthang area in North Sikkim, mainly comprising the Bhutias, had decided to vote in favour of Sikkim Congress …On 13 March,a group of local residents met at Lachung, North Sikkim. The meeting was attended by about 180 people and called by the Pipon ….All present were administered an oath that they would vote for pro-Chogyal SNP candidates. The Pipon threatened to excommunicate anyone who voted for another party….At the end of the meeting, the Pipon distributed Rs 1000 and one case of Rum amongst them."He narrates that the following day on 14th March another Independent candidate visited the same village accompanied by Sonam Gyatso gave Rs 2000, two cases of Rum, sugar and tea and got commitment to vote for Lekpal (Sidhu,2018:218).

The people were told he was the pro-Chogyal Independent candidate and they were to cast their vote on the symbol of cock.

This effectively split the pro Chogyal vote thereby benefiting the Sikkim Congress candidate.

The first Assembly elections were held in April 1974.The Sikkim Congress, which was a party formed by merger of Sikkim National Congress and Sikkim Janta Congress won 31 of the 32 assembly seats (Sengupta: 27). Kalzang Gyatso was the sole Sikkim National Party member in the newly formed Assembly.

On the 10th of May 1974,the new Assembly was inaugurated and it within no time began requesting not only for possibilities of Sikkim's participation in political institutions of India but the Sikkim Congress stressed on the need to have not only a fully representative Government but also a constitution. Mr M.G. Rajagopal, a constitutional expert was sent to Sikkim to help with the task of framing the constitution (Sengupta:28).

4.1.7 The Government of Sikkim Bill, 1974

A constitutional draft was prepared and the Government of Sikkim Bill of 1974 was placed before the Assembly. However, complications arose as a section of the public was against the bill. The Assembly, however, passed the bill but the Chogyal without signing the bill went to Delhi to take up certain aspects of the bill he had reservations about. The Chogyal was advised to sign the bill by the Government of India. Meanwhile, the Assembly passed the bill again. The Chogyal was apprehensive about the role of the chief executive.

.In carrying out his administrative responsibility the chief executive he was required to inform the Chogyal, but in some situations of urgency he could take a decision and inform the Chogyal at a later date. He was to advise the Chogyal but if there was no consensus between the two on any particular matter then it was to be referred to the Government of India. Its decision was final.(Moktan:56-64,Kiran:85).

Keeping in mind his reservation he made certain suggestions but the House without alterations passed the original bill and the Chogyal assented to the bill thereby making the Government of Sikkim Act 1974 (Sengupta,1985:29-30).

The Government of Sikkim Act, 1974 was to come into force on 4th of July and in its part iii it had specified a framework for the Sikkim Assembly.

> "The Government of Sikkim", according to the act, "may make rules for the purpose of providing that the Assembly adequately represents the various sections of the population…fully protecting the legitimate rights and interests of Sikkimese of Lepcha or Bhutia origin and of Sikkimese of Nepali origin and other Sikkimese, including Tsongs and Scheduled castes…." (Sikkim Darbar Gazette extraordinary 1974:3).

The Act also laid out qualification for membership of the Assembly. The minimum age for membership being 25. The Chief Executive was to be the Ex officio

President of the Assembly and was to perform the functions of the speaker. It also provided for a Council of Ministers, the head being the Chief Minister.

The Act also laid out guidelines for the Council's functioning and made the role of the Chief Executive of great importance as it mentioned,

> "every advice tendered by the council of ministers shall be communicated to the Chogyal through the Chief Executive who may, if he is of opinion that the advice affects or is likely to affect any of his special responsibilities or the responsibilities of the Government of India referred to in section 28, require the council of ministers to modify the advice accordingly" (Sikkim Darbar Gazette extraordinary. Gangtok, July, 1974:5).

A further step towards closer relation with the Indian union was to follow suit. A formal request was made by the chief minister for fulfilment of a clause in the constitution promulgated, an outcome of the government of Sikkim act. Consequently, an amendment to the constitution of India resulted in Sikkim becoming an associate state of the Indian union (Das 1983 :54-56).

4.2 The 36th Amendment Act

The 36th amendment act laid down the foundation of the legislature of the 22nd state of India. An Art 371 F was inserted. (Sikkim Government Gazette Extraordinary, 1975). It was specified in the act that the assembly for the state of Sikkim was to have not less than 30 members. Furthermore the Amendment stated that the assembly created after the 1974 election would serve as the legislative assembly of the state and all 32 members of the Sikkim assembly would be the members of the legislative assembly of the state. The body thus would not only perform the functions but would exercise the powers of the state legislative Assembly.

A seat was to be provided in the Indian parliament's lower house for which the whole state was to serve as a constituency, and the members of the legislature was to elect a representative for the parliament till the parliament by law made other provisions.

It also provided that, to ensure protection of rights and interest of different sections of the populace the parliament could make seat reservation in the Assembly, and delimit constituency along that line (Sikkim Government Gazette Extraordinary. 1975)

Under Art 371 F(i) the High court of Sikkim established by the High court of Judicature proclamation, 1955 became the high court of Sikkim (Patra, Year of publication unknown: 67).

On 16th of May, 1975 B. B. Lall assumed the office of Governor in the fore noon.25 departments were mentioned in the schedule order. In Sikkim Government Rules of business it was spelt out that any reference to Council would mean Council of ministers constituted under Art 163.With regard disposal of business,

> "The Council shall be collectively responsible for all executive orders issued in the name of the Governor in accordance with the rules whether such orders are authorized by the council or by an individual Minister on a matter pertaining to his portfolio or as a result of discussions at a meaning of the council or otherwise…Without prejudice to the provisions of rule 4, the Minister in charge of a department shall be primarily responsible for the disposal of the business pertaining to that department." (Government of Sikkim, Home Department notification. No H [GA]XIV/75/14. Gangtok, 16th May 1975:1-2)

The rules of business further elaborated on the procedure of the council ; appointment of secretary to the chief minister; place of meeting ; issues to be tabled

in the agenda of the council etc (Government of Sikkim ,Home Department notification. No H[GA]XIV/75/14. Gangtok,16th May 1975:2-3).

On the same day the Governor appointed Kazi Lhendup Dorjee as the Chief minister of the state of Sikkim. On His advise he appointed Nayan Tsering Lepcha , B.P.Dahal, Rinzing Tongden Lepcha, Dorjee Tshering Bhutia, B.P.Kharel as ministers. A month later the ministry was expanded to include K.B.Limbu.

Chatur Singh Roy became the speaker of the assembly on the 5th of September.

4.3 Democracy in Sikkim

The government of Sikkim bill 1974 stipulated that the assembly elected in 1974, April would serve as the first assembly and the passage of the bill had signalled the end of Monarchy and paved the way for democracy in Sikkim (Sen, 1975: 359). Kazi Lhendup Dorjee was the first Chief minister of Sikkim. He continued in office along with the other members of the Sikim assembly constituted after the elections of 1974.On 16th of May 1975, B.B.Lall became the first Governor of Sikkim.

4.3.1 Extension of representation of people's Act 1950-51 to the state of Sikkim

In the month of September, a further move to integrate Sikkim into the Indian mainstream was made through a promulgation of ordinance 9 of 1975 by the president on the 9th of September .This provided for the extension of representation of people's act 1950 and 1951 to the state of Sikkim (Sikkim Government Gazette Extraordinary,1975). By the extension of these acts, the Assembly constituted would consist of representatives from single member constituencies, Some peculiarities

related to representation in the assembly were retained. In section part III, section 25A, an insertion read

> "Notwithstanding anything contained in section 15 and 19, for the Sangha Constituency in the State of Sikkim, only the Sanghas belonging to Monasteries, recognized for the purpose of the Election held in Sikkim in April, 1974 for forming the Assembly of Sikkim shall be entitled to be registered in the electoral Roll, and the said electoral roll shall, subject to the provisions of sections 21 to 25, beprepared or revised in such manner as may be directed by the Election Commission in consultation with the Government of Sikkim" (Sikkim Government Gazette Extraordinary. 1975)

4.3.2 Government under L.D.Kazi as the Chief Minister

The government of Sikkim under Kazi's leadership which ruled for one term from 1974 till 1979 began to

> "…fulfill constitutional obligation for adapting and modifying laws of governance including rules of procedure and conduct of business in the assembly in tune with the rules of Lok sabha…training camps were held to make the functionaries fully conversant with the nature of responsibility they were supposed to carry out henceforth" (Gurung, 2011: 224).

4.3.2.1. Development and infrastructure under Kazi government

L.D.Kazi's tenure saw development in sectors such as health, agriculture, industrial and allied sectors and education (Subba, Unpublished : 60). A lot of money was also pumped into Sikkim by the government of India. A piece in the Economic and Political Weekly stated

> "Against a total grant of only Rs 36 crores for four development plans between 1953 and 1975, New Delhi now pours in an annual Rs 22 crores .To this should be added Sikkim's internal revenue which stood at only Rs 20 lakhs in 1950 increased to about Rs 4 crore under the Chogyal and is now assessed at nearly Rs 20 crores. The 1975 per capita income of Rs 750 was already higher than India's, It is said to have risen to Rs 1600" (Economic And Political Weekly (Oct .22.1977):1794)

Meanwhile, in the educational sector as plan expenditure rose from 63.95 lakhs in 1975 -76 to 99 lakhs in 1978-79 and 391c lakhs in 1979-80. This enabled ten primary schools to be upgraded, and about 264 schools were set up. Enrollment of students also increased which meant increase in teaching staff (Subba, unpublished: 63-64). This was also a period where a subtle process of socialization[74] and citizenship education began to be introduced in schools in form of NCCS and Bharat Scouts and Guides. Subjects like Civics were introduced in schools a little later to familiarize students with not only the functioning of a democratic polity but also to expose them to its merits. By an Act of the legislature in September of 1977 a degree college was also started at Gangtok. Through introduction of subjects like history and Political Science in 1980 in the college, students were familiarized further with history, culture and polity of India.

In addition emphasis was laid on increasing the funds available for development. From 3.71 crore plan outlay during Chogyal's period, the Planning Commission in 1975-76 sanctioned 6.31 crores,

> "…in 1977 Rs 12.47 crores and in 1978-79 Rs 15.80 crores. Out of this 90% was by the way of grant and 10% as loan.The top most priority of the Kazi government was to achieve self-sufficiency in food grains production'(Subba ,unpublished:61)

In order to carry out improvement in agricultural sector regional and sub regional centres were opened, High yielding variety of seeds introduced, 'growers association' were started to enable marketing of the produce. Food grain production

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[74] Political socialisation has been explained as a "...process acquisition of political beliefs,values and behavioural norms which begins in the cradle and ends in the grave.(Bhattacharya, 2015:186)

consequently increased in 1977-78 to 40000 tonnes from 35000 tonnes in the previous year (Subba, unpublished:61).

Dairy development, veterinary and animal husbandry services, poultry farms and fishery were encouraged and departments for promotion of the same were set up. Development of agriculture and livestock development were accompanied by important steps in setting up industries. Sikkim mining corporation, Sikkim Fruit preservatives department, Sikkim jewels, Sikkim time corporation and other smaller units came about (Subba, unpublished: 62-63).

In accordance with the structure prevalent in other Indian states, the bureaucracy was also streamlined. A chief secretary was to head the secretariat while he served as the secretary to the council of ministers. Each department in turn was to be headed by secretaries who had several government officers subordinate to him as well as other staff to enable him to run the department efficiently. It became mandatory to refer to the law department in matters regarding acts, regulations and statutory laws for the administrative departments, while the finance department was to be consulted prior to authorizing any order by any department. (Lachungpa, 2013: 267-68). Many changes began to be introduced to streamline Sikkim with India. According to J.S, Subba 'The central Service cadre such as Indian Administrative Service (IAS) ... etc. were introduced in Sikkim' (Subba, 2008, Reprint 2018:69).

4.3.2.2 Presidential order (order No.111 and 110)

By a Presidential order (order No.111 and 110) The Bhutias and Lepchas were declared as Scheduled tribes and the Kami, Damai, Sarkis and Majis as Scheduled

castes[75]. On 22nd June,1978. Eight other groups of people namely Tromopas, Drukpas, Dopthapas, Chumbipas, Sherpas, Yolmos, Kagateys and Tibetans were defined as Sikkimese Bhuteas by the order of 1978 (Gurung, 2011: 266).

4.3.2.3 Peculiarities of Governance (1975-79)

The democratic institutions had slowly been ushered but the functioning of democracy under Kazi was peculiar. Very many stress and strains affected the functioning of the government. Sikkim's Governor who had been given discretionary powers by Art 371F (g) played a very important role in governance. In fact the inexperience of the new elected legislators, their scant understanding of the way the system worked resulted in the Governor and the cabinet secretary taking a key role in decision making. The Chief Minister and individual Ministers consulted the Governor often and were advised by him on matters regarding developmental projects etc (Sengupta, 1985:238). Gurung opines that the Governor behaved like the real executive and the first ministry was dependent upon him for guidance. Even in legislative matters his influence was great and some of the leaders resented his overt involvement in affairs of the state. The bureaucrats on deputation also exercised considerable influence (Gurung, 2011 :224-2250). According to a piece in the Economic and political Weekly "…the Governor takes all economic, administrative and political decisions. He even decides party strategy with the Chief minister's IAS cabinet secretary endorsing his diktats on behalf of elected ministers"(Economic and political Weekly (Jun 11,1977): 944).

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[75] " However ,the Kami,Damai and Sarki communities have been recognized as Scheduled Castes since 1969 by the Sikkim Government (Ex. Gazette NO.19 dated December 31[st]1969) ", (Gazetteer of Sikkim,2013,reprinted 2016 :123)

A reflection of the style of functioning of the government can be seen from this report in Economic and political weekly.

"…a Panchayat Samelan, organized in Gangtok by the administration from February 10 to 12,was suddenly converted into a Janta party meeting. The borderline between party and bureaucracy has altogether been erased" ('Economic and political Weekly ,Vol.14.No.10 (Mar.10.1979).

Meanwhile, in the political arena certain tensions began to erupt.

Within months of Sikkim's democratic journey the politics of mainland India had begun to play out as in December, 1975 the Sikkim National Congress joined the Indian National Congress and converted itself to Sikkim Pradesh Congress, a state unit of the congress party. Kalzang Gyatso, the lone national party member of legislature also joined the party and thus the assembly became a single party assembly (Gurung, 2018:44). This tendency to change party affiliation from the opposition bench to the ruling one was to become a hallmark of politics in Sikkim with each successive government.

In 1977 when the Congress party at the centre faced an electoral debacle and the Janta party came to power in Delhi, the Sikkim Chief Minister changed his loyalties and began to support the new party at the centre.

4.3.2.4 Emergence of new parties

In March, 1977 another important development took place. It was the birth of a political party called the Sikkim Janta Party led by Nar Bahadur Bhandari who was a pro Chogyal school teacher who had been imprisoned under (MISA)Maintenance of Internal Security Act in Beharampur Jail from 1976-77 and on his release he had rejoined politics. Later that year he renamed the party Sikkim Janta Parishad.

Similar other formations sprung up because of split in the party led by L.D.Kazi. Phadnis writes "Once the Chogyal was removed from the political scene, the internal contradictions within the Sikkim Congress were bound to come into the open…." (Phadnis, 1980: 1244).

For Kazi his problems were only growing with age. In no time the Janta party had differences leading to its first split led by Nar Bahadur Khatiwada, and a second split led by R.C. Poudyal (Phadnis,1980:1244).

Khatiwada named his party called the Prajatantra congress and with his five MLAs, his party was recognized as the official opposition. He had the support of Mrs Gandhi's Congress at the centre .However, one of his followers Kusu Das soon went back to the Janta fold on the promise that he would be rewarded with chairmanship of a committee (Economic and political weekly, Vol .14.No 10 (Mar.10.1979),;549-550) . In an attempt to rein in his party men from deserting, patronage became an important tool as seven of the MLAs were made chairman while he had eight cabinet ministers and it was reported that with

> "…80-50 crores promised by New Delhi for development plans during 1978-83, there is plenty of inducements all around in a 2818 – square mile terrain of barely 200,000 people. The cost of each project is grossly inflated…." (Economic and political weekly (Mar.10.1979): 549-550).

Despite such reports of excesses and allegations that Kazi used Indian taxpayers money to lure voters, writers like Gopal Gowli who wrote a book in praise of Bhandari alleges that Kazi was unable to properly utilize the funds from centre and he returned substantial amounts back every year (Gowli, 1988:37). Perhaps Kazi government may not have been as corrupt as it was generally portrayed.

However, one cannot deny that moral corruption in one form or the other begun to plague Sikkim. Nari Rustomji, a former Dewan who came back to Sikkim for a visit was dismayed by the changes he witnessed in Sikkim after it became a part of India. He hints at the moral corruption of society. He writes,

"The effects of the vast increase in money-inflow were in evidence everywhere-unplanned construction of houses, ostentatious expenditure, both private and public ,and worst of all, complete lack of concern for any norm save the making of money as fast as possible, regardless of the means" (Rustomji:151).

Another issue that made headlines during the Kazi regime concerned principle of parity.

4.3.2.5 The Parity controversy

Political leaders who advocated 'one man, one vote' principle wanted to do away with the parity system. As it stood the working of the parity system had ensured that the representatives from any community had to have a level acceptance from the other communities as well. However, with the one man one vote principle being introduced, from a multi member constituency Sikkim had made a shift to a single member constituency as another aspect of the parity system was further eroded in the 1974 elections. Politics of Parity resumed as on 8th May, 1978 a Sikkim's citizen committee met and decided to recommend some changes to the Government of India. They asked that Parity formula be removed, revenue order No 1 be changed (Kazi, 2009: 44).

A group of Bhutia-Lepchas approached the Governor and submitted a memorandum asking for the retention of parity among other things to the Governor B. B. Lal in June 1978. This step of the Bhutia-Lepcha was criticized by Poudyal and

B.P.Dahal, two ministers of the Kazi government. This issue was also picked up by the All India Bhasa Samiti in its sixth central committee meeting of 1978, they also spoke for the removal of parity (Kazi, 2009: 44-45).

Consensus politics which was one of the characteristics of the politics of pre merger era was replaced by a competitive one wherein ethnicity and communal divide became important factors in fashioning politics of the time. For the minorities the problem of representation stemmed from the fact that in some constituencies they had to rely on votes of the majority community which made them prisoners of their electorate (Economic and political weekly, Vol.12.No 43 (Oct.22.1977). However, Parity as an issue garnered headlines once again after B.B.Gurung took over the presidentship of the Janta Party from L.D.Kazi .The executive committee of the party in a meeting made a demand for revocation of Parity (Sengupta:170).

As the clamour to cancel parity came to the fore of politics in May 1979 a bill was introduced in Lok sabha proposing to amend the representation of people's Act of 1950/51. According to this bill it was proposed that the Bhutia–Lepcha population of Sikkim was to have 12 seats reserved while two seats were for the Scheduled Castes from the Nepali origin. One seat was also to be reserved for the Sangha. It was proposed that the 17 seats in the assembly would be general seats (Kazi 2009:41-43).

In the meanwhile, a section of the leaders began to speak up against the proposed bill .Sengupta writes "The much-criticised parity system was again hailed and a demand for disfranchising the plains people was getting a momentum" (Sengupta, 1985:174). The leaders were agitated about conversion of Nepali seat to general seat. However, the bill could not be passed as the Lok Sabha was dissolved.

4.3.2.6 Dissolution of Sikkim Legislative Assembly

On 13th of August 1979, the Sikkim Legislative assembly was dissolved on the grounds that the five year tenure of the assembly had expired on April the same year. There was a small hitch. The Assembly that had formed in April 1974 had become the assembly of the 22nd state of India only in May 1975 and this meant that its five year term had still had more than six months left to be completed. On August 18th 1979 a President's rule was declared in Sikkim and the Economic and Political weekly carried a piece in its Oct 27th paper wherein it was reported 'These exercises were gone through not because of any deep commitment to democratic principles but because the Governor of the state decided to "preempt a reported move by a large group of MLAs to table a motion in the house to countermand the merger of Sikkim with India" (Economic and political Weekly (Oct.27.1979): 1737-1738).

The Sikkim legislative Assembly, a unicameral legislature, the basis of which lay in the the 8th May agreement and a series of acts, amendment and ordinance of the Government of India and the Sikkim assembly was yet to witness some changes.

4.4 Imposition of President's Rule

On the nineteenth of August, 1979 a proclamation from the President of India stated the imposition of President's rule in Sikkim, in exercise of the power under the art 356 of the Indian constitution.

4.4.1 The ordinance No.7 of 1979

On the 7th of September 1979, an ordinance from the President was republished in the Sikkim Government Gazette. It was an ordinance to provide readjustment of Assembly seats. An ordinance No.7 of 1979 was promulgated by the

President of India which set out not only the new pattern of seat distribution in the assembly but the election of 1979 to the state assembly was also held (Kazi, 2009:49-50). This ordinance dealt the final blow to the parity system though in some measure 'parity formula had been eroded by introduction of one man one vote principle and a single member constituency in the previous election. The outcome of the ordinance provided for 12 seats for Lepcha/Bhutia's who were the original inhabitants, a seat for Sangha or the body of monks and two for Scheduled caste while the 17 seats were declared the 'General seats' (Sikkim Government Gazette Extraordinary, August 1979)

It was provided that it would be a 32 member assembly with twelve seats reserved for Sikkimese of Bhutia-Lepcha origin, two for Scheduled Castes, one for Sangha (Sikkim Government Gazette Extraordinar, September, 1979).

Of the 32 constituencies, one was reserved for the Sangha, Lachen Mangshila, Tashiding, Rinchenpong, Pathing, Dzongu, Kabi Tingda, Rakdong Tintek, Martam, Rumtek, Assam Lingzey, Ranka, Ralang were reserved for the Bhutia/Lepcha community while Ratey Pani-West Pandam and Khamdong seats were reserved for the Scheduled Castes .

This was a setback for leaders like Poudyal and other advocates of removal of the Parity System .The government of India were aware of their plea for removal of the Parity System but their gamble did not pay off as they had calculated. Sinha succinctly writes, "They had presumed and convinced themselves that once the 'Parity System 'is abolished ,all the unreserved seats in the State Assembly would automatically be allotted to the Nepmaul Sikkimese" (Sinha,A.C, 2008 :280).

4.4.2 Elections 1979

Under the supervision of the Election commission the elections for the state Assembly was held on 12 October 1979.B.B.Lall appointed Nar Bahadur Bhandari as the Chief minister and on his recommendation appointed Sherab Palden, Sanchaman Limbu, Lachen Gomchen Rimpoche, Tulshi Sharma, Athup Lepcha, Padam Bahadur Gurung, and Samten Tshering as the members of council of ministers.

Sonam Tshering Lepcha assumed the office of speaker for the assembly.

With the conclusion of the election of October 1979, a new chapter in the legislative institution of Sikkim began. Minor changes were effected as a consequence of delimitation of Parliamentary and Assembly constituencies order no 28, wherein the constituencies were delimited.

4.5 Sikkim under N.B. Bhandari's leadership

The 1979 elections saw the Sikkim Janta Parishad winning the elections with 17 seats. His anti merger stand paid off electorally (Economic and political Weekly, Vol.35. No.43/44 (Oct 21-Nov. 3 .2000): 3805).

In July 1981 the Sikkim Janta Parishad merged with the Congress (I) and passed a resolution for the maintenance of Sangha seat and the Parity system.[76]He advocated reservation of seats for the Nepali community and is said to have claimed that 13seats for BL, 13 seats for Nepalis, 2 for Scheduled castes, and four for general would include the populace at large, thereby giving representation to the Plainsmen too. By the end of his first tenure as Chief Minister, due to mass defection many from

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[76] Kazi writes that the congress party at state level would try persuading the high command at the centre to reinstate parity and also continue the Sangha seat in the interest of the people of Sikkim .pg 55

the opposition had come over to the ruling side giving him a majority and reducing the seat of Congress (R) from 11 to two seats (Kazi, 2009:44-89).

Bhandari and the Sikkim Janta Parishad were well liked by the Sikkimese across communities. It was speculated that Bhandari joined the congress (i) primarily for financial benefits but had to steer away from a national party for political survival in the state. According to a senior bureaucrat turned politician Bhandari had built a very good rapport with the local bureaucrats who often advised him that his place as a representative of the people and as the Chief Minister did not require him to be as dependent on the bureaucrats on deputation from the plains as his predecessor was wont to be. During Kazi's tenure as Chief Minister Kazi had relied a great deal on the deputationist and the Governor of Sikkim a great deal.

Bhandari, however, had an uneasy relation with the Governor of the state, H. J. H. Talyerkhan who was pro active and represented the Congress (i) interest in the state (Economic and political Weekly,Vol.19. No.20/21 (May 19-26.1984):818). Bhandari felt that the Governor was instigating Minoritiy community MLAs against him. In February of 1984 Loden Tshering Bhutia, had submitted a memorandum to the high command asking for the removal of Bhandari and the memorandum had the signatures of 12 dissidents, two of whom were from the Nepali community.

By 1983 allegations of corruption, gift rackets and money laundering were doing rounds in the political circles. The 'son of the soil' was allegedly being neglected. He was accused of being communal, dictatorial and corrupt, therefore, dissidents had begun planning to a breakaway faction if the Congress at the centre did not take action (Kazi, 1993:141)

Bhandari was dismissed on on charges of corruption and loss of confidence in May 11th, 1984 (Kazi, 1993:145-47). Mr B.B.Gurung was sworn in as the Chief Minister. A lot of uncertainty prevailed and rumours of Bhandari winning over the MLAs began circulating and so on 25th May the assembly was dissolved and this led to recommendation of the President's rule which was imposed ,and an election for the next assembly took place in 1985.

4.5.1. Nar Bahadur Bhandari's second term

The 1985 elections saw Bhandari leading the Sikkim Sangram Parishad to victory. They had won 30 of the 32 seats. His victory was attributed to a sympathy wave (Chakraborty J, Economic and political Weekly, (Oct 21-Nov. 3.2000): 3805). B. B. Gurung who had replaced him for thirteen days as Chief Minister lost his election to a Sikkim Sangram Parishad candidate Tara Man Rai. R.C. Poudyal who had joined the Congress (i) also lost the election and it was clear that people had given a clear mandate to N.B.Bhandari. One seat was won by Kalzang Gyatso of the Congress (i) and the other by an independent candidate. It was alleged that victory of Balchand Sarda, a plainsman as an independent candidate elected from Gangtok constituency had resulted in the harassment of plainsmen in Sikkim (Kazi, 2009:114).

'Most plainsmen are now painfully aware of the growing anti-plainsmen feeling, which has heightened since recent elections. The abrupt cancellation of trade licenses, demolition of temporary residences and shops in name of "unauthorised constructions" and the frequent harassment and beating of plainsmen by some hoodlums, besides other factors, have created much fear and tension among this

community.' (Kazi, 2009:114). The victory of Balchand Sarda, a plainsman[77] from the prestigious Gangtok constituency had ignited fears amongst the leaders Nepali community party and so the rising sun party leader like R.C.Poudyal who was perceived as a communal person spoke up for reservation of seats for Nepalese according to their numerical strength, while Congress was perceived as a party of plainsmen, the electorate decided that Bhandari was the safest bet and so he had a landslide victory (Chakraborty, J., Economic and political Weekly, (Oct 21-Nov. 3.2000).

Another outcome of the election was the kind of Assembly sessions that took place. According to Sapna Gurung, in 1985

"...all the questions and supplementary were asked by only one lone opposition member, Kalzang Gyatso. No other member ,ruling or opposition raised any question in the question hours...Gyatso in turn, requested the members ...to start bringing questions from the next session...." (Gurung, 2018: 69).

She writes that even in the budget session the following year. The opposition MLA walked out because when he chose to speak, the Speaker had declared the discussion over. Therefore, the budget session was one without any discussion (Gurung, 2018:70-71).

The 1985 election was a significant one. It was to chart the course of Bhandari's political career. Sapna Gurung writes,

"...Bhandari turned out to be more powerful, confident and authoritative after coming to power in March, 1985. He did not tolerate criticism from both within or outside the party. Political parties and social

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[77] 'Plainsmen' a term used for citizens of India whose origins are in the plains of India as against 'Pahariyas ' or 'Parbatiyas' denoting people from the hills.

organisations had to either join him or face being silenced forever" (Gurung, 2018:62).

His plunge into democratic politics was on the platform of an anti merger plank .By 1987 Bhandari had begun to lay more stress on issues such as recognition of Nepali Language in the 8th schedule of the constitution, and grant of citizenship to left out persons among others. The recognition of the Nepali language in as one of the official language came about in 1992, as it was officially included in the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution.

4.5.2 Citizenship issue

After Sikkim's union with India, the former subjects[78] of Sikkim automatically became the citizens of India .by the Sikkim citizenship order of 1975. When preparation of electoral rolls were underway for the 1979 elections, the citizenship question began to emerge as a contentious issue. A demand began to be put up for citizenship of all Nepalis living in Sikkim for sometime by leaders like Khatiwada, N.B.Bhandari etc. Assembly resolutions had been passed proposing the cut off year to be 1970. It was felt thatIndians from the mainland were being enrolled in the electoral rolls while some people who had been living in Sikkim for some time and had not become citizens automatically with the union of the kingdom should also be considered. A committee was set up in 1979 called All Party Citizenship Committee under the chairmanship of L.B.Basnet. However, there were differences and eventually they arrived at a decision to recommend 1970 as the cut off year (Gurung: 255-259).

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[78] Sikkim subjects regulation,1961 provided that anyone who had a domicile before the regulation commenced ,lived in Sikkim 15 years before the period as a cut off for qualification.He opines that the cut off year was pushed back to 1936as only those bustiwallas whose names were found in the survey report of 1950-58 and who had been in possession of land continuously for 14 years before were considered. (Gurung,2011:256)

The issue gained prominence in the elections of 1985 as Bhandari claimed that the citizenship issue was not about stateless people but it was more about granting citizenship to those genuine Sikkimese who had been left out of the Sikkim subject regulation 1961. However, groups like Denzong Tribal Yargay Chogpa was of the view this was an anti Sikkimese move as thousands of non-Sikkimese were being made to fill up forms. They were of the view that only those who had Sikkim subject certificates in 1975 should be considered (Gurung, 2011:260-61).

Bhandari's take on the citizenship issue was tricky. Jigme.N. Kazi elaborates "He insisted that names of a large section of those who were not included in the Sikkim subject Register but voted for the merger, were deprived of their right to become Indian citizens when Sikkim became a part of India in 1975" (Kazi, 1993:263). He alleged that if the citizenship was denied to such persons who had taken part in the referendum were denied citizenship then even the 'merger' of Sikkim with India was not legal.

Bhandari's approach to the citizenship issue was fuelled by political expediency. His stand on the issue did not get much support from all three communities of Sikkim.The demand for citizenship, according to Jigme Kazi began for some 30,000 'stateless people and by 1989 it had risen to 75000. He further writes,"…the reactions of Sikkimese leaders, including those from Nepalese community on the issue, revealed that even Sikkimese Nepalese wanted the government to put a halt to the increasing influx which endangered their future" (Kazi,1993:271-75) .

In his enthusiasm to pander to his political constituents Bhandari ended up derailing his earlier commitments to his policy of 'son of the soil'   Allocation of

building sites ,trade licenses, sale of reserved seats of Sikkimese students to non locals ,and other such issues began to be highlighted by his critics. Several cases of corruption were registered against him (Gurung, 2018:63).

Against this backdrop an election was held in 1989. Despite the presence of many alternatives in the electoral fray, Bhandari led SSP amidst allegations of rigging and use of money and muscle power won a convincing win over his opponents. The Sikkim Sangram Parishad won all 32 assembly seats.

However, the third term in office of Bhandari was heckled with problems. The Assembly sessions despite lack of opposition had become more lively (Gurung,2018:71). Mandal Commission Report and it implementation had affected the politics in the rest of India. It was to impact the politics in Sikkim too. From within the ranks of his own party a critic arose. Implementation of the Mandal Report, extension of central income tax into Sikkim were bones of contention and Chamling was vocal about his displeasure of the functioning of the Bhandari government .

4.5.3 Mandal Commission Report

Sikkimese Nepalis can be broadly catagorised into two groups, the 'Tagadharis' who form the twice born caste like the Bahuns and chettris, and the second group consisting of the group who have been variously described as the 'Matwali' and consisting of Limbus, Gurungs, Tamangs, Rais etc. who are racially more Mongoloid . From among the latter group it was the Limbus and Tamangs who were likely to be recognised as Tribals by the central government in 1987 but was opposed by Bhandari (Gurung, 2011:239). It was his attempt to keep the groups in the

Nepali fold intact and the two affected groups were not very happy with Bhandari's stand on the issue. The Limbus[79] made an attempt to reorganise and started demanding for reservation of seats. The Central Government's policy called the Mandal Commission further widened the rift that had emerged in the Sikkimese Nepali group. Mangar, Rai, Limbu, Tamang, Gurung and Bhujel were identified as the Other Backward Caste group. Since the latter group comprised almost 50% of the population, Bhandari who belonged to the Chettri caste which did not fall within the fold realized the implication of implementing Mandal Commission Report in Sikkim and on his political future. An assembly resolution in September 1990 rejected the directive given for implementation of the Report. The OBCS were incensed by this step of the government and began to rally. The Mandal coordination committee emerged as a forum to pursue the issue. It was around this time P.K.Chamling began to emerge more prominently into limelight (Gurung, 2011:239-45).

On 16th of June 1992 Pawan K Chamling was removed from the Bhandari ministry and soon after he was also removed from the party. On 9th of September the same year in the zero hour in the house Pawan Chamling came smiling to the house. He was the sole opposition in the 32 member house. Taking his time he lit a candle and went about the assembly hall looking for democracy in Sikkim.

In Sikkim of that period, with his expulsion from the party opposition bench was to have at least an MLA. After Chamling's removal there was a lull of sorts in political scene as Chamling quietly built his base in Namchi, while the anti Bhandari sentiments was slowly gathering storm.

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[79] Limbus , Limboos both denote the Tshongs , a community with their own distinct culture, customs.

On 4th of March 1993 Chamling led Sikkim Democratic party S.D.F. was formed and on the April 18th ,1993 the SDF party held its first public meeting in Jorethang, Chamling had managed to rally support of disgruntled bickering political opponents and had built a solid base amongst the Rai community. Meanwhile, young educated youths too began joining the anti Bhandari movement and they had effectively begun rallying support for Chamling in the state. In 1993 in the month of June around 200 party activists were arrested and taken to the Sadar Thana. Biraj Adhikari, the General Secretary of the SDF was beaten. On June 24th, a year later it was mentioned in an Amnesty International Report that Biraj Adhikari, was tortured in police custody (Kazi, 2013:2-4). These were indications of the threat Chamling posed. He had arrived on the political scene after 9 months of underground base building.[80] In an interview Chamling said that his achievement stemmed from the fact that the fear psychosis had been broken in the state and people had been freed to oppose a corrupt and dictatorial rule, the blame of which lay with not only with Bhandari but the people at large who had been 'silent spectators' (Kazi,2013: 7). He had also stipulated that party tickets in the Assembly polls would be given to genuine Sikkimese.

Meanwhile on the 5th of May, 1994, Sanchaman Limboo backed by 15 supporters revolted against the then Chief minister. The issue that was a catalyst to the split was the income tax issue.

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[80] Translate in nepali,Lepcha, Krishna 'sdf parambhikalin adhyay (1992-1994)'pg12-13

4.5.4 Income Tax Issue

The income tax issue cropped up in 1983 when the then governor Taleyarkhan had had proposed the extension of direct tax laws to Sikkim when he wrote a letter to the Ministry of Home affairs especially to address certain concerns of allegations against the government of its involvement in gift racket and money laundering etc. Despite efforts by the Bhandari government to keep the implementation at abeyance, they were made to agree to implement it from the 1/4/1995. A finance bill which also proposed exemption of the tax to Bhutia and Lepcha was introduced in 1994, this step angered the people belonging to the Nepali community. (Gurung, 2018:79-81) This issue created communal tension in the state though Bhandari appealed to the people to maintain peace. He was of the view that if the Tribals first got the concession it would be a positive first step, after which other communities could appeal for the same press for the same. However, bandh by SDF and other group activities had taken place in opposition to the bill. However, Bhandari's cabinet colleagues like K.N.Upreti spoke out against the bill stating that it was understandable for the poor, down trodden tribals to be exempted but not the ruler and the landlords (Kazi, 2013:15-18). His cabinet colleagues and ex bureaucrats were all angered by the bill which they perceived as discriminatory.

Bhandari requested Prime Minister Narasimha Rao on May, 1994 that Sikkimese of Nepalese origin be treated in a similar manner to the other communities in Sikkim. Mrs Dil Kumari Bhandari as the M.P. requested an amendment be made on May, 1994. This led to problems for Bhandari and his wife, as it was felt Bhandari was politicking to prevent Bhutia/Lepcha s from getting the tax exemption. All the B/L MLAs moved away from him and they sided up with Sanchaman Limbu, as the SSP suffered a split (Gurung, 2018:79-81).

On 17 May 1994 a vote of no confidence was to take place against Bhandari. Pawan Chamling refused to cast his vote either ways saying that he was caught in a dilemma between the devil and the deep sea (Bali, 2003: 124-28). However, a month later, N.B.Bhandari with the help Pawan Chamling had been able to persuade the 17 MLAs from the assembly to resign. This group of seventeen included two MLAs from the Sanchaman group. After the feat had been accomplished a demand had been put forth by Bhandari for a president's rule in the state. However, the Sangram Parishad (s) joined the congress (i) in September. Sanchaman Limboo led government had the support of then congress (i) and so a congress (i) spokesperson said that a breakdown of constitutional machinery had not occurred (Economic and political Weekly, Vol.29.No.27 (Jul.2. 1994):1622).

The newly formed government stayed in office till the November election. Of the then government Jigme N. Kazi writes, "Not much was expected from the Limboo Government and its non performance on many fronts was due mainly to overzealous and over ambitous party bosses trying to make the most out of the situation" (Kazi, 2013:43). However, J.R. Subba writes that it was "During his period the central act, of OBC was enforced in Sikkim." (Subba, 2018:71).

Approximately six months after the Limboo government came to power on 16th of November 1994 the elections for state assembly took place. Chamling who had focussed on highlighting issues of corruption and promised a clean government, after barely 22months of the formation of SDF formed the government winning 19 seats of the 32 assembly seats. Bhandari led SSP had managed to secure 10 seats, congress 2 seats and 1 seat went to the independent. On December 12th 1994, with the swearing in ceremony of Chamling as the Chief Minister a new chapter of Sikkim's democratic politics was ushered in, the genesis of democratic politics which

lay in the events that unfolded after the departure of British from the Indian subcontinent.

As one retraces back and studies Sikkim's Political Development since 1947 one finds certain that the events that unfolded after the departure of the British from the subcontinent was triggered by the administrative changes as well by the introduction of western education in Sikkim in the Colonial era. Political Development in Sikkim did appear to follow patterns that Pye had predicted when a traditional society encounters the colonial powers. The Social process theorist were also right in stating that a change to a certain aspect (variable) in a society leads to a change in another variable in society. However, the changes that took place in Sikkim followed a different path then that espoused by social process theorist like David Lerner. Lerner was of the view that urbanisation was a very important step in Political Development. According to him it was urbanisation which leads to a rise in literacy. This in turn contributes to the emergence of media. The rise of media would further contribute to increased level of literacy, and eventually the interchange that occurs results in development of participatory institutions. In Sikkim there is no denying that changes in administrative structures and introduction of Western education[81] impacted the social fabric, however, Sikkim was nowhere near urbanised when Western education began to be introduced.[82] Another important factor was that though Western education was introduced, it was usually the upper-class who were encouraged to get an education. Therefore, in Sikkim at the point of India's

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[81] Traditional learning and monastic schools catering to religious studies existed .
[82] The non governmental organisations like Scandanavian Mission Alliance and the Scottish University Missions took the the pioneering step to introduce Western education ,and the state followed suit a little later and Sikkim at that point of history lacked anything remotely urban, road connectivity was next to non existent.

independence one finds education confined to a small section, and it was they who moved forward and took part in various deliberations. It was a small section of the educated class who formed the political parties when it emerged in 1947, and they also provided the leadership. In the decades that followed it was this educated section that became politically active and urged for reforms which in a way led to Sikkim's transition from a Monarchy to Democracy.

The democratic government that was ushered in after Sikkim's union with India, in its working was affected by Sikkim's historical past. The overarching role of the Governor and the bureaucrats in the first term of democratic government, as well as the proactive role of the Governors like Taleyarkhan in the second, one can speculate was possible due of lack proper socialisation of the elected leaders. Constitutional development had been taking place decades before Sikkim's union with India, but the political leaders always had to contend with an array of power centres in the Chogyal, the Dewan and the Political Officers. Besides, they had often looked upon the Chogyal or the Indian officers, as the case may be for guidance. Despite institutions being ushered after 1975, the elected leaders continued to seek guidance from unelected office at least in the initial years of democracy. This perhaps proves right what Bjorkman had been arguing that merely establishment of institutions is not enough to remove collective memory and orientations. It was left to leaders like Bhandari, someone who had not been involved in the politics of constitutional development in Sikkim, to assert the authority of his elected office in the face of a proactive Governor like Taleyarkhan. The people through their mandate gave support to Bhandari, and so overwhelming was the support that Bhandari began to turn dictatorial. In the absence of opposition it took a party man to openly speak for the loss of democracy in the state. This led to expulsion of the minister,

P.K.Chamling from the ministry and the party. This eventually was the beginning of the end of Bhandari's political carreer. In the election that followed in the year 1994, P.K.Chamling came to power signalling the end of an era and the beginning of a new one.

Summary

The Political Development in Sikkim in the pre-1975 era had been very similar to Lucian Pye's idea of colonial impact on traditional states.The British had initially tried to influence Sikkim but when it faced problems controlling the Maharaja and politics of Sikkim, J.C.White had been deputed to serve as a political officer. Under him Sikkim's administration was overhauled and British control overSikkim became definite. In due course, various institutions on modern lines were introduced. Some institutions like the lessee land lordism were effectively used by the British to continue their hold over Sikkim. These institutions–described by Pye as colonial tools to rule, were not sensitive to the political unrest and churning the changes threw up. The departure of the British from India in 1947 saw a series of changes take place in the subcontinent.1947 proved eventful for Sikkim as three political parties emerged on the scene and took up the cause of peasants demanding abolition of the system of lessee landlords, accession of Sikkim to India and a responsible government. Leading this movement was the Sikkim State Congress formed in December 1947after the merger three political parties.

Meanwhile, 1948 was an eventful year for Sikkim.The standstill agreement between Sikkim and India stated that Sikkim would continue to be a protectorate of India and Harishwar Dayal became the Indian political officer. Another significant development was the birth of a new party called the Sikkim National Party, which in

years to come was alleged to be a pro-palace party. Amidst these developments the movement led by Sikkim State Congress built up and despite the Chogyal's annoyance at the political officer for what he perceived as encouragement of the movement, landlordism was abolished and in May 1949 a popular ministry came into being, while the third demand of accession to India was dropped. A tentative start towards involvement of the people was made with the setting up of a ministry, often termed the 'popular ministry' in 1949 (a ministry constituted without an election) but it lasted barely for some months. Despite its short tenure it did spark the beginning of the politics of negotiation involving people who represented the aspirations of a certain section of the masses. As demands for more involvement of people in governance rose, in response through a series of proclamation the Darbar laid the institutional framework for the greater involvement of people. In a measured way the constitutional development in Sikkim got a fillip with the proclamation of 1953.It was the beginning of many such announcements from the Darbar; for instance, the proclamation of March1958; the Representation of Sikkim Subject Regulation, 1966, etc.With each such announcement reforms were introduced.

At another level, the heir apparent and later the Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal had already begun the process of trying to define Sikkim's unique status. In the face of certain vocal elements of society voicing aspirations of a closer tie with India, a political party called the Sikkim National Party was floated; this party was initially projected as a house of Lho Men Tshong but later acquired the image of a pro-Darbar party. The Chogyal in pursuit of his aim was aided by his American Gyalmo[83] and in course of years a national anthem was created, more people were

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[83] Queen

recruited into the Sikkim Guards and an exercise to bring the focus of the world's attention on Sikkim started. A study forum was also started and this group was perceived by the Indians as an anti-Indian group. In the face of such diverse forces that marked the politics of Sikkim, the political parties were undergoing transformation and in the 1973 elections, over the suspicion of rigging a confrontation started as some leaders of Janta Congress and Sikkim National Congress wanted cancellation of the just-concluded elections, and a demand was made for a Constitution.

The Chogyal was of the opinion that the constitution as it stood was an outcome of an agreement made in consultation with all three communities. Unhappy with the response, the leaders of the political parties began to involve the masses and on the day of the Chogyal's official birthday people poured on the streets sloganeering. As law and order problem seemed imminent the Chogyal asked the Indian authorities to step in. It was felt that such a move would not serve as a permanent solution and therefore, different groups met up with the Indian foreign secretary and after a series of deliberation a draft was drawn. It was to be an agreement involving the representatives of political parties, the Chogyal and the Indian Government. The agreement was signed on 8th May 1973.

The 1973 agreement is a historic land mark in constitutional development. It laid the groundwork for a powerful elected legislature with executive powers.A long-standing demand of one man one vote instead of the parity system was to be fulfilled while fundamental rights were to be guaranteed, rule of law and independence of judiciary was recognised. The agreement provided for a chief executive as the head of administration. He was to be a powerful figure, and should a problem arise between

him and the Chogyal, the matter was to be taken to the political office and from thence to the government of India whose decision was to be final.

In accordance with the agreement, an election was conducted in 1974.This election brought forth a government of Sikkim Congress under the leadership of L.D.Kazi. The new assembly started demanding that Sikkim be allowed to participate in the institutions of India, they demanded a constitution and M.G. Rajagopal was sent as the constitutional expert.

A government of Sikkim Bill was signed in 1974. Close on its heels, the assembly evinced a desire for a closer connect with India and calling on some provisions in government of Sikkim Act. By a constitutional amendment Sikkim became an associate state. On 10th April another step was taken demanding removal of Chogyal and merger of Sikkim with India. A referendum was held soon after and consequently by 36th amendment to the Constitution of India Sikkim became the 22nd state of India.

The union of Sikkim with India led to the conversion of Sikkim assembly to the first Sikkim state assembly. Consequently, different democratic institutions that were functioning in India, by merit of its inclusion in the Indian union were extended to Sikkim. The first tenure saw rapid development plans being implemented as India sent crores of rupees for development of agriculture, education, industries, etc. Underlying the changes was the unleashing of communal politics. As L.D. Kazi's tenure drew to a close, a president's rule was imposed and by an ordinance in 1979 changes were made and under the supervision of the election commission a state assembly election was conducted. Kazi Lhendup Dorjee lost the elections and Janta Parishad under N.B. Bhandari formed the government.

The first tenure of N.B. Bhandari was plagued by uncertainty because the Governor as the agent of the Centre was proactive. Bhandari especially had problems with Governor Talyerkhan.It was in his first tenure that Bhandari he began voicing the need for reservation of seats for Nepalis which had been done away with in 1979.He took up Nepali language issue and citizenship for some 30,000 'stateless' people. Though he had won the elections on an anti-merger plank and 'son of the soil' policy, these remained mere sloganeering and in 1984 he was dismissed on allegations of corruption and B.B.Gurung was sworn in as the CM for13 days after which President's rule was imposed in Sikkim.

The 1985 elections saw the return of Bhandari as he secured 30 of the 32 seats. The second term of Bhandari saw him emerge as a powerful leader who was criticised on many levels as a dictator. After the completion of another term in office Bhandari won the election yet again.Amidst rumours and allegation of booth rigging he captured all 32 seats. However, unlike his previous stint, a man from his own party began emerging from his shadows as a leader in his own right. The Mandal Commission report was out and its implementation was blocked in Sikkim. However, it was the question of income tax implementation in Sikkim that finally saw the revolt of tribal leaders under the leadership of Sanchaman Limbu that served to check Bhandari's political career. Sanchaman Limbu, leading the coup, replaced Bhandari as the chief minister in mid-1994.He made one significant move, it was the implementation of the Mandal commission in Sikkim. This proved to be a death knell for Bhandari's political career and rise of Pawan Chamling, a leader with mass following of the OBCs.In the election of 1994 Chamling on an anti-corruption plank swept the polls and ushered in a new era in the politics of Sikkim.

CHAPTER – 5

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL CULTURE:

A STUDY OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Introduction

Sikkim's history under the Namgyal dynasty has traversed a conflict-ridden path to eventually arrive in the mid-1970s, wherein the kingdom changed course from a Monarchy to a fledgling democracy as the 22[nd]state of India. The developments that took place in the kingdom seem to suggest that the attitudes, values and other such attributes that constitute the political culture of the kingdom had slowly undergone a shift. The environment that a political system exists in often shapes political outcomes, while the political culture of a place is reflected in the political behaviour of its citizenry. In a similar strain it has oft been claimed that the authoritarian rule of the Chogyal and the parity formula were the root causes of resentment of the populace at large that eventually translated into a movement that led to not only abolition of the institution of Chogyal but also the merger of Sikkim into the Indian Union through a referendum.

Sikkim as a state of India has faced elections, and chosen its own government for the past 40-odd years. The electorate has interestingly given its mandate to two chief ministers, Nar Bahadur Bhandari and Pawan Kumar Chamling. Except for a term of 13 days under Chief Minister B.B.Goorong[84] and some months under Sanchaman Limboo, Sikkim under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorjee, N.B.

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[84] B.B.Goorong and B.B.Gurung are one and the same person.

Bhandari and Pawan Chamling in some sense defined the substantive aspect of the practice of democracy in the state. This leads one to speculate on the nature of political culture in Sikkim as it may have contributed to the way democracy has played out. Thus, the objective of this chapter is to understand Political Development in Sikkim as perceived by the 'Transitional-Generation', to assess whether the transition of Sikkim from a Monarchy to a democracy was an outcome of a democratic (participatory) political culture. The study undertaken covers the latter end of Monarchy and deals with the period of democracy in Sikkim under its two chief ministers. The first category has two sections. The first section deals with the Monarch and governance during the Monarchy. Sikkim subject/COI holders above 50 years of age are the respondents. The second section of the first category will cover Sikkim's union with India and the respondents constitute the subjects/COI holders above 50 years of age.Some of the questions will be answered by voters/citizens below 50 years of age. It will also cover a brief comment on the differences or similarities in perception of the two target groups on some of the issues of pre-1975 Sikkim (50-plus former subjects and citizens below 50 years of age).The first category will be sub-titled 'Monarchy and pre-1975 Sikkim: Perceptions'. The second category of data pertains to Political Development as a comparison of Monarchy as a system with democracy and an assessment of the democratic governments under L.D. Kazi and N.B. Bhandari as Chief Ministers of Sikkim. This category of data will be classed under 'From Monarchy to Democracy: Perceptions'. The third category is titled 'Democracy in Sikkim: Perceptions'.The data analysis of the respondents' assessment in this section deals with political participation in Sikkim after the onset of democracy.

5.1 Monarchy and Pre-1975 Sikkim: Perceptions

Sikkim was a Monarchy under the Namgyal rulers for some 333 debatable years, as the exact year of enthronement of the first Chogyal Phuntsok Namgyal is disputed by different academicians.[85] The instalment of the first Namgyal ruler resulted in a hereditary Monarchy being established in Sikkim. It was under the last Namgyal ruler Palden Thondup Namgyal that the status of the country changed and it became a part of the Union of India. This meant that as a form of government a shift occurred from a Monarchy to a Democracy. To understand this shift and people's perception of the same, it became imperative to study people's assessment of the Monarch and the period of Monarchy under its last ruler. Through the assessments of the Monarch by the former subjects aged above 50, Monarchy as a system and the reasons they attribute for Sikkim's union with India, political culture in the erstwhile kingdom can be assessed.[86]

A study of the political culture will be on the lines of a classification of political culture put forth by Almond and Verbal in their book 'The Civic Culture'. Political orientations, attitudes towards the Monarch, Monarchy and Democracy, as well the role of self in these forms of government will be studied through the assessment of the 'transition-generation'.

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[85] Most writers put the year of enthronement of the Chogyal Phuntsok Namgyal as 1642 (though writers like Mullard contend that it took place in 1646 (Gurung, S.K.: 33)

[86]Sikkim's history as it unfolded has been narrated to its readers by different writers and academicians through their lens and often through the haze of conflicting views about the system that prevailed, the portrayal of its last ruler has been coloured by the hand that wielded the pen. Writer Sapna Gurung talks of the difficulty she faced talking to the senior citizens whom she described as '...the generation where kings were worshipped.Questioning King's supremacy and criticizing his rule was a sin'(pg. 5). On the other hand, we have articles in journals like the EPW (August 1974, pg.32),that interprets events in 1973-74 as indications of anti-Chogyal sentiments people had been harbouring for some time. In order to get a clearer picture of people's perception, the best way was to go to the people themselves.

Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal was the last of the consecrated rulers to govern the kingdom of Sikkim and hence the term 'Chogyal', or the monarch, in this context is used in reference to him. Monarchy in Sikkim was hereditary in nature. 95% of the former subjects of the Chogyal were aware that the Chogyal was a hereditary king.

Figure No. 5.1 Perceptions of the Monarch[87]
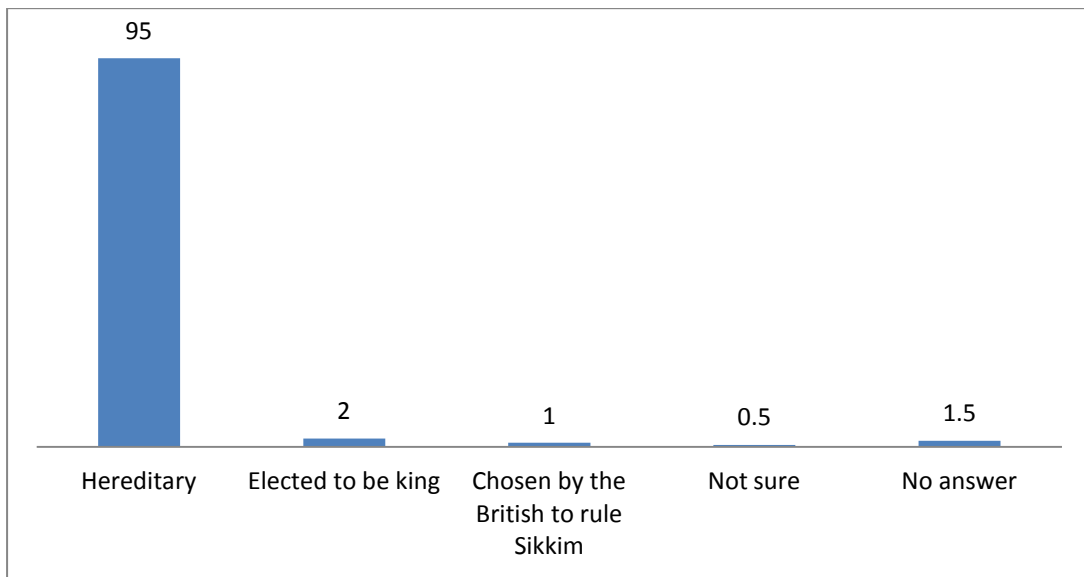
Source: Field Work[88]

The term 'Chogyal' roughly translates to mean a 'Dharma raja'. The last[89] Chogyals like some of their predecessors were also identified as an incarnate. Chogyal Palden Thondup was recognised as a reincarnate of Chogyal SideokongTulku, who himself was recognised as a reincarnate of a Lama Karma Aen

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[87] Monarch here refers to the Last Chogyal Palden Thondup
[88] The field work of this study was conducted between June 2017 and March 2019. Hereafter, this will be referred as Field Work.
[89] The 'Last Chogyal' is a contested term.Though Monarchy has been abolished as an institution,a fair amount of Sikkimese contest that Chogyal as a term has religious connotation as well and that the second son of Chogyal Palden Thendup, Prince Wangchuk Namgyal, is the present Chogyal.

Tul Rinchen of Kham.[90] Sikkim being a Buddhist kingdom, his legitimacy to rule in pre-1975 Sikkim was attested by a majority of his former subjects with approximately 63% rating (see chart 5.2 below). 11% of his former subjects, however, did not think he was a legitimate ruler while 14 % sought to play it safe by an indecisive 'maybe', which could be taken as more on the positive side in comparison to 9% who said they were not sure. A miniscule 3% refused to answer the question altogether. The former subjects viewed the king as a benign ruler and their perception of his spiritual connect seems to make the majority of the citizens hold him as an object of their respect, and it is reflected in their perception of his legitimacy as a ruler.

Figure No. 5.2 Chogyal's Legitimacy as a Ruler
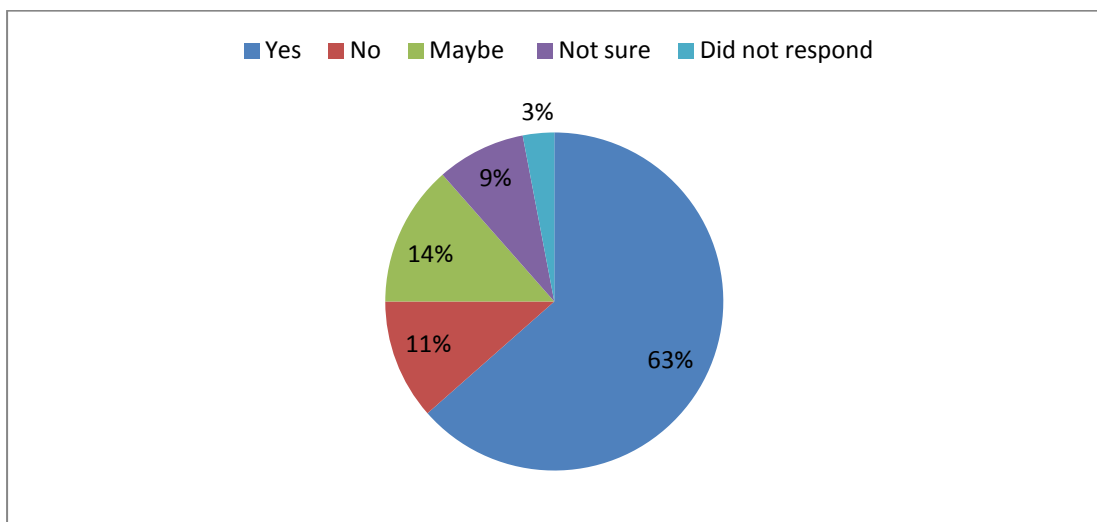
Source: Field Work

Though perceived as legitimate, some citizens had reservations about the ruler's proximity to the Kazis as they were perceived to have influenced him on communal lines. His former subjects were of the view (56%) that the Chogyal was a good king. Approximately 16.5% said he was a well-loved public figure. 6 % said he

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[90] Source:Miss Tenzing Chukie, Researcher at Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.

was an able administrator, 4% said he was a corrupt ruler, 3% said he was a tyrant, 8% said he was an able administrator, a well-loved public figure and a good king. 1% said he was a corrupt ruler and a tyrant and 5% refused to answer the question, while approximately 0.5% said the options given were not suitable because he was a good principled man but they weren't sure if both positive and negative attributes offered as an option could be used to describe Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal. Rustomji's writings also attest to this aspect of the Chogyal's personality. He writes that the Chogyal as a man of principles, who despite knowing that the Namgyal dynasty would see its end, refused to compromise because,

> "Rightly or wrongly, and for him it was a matter of heart and conscience, he considered it would be a betrayal of his trust as a ruler to abdicate his powers and preside,as a constitutional head, over the liquidation of the minorities who constituted in his view the essential and rightful core of Sikkim" (Rustomji: 155).

Figure No 5.3 -- Perception of the Chogyal as a Ruler
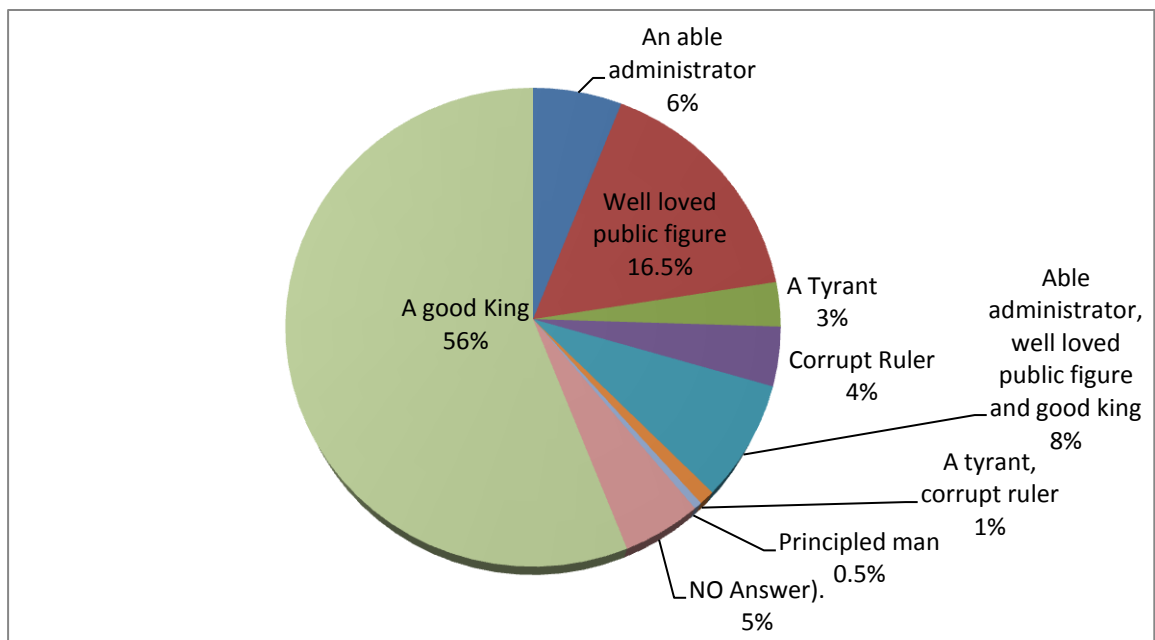
Source: Field Work

His former subjects also perceived the Monarch as someone good. They acknowledged the pressures that surrounded him from all sides. They opined that his lack of cunning cost him his throne, while it was also perceived that a coterie of his advisers was to blame. These subjects claim that some of the men who surrounded the king were hated (they named a few councillors, a senior bureaucrat and a not so senior officer) and wanted them killed but instead they had vented their ire on a pig. An occasional voice accused the king of not lending an ear to his Chief Secretary, T.S. Gyaltsen. It was clear that despite their love for the king a few remembered L.D.Kazi with fondness. They said L.D. Kazi had brought equal rights to their village from Delhi,[91] houses of the people had become better and water supply improved. A mention was also made of Nar Bahadur Bhandari under whom rice became more easily available[92]. L.D. Kazi was also remembered for making some do a 'dharna' for two days. This seems to indicate that acts of defiance towards the authorities then to an extent was engineered by the leaders and in order to mobilise voters, ditties were composed and through them angst peppered with poetic licence were served out to the populace. One such ditty that was composed read:

"Kamez phatyo, sural phatyo cement ko bora lay, Ranipool cheywaima Janta lie maryo Chogyal ko chora lay"

Roughly translated, it means shirt and pant tore because of cement sack, Chogyal's son killed the public near Ranipool.[93]Despite most of his former subjects remembering the Chogyal fondly, a few chose not to give their views on the king

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[91] A perceived reflection of Government of India in the affairs of the former Himalayan kingdom.

[92] A Bhutia man from East Sikkim who belonged to the family of a Karbari narrated how in the seventiesthey carried small sacks of rice for long distances. When they finally arrived home and ate the rice for the first time, they felt it stuck to their throats.

[93] Such songs despite lacking much truth often worked to mobilise some sections of the people together.

while one person said that the king was a ruler with no grassroots support. This seems to suggest that there did exist a few subjects who disliked the Monarch. However, most of the senior citizens across community lines responded that they loved and held the Chogyal in esteem but despised those to whom powers were delegated. They held the state agents responsible for the resentment of people against Monarchy as a system. State agents such as Kazis and Thicadars were a part of the lessee landlord system that had been abolished at the close of 1940s.[94] From the responses of the respondents it becomes clear that they continued to have an impact on the lives of citizens, especially so in the villages long after the institution had been abolished. Mandals and other officers like Karbaris were also mentioned in a negative light.[95] One other thing one can deduct from the answers given is the existence and role of various influential groups that existed during monarchy.

Figure No 5.4 Knowledge About Influential Groups During Monarchy
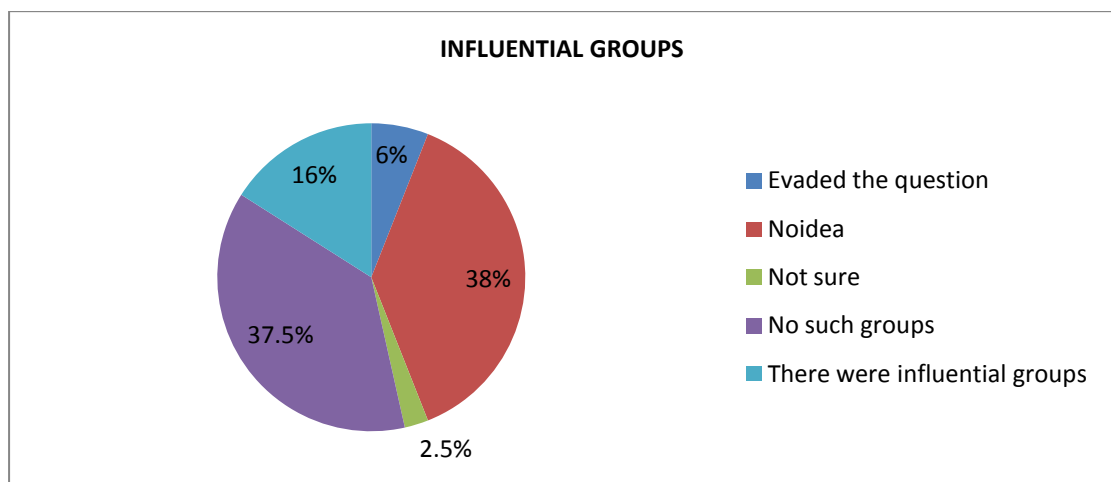
Source: Field Work

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[94] The findings seem to corroborate the contentions in Rajen Upadhyay's book 'Peasants' Resentment andResistance:A Glimpse on Rural Past of Sikkim',1914-1950, which at length discusses the problems,resentment and resistance of the ordinary Bhutias,Lepchas and the Nepalis against the exploitation meted out under the lessee land lord system.

[95] The Mandals and the Karbaris were intermediaries between the villagers and the Kazi/Thicadars who were the lessee landlords. They collected taxes of which 5% of the revenue collected was the share of Mandals while 15% of the taxes collected became the share of the Kazis, while the rest was to be given to the state treasury.

However, when asked to identify such groups, 6% of the respondents evaded the question and did not answer while 38% said they had no idea, 2.5%said they were not sure. 37.5% respondents said there were no groups that were influential during Monarchy therefore pressure groups of any kind did not exist.16% said there were such groups, (0.5% said the Kazis and the councillors were the influential groups, 2.5% said it was the Kazis, 0.5% said it was the Kazis and bureaucracy, 0.5% said it was the councillors; many gave answers not valid to the question asked. Some said that members of National Party and the Congress were the influential group, while a few said Mandals and Kazis were influential, and caste (i.e. certain communities) people were influential). Opinions varied as the perception that the king on the advice of his ministers (councillors) made policies for the benefit of the people leading to a communally harmonious society was contested by others who alleged the sycophants and the coterie around the king had served as an instrument for his downfall.

The answers provided by the respondents seem in stark variation to S.K.Gurung's claim that the community of lamas were the most powerful pressure group. Not a single respondent referred to this group. Even gleaning their answers on questions of decision-making and policy influencers, the lamas were not mentioned. Writing on the issues of influential groups in Sikkim, Sengupta's assessment that the Kazis, a landlord class composed of Lepchas and Bhutias, were the most powerful non-associational group in the kingdom seems more accurate. He says that though landlordism was abolished, the Kazis and their Nepali counterparts called Thicadars continued to have influence over the affairs of the kingdom. From the answers given, the

189

other groups that people mentioned as influential were the bureaucrats, the councillors, the Mukhtiar, the village/Bloc level officers like Mandals[96], Karbari and the household staff of the Chogyals like the Ardalis. It is apparent that to a great extent religion had been confined to the private domain and the aspects of governance introduced by the British had more impact on the day to day life of the subjects of the king. It was the officers and agents of state created during the British rule who were mostly identified as powerful and influential. No community was identified as powerful and influential. This is an indicator that community factors played a negligible role. In fact, it appears that the society was divided in some sense on class lines, the marker being the function an individual performed in the polity and his proximity to the ruler.

5.2 Monarchical Government

The Monarchical government under the Namgyals that was established in the 1640s passed through umpteenth vicissitudes. It was, however, under Claude White, the British political officer, that an overhauling of the administration was carried out to align the Sikkimese administration with a system comprehensible to the Western administrators. However, soon after the departure of the British[97]some of the institutions they had established in Sikkim came under popular attack. One such institution, the lessee landlordism, had to be abolished at the close of 1940s.Post India's Independence, another significant change came about with the arrival of John Lall[98] who introduced changes that would further align Sikkim's

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[96] Mandal, Mandol, Mondol are different spellings used for the same office.
[97] Sikkim was the protectorate of British India and the British departed from India on the threshold of India's Independence.
[98] The Dewan,an India government appointee to the post.

administration with that of the Indian states (Andrew Duff, 2015:41).Through a series of proclamations after the signing of the Indo-Sikkim treaty of 1950, a process of constitutional development began.The administration under Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal was under constant pressure that accompanied the change.The Chogyal was the fountainhead, supposedly having the final say in matters of administration. A division of power and function existed as a system of diarchy had been introduced. The government departments functioned under reserved and transfer subjects. The reserved subjects dealt with the finance, land revenue, home, etc while the transferred subjects dealt with education, forest, health agriculture, etc. An independent judiciary existed with the Chogyal as the highest court of appeal. However, the administration of the state was looked after by the Dewan[99] who was appointed by the government of India with the approval of the Chogyal.

The Monarchical government in Sikkim had transformed much within the short duration of 25 years, approximately 10 of those being under Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal as the king. The perception of the subjects as to who was in control of Sikkim during the last 25 years of the kingdom's history is unknown. The task to unravel this mystery began with a simple question related to framing of laws in the then Sikkim.

The table below reveals that around 53.5% said the king framed the laws, 20.5% said they had no idea, 10% said the Mandals/Mukhtiars/Karbaris exercised these powers, which some of them said they shared with the Thicadars, Kazis etc., 5.5% said Kazis made the laws, 5% said it was the

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[99] The Dewan's title changed to that of the principal administrator, Sidlon, at different points in time of history.

councillors and two opined they shared this power with the king. Some mentioned the Mukhtiar, the political officer and the politicians. 2% gave no answer, 1% said bureaucrats,1% said the Dewan while one said the Dewan shared this power with the Mandal and stated that Dewan had made the administration more efficient. 1% person said the courts made the law and 0.5% said the people made the laws.

Table No 5.1 Framing of the Laws During Monarchy

Group	Number	Percentage
King framed the law	107	53.5
Mandals/Mukhtiar/Karbari	20	10
Kazis	11	5.5
Councillors	10	5
Bureaucrats	2	1
Dewan	2	1
Courts	2	1
People	1	0.5
No idea	41	20.5
No answers	4	2
Total	200	100

Source: Field Work

The people as they answered gave a bit of their views. Most people described the Chogyal as a very kind, decent, naive person who was loved by his subjects. They said he relied on the advice of Councillors, Mukhtiar and Kazis. However, People blamed the Kazis and Thicadars and the Mandal for their dislike of the times and stating that Monarchy as a system was bad because of them. A few described 'Kalo

Bhari'[100] and a life full of suffering under the system and stated that with L.D.Kazi and Bhandari life became better.

However, there were variations district-wise with regard to the role of Kazis, Mandals and Thicadars. Compared to the rest of the districts, on the whole in Northern Sikkim they were less likely to blame the Kazis, Thicadars, Mandals etc. As most of the senior citizens replied that most state agents had little education and they were simple folk and less likely to cause trouble. However, they did mention certain individuals from certain families who made life difficult for the populace at large. Though a majority of 53.5% said the King was the law maker, they reiterated that these powers were shared with other officers of the state and it was at the implementation level where it became exploitative. The response of a sizeable number of people seems to suggest division of power and functional specialisation in one form or the other.

Figure No 5.5 FunctionalSpecialisation and Division of Power
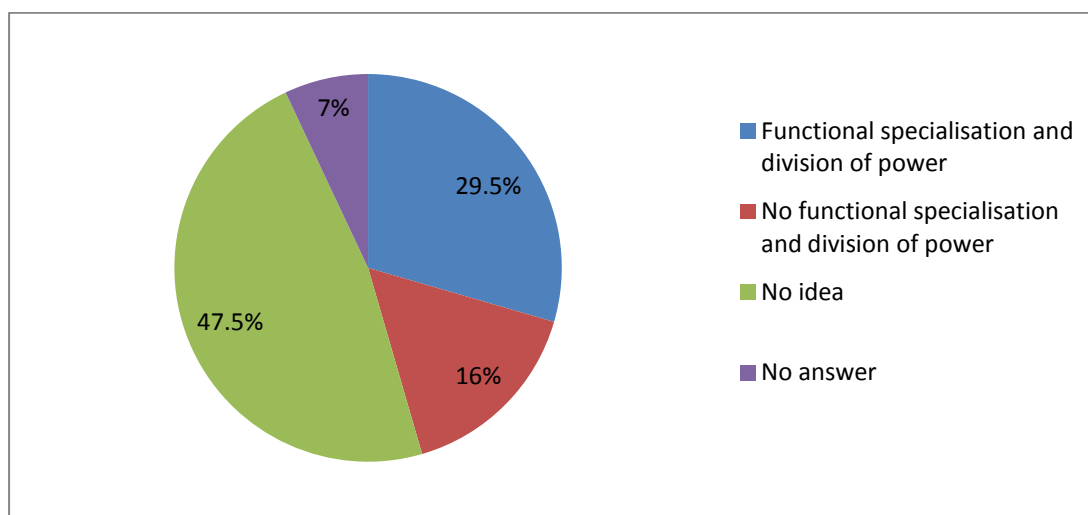
Source: Field Work

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[100] 'Kalo Bhari' means black burden and it referred to the consignment of goods the Sikkimese Bhutia,Lepcha and Nepali peasants were made to carry for the British to Tibet.It fell on the Kazi/Thicadars to provide the porters for which they were paid. These institutions exploited the peasants at whose cost the state agents made money.See Upadhyay's 'Peasants'resentment and Resistance:A glimpse on Rural Past of Sikkim',1914-1950, pg. 112-114.

However, on the issue regarding the functional specialisation and division of power, their response was more guarded. An overwhelming 47.5% respondents said they had no idea, 7% refused to comment. 29.5% said there was division of power and functional specialisation. Of the respondents, 16% gave a definite no to the existence of functional specialisation and division of power. They opined that all powers and functions were vested with the king though they acknowledged the existence of different departmental heads that made recommendations. They insisted that the fountainhead of all power was really the Chogyal.

According to some, during Chogyal Palden Thendup Namgyal's reign, division of power was introduced nominally. However, opinion was divided and 29.5% who said there was division of power and functional specialisation argued that to a fair extent Chogyal's non-interference in governance contributed to his popularity. A sizeable number believed that the people who worked for the king were powerful and governed while the king was just a figurehead; ministers (as in Executive Councillors), councillors, the bureaucracy, Kazi-Thicadars and Mandals were identified as offices that shared power with the king. Some mentioned Chief Secretary 'Yap Sherap' or T.S.Gyaltsen as the most powerful person in the kingdom while another said that King's refusal to listen to the advice of the same person cost the King dearly. It is evident that for the subjects of the former kingdom, their assessment of Monarchy and powers of the different offices were a reflection of their interaction with officials at different levels and it had little to do with their understanding of the system as a whole. One often got the impression that their deep fondness for the King made them reluctant to hold him responsible for excesses of the state agents who interacted with them. The narrative of a good king and bad

underlings seems to be repeated time and again. Ignorance, feigned or otherwise, and cautiousness marked their responses.

The awareness of the respondents regarding other aspects of administration like justice was at best sketchy. As most of the respondents had no idea of how legal issues were resolved, few believed that the Chogyal dispensed justice in accordance with the rules that existed, some said it was the courts that dispensed justice and others said the village elders were involved and some of them said in these meetings at the village the Mandals and Kazis were present.While the majority of the respondents were of the view that state agents at different levels (Mandals,Karbari, Amin,Pipon, Kazini, Kazi, Thicadars,bureaucrats) settled the dispute, some opined that it was the Mandals who tried to settle the issues at a certain level.If they were unable to then it went to the next higher level to the Councillors.If the issue was not resolved at the level of Councillors, then it was referred to the highest authority:The King.

Figure No.5.6 Fairness of Judicial Decisions During Monarchy
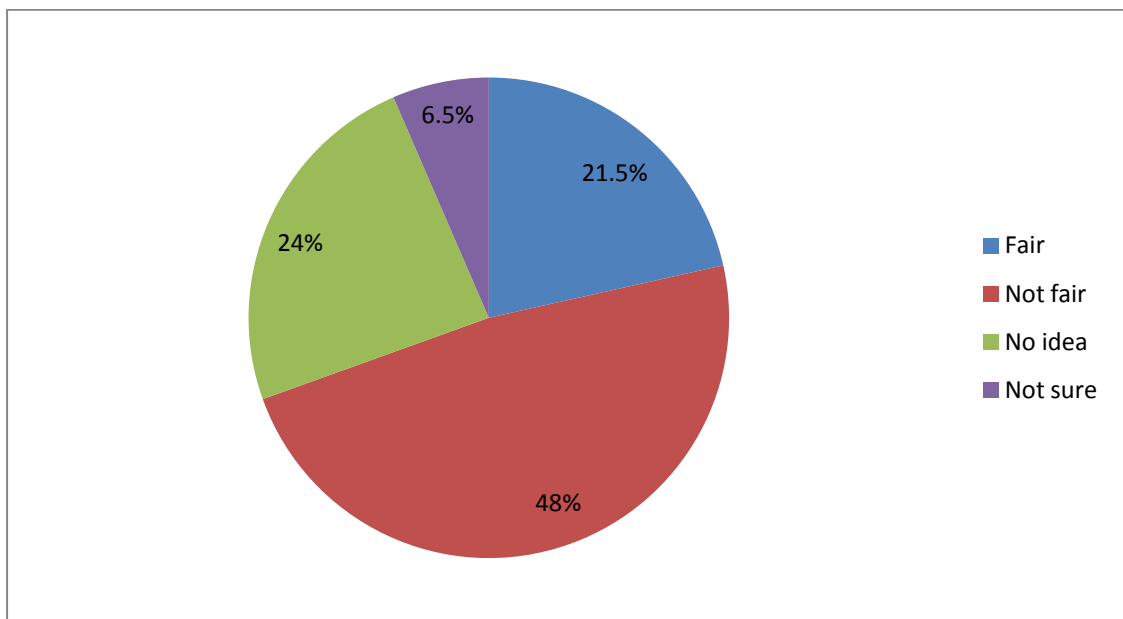
Source: Field Work

When people were asked if the judicial decisions were made fairly, 21.5% said decisions were fairly made. 6.5%% said they were not sure. 48% said the system was not fair. 24% said they had no idea. Opinions varied. One person who said decisions were fairly made said it was after L.D. Kazi'stenure that decisions began to get bad. One person said that since there were no jails if a person was found guilty then he was sent to the monastery, while some said they were locked in a pigsty. A reference to torture by the Mandals and Karabaris was made. Lopsided justice, according to some, was meted out and the state agents often settled their personal vendetta by giving lopsided decisions. A few alleged corrupt practices within the judicial system.A small number said dispensation of justice was on communal lines, implying Nepalis had it tougher and the Mandals andThicadars were responsible for the lopsided justice. One recounted that though the king was good, Monarchy as a system was bad because of the excesses of King's officers like the Kazi and the Mandals. Some said the justice was not of equal nature as it was tougher on the under-privileged, the poor had it bad irrespective of the community they belonged to. One man in North Sikkim narrated a story of a villager who had been involved in a court case that required him to visit Gangtok time and again for the hearing. His frequent visits to Gangtok proved to be a deterrent for others as it required time, money and the means. He added that since Gangtok was far, considering the bad communication network, people often started a second family enroute. This further drained their pockets. Not everyone could bear such strain so they took the easy way out and sought resolution often at a loss to themselves. One man recounted the days of yore as he mentioned that if they borrowed money and were unable to pay khazana then three weeks were given to pay up. In case one was unable to, then the land was auctioned.The rich could afford to buy the land. 8% blamed the Kazis and Thicadars

of depriving them of the land when unable to pay khazana, they also said that rudeness and torture were meted out to them. 0.5% said that if one was unable to pay, the king confiscated their land. Those disgruntled said that justice was skewed to favour the rich. Most people blamed the Kazis, Thicadars and Mandals for their problems and said the king was unaware of the atrocities meted out. According to a few, it was one of the reasons the King had lost his throne. Some people did not give direct answers. There seems to be no consensus on neutrality and fairness of judicial decisions though the Chogyal as a dispenser of justice was viewed as being fair. One person from North Sikkim said if the Chogyal came to the village and if he became aware that any person had been put in the thana for some reason, he would personally come and free them. His Highness' Court, according to the administrative report, was a court of appeal above the Courts of Landlords and the Chief Court. This meant the cases were tried elsewhere and only some of the cases as an appeal reached the Maharaja. Upadhyay narrates an incident found in the work of Anna Balikci wherein a complaint had been filed against a greedy Mukhtiar of Phodong Monastery in 1929 to the Darbar by villagers of Tingchim, Namok and Seyam. He says that in three years the case had been resolved in favour of the peasants. He concludes that justice was meted out if the complaints of Sikkimese peasants reached the Darbar. He goes on to add that the economic compulsions of earning their livelihood often left them with very little initiative to make such complaints (Upadhyay, 2017:113).

The questions of livelihood lead one to speculate on available channels of employment.

The majority of Sikkim's population resided in the villages and were employed in farming. However, the state too employed a sizeable chunk of the population. In order to assess people's perception of the system of recruitment, a

target group was asked as to what were the basic criteria for filling vacancies for employment.

Table No 5.2 Job Recruitment Transparency During Monarchy

Factors	Number	Percentage
Fair, based on merit	95	47.5
Physical Fitness	8	4
Chogyal's recommendation	8	4
Bureaucracy	7	3.5
Chief Secretary	1	0.5
Mandal/Thicadar	10	5
No idea	48	24
Did not answer	17	8.5
Money	1	0.5
Favouritism	5	2.5
Total	200	100

Source: Field Work

From the table above it can be said that 47.5% argue the system for recruitment was fair and merit was a consideration and since jobs were aplenty, education of any level was the eligibility. Government sometimes came to the doorstep to offer jobs. 24% said they had no idea. 4% said physical fitness was a criterion for employment, 8.5% did not answer, 4% said Chogyal was instrumental in appointments,2.5% said favouritism played a role, 3.5 % said bureaucracy and 0.5% said Yap Sherap the Chief Secretary was instrumental,0.5% said money was a factor, while 5% said Mandal/ Thicadars had a role. The response seems to suggest that during Monarchy recruitment was on the basis of merit and fairly done.47.5% seem to think so; 4% said physical fitness, which again could be interpreted to imply a

certain standard was used to measure the employability of a candidate and therefore one can assume that the method of employment according to 51.5% was fair. Approximately 16% seem to hint that other factors and people played their role in employment and meritocracy was not always the rule.

Their fractured ideas of governance reflect their awareness of officers and government agents mostly at the local level. It does indicate in some sense a predominance of parochial political culture.

Table No 5.3 Factors Governing Decision-Making

Factors	Numbers	Percentage
Community	9	4.5
Public welfare	22	11
Government	46	23
King	9	4.5
No Idea	93	46.5
Did not answer	12	06
Other factors	9	4.5
Total	200	100

Source: Field Work

The table above examines the factors they considered as the uppermost when taking decisions.46.5% people said they had no idea, 6% did not answer, 4.5% said community factors played a role (implying policies favouring Lepchas and Bhutias), 11% said public welfare but one of them also mentioned welfare of the ruling class, 23% said government at different levels (a combination of different levels of people,e.g. Ministers, Kazis, Mandals, Thicadars) made decisions according to what they felt was important. They implied that the people who exercised power also

199

decided policy matters and they often made policies that served their interests. Only 4.5% people said the King took the decisions according to what he thought was important. Power play, good neighbourly relations and welfare of Ardalis (orderlies) of the Chogyal were cited as considerations. 4.5% gave either irrelevant answers or they cited other factors.However, fear factor was still a very important aspect of the lives of former subjects as they were reluctant to discuss matters related to Monarchy. A few recollected that consequences would be harsh if they disobeyed the dictates of the powers that be. Once again, like their response to the previous question a silent majority emerges from the respondents, silence either through their refusal to answer, or their lack of knowledge or the pretence of it.

Their responses seem to indicate that policy decisions had very little or no involvement of people at large. However, 70.5% said they were happy with the policies of the time.20.5% said they were not happy.7.5% were not really sure what to say.1.5% people did not answer. As people answered this question, they began sharing their views. One said the Chogyal arrived in Dzongu and went to the forest to visit his cardamom field and the people loved him. The mention of Chogyal lit up his face. Their affection for the ruler seemed to punctuate their answers as even some of his weaknesses they identified (e.g.indecisiveness) were explained in terms of tremendous pressures he faced. The inaccessibility of the ruler and the misuse of power by his underlings were identified as negatives but despite these shortcomings people claimed they were happy with the policies. However, there were dissenting voices too, one person said he could not think of one thing that made him happy about the Monarchy. Another cited his unhappiness was a result of shortage of money during Monarchy.

Figure No 5.7 Expression of Dissent
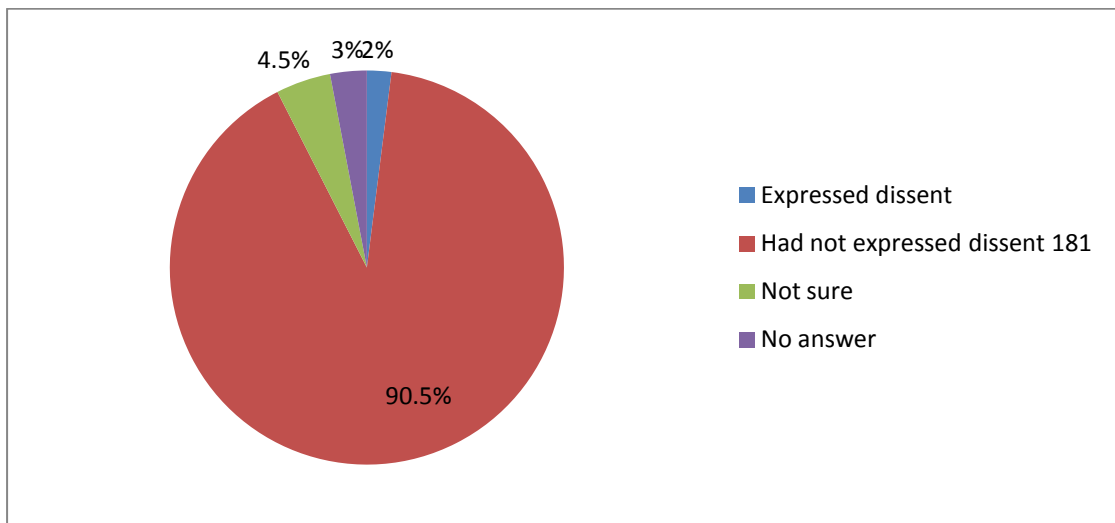
Source: Field work

90.5% said they hadn't ever expressed their disapproval of policies. Fear of Kazis was cited as a reason for inability to talk. One person said question of dissenting did not arise as people were happy and loved the king, one of the respondents said it didn't matter much those days as people were satisfied if benefits came their way and they were fine if it didn't. Another said that if the Chogyal said something black was white they were scared and would agree to it. 4.5% were not sure if they had ever voiced their dissent.3% did not answer but one of them said question of dissenting did not arise as Mandal handled all matters. 2% said they had expressed dissent.

The respondents viewed their own role in a monarchy in a rather negative light. They felt that they could not express their dissent but a few felt only the Kazis could express dissent. The respondents added that the Kazis had lots of informers which made it difficult to express dissent openly. Despite saying one could express dissent, only a few of the respondents said they had expressed their disapproval of the

government's decision once in a while. Expression of dissent when policy matters do not meet one's approval is an indication of one's choice as well as freedom.

The answers above seem to indicate that most people were happy with government policies despite their lack of participation in terms of feedback. It seems to indicate that people viewed themselves as recipients rather than participants in governance. People who were happy with the policies of government during Monarchy are more than triple of those who were unhappy. Their claim that they did not dissent could be because they were happy with the policies or because they were unable to. Some indications from the answers given is that fear factor played a role but most likely they did not see a role in governance in any form because they perceived themselves as subjects of a king. An indication of their attitude can be gauged from casual references they made of the times then and how it was all right if the government gave them benefits but it was equally alright if it didn't.

From all appearances the subjects of the Monarch not only seem dismissive of their role in governance but their responses seem to suggest their inability to participate. It does indicate a level of under-confidence in one's role as a citizen of the state, their perception of their role was that of a subject of the king despite institutional changes that had begun to be introduced from the 1950s.[101]Participatory institutions and constitutional development had been a prominent feature of the politics of Sikkim since the1950s.The parity principle was introduced for election to

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[101]'...the belief in one's competence is a key political attitude. The self-confident citizen appears to be the democratic citizen. Not only does he think he can participate, he thinks that others ought to participate as well...he is likely to be more active'(pg. 206-207,The Civic culture).

the office of the state council. This principle has been a focal point of political debate ever since.

Parity was a system of representation that emerged out of agreement between the Sikkim National Party, the Sikkim State Congress and the Maharaja. By a proclamation of the Maharaja in 1953 a state council and an executive were to be created which would put the formula into practice by reserving six seats for Bhutia-Lepchas, six seats for Nepalis and five seats being reserved for the Maharaja's nominee. The procedure laid down in the 1958 proclamation clause 2 (1) (b) said that for a candidate to be elected he needed to secure at least 15% of votes from the other community in addition to securing the highest number of votes from his community. Should a person fail to secure 15% of the votes of other community, the person who had secured the second highest vote in his community stood elected if he had at least 15% of the votes of the other community, provided there was less than 15% difference between him and the person who has secured the highest vote in his community. 'Parity' has been often touted as something un-desirable, a device to keep the three communities divided along ethnic lines. A section of the State Congress expressed reservations (Sengupta:156) and writers like S.K. Gurung highlight how Nepalis accused the Chogyal of being communal (Gurung,2011:199-200) and blamed the Indian government for introducing such a system.

Writers like Upadhyay indicate that political parties that had a support base amongst the peasants had a problem with the Parity as he felt that was the major issue of confrontation between them and the Darbar. With passage of time, as the status of Sikkim changed, parity began to be viewed differently by the leaders when they realised the full implication of Indian statehood. The party formerly led by Kazi Lhendup Dorjee, the Sikkim unit of the Janata Party, under its new president

B.B.Gurung[102] in its executive committee began demanding that parity system be revoked. However, some sections of the people began to do a rethink. The 22 October 1977 edition of the Economic and Political Weekly states that the educated amongst the Nepali section were eager for parity as they realised it would serve to protect them from settlers from outside the state. It does appear that the demand for removal of parity had been put forth by the leaders without giving fore-thought to the consequences. Parity was held up as communal in intent but the clause that required at least 15% of votes to be secured from the other community as a necessity prevented any political leader from becoming outright communal and therefore prevented him/her from advocating a communal agenda. This was perhaps perceived by the former rulers as a mechanism to counter communal divide amongst the Sikkimese populace. And this rethink among a section that had been advocating its removal was a result of their understanding of the full measure of the effect of democracy on the Sikkimese of Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali origin.

Table No 5.4 Respondents' Knowledge about Parity

Factors	Number	Percentage
System of Representation	26	13
Land tenure system	2	1
No idea	164	82
Didn't answer	8	4
Total	200	100

Source: Field Work

The table above indicates that around 13% of respondents said it was a system of representation, 82% had no idea, 1% said it was a land tenure system, while 4%

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[102] Also spelt Goorong in latter part of his Political career.

did not answer. It is apparent from the response that a majority of the respondents were unaware of parity and the lack of awareness of the system in the selected target group seems to imply that perhaps the demand for the removal and later reinstatement of the system came from the more vocal sections of the leadership primarily belonging to the Nepali community. It is usually found that the ideas and interests of the more vocal sections of a populace often guide and determine policy matters.[103] It is ironical that the Parity system popularly resented as communal (Gurung, 2018; Gurung, 2011), was at a later date perceived by some sections as a means to protect the interest of the community the political leaders had earlier alleged that it undermined. It perhaps to a degree reflects the level of awareness and foresight amongst people who professed to lead the masses in pre-1975 Sikkim. This brings us to the question of political awareness.Political awareness as reflected by the responses from the target group was low and only 6% of the respondents said they had participated in political activities other than voting. 93% said they hadn't while 0.5% did not respond and another 0.5% said they were not sure. Perhaps the economic hardships of earning a livelihood often left people with very little time to involve themselves in politics. Besides, introduction of electoral politics in Sikkim was a piecemeal arrangement and the state did not have the necessary resources to encourageactive participation and neither were there other inducements available to the masses to be politically very active.

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[103] As Woshinsky writes,'The most active members of any group will gain the most power and have the most impact on group structures and policies' (Woshinsky,2008:65).

Figure No 5.8 Respondents Participation in Political Activities other than Voting (Monarchy Period)
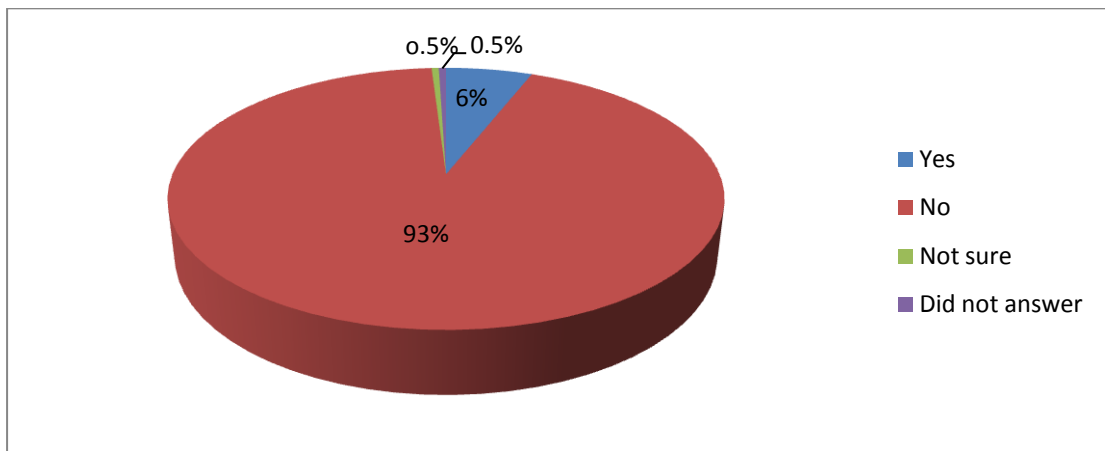
Source: Field Work

A democratic political outlook can be developed through a process of socialisation but it is unlikely that the educational system that existed in Sikkim in pre-1975 Sikkim was oriented towards teaching of subjects that espoused ideas of democracy. Therefore, it is no surprise that among the senior group there were persons who said the annual gifts collected block-wise and then sent to the king was something out of free will. A few voices emphatically stressed 'we made him (Chogyal) king, we chose to make him our King'. Corollary to the question they were then asked if they had ever cast their vote in pre-1975 Sikkim. Elections and voting had been introduced in Sikkim by the early 1950s to constitute councils through which some members were to act as representatives of the people. However, of the respondents only 10.5% said they had voted, 86.5% said they hadn't, 2.5% said they were unsure while 0.5% did not answer.

Figure No 5.9 Political Awareness and Involvement in Political Activity such as Voting in Pre-1975 Sikkim
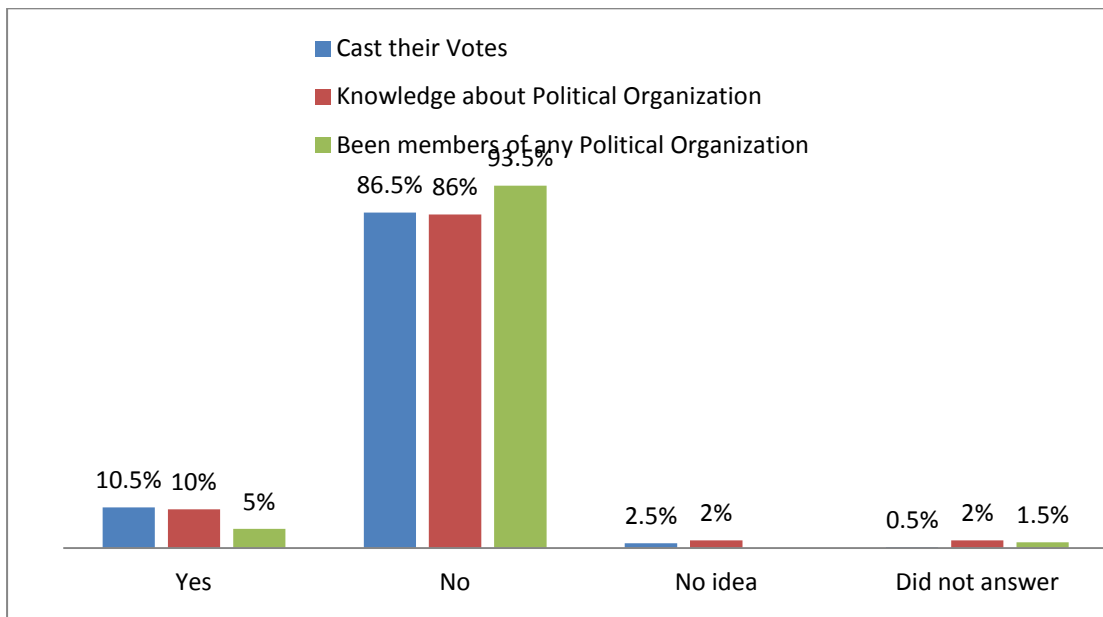
Source: Field Work

They were then asked if they were aware of any political organisation during the Monarchy,10% said they were aware of political organisations during monarchy,86% said they were not aware of any political organisations.2% said they had no idea, one said illiteracy was a factor that made them unaware.2%did not answer the question. They were then asked if they had been members of any political organisation.93.5% said they were not, 5% said they were members of political organisations,1.5%did not answer. The answers were conflicting to say the least. It does reflect a lack of clarity on matters political. Perhaps their reticence on political issues which they deemed controversial may have been reflected/ projected in the answers given. Their answers on political participation and awareness seen in the context of their answers on governance seem to suggest that people were so busy earning their livelihood and staying clear of trouble, that the poor, illiterate rural people were less likely to participate in politics as the state agents at village level had

managed to politically alienate vast majority of people. Delving into matters political, people were asked to reflect on the role of political awareness, fear factor, political apathy, distrust of system in moulding the political behaviour of subjects in pre-1975 Sikkim.

5.2.1 Determinants of Political Behaviour in pre-1975 Sikkim

Individuals as actors in a political system have a very important role individually and collectively. Their orientation towards the political system, government, authorities, other political actors, etc may be expressed in tangible actions. These actions are often determined by the environment a political actor lives in and it may have far-reaching consequences on the working of a polity and political outcomes. Political behaviour therefore is often determined by scores of factors.

Figure No 5.10 Factors that Affected Political Behaviour of Subjects/ Citizens in pre-1975 Sikkim
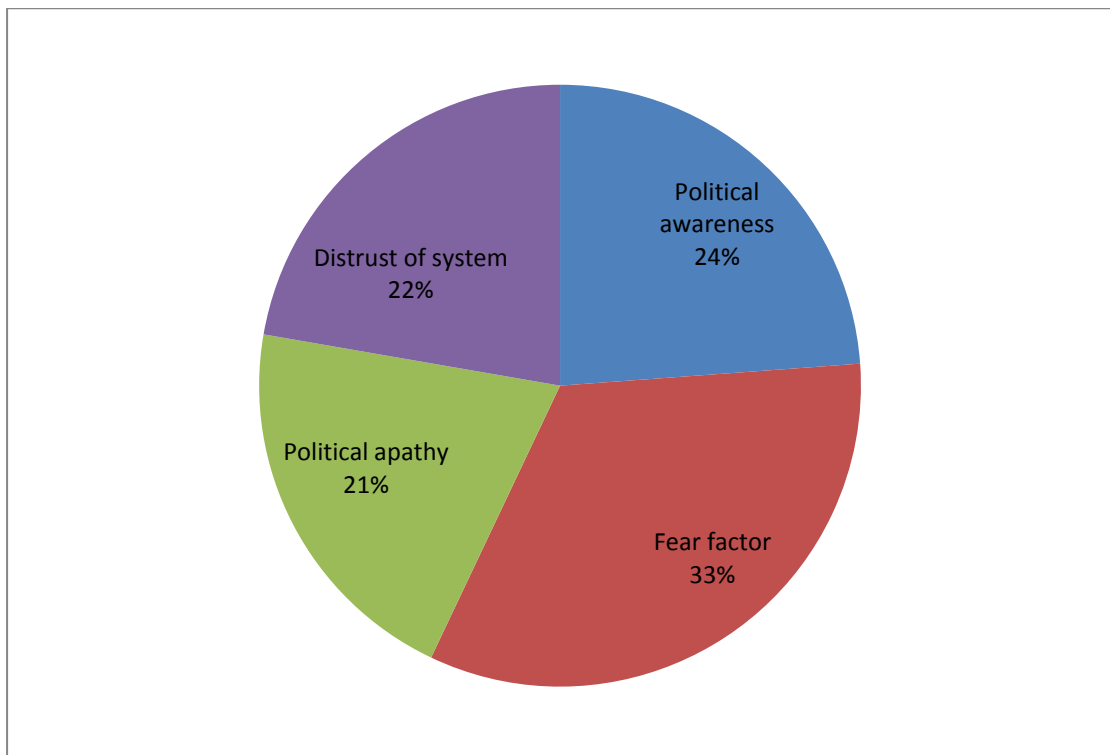
Source: Field Work

In pre-1975 Sikkim, 33% of the respondents are of the view that fear factor was crucial. 24%, however, say that the political awareness was more of a determinant while distrust of the system was rated at 22% and political apathy at 21%.The pie chart reflects the people's assessment. It is apparent from their response to questions of expressing dissent previously dealt with that fear factor was pivotal and it to a great extent determined their response to policies of the government. Interestingly, they rate political awareness as a second important factor determining their political behaviour. The rating of political awareness at 24% when seen in context of low level of political participation indicates a sense of political impotence in the respondent subjects.

5.3 Sikkim's Union with India

Sikkim became a part of India in the year 1975. The transition was made from a Monarchy to a Democracy, which meant that the Chogyal as an institution ceased to exist.

Figure No 5.11 Reasons for Abolition of Institution of Chogyal
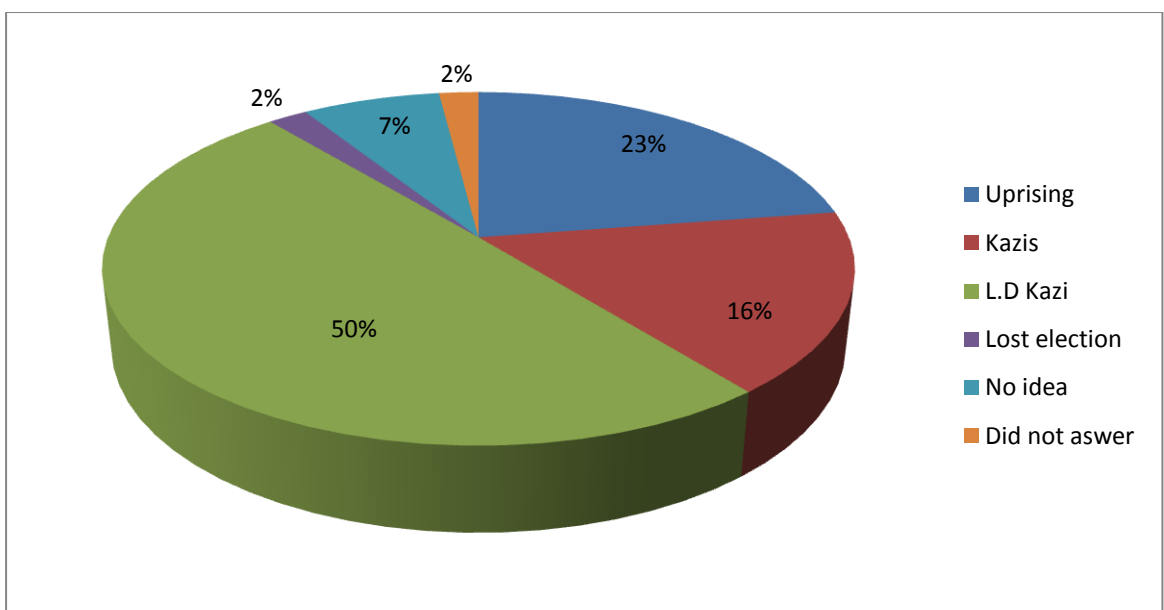
Source: Field Work

From the figure above it can be said that 23 % of the former subjects of the king who were questioned said a popular uprising against the king was the sole reason for the institution of Chogyal being abolished. 16 % said the Kazis were responsible, 50% held L.D.Kazi responsible, 2% said he had lost the election, 7 %said they had no idea, 2%did not answer the question. A few respondents were of the view that the Chogyal had voluntarily stepped down, while some cited Mrs Indira Gandhi as the reason,a few felt that none of the options were correct.

Table No 5.5 Factors that led to Sikkim's Unification with India

Factors	Number	Percentage
The Chogyal wanted to be a Titular Ruler	1	0.5
L.D. Kazi wanted to be the next Chogyal	123	61.5
People Voted for merger	12	6
Voted against Chogyal	24	12
None of these above	6	3
Others	14	7
No idea	20	10
Total	200	100

Source: Field Work

61.5% opined that Sikkim became a part of India because L.D.Kazi wanted to be the next Chogyal, 12% said people had voted against the institution of Chogyal, 10% said they had no idea, 3% said the options provided were not correct, 6% said people voted for merger with India. While many chose not to answer this question, 0.5% said Chogyal chose to be a titular ruler, supplementing their responses were different inputs. Some who felt vote was a factor, said he had lost elections, while

those who held L.D.Kazi responsible opined thatthe Indian government had made L.D.Kazi the CM, while still a few others said L.D.Kazi consulted the government of India. A few also felt people did not want the Chogyal, which led to Indian involvement, while a few said people were compelled to surrender to India. Some mentioned the Gyalmo as a reason, stating that the Chogyal himself was powerless. Some named individuals like Khatiwada[104].The reaction to the question invited many responses verbally but on paper they refused to put down the same views. Some alleged that Kazi had sold Sikkim and Bhandari[105] had helped him. A few who refused to answer mentioned that they had been told to choose between a red and a white ballot box to cast their votes. They added that they were told it was a choice they had to make between L.D.Kazi and the Chogyal, not India and Independent Sikkim. They added people were not aware what they were voting for. The answers reflected a potpourri of information and misinformation. The answers provided by the target group seem more confusing when seen in the backdrop of claims by authors.[106]Without offering any options to citizens below 50 years, similar questionswere put up to them. They were asked why the institution of Chogyal /Monarchy had been done away with in Sikkim.

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[104] Khatiwada was a politician who played a prominent role in politics of the transitional era

[105] Bhandari was often very critical of the L.D.Kazi-led Sikkim assembly and had termed them 'desh bechewa' or sellers of the country.He contested in 1979 on an anti-merger stance and won the election. He was being clubbed together with L.D.Kazi, his opponent, by a few people. It was in some sense a reflection of a lack of awareness of some sections of populace on political matters in Sikkim.

[106]Upadhyay held that period of Monarchy under Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal saw the peaking of the democratic aspirations of people (Upadhyay,pg. 77). This could also be interpreted to mean that political awareness amongst the populace was at an all-time high. Sapna Gurung while writing on the subject seems to suggest that 'Sikkim had merged with India for democracy' but then again,she says that the necessary predisposition for democracy was lacking and democracy had come into Sikkim a bit too early (pp 7-8).

Figure No 5.12 Reasons for Abolition of Institution of Chogyal

(Age Group Below 50 Yrs)
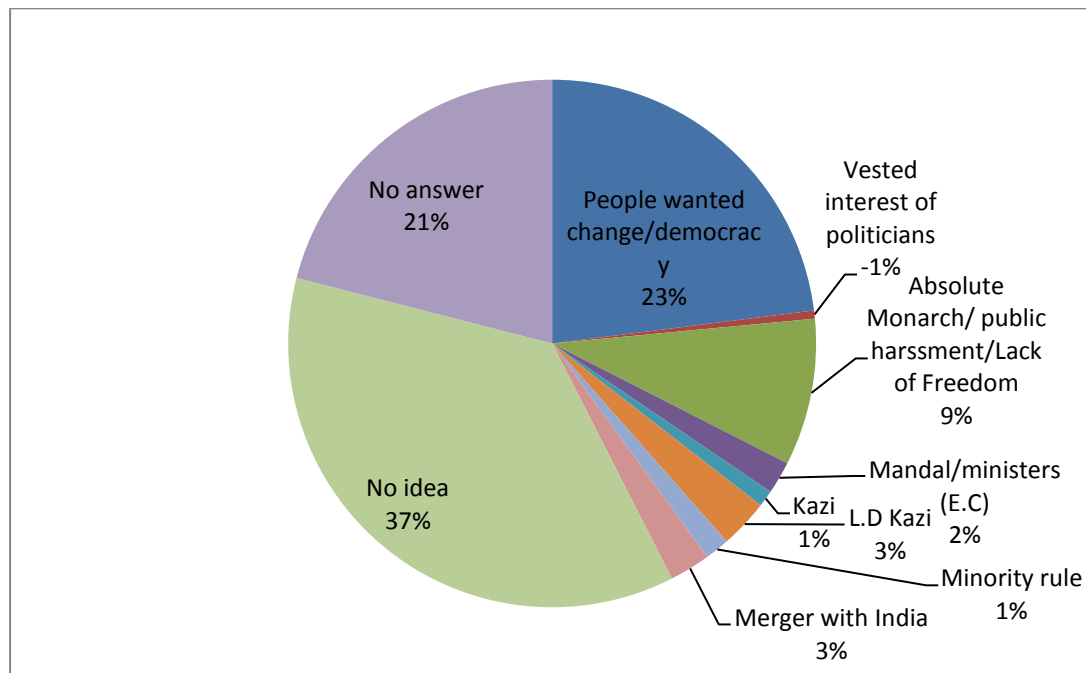
Source: Field Work

In sharp contrast to COI/Sikkim Subjects of the former ruler who had pointed out individuals such as L.D.Kazi responsible for Sikkim's union with India, 23% of the younger citizens seemed to suggest that a desire for change and democracy was the main reason for the end of the institution of the Chogyal. Just 3% among this age group seem to be of the view that L.D.Kazi was responsible and some suggested that he was the choice of the people. A majority of the respondents at 37% said they had no idea and 21% did not answer, while 9% seemed to hold the Chogyal and his arbitrary rule as the reason.2% seem to suggest the king was good but it was the Executive Councillors who served as his ministers and the Mandals who were to blame, while 1% blamed the vested interest of the politicians, and the Kazis as a group and minority rule as responsible for abolition of Monarchy.3% said it was the

merger that led to abolition of the institution. It is apparent that the younger citizens had very little idea or interest in Monarchy as an institution.

There is a marked difference in their response from those of 'Transitional-generation' subjects of the former ruler. One could speculate that socialisation through available literature on the union of Sikkim with India may have helped many of the younger lot perceive the system as it existed in a particular light. A majority of the respondents, as many as 58%, avoided answering the question citing ignorance or leaving the questionnaire blank. This could be interpreted as a genuine lack of knowledge and interest or an attempt to avoid controversial questions. The senior Citizens of the 'Transitional generaion' had responded to a series of questions, differently from the younger lot. 50% among the seniors were of the view that the Chogyal is no longer the king because of L.D.Kazi, while 61.5% are of the opinion that Sikkim became a part of India because L.D.Kazi wanted to become the next Chogyal. The seniors chose to name some individuals, which goes to portray the role of certain political leaders in Sikkim's union with India.

However, despite the refusal of a high percentage to answer questions related to Sikkim's union with India, one way or the other answers seem to suggest in both 50-plus as well as the younger target respondents that governance during Monarchy was also a factor. Roughly 18 % seem to suggest that vote for change and vote against Chogyal was the reason for Sikkim's union with India while amongst the younger lot 36% rate vote for change, minority rule, public harassment (perceived excesses of those in power like the councillors, Kazis and Mandals) as the reason for Sikkim's union with India. The younger respondents had no role in politics of 'merger' and their response is based on secondary information gleaned from books and hearsay. The purpose for asking this question to the target group is to highlight

the difference in responses between the two groups of respondents. The major point of difference is the very low percentage rating for the role of leaders in the act of the union amongst those respondents below 50.This points to the impact of socialisation as the younger lot were more inclined to think of the union with India as an act purely of people's move while the more senior group mentioned the role of individuals and leaders.

5.4 From Monarchy to Democracy: Perceptions

Writers like Kingsbury perceived Political Development in terms of a transition from an older form of government towards a more democratic participatory government. The people's assessment of Monarchy vis a vis democracy and governments under L.D.Kazi and Nar Bahadur Bhandari has been undertaken for the purpose of understanding Political Development in Sikkim. There are certain indicators of Political Development e.g. political awareness, legitimacy of governments, freedom, role of media, transparency in governance, accountability of governments, division of power/functional specialisation. Thus, the assessment in the increase in the level of participation from monarchy to democracy has been taken care of in the following section through political awareness

.Political awareness simply put is a level of awareness or understanding of politics, which determines the orientation of citizens towards policy matters and affects their engagement with all things political. Political awareness enables people to decide the level of their participation in the affairs of the state and in other levels of political activity. Comprehension, a level of cognitive understanding of politics, the extent of involvement in matters political and an awareness of one's rights, duties and political role as a citizen all reflect the extent of political awareness.

214

Figure No 5.13 Political Awareness from Monarchy to Democracy
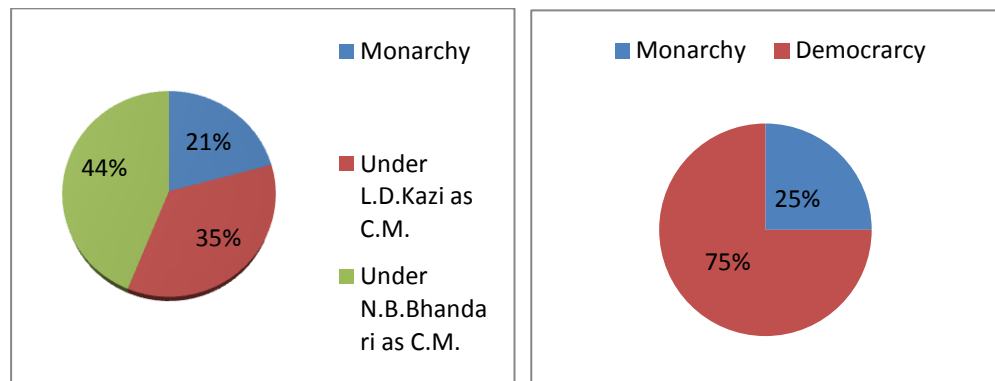
Source: Field Work

In comparison to L.D.Kazi and Bhandari's tenures, political awareness during Monarchy is rated at 21% while progressively 35% is the rating of Sikkim under L.D.Kazi and 44% under Bhandari. Political awareness during Monarchy, according to the respondents, was rated at 25% in comparison to Democracy[107] at 75%, a jump of 50%. The comparative assessment of political awareness during the three governments, e.g. Monarchy and the other two elected governments, one under Chief Ministership of L.D.Kazi that covered one term, and the second under Bhandari spanning a period of approximately 14-odd years, seems to indicate that with each successive government there was an increase in political awareness.

A reflection of awareness can be gleaned from the narratives of elders of the yearsimmediately following Sikkim's union with India. If some felt political awareness was minimal during the Monarchy and the tenure of L.D.Kazi as the chief minister, others recalled confusion that marked Kazi's tenure as chief minister as many rumours were afloat leaving the citizens fearful and distrustful. Elders of the village narrate how one old office-bearer at the village level with scant knowledge of

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[107] Democracy indicates all elected governments after 1975 till date in Sikkim.

215

Hindi went about shouting "from today we have become a 'doosra'" immediately after Sikkim's union with India, probably not really aware of what he was saying. Some of the respondents recalled how people often sloganeered without understanding what they were saying. In the North, it was commonplace to hear people shout 'mulabad' for 'murdabad' and 'doroos' for 'jooloos'(a Nepali word denoting a procession). It just spoke of pandemonium and confusion that marked the period of transition. One old man from West Sikkim said, 'We went where people told us to go,' implying confusion that prevailed during the tenure of L.D.Kazi. People were of the view that there is more awareness individually now than ever before. Political awareness in the true sense of the word came with Bhandari, according to a respondent, who added that it was accompanied by influx.[108]

5.4.1 Legitimacy of Governments

Legitimacy refers to a popular acceptance of state or government authority as right and proper. Legitimacy is in a sense an endorsement of the citizens and subjects (as the case may be) of the lawfulness of a regime, a belief in the rightfulness of governing authorities. The element of consent to be governed by the authorities and the state's right to hold power is, therefore, an important aspect of legitimacy.

Table No 5.6 Legitimacy of Governments (in percentage)[109]

District	Monarchy	Democracy	Kazi Government	Bhandari Government
North	37.6	68.8	36.4	55
East	30.6	42.8	28.8	29.8

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[108] J.R.Subba also states that the problem of migration and influx was a great negative of the Bhandari government. He writes,'Inter-state migrationto Sikkim and migration of Nepalese Nationals from Nepal accelerated (as there is no passport system to check) ....' (Subba, reprint 2018:70)

[109] District-wise, the respondents marked each form of government on a scale of 10,the cumulative scores are provided district wise in percentage.

West	23.8	65.2	43.4	39
South	30.8	42.8	28.8	29.8
Cumulative Total	30.7	54.9	34.3	38.4

Source: Field work

Note: The rating has been conducted out of 100 from each district.

The former subjects (63%) of the King who had earlier rated Monarchy as a legitimate government in pre-1975 Sikkim, gave an interesting response when asked to rate legitimacy of Monarchy in comparison to the democratic governments under the first two chief ministers. Each respondent was asked to rate the legitimacy of each government on a scale of 1-10. The district-wise responses were interesting. Democracy as a form of government was rated as more legitimate than Monarchy in all four districts. However, a close look at the data reveals something peculiar. Democracy as a system has found acceptance and is the preferred form of government in the present times, however, three districts North, East and South out of the four still consider the government under the monarch to be more legitimate than the first democratic government under L.D.Kazi. Consolidated ratings from four districts for Kazi's government (34.3%) stands higher than Monarchy (30.7%) in terms of legitimacy. West Sikkim rates Kazi's government very high in terms of legitimacy (43.4%), it rates it higher than the government under Bhandari at 39% in terms of legitimacy in the district. From the data it is evident that democratic governments are perceived to be more legitimate than Monarchy and with each passing government, legitimacy seems to be rated higher.

One can't really be sure how the two forms of government would have been rated at the threshold of Sikkim's union with India but after having experienced

democracy for some 44-odd years, most former Sikkim subjects/COI holders perceive it as a legitimate form of government.

The legitimacy of governments under Bhandari is rated higher than Kazi's government in the three districts, North, South and East, while respondents of West Sikkim rate the government under Kazi higher. Some respondents claimed that the 'flames of democracy' were ignited in western Sikkim, as they made a reference to the 1973 agitation. Some of the respondents from West Sikkim said that Kazi government was good because it gave employment to people and positive changes occurred during his tenure. According to them, life under Monarchy was difficult because of their dependence solely on agriculture and if crops failed then they had to take a loan. Scarcity in terms of finances played havoc with their lives. It was always difficult to pay back the loans and so their land was auctioned after three warnings and those who had money would buy off the land. They felt the Kazi government had benefited the poor. It is therefore understandable that the Kazi government's regime is rated high in terms of legitimacy by people in western Sikkim. As for the government under Bhandari, some of them associated it with increased awareness and influx. As one man put it, 'more people, more talk... but people under Monarchy and Kazi were simple'.

5.4.2 Freedom

Freedom is a condition of being able to choose, act and use one's judgement to arrive at decisions. It entails a moral obligation to respect a similar right of others in society. It touches three main aspects of life, e.g. economic, political and personal freedom. If economic freedom provides the individuals the right to earn a livelihood, earn property, possess and utilise it,political freedom allows one to exercise one's

political right, participate in the political process. Personal freedom encompasses not only rights of expression but of worship, association and other aspects of civil liberties.

Sikkim's Union with India brought the former Himalayan kingdom under the Indian Constitution where in the third chapter the fundamental rights are provided. Right to freedom is one such right that has been given to its citizens.

Table No 5.7 Freedom (in percent)

Factors	North	East	West	South	Cumulative %
Monarchy	24.6%	29.2%	20%	17.4%	22.8%
Democracy	85%	51%	67.2%	48%	62.75%
Under Kazi	40%	36.4%	38.8%	20.4%	33.9%
Under Bhandari	59.8%	31%	42.8%	27.8%	40.35%

Source: Field Work

Note: The rating has been conducted out of 100 from each district.

The table above shows that the views of respondents from East Sikkim seem to indicate that they enjoyed more freedom under Kazi (36.4%) than Bhandari (31%) as Chief Minister. One old politician had two things to say about freedom. He said Bhandari was a dictator, however goons enjoyed a great amount of freedom during Kazi's term in office. He narrated an incident when as an active pro-democracy youth in the early 1970s he met a landed gentry stripped to his underclothes, sitting in a small tea shop in the early hours in Singtam. He had been targeted for being a royalist and had been stripped and made to cook food for the 'Janata'. He had pointedly asked the young politician, 'Is this what democracy is all about?'

The respondents reflected the shift from a Monarchy to a democracy by rating freedom much higher in a democracy. Progressively, freedom is rated higher in both democratic governments in comparison to Monarchy. There is no question that freedom was constitutionally provided, however, some were of the view that freedom such as those of dissent and expression were rarely exercised by the people in spheres of politics. Fear factor and political consequences such as victimisation and job prospect of family members were stated as reasons.

Sikkim's union with India led to the laying down of developmental projects in the fields of agriculture, veterinary, education, health, roads, water supply, etc for which various grants were provided from the Centre. It opened up employment avenues that led to lesser dependency on land. This along with the procedures of democracy and involvement of representatives from different backgrounds in governance may have influenced to a degree the rating of freedom higher in successive governments.

5.4.3 Role of Media

Like freedom, another indicator of a politically developed society is a thriving media. The health of a polity can often be accessed through the contribution and the role of media in society. The existence of media houses: fair and unbiased reporting, availability of newspapers, news channels, equal access to the same are indicators of a positive role of media in a polity. The respondents were asked to rate the role of media in Sikkim. Some responded and rated a miniscule role of media during monarchical period, while most said it was non-existent. One person said media that existed was few but fair. From the responses one finds that media progressively developed with the passage of time and for most parts the media was dominated by

the publication of the Sikkim Herald through which the government conveyed its messages to the public.

Table No. 5.8 Role of Media (in percent)

Form of Government	North	East	West	South	Cumulative %
Monarchy	12%	14.8%	18.8%	10.8%	14.1%
Democracy	85.4%	57.6%	66.6%	57.2%	66.7%
Under Kazi	30%	26.6%	37.4%	13.6%	26.9%
Under Bhandari	56.4%	28%	42%	24%	37.6%

Source: Field work

Note: The rating has been conducted out of 100 from each district.

From the answers provided it is evident that there was a negligent role of the media during Monarchy.One person said that media began playing a greater role during Bhandari's regime.

Lack of media, however, did not always work in the interest of the government in power. Misinformation and rumours took on a life of their own and with not much mechanism to counter it, people often held misinformation and half-truth as truth, often affecting their political behaviour. A case in point, one man in North Sikkim said, "L.D.Kazi had married a foreigner and was sent in exile from Sikkim for doing so and was forced to stay in Kalimpong." He added, "When the

Chogyal married the sister of Mrs Kazi, L.D.Kazi consulted Delhi and made plans to remove the King from Sikkim."[110]

A similar story was narrated by a politician belonging to a majority community who said that in order to get more participation of people against the ruler, a rumour was floated saying that the powers that be were making plans to remove the Nepali community from Sikkim. He stated effort was made to create a feeling of insecurity among the community. Such instances go to show that absence of media proved to be a handicap for a monarchical government. This was equally true in case of excesses of state agents which rarely reached the king's ear, feedback mechanism was often routed through sycophants and people in power at different levels. Besides the Herald, the village/bloc level officers like Mandals and palace household staff informed the king of happenings in remote corners of the kingdom. Sometimes these stories were tinged by the bearer's interpretation of events.The Chogyal though well-loved was perceived as a far-off figure, inaccessible to the populace at large. The view of the respondents find resonance with what Rustomji wrote of the Chogyal after his marriage in the 1960s. He writes how the Chogyal's time was mostly spent entertaining foreign guests and as a result he found less time for affairs of the state (Rustomji, 1987:69). It may also be interpreted that his focus to get Sikkim an international recognition may have resulted in the Chogyal being perceived thus.

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[110] The Gyalmo or the queen, Hope Cooke, was an American, while L.D.Kazi's wife Kazini Elisa Maria was a Belgian and in no way related. I quote a villager from Northern Sikkim to highlight the lack of awareness and the role rumours play in parochial societies.

5.4.4 Transparency

Transparency is an important aspect of good governance as it indicates an awareness of citizens and subjects of the functioning of government, the policies made and implemented. The level of transparency is affected by the role and nature of media and it has a bearing on the accountability of governments.

Figure No 5.14 Transparency in Governance/Decision Making
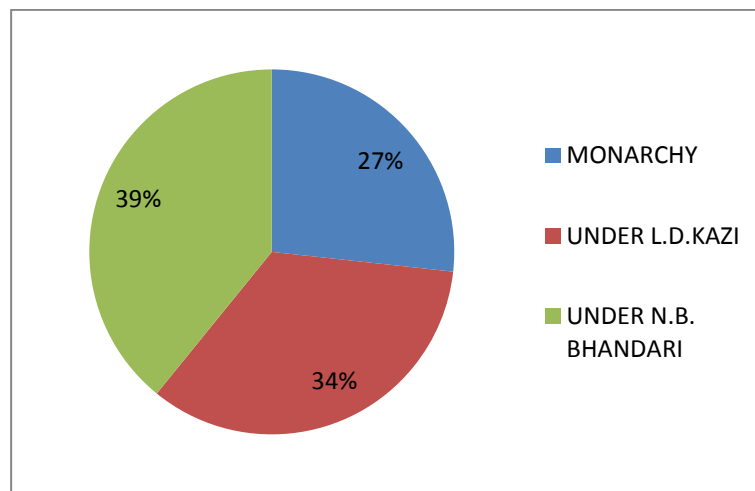
Form of Government	Transparency rating of each out of 100
Monarchy	27
Democracy	62

Source:Field Work

The pie diagram above indicates the transparency in decision-making and governance in Sikkim through the years of transition from Monarchy to democracy. Transparency in governance and decision-making during Monarchy was given a 27%, while democracy was rated more transparent with 62%, indicating a rise of 35%.

223

However, the rise in transparency in decision-making and governance as assessed by the target group was a 34% during L.D.Kazi's tenure as chief minister and 39% during Bhandari's time. It was indicated that there was a 12 % rise in transparency from Monarchy to Bhandari and 7%rise from Monarchy to Kazi and 5% rise from Kazi to Bhandari. The general assessment of the target group at large indicates a growth of transparency in governance and decision-making. However, district wise ratings of transparency differ. The east district (Kazi-36.4%,Bhandari-35.8%),and west Sikkim (Kazi-47%, Bhandari-43.8%) have rated Kazi's tenure as chief minister more transparent than Bhandari's while North (Kazi-34.2%,Bhandari-49.2%)and South (Kazi- 22.6%,Bhandari-32%) haveassessedBhandari's tenure as more transparent in governance/decision-making.

Individually people did give their reasons for the ratings they made. Monarchy's rating was according to some low in regard to transparency because people felt decisions were taken for them and they had limited or no role in matters of the state. The king, the councillors and bureaucracy, some alleged, made most decisions that people got to know either through the Herald (if educated) or through the Mandals at the village level. Some people felt that the king was unaware of atrocities meted out in his name. As for the 'democratic' rule of L.D. Kazi, a couple of the educated people, including retired bureaucrats and those involved in politics, said the government was not very transparent.They said that L.D.Kazi had not built a rapport with local bureaucrats and he relied on civil servants from India like Mr Sanyal, Mr K.M.Lal, Mr Manavalam etc. One person said K.M.Lal was a de-facto CM as he was the PS to the CM and Kazi sought his advice on almost everything. He added that ignorance to a great degree prevailed among the masses and leaders alike. It was only when Bhandari came to power that he was able to build a rapport with

local bureaucrats. Some of the 'local'[111] bureaucrats advised him and told him that as Chief Minister he was a democratically elected leader, therefore was not required to kow-tow to the bureaucrats. However, some who contended that Kazi's regime was more transparent than Bhandari's, alleged that Bhandari functioned like a dictator and therefore transparency was lacking. On the whole, according to the ratings, government under each successive leader was more transparent than the former.

5.4.5 Accountability of Government

Accountability of government is considered a key component in assessing Political Development. Accountability of government can be understood in terms of the government being answerable to the people they govern and their ability to put the interest of the ruled above their own. Fukuyama mentions procedural accountability and substantive accountability, the former being free and fair elections and the latter being a government that was responsive to the needs of the people. He had added that a responsive ruler without limitations to his power could not be predicted to be accountable all the time, while the trappings of procedural accountability did not guarantee an accountable government either.

Sikkim in its pre-merger days had flirted with representative institutions from the early 1950s, but the procedural aspects of democracy were laid down after its union with India. An accountable government would be that which acknowledged its responsibility to be answerable for the policies formulated, decisions taken and the activities it was involved in. Periodic elections are one way of assessing the accountability of governments.

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[111] 'local' meaning Sikkimese.

Figure No 5.15 Accountability of Government
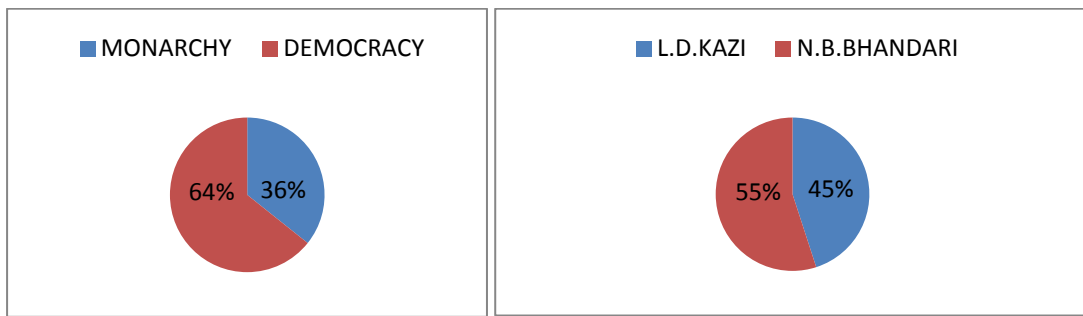
Source: Field Work

The respondents rated accountability of government to be higher in a democracy at 64% in comparison to Monarchy which they rated at a 36%. Meanwhile, they rated the Kazi government at 45% in comparison to Bhandari government, which was rated at a 55%.People do perceive Bhandari's government as more accountable than the government under Kazi orthe Monarchy. The low levels of participation in matters of politics during Monarchy, apathetic attitude towards policy matters and lack of involvement in governance of the common masses is reflected in their low ratings of accountability during Monarchy. However, a few people opined that the bureaucracy was more efficient under the Chogyal as it was answerable to him.

With the trappings of procedural democracy being put in place in the final years of 1970s, the commitment of bureaucrats towards their work, according to some, was affected. However, the periodic elections, greater involvement of people in choosing their government, a more expanded representation of populace from different strata in decision-making, according to them, made the democratic governments more accountable and representative. The increased level of awareness during Bhandari's chief ministership, it was felt, contributed to an increase in accountability of governments.

226

5.4.6 Division of Power/Functional Specialisation

Functional specialisation speaks for division of power and responsibility. It therefore denotes the lack of centralisation of power. It to a degree spells involvement of more than one individual in governance and thus the fount of power does not lie with one person. According to the feedback, functional specialisation existed during Monarchy but to a lesser degree in comparison to democracy and both democratic governments. Despite an individual or two saying that it was introduced for namesake during Chogyal Thondup Namgyal's reign, there is no denying that the majority concede that most powers were exercised by the state agents rather than the king.

Table No. 5.9 Division of power /Functional Specialisation (in percent)

GOVERNMENT	NORTH	EAST	WEST	SOUTH	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE
MONARCHY	34	26.8	23.4	32.2	29.1
DEMOCRACY	67.8	39.2	62.8	42.4	53
KAZI	40.6	36.4	44	30.6	37.9
BHANDARI	48.8	35.6	37.8	36.6	39.7

Source: Field Work

Note: The rating has been conducted out of 100 from each district.

From the table above and below one can see that functional specialisation has been on the rise with each passing government under study. A very high rating is given to functional specialisation in a democracy. The rating is much higher for a democracy than two democratic governments under study. This indicates that division of power is more pronounced in later governments, especially the governments after 1975 as well as those after 1994.

Transparency, legitimacy, accountability, functional specialisation all contribute to good governance. However, within societies, despite good institutions, there exists some shortcomings that act as impediments to good governance. Some of the negatives that exist in society are corruption, coteries around rulers, and certain factors like fear factor that control political behaviour of individuals in society. In order to assess the transition from Monarchy to Democracy it becomes necessary to understand the respondents' assessment of the role of coterie, corruption and fear factor during this period.

5.4.7 Role of coterie

Coteries are small group of people who constitute the inner circle of rulers, friends and advisers who exercise considerable influence on policy matters and decisions of leaders. They use their proximity to the powers that be to influence leaders to pursue their ends. Coterie may belong to the members of government service, or they may be people from outside. They also contribute to framing and implementation of policies.

Table No 5.10 Coterie (in percent)

GOVERNMENT	NORTH	EAST	WEST	SOUTH	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE
MONARCHY	45.6	36	30.6	51	40.8%
DEMOCRACY	56.6	40	55.8	36.6	47.25%
KAZI	47.4	43.8	43.8	46.8	45.45%
BHANDARI	51.4	41.4	41.2	48.2	45.5%

Source: Field Work

Note: The rating has been conducted out of 100 from each district.

228

Figure No 5.16 Comparison Coterie
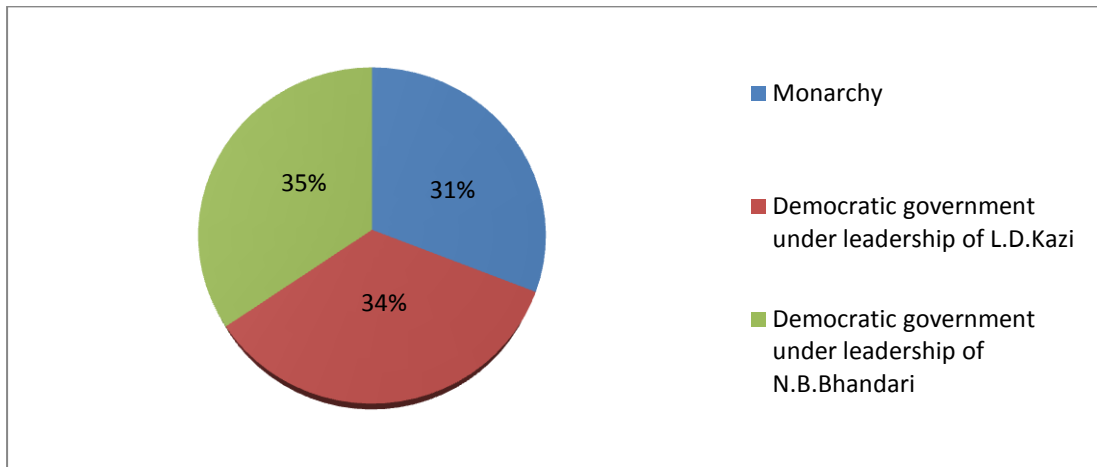
Source: Field Work

The target group from North Sikkim rated role of coterie at 45.6% under Monarchy, while on an average in democracy they rated an increase of exactly 11%. According to them, they rated the role and involvement of a coterie to 56.6% in a Democracy. Kazi government, according to them, saw approximately 1%increase in the role of such groups as it was rated at 47.4%, while Bhandari government was 51.4%. According to the data procured, it becomes apparent that people perceive the role of coterie is on the increase. Lower rating is given for coterie under Monarchy than Democracy.

The target group from East district rated the involvement of coterie to 36% during Monarchy, 40% in a democratic government on an average. Interestingly, the first democratic government is rated at 43.8%, while Bhandari's government is rated at 41.4%. Though West Sikkim seems to put the role of coterie in a Monarchy at 30.6%, democracy is rated at 55.8%. Like the people in the East, the West rates the role of coterie under L.D.Kazi at 43.8%, while Bhandari at 41.2%. The target group from South Sikkim rates involvement of such groups high under Monarchy at 51%.

229

They rate democracy on an average at 36.6%, while Kazi government is rated at 46.8% and Bhandari is at 48.2%. This indicates that the role of coterie has reduced after 1975 as well as after 1994.

The data from East group seems to suggest that the coterie and their role was at its peak during L.D.Kazi's tenure as CM and the succeeding democratic governments have been less influenced by an inner circle of sorts. The role of coterie was much less during the Monarchy in comparison to Sikkim's democratic governments. The target group from West seems to portray a slightly different picture. Though they rate monarchy lowest in terms the role of coterie they rate it very high in terms of democracy at 55.8%.Their assessment of Kazi's tenure seems to match that of the East district at 43.8%. While Bhandari's government was rated lower at 41.2%, their rating in terms of democracy as a whole seems to suggest that coterie has a very important role in the democratic governments that succeeded Bhandari.

The South district target group seems to rate the role of coterie highest during Monarchy at 51%, the ratings they gave for democracy was low at 36.6%.They rated Kazi's regime at 46.8%, while Bhandari's tenure as CM was higher at 48.2%.The data seems to suggest that the later democratic governments after Nar Bahadur Bhandari's tenure had less role of the coterie, therefore dropping the average for democracy to 36.6%.

However, on the whole, from Monarchy to democracy, the role of coterie was perceived to have increased. While comparing the democratic governments under the leadership of L.D.Kazi and N.B.Bhandari it was found that there was almost the same level of involvement of coterie.People mentioned the IAS officers/deputationists like

Manavalam, K.M.Lal and Sanyal as a very influential coterie around Chief Minister L.D.Kazi. One former bureaucrat-cum-politician suggested that K.M.Lal worked like a de-facto Chief Minister on whom the CM relied for all decisions. He pointed out that the first Chief Minister though a good man had not been able to build a rapport with the local bureaucrats. A reference to the role of such a group in Kazi's tenure is made by Gurung in his book where he states that Kazi relied on the advice of B.B.Lal[112]and other officers posted in Sikkim on deputation (Gurung, 2011:255). The coterie or the group that was mentioned to be very influential during Chief Minister N.B.Bhandari's time was the 'Pradhan lobby'[113] as some put it. A mention was made of P.K. Pradhan,[114] a very powerful bureaucrat and an influential figure of the time. A former bureaucrat suggested that N.B. Bhandari had a good rapport with the local bureaucrats and said that they had advised him and told him that the position of a Chief Minister as a representative of the people was far above that of an unelected bureaucracy in a democracy. The bureaucrat felt that this helped Bhandari assert his place in his office and freed him from the overarching influence of bureaucrats the first Chief Minister had to bear. The pie chart above shows the role of coterie under Monarchy (under its last Namgyal ruler P.T.Namgyal), the first Chief Minister L.D. Kazi and Chief Minister N.B.Bhandari.

5.4.8 Corruption

Monarchy, according to some of the former subjects of the king, was riddled with financial problems. People were simple, needs were simple, more so because

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[112] B.B.Lall was the first Governor of Sikkim

[113] 'Pradhan Guthi' or the Pradhan lobby refers to a social grouping of people belonging to the Pradhan community who comprise a section of Sikkimese of Nepali origin.

[114] A Sikkimese bureaucrat who served as the chief secretary of Sikkim and was considered a close ally and friend of the chief minister. They incidentally belonged to the same village of Soreng.

people earned their living the hard way. Corruption was not so much of a problem during Monarchy.

Figure No. 5.17 Corruption
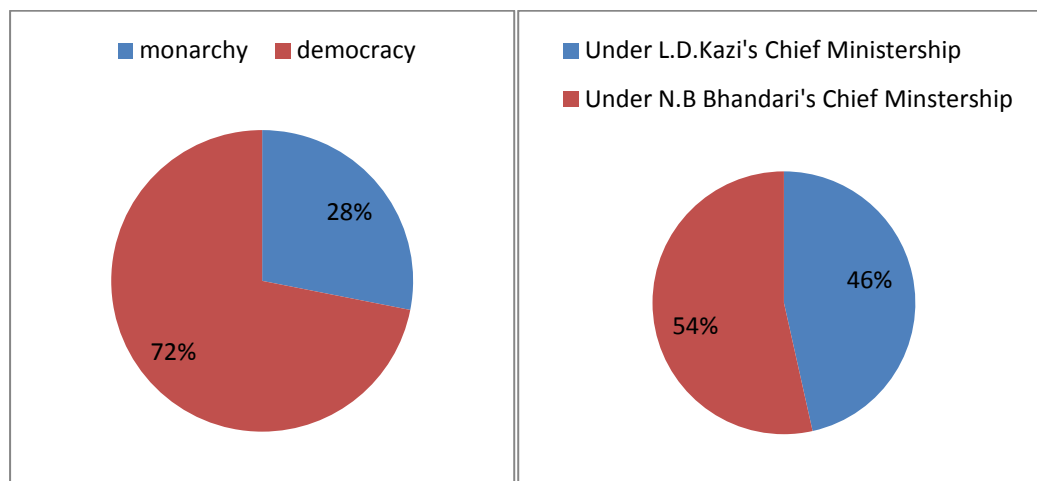
Source: Field Work

People perceived a democratic government to be more corrupt than a Monarchy. A retired bureaucrat said that corruption in the form of finance at that time was rare. There was less money and people were required to perform their duty honestly as the bureaucrats were answerable to the Darbar and you could be pulled up for slight negligence of your duty. Accordingly, even leave sanctioned to officers were public knowledge as most of it was published in different gazettes so that people were aware and not harassed. Files could not be left pending and one was often required to burn the midnight oil in order to ensure that red-tapism was avoided. She further added one could easily count on your fingers the people who were corrupt during Monarchy, and in a democratic set-up quite the reverse was true. Very few people abstained from corruption in a democracy according to her. And in a manner of speaking, one could count the non-corrupt people on one's fingers. As for the democratic governments under L.D.Kazi and Bhandari, the latter was perceived to be more corrupt at 54% compared to L.D.Kazi's government at 46%.People rated

232

Monarchy the least corrupt when compared with the democratic governmentsof L.D.Kazi and Bhandari. An article in the Economic and Political Weekly dated 10th March 1979 alludes that there were 32 Chogyals in place of one, while another booklet alleges that Kazi was unable to spend the money allotted for Sikkim for development purposes and so sent back the money to the Centre.[115]

The conflicting accounts seem to suggest a certain level of corruption did exist but perhaps not at the scale of the governments that followed L.D.Kazi's single term in office.

5.4.9 Fear Factor

Fear factor in Sikkim, fear of victimisation appears to be a key determinant of what one does and does not do or say in political sphere. An indication can be had from the table below.

Figure No 5.18 Fear Factor in Political and Public Sphere
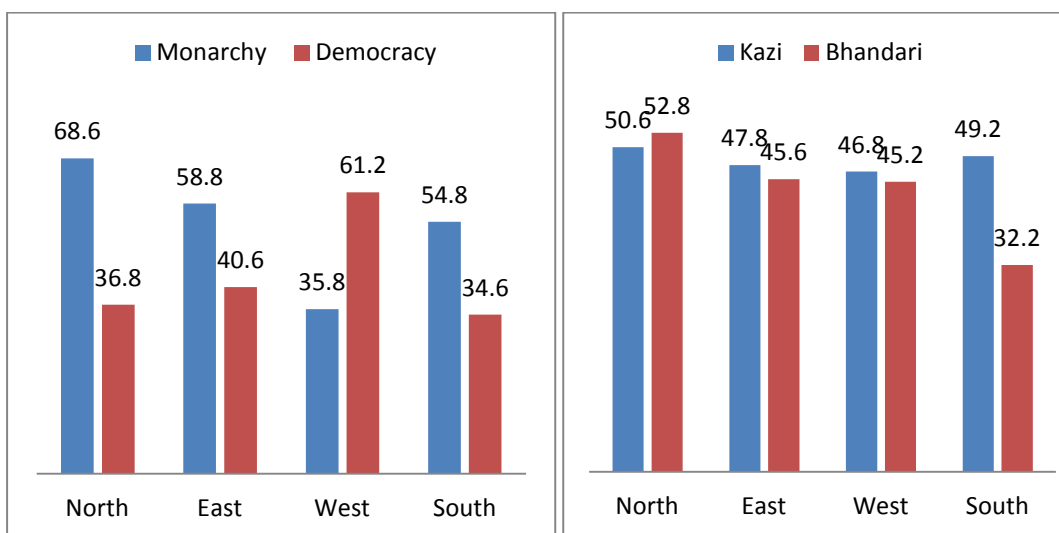
Source: Field Work

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[115] In his Booklet 'Ek Vyakti, Anek Vyaktitva'(translated) Gopal Gowli alleges that L.D.Kazi was unable to spend the money allotted by the Centre for Sikkim and sent some sum back.Pg. 37.

From the response of the target group, fear factor in political/public sphere was the highest during Monarchy with 54.5% and on an average lower in democracy at 43.3%. However, Fear factor in democratic governments under the leadership of L.D. Kazi at 48.6% and N.B. Bhandari at 43.9% is higher than the ratings given to democracy per say. However, district-wise variations exist. Fear factor is rated highest in North district at 68.6% during Monarchy while the West district at 35.8% in comparison stands lowest. Fear factor in democracy on an average is high in West district in comparison to the other districts. North district rates fear factor under Bhandari government higher than under Kazi government, while in the East and South and West, fear factor under Kazi government is rated higher.

One politician from West district referred to Bhandari as a dictator, and he added that he had instilled a lot of fear especially amongst the plainsmen. He also said that during Kazi's regime a lot of freedom was there for hooligans and after having lived in a Monarchy, people were fearful of such elements. While a senior citizen living in Gangtok said that during Kazi's regime fear factor was high because no one seemed to have a clue as to what was happening.

5.5 Democracy in Sikkim: Perceptions

By the 36th Amendment Act Sikkim became a part of the Indian Union in 1975. By an amendment Article 371F was inserted, which among other things stated that the unicameral legislature of 1974 would continue to operate while the article provided for a 30-member legislative assembly to be created, and it provided for not only reservation of seats for different communities but also mentioned delimitation of constituency for the purpose. In addition, a representative was to be sent to the central Parliament. This in some measure laid down the procedural foundation of a democratic form of government in Sikkim.

In order to streamline the electoral system with that of India, the representation of people's Act 1950 was amended in 1976 to accommodate peculiarities that had been a feature of Sikkim prior to its union with India. Insertion of Section 25 validated the Sangha seat (Gurung, 2011:229). Through presidential ordinance called Representation of People Ordinance, 1979, 32-member assembly with 12 seats reserved for Bhutia/Lepcha community, 2 for scheduled castes,1 for Sangha and 17seats for general category was provided, thereby introducingcertain changes in the Representation of People's Act. The passing of the Representation of People's Amendment Bill by Parliament,1980, and with insertion of 7(1A) in the Representation of People's Act,1950, and sub-section 2 in Section 5A of the Representation of People's Act,1951, regulations for the Sikkim legislative Assembly was laid down (Gurung,2011:231).

With these amendments, the foundations for choosing an elected government had been put in place. Sikkim has for the past four decades been ruled by governments elected by the people. It became imperative to ask them if they thought it was the right way to choose a government. Citizens above the age of 50 felt election was the way to choose a government.

Table No 5.11 Respondents' Perception about Election/Vote

Formation of government through election / Approval rating	Yes	No	Sometimes	Not sure	No answer
Above 50 yrs	94.5	0	0	2.5	3
Below 50 yrs	94	4	0	0	2

Do you vote?				
Above 50 yrs	97.5	2	0	0	0.5
Below 50 yrs	86.5	2.5	08	0	3
Do you think vote makes a difference?					
Above 50 yrs	95.5	1.5	0	0.5	2.5
Below 50 yrs	89.5	2.5	0	6.5	1.5
Does anyone influence whom you vote for?					
Above 50 yrs	50	38.5	6	0	5
Below 50 yrs	35.5	34.5	23.5	0	6.5

Source: Field Work

Having lived under a Monarchy in their earlier years, 94.5% respondents felt that elections were the right way to choose a government. One could presume that the democratic procedures and the institutions had to an extent affected citizens' perception of elections being the right way of choosing governments.[116] A miniscule 2.5% among them were not sure if elections were the right way to choose governments, while 3% did not answer. In a similar vein, 94% of the respondents below 50 years said elections were the preferred method to choose a government, however, 4% thought it was not the right way of choosing a government. Some felt an exam or some other method to test the suitability of candidates occupying political posts would be a good option, while a few were of the opinion that democracy often

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[116] Woshinsky writes, 'institutions structure our behaviour in countless ways' (Woshinsky:185).

resulted in emergence of 'monocracy', which they described as a rule of one powerful individual. They added a lottery system would serve better. This was in some sense a projection of disenchantment with the practice of 'democracy' in Sikkim from a miniscule vocal section.2% however did not answer.

Since most people were in agreement that election was the way to choose a government, they were asked if they voted. 97.5% of people above the age of 50 years said they always exercise their right to vote. 86.5%of those below 50 years of age said theyalways voted. The younger group had 8% admitting that they cast their vote once in a while;and 2.5% said they did not.3% chose to ignore the question. The people from 50-plus group said they voted regularly, yet one woman clarified that she could not vote if the election dates fell during the period she was undergoing meditation in the caves. From the younger lot, disenchantment with the system was one reason cited for being reluctant voters. More citizens below 50 (3%) refused to answer the question than the older lot (0.5%). The difference in responses is slight though it is the more senior group that seems more politically involved.[117]Of the few who did not vote, some said it was because they were physically challenged that they did not vote or because spiritual exercises, which required them to meditate for years, prevented them from exercising their franchise. One person who said she never voted because her vote did not make a difference and every election whoever you elected was as irresponsible as the rest, therefore it was like a repetition of an old story.

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[117] Woshinskystates that younger people participate less in politics than older and middle-aged group. He feels that this is so because the younger lot have less sense of responsibility towards their community and 'are less likely...to be a settled member of society with an investment in it' (Woshinsky:94). He feels that the younger group are less involved because they have less investment in the society than they are likely to have when they grow older.

The reasons they gave for voting was as much because it was their right as for 'vikas'. 'Vikas' means development, but in Sikkim it is used interchangeably to mean development and freebies. Only a few spoke of change and choosing a good leader or representative as reasons for voting.

The responses indicate a rise in the level of people voting after 1975 in comparison to those earlier. Even most of those who claimed not to have involved themselves in politics in pre-1975 Sikkim seem to have voted in the recent years. The involvement of voters above the age of 50 in comparison to pre-1975 era probably can be understood from the circumstances then and now. Though in rudimentary stages, rules and procedures for election had begun to be shaped in the early 1950s, the lack of interest in elections or non-involvement of large sections stemmed probably from not only poor incentives and monetary resources but like elsewhere the poor, the illiterate and the rural who constituted the sizeable chunk of the electorate, were less likely to participate. [In 1971 the literacy rate stood at 17.74% in Sikkim, (Chettri, 2012:262)].The political participation at all levels may have seen an increase in the years after 1975 because not only democratic institutions had been put in place but various socio-economic changes had come about and the likelihood of resources to encourage participation grew, [118]especially so with diversification of the job sector post Sikkim's union with India, the dependence on land for livelihood decreased.

People were then asked if they thought their vote made a difference.95.5% from the age group above 50 said their vote made a difference, while 89.5% of those below 50 indicated that their votes made a difference; 2.5% out of this age group said

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[118] Woshinsky's 'the number of active citizens will be larger in countries that encourage participation and provide resources for participation than in countries that discourage participation and fail to provide the monetary and educational resources that make participation likely and possible.'(pg.105).

their vote did not make a difference, while those above 50 had only 1.5% who said their votes did not count. 6.5% of the respondents from the below-50 group said they were not sure if their vote made a difference, while 1.5% chose not to answer.

From the table above it can be said that 50 % of people above 50 years said they were influenced by other people while voting, while 38.5% said they were not. Only 6% said they were influenced sometimes, while 5% chose not to answer. Those below 50 years were equally divided in responding whether they were influenced while choosing their representative, with 35.5% saying they were influenced as voters and 34.5% insisting they were not influenced.23.5% said they were influenced sometimes, while 6.5% chose not to answer.

Asked if they ever took part in political activities like canvassing, 6.5% of those above 50 years of age said they did, while 5.5% from the age group below 50 said they were involved in activities like canvassing.The lower percentage in the younger group could be because this group was either employed or on the brink of finding employment, or engaged in activities like business. Some acknowledged that fear of a political backlash could affect their job prospects and those of their family membersand these were factors that prevented them from being deeply involved in political matter.

Figure No 5.19 Political Participation/Participation in Canvassing for Election
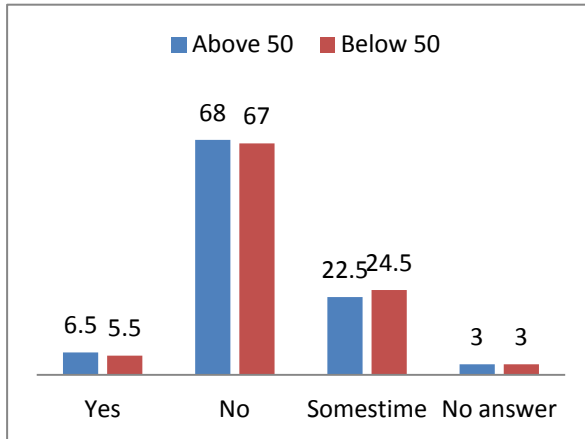
Figure No 5.20 Allowing Family member to take independent Political Decision
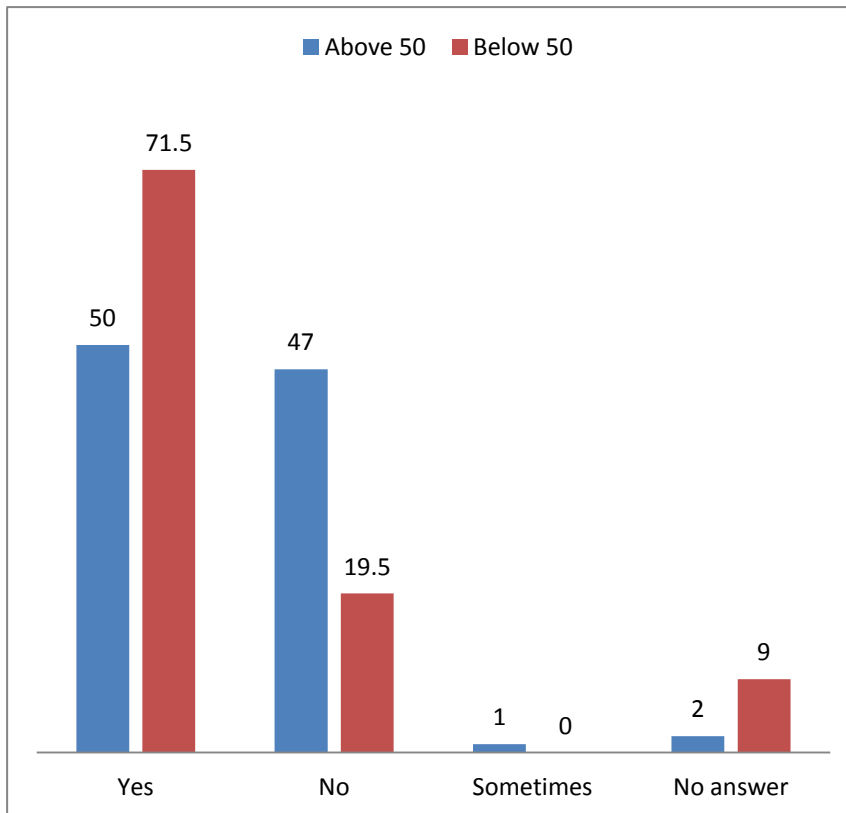
Figure No 5.21 Respondents'Views on Contesting Election
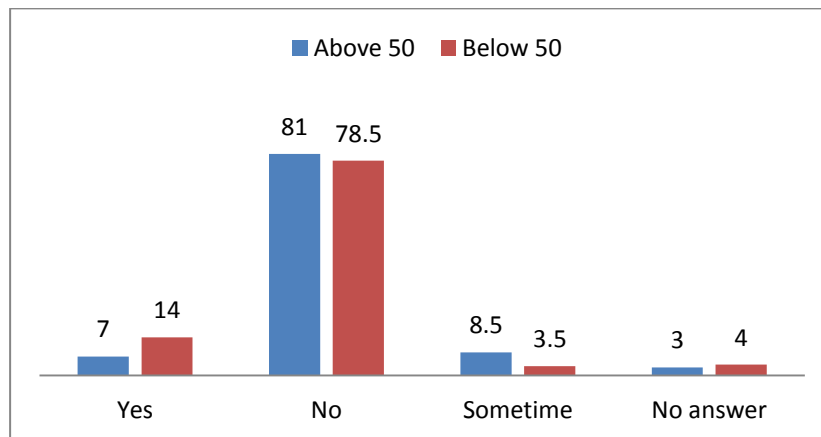
Source: Field work

In comparison to the seniors at 50%, the younger group at 71.5% were more likely to allow their family members to take independent political decision. In fact, a senior respondent who initially claimed that he himself did not take independent decision but collectively decided at a village level as to who they would cast their vote for, was at the same time adamant that he would not allow his family members to take independent political decision. He claimed that since he was the head of his family, he had the right to decide who the rest of the family chose to elect. An old man from West Sikkim residing in Gangtok who had said no one influenced him while voting, back-tracked as he added that in the village no one took individual decision but a collective one. It appeared that the person was trying to avoid saying something controversial. After the interview was over, the individual wanted a confirmation that he would not be reported against and that he would not be harassed for his interview. 19.5% of the respondents below 50 said they would not allow their family members to take independent political decisions.9% refused to answer the question.

Even with regard to issues such as possibility of contesting elections most of the seniors were vehement in their disinterest. Even the younger group seemed half-hearted in their response though 14% seemed to show an inkling of an interest. Some voices above 50 opined elections encouraged corruption and misrule. Some other respondents cited that they were government employees so therefore their lack of interest, while one cited his lack of education. Respondents below 50 who said they were interested and considered contesting elections, cited reasons like their desire to lead people, experience power, be the change he wants to see, to work for public welfare, etc, while those who said they hadn't considered, cited work pressure,individual shortcomings or lack of interest in politics and the political process.

The younger group also said fear of political retaliation was a big deterrent and like those in the above group they stated that being politically vocal could amount to jeopardising their job prospects and it could also affect their family members who were government employees. It therefore is no surprise that 78.5% said they hadn't considered contesting elections.Some said it was their disinterest in politics.3.5% acknowledged that they had given it a thought at least once.4% refused to answer.

Table No. 5.12 Involvement of Family Members in Politics

Encourage family members to be active politically	Yes	No	Not sure/ Sometimes	No answer
Above 50 yrs Sikkim Subject	48	47	2.5	2.5
Below 50 yrs	54	23	23	0
Place for dissent in democracy				

| Above 50 yrs | 19.5 | 42.1 | 26.3 | 12.2 |
| Below 50 yrs | 40.5 | 37 | 19 | 3.5 |

Source: Field Work

23% of respondents below 50 years were reluctant to encourage even their family members to be politically active, while 47% of those above 50years thought likewise.48% of the senior lot said they would encourage their family members to be politically active. However, some were of the opinion that as long as the activities were pro-government, they had no problem. 54% of those below 50 said they had no problems encouraging family members to be politically active.

However, on questions of dissent, the senior group were of the opinion that they were not sure if they could dissent. Only 19.5% said they would make their opinion felt, while 40.5% of youngsters felt the same.42.1 % of the senior lot said they would not raise a dissenting voice, while 37% of the younger lot agreed with them.26.3% of seniors were, however, not sure and said it would depend on the circumstance. While 19% of the juniors seem to think on similar lines.12.2%of the seniors did not answer the question, while 3.5% of the younger lot were silent.

Those below 50 years of age were more willing to dissent than those above 50 years. It is apparent that those above 50 years of age have taken a strong interest in democratic institutions and are willing to vote but are still hesitant taking on more proactive role in comparison to the citizens in the younger group. More of the seniors chose not to answer the question than those in the younger group. The responses of the respondents of both groups throw a light on their views on both Monarchical governments and Democracy. It is apparent that both groups are in favour of democratic institutions, as is evidenced by their response in selecting it as a preferable

243

mode of choosing a government. Their perceptions on the previous form of government do not totally align as the older group holds the Monarch in high esteem and seems to think of him as above blame, while they voice their grouse against agents of government and certain individuals; the younger respondents who chose to give their opinion, in comparison, seem to think the problem lay more with the Monarch himself and coupled with the desire for a change the transition from Monarchy to democracy took place.

Sikkim's transition from Monarchy to Democracy, in terms of indicators of Political Development like freedom, legitimacy of governments, accountability, functionalspecialisation, political awareness, transparency in decision-making and role of media, was rated positively.Even the shift from the government under L.D.Kazi to Bhandari saw progressive rating in terms of the indicators. However, despite such positive assessment, fear factor was considered the most important determinant of political behaviour in Sikkim even in the post-1975 era. Despite showing a slight decline in comparison to Monarchy, fear factor continued to be a predominant factor influencing citizens under democratic governments. Even among those citizens below the age of 50, it was evident in their responses as they often quoted the possibility of backlash, saying if they were politically very active it could affect their future job prospects. Two very disturbing trends in the Political Development of Sikkim was a progressive rise in corruption and the role of coterie in the democratic governments under study, both of which were rated much higher than in a Monarchy.

As one assesses the level of participation in voting, there is a significant rise in post-1975 Sikkim in comparison to the earlier period;however, this does not translate to a great extent into a more active political involvement as most

respondents viewed themselves as beneficiaries of government who chose not to dissent. The responses seem to indicate a subject political culture.

From the answers of the senior respondents, it becomes evident that during the period of Monarchy the ruler was perceived by most as a far-off figure, a person above reproach. If they had grievance it was against the state agents at the village and locality level, but despite their problems they acknowledged that most could not and did not dissent because they were happy with the policies. Even in terms of political participation, it was not high as political awareness was next to nil. On issues that are often held up as contentious, the older generation lacked awareness of the same, leading one to conclude that awareness and political activity were confined to a limited section of the people consisting of the few educated elite. The general populace neither had the time nor the resources to politick. They had little or no expectations from the rulers.From their lame acceptance of all policies positively, their lack of awareness of governance except that at the village/bloc level, and their lack of involvement in all things political, it becomes apparent that political culture in pre-1975 Sikkim was parochial-subject in nature.

Another important finding of the study was that the pre-1975 Sikkimwas a class-based society. Identification of power centres was most often on the basis of the occupation of an office and proximity to the ruler. Despite the attempt of the leaders to give a communal tinge to the politics of the transition period, most respondents across community lines viewed state agents as exploitative. Only a few of the respondents even mentioned a communal divide. Respondents across communities gave similar answers, the problems they faced were the same, views on the monarch and the Monarchy were identical across communities. Infact, if one looked closely at the working of the principle of parity in electing people to the council, mechanisms

had been put in place to ensure that an overtly communal person could not be elected. However, it was with the introduction of democratic institutions that a slow transformation began to take place.

Democracy in Sikkim had been ushered in by mid-1970s, but despite the democratic institutions being put in place, factors like corruption, fear factor, role of coterie and distrust of things political continue to impede the growth of a vibrant democratic political culture. It is apparent that Sikkim's transition from Monarchy to a Democracy was not a consequence of a democratic political culture among the masses. There is no denying that political leaders played a significant role. Even as one tries to understand the determinants of Political Development in Sikkim, the significance of some key players who constituted the elite at different points in time in history cannot be ignored. Sikkim's Political Development, therefore, has been as much a consequence of the acts of omission and commission of its elites as other factors like its geographic location. From the time of its early state formation to the setting up of the Namgyal dynasty, and then to the present era; one finds that the Political Development in its immediate neighbourhood, security and trade interests of its neighbours, religious and prognostic politics; changing demography and political culture of the populace; as well as the demographic politics unleashed in the kingdom have all contributed to Sikkim's Political Development.

Summary

"Political Development and Political Culture: A Study in Transition" as a chapter deals with three important aspects of Political Development in Sikkim. It starts with an assessment of political culture in pre-1975 Sikkim. The second section deals with an assessment of Political Development from Monarchy to Democracy by

studying key indicators of Political Development like freedom, functional specialisation,transparency of government and accountability, etc, and the third section deals with another important indicator of Political Development, e.g. the issues of participation. The chapter winds up with identification of determinants of Political Development in Sikkim.

It is evident from the responses of most of the former subjects of the king and COI holders above age of 50, that Monarchy was a legitimate form of government in pre-1975 era. The hereditary nature of Kingships had found acceptance as most people were aware of the nature of Kingship. The Monarch as an individual was revered and respected by most of his subjects. They, however, had problems with Monarchy as a system.Their problems stemmed from the perceived exploitation at the hands of state agents. According to most respondents, the king was above blame as he hardly knew what his underlings were up to. The lack of proper feedback mechanisms, financial resources and their inability to speak up played havoc with the lives of the subjects. Fear factor determined most aspects of their life.

The subjects saw no role in governance for the ordinary people, and they had very little expectations from the powers that be. They defined their life as simple, and despite the problems they faced, they said they were content under the Monarchy. Their little expectation from those who governed and their low level of participation seem to indicate the existence of a parochial-subject political culture.

In matters such as employment, most respondents were of the view that merit played a role in appointments. According to them, corruption was low and so was the role of coterie. However, some did concede the existence of influential groups but notions of powerful people and groups were based on their profession and the post

they held and not on other factors like community or caste. It denotes the existence of a class-based society rather than that based on communal lines. The respondents, majority of them, point out that it was offices like those of the Mandals, karabari, councillors, Kazi and thicadars who played a pivotal role in governance. Though most people concede that it was the King who made the laws, they added that it was at the stage of implementation that things went wrong. Be it the working of judiciary or at the stage of implementation of laws, the subjects of the king hold the state agents and not the king responsible for any unfairness and excess.Despite the fact that landlordism had been abolished, the Kazis and the thicadars continued to exercise considerable clout at the village level.

A dim awareness of the Monarch as a benign figure, their understanding of governance mostly at a village/bloc level as well as perception of their role as mostly recipients of government policy output, goes to reflect the existence of a parochial-subject political culture in pre-1975 Sikkim. As a transition was made from a monarchy to a democracy, the former subjects of the kingdom became citizens of India. They assess a positive shift from a monarchy to a democracy in terms of most indicators of Political Development like freedom, division of power, role of media, transparency, accountability of government and political participation.However, in terms of the existence of coterie and corruption,the democratic governments under the two Chief Ministers L.D.Kazi and Bhandari are rated higher.

Despite these two shortcomings, most of the former subjects as well as citizens below 50 acknowledge elections are the best ways of choosing a government. The positive rating is reflected in the increased participation of people in politics as compared to Sikkim under a monarchy. Increased participation of people in politics is also an indicator of Political Development.

248

Finally, as one looks back at the events of the past and tries to understand the Political Development in Sikkim, one arrives at numerous determinants that eventually effected a transition from Monarchy to Democracy. At the outset, international factors combined with geopolitical location of Sikkim south of Tibet, was instrumental in establishment of the Namgyal dynasty. Religion, prognostics, elites and court politics became instruments as well as determining factors that nudged Sikkim towards its political destiny. Its proximity to Tibet, trade interests of the East India Company, the strength and weaknesses of the ruling house of Sikkim as well as key leaders in Sikkim politics led to a greater involvement of the British in the affairs of the kingdom. The arrival of Claude White as the political officer, the changes he introduced, had a far-reaching consequence on Sikkim's Political Development.[119]He created a set of lessee landlords and they helped him administer Sikkim. After India's Independence it was against this institution that political unrest began.Political parties emerged and, in the period, following changes in the immediate neighbourhood, with emergence of communist republic of China, the Indian government began to take a greater interest in politics that unfolded in Sikkim.

As the leaders of political parties introduced politics in the kingdom, demands were made on the system. As tension marked the politics of the era, a slow process of constitutional development began which eventually culminated in the transition of Sikkim from Monarchy to Democracy.

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[119] Sikkim became open to western education and western medicine, which to a degree brought about a shift away from total reliance on traditional healers and religion-centric thinking. Prognostics as a tool became less relevant in political affairs.

Chapter – 6

Conclusion

The central objective of the study has been to examine the transformation of Sikkim from Monarchy to Democracy, identify determinants of Political Development in Sikkim and to assess whether there exists a relation between setting up democratic institutions and democratic political culture. The study began with a review of the various theories of Political Development, and then proceeded to study and analyse Political Development in Sikkim in pre-1947 era. In the backdrop of institutional changes that took place in Sikkim during the period of ascendency of the British, Sikkim witnessed the Independence of India which itself proved to be a harbinger of change in Sikkim. The period after India's Independence was a conflict ridden one for Sikkim as a process of constitutional development took place initially through proclamations from the throne. The tricky international relations, the demands made on the existing political system by some of its people, the response of the state and demographic realities of the kingdom exposed it to different stresses and strains that ultimately culminated in Sikkim becoming the 22nd state of India.

Our analysis of the literature available on the theory of Political Development points to a genesis of the theory in the post Second World War world. The need to understand the problems of the newly emerged nations, led to the sponsoring of area studies by US think tanks. This was a move to try and develop an alternative theory of development to that provided by the Marxists. However, the decolonised nations spanned across Asia, Africa, the Pacific, etc and the problems that lay in these different countries could not be understood through a single lens. As events unfolded, the tensions in each of these societies began to be reflected in the writings of the

various scholars who scanned the globe to arrive at a theory of Political Development. The need and the process in one part of the world differed from those of the others, as area study developed a plethora of definitions emerged. If one writer held up the institutions that existed in the western world as ideal to be arrived at as a goal, another writer sought to perceive Political Development in not so ethnocentric a way. Many saw Political Development as a by-product of an unleashing of social processes. Some equated it with modernisation while others preferred to see Political Development as something not bound by 'time and space'. These many different understandings of Political Development made the subject dynamic, making its relevance timeless. The genesis of Political Development theory may be pinned to an era but as a process, an idea and theorizing of it is not time and space specific.

Chapter II looks into the various theories of Political Development. The Political Development theory broadly was looked into through four phases. The first phase consists of the initial emphasis to study the developing nations, identifying the various authoritative structures of such society, identifying characteristics of a developed society. Modernisation was a running theme. The second phase of writers emphasized the social process.They focus on the role of changes in one set of variables bringing forth corresponding changes in other set of variables. Accordingly the process of Modernisation, urbanisation sets off corresponding change in other aspects of society, which eventually results in emergence of institutions of participation which are regarded as characteristics of politically developed societies. The third phase of writers emphasize on the importance of institutionalization. According to them, the lure of communism in these newly independent countries and the insecurities that citizens faced led to the need for order and development of more accountable institutions. The final phase of writers on Political Development consists

251

of an array of ideas on Political Development.They wrote at a later period and some like Fukuyama tried to include Political Development of China and India in bringing forth his theory of Political Development. He was wary of Political Development perceived through an ethnocentric approach. Finally some of the common themes running through the writings about Political Development are issues of equality, which includes ideas of increased participation in Governmental affairs by the citizens, issue of legitimacy, etc.

In brief, Chapter II deals with various theories of Political Development. It provides an understanding of different ways of looking into Political Development.

Chapter III is an analysis of Sikkim's history. The chapter starts with a cursory glance at a few theories of the origin of state and moves on to the establishment of Namgyal rulers on the throne of Sikkim.

The Namgyal rulers ruled roughly for 333 years, and their rule was marked with conflict, court intrigues, international pressures and alignments. The Tibetans in the North, the Bhutanese and the Nepalese in the Eastern and Western flanks, and the politics that played out in these areas had a bearing on Sikkimese politics. The setting up of the Namgyal dynasty itself was a consequence of the victory of the Gelugpa sect and the forces of Gusri Khan gaining control of Tibet. This episode of Tibetan history led to lamas of the Nyingmapa sect fleeing South wherein lay what was to be the Bhutanese state in the process of consolidation. The Bhutanese were reluctant to play hostand it was at Yuksom (in Sikkim), the Sikkim history holds, that the three Nyingmapa lamas met and laid the foundation of the Namgyal dynasty.

However, it was after the signing of the Lho Men Tshong treaty that the first ruler was accepted by both the Limbus and the Lepchas as the ruler of Sikkim. The

successive rulers of Sikkim tried to introduce changes but a war of succession, which involved the daughter of the second king by his Bhutanese wife, led the heir to the throne looking North for help. This resulted in the introduction of a slow Tibetan cultural, political and religious hegemony in Sikkim. In the face of such changes, the third ruler began to try and evolve a nationalistic ethos. It was during and after the third Chogyal's reign that one comes across repeated attempts by indigenous elements to influence the king, which was warded off by the use of prognostics and force by the Tibetan regent in Sikkim.

Despite these push and pull factors that marked the court politics, in some measure a slow process of institutional changes began. The politics of socialisation, the Tibetan hegemony, the indigenous attempt to tilt the balance towards a Sikkim-centric court played out in the form of contests and conflicts. These contributed in some measure to the Political Development of the Sikkimese kingdom. British commercial interest in Tibet, politics of demography, westernisation and institutional changes were all milestones that shaped the Kingdom's history. Infact, after India's Independence it was against one such institution set up by the British that popular sentiments mobilised and led to the formation of three political parties in Sikkim. This one development was the stepping stone to a new era in politics of Sikkim.

In brief, Chapter III starts with state formation, and then proceeds to explain the key events that propelled Sikkim's Political Development in the pre-1947 era. It also provides a glimpse of the impact of colonial government on traditional society.

Chapter IV covers the period of democratic unrest in Sikkim beginning 1947, the transition from Monarchy to Democracy and the democratic governments under first two chief ministers L.D. Kazi and N.B.Bhandari.

The Independence of India in 1947 witnessed a simultaneous setting off of a popular movement within Sikkim to do away with landlordism. The success that came about with the abolition of landlordism encouraged the political leaders to involve themselves in demands for reform. Meanwhile, the rulers through various proclamations introduced element of representative government, while they themselves were engaged in trying to establish a separate identity for Sikkim as a kingdom. As these dual political engagements were unfolding in Sikkim, the immediate neighbourhood saw the disappearance of Tibet as the communists established the People's Republic of China and went about their programme of liberating Tibet. This new development had far-reaching consequences for both India and Sikkim. For India, Sikkim became important from a strategic point of view and it became necessary to reign in certain tendencies that were beginning to manifest in Sikkim's politics. Effectively, the signing of the Indo-Sikkim treaty took care to bring Sikkim within the ambit of India. For Sikkim, the disappearance of Tibet dealt a blow to its traditional ties. With the onset of Tibetan hegemony, the ruling house had entered into many marriages that had mutually benefited both Tibet and Sikkim. For Tibet, a peaceful Sikkim had acted as a buffer from unwanted attention, as its other southern neighbour Bhutan had belligerently defeated it several times in various military engagements. For the Sikkimese kings Tibet had served as a powerful ally in the past and was also a haven for its rulers when conflict on court politics got out of hand or an unwanted situation arose. With the changed scenario post Chinese liberation of Tibet, Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal had in some sense lost an ally. Despite the changing political reality he had stayed in Sikkim and stood his ground and did what he perceived was in the interest of the kingdom.

The Chogyal though officially ascended the throne in mid 1960s, he had by and large been an influential factor almost a decade earlier. In the backdrop of a cold war, Sikkim's ruler married an American lady and with her cooperation made an attempt to gain attention of the world to the kingdom through the use of American media. His many attempts to stress on Sikkim's sovereign status, his refusal to compromise; and the security interest of India, coupled with the desire of a certain section of the population to see the end of Monarchy, all contributed to Sikkim's changed status.

With the passing of the 36th amendment act in 1975, Sikkim became the 22nd state of India. The principle of "one man one vote"had been introduced in the 1974 election. However, with the ushering in of democracy political shifts and alignments took place. Grouping and realignments were dictated to a great extent by political calculations.

Meanwhile, many institutional changes were affected to bring Sikkim in alignment with India. As institutions of democracy strengthened, the democratically elected governments with their overwhelming mandate displayed dictatorial tendencies. N.B.Bhandari in his last two tenures in office had absolute majority, once winning 30 of the 32 seats and the second tenure he secured 32 of the 32 seats. Despite the gain of two more seats in the latter election, a member of his own party, Pawan Chamling, emerged as a critic of Bhandari's policies. It was Chamling's ability to coalesce the disgruntled masses, and the implementation of the Mandal Commission report during dissident leader Sanchaman Limbu's tenure as Chief Minister, that heralded the end of Bhandari's political career.

In brief, this chapter traces Sikkim's constitutional development after India's Independence. It deals with the transition of Sikkim from a Monarchy to a Democracy and touches on issues that plagued democratic governments under L.D.Kazi and Nar Bahadur Bhandari.

Chapter V deals with the people's perception of the Monarch, Monarchy as an institution and their perception of the democratic governments under two chief ministers of Sikkim L.D.Kazi and Bhandari. The findings in this chapter helps us identify some of the determinants of Political Development in Sikkim and helps us arrive atan assessment of the political culture in pre-1975 Sikkim.

According to the findings from the field, the former subjects of the Maharaja Chogyal Palden Thondup seem to perceive him as a good king, well loved by his subjects. They, however, seem to have a problem with Monarchical form of government because of the perceived excesses of the state agents. Despite the abolition of landlordism, the influence of Thicadars, landlords and other petty officers of the state continued to be a problem for the masses. The fear factor that seemed a predominant aspect of their lives led them to a passive acceptance of their state of affairs. Most of the respondents had a dim awareness of the system of governance. For the populace, the Chogyal was seen in the light of a faraway king, hemmed in by the state agents. The people saw themselves as recipients of the government largesse and policy as they did not participate in governance. The lack of proper feedback mechanism can be assessed in their acceptance of their inability to dissent. Despite the projection of mass involvement of people in politics, the confessions of the respondents seem to contradict this claim. Majority of the respondents did not know what Parity was, irrespective of whether a person was a Bhutia, a Lepcha or a Nepalese they faced similar problems. Economic hardships of the masses led to their

non-involvement in politics. Politics in that sense was confined to the more elite sections of society. It was the vocal minority, the elites who tried to define the politics of the era.

Another problem with Monarchy was the negligible existence of media. This proved to be a negative for the ruler and the ruled. The excesses of state agents did not reach the ruler and the ruler also became a victim of false rumours.

As for Sikkim's union with India, most of the senior respondents opined that it came about because of L.D. Kazi. The citizens below 50 however seem to think that the institution of Chogyal was done away because people wanted change and quite a number of them seem to think that it was because he was an absolute Monarch who harassed his people. This difference in perception between two generations can be explained in some measure to socialisation through available literature on the period. However, the senior citizens seem to have taken to democracy and they approved of elections as a way of forming a government. Though they loved the king and held him in high esteem, they had nothing negative to say about L.D.Kazi. People said they were happy with the free flow of money that brought about development, water connectivity, electricity and ample supply of food, a consequence of the Sikkim's union with India.

Like in the pre-1975 period, the citizens still rated fear factor as a very high determinant of political behaviour in Sikkim. The younger citizens too acknowledged the role of fear factor as the second most important reason influencing political behaviour.

The transition from Monarchy to Democracy saw a major shift in participation of people in politics as more exercised their right to vote after Sikkim's union with

India. Steady and positively perceptible change occurred in terms of transparency of government, political awareness, etc. Democracy was rated favourably in comparison to Monarchy. However, certain issues like corruption were more of a problem in a Democracy than in Monarchy.

The respondents' assessment of their role during Monarchy, the extent of their awareness of the system seems to indicate the existence of a parochial-subject political culture. Even during the first term of a democratic government, as assessed by a senior politician, the style of governance was very similar to that of Monarchy with the Governor and the bureaucrats from the Centre playing a key role. It was with N.B.Bhandari that a degree of awareness about politics increased. For him to exercise power he had to go through a tussle of sorts with the Governor Taleyarkhan. His subsequent electoral successes and the overwhelming mandate helped him wrest power from the unelected to the elected. However, his style of functioning was such that he was often referred to as a 'dictator'. Despite the form of government changing, the political culture of Sikkim, though undergoing a slow change still wrestles with issues of fear. This to a great extent undermines the practice of democracy in Sikkim despite the institutional change. One may presume that establishment of democratic institution is not always a consequence of a democratic political culture but with proper socialisation through various agencies of state and society a democratic political culture can follow suit. The achievement of a democratic political culture in itself is not a goal because Political Development is a dynamic process, not limited by time and space. However, a democratic political culture more easily translates a procedural democracy to a more substantive one.

One could conclude that Political Development is a process through which institutional changes may take place in response to demands made upon it by the

social forces and the environment a system is embedded in; but it could well also involve implantation of institutions and a process of socialisation that follows, leading to the evolvement of a political culture different from the previous one. This change in political culture could prove to be a harbinger of further Political Development.

In brief, the fifth chapter looks into the assessment of Sikkim's Political Development through the lens of the 'transition generation'. It also looks into the political culture that existed in Sikkim in the pre-1975 period. It enables one to arrive at the conclusion that introduction of participatory institution does not necessarily translate into a democratic political culture.

Looking back into the history, through the transition period to Sikkim as a state of the Indian union, one sees the immense role of geographical factors, strategic location of Sikkim, the policies of the neighbouring countries, the role of its elites, use of prognostics and religion as well as politics of demography – all contributing to the Political Development of Sikkim. The internal power equations within the domestic sphere, the political culture of the inhabitants have also been a factor in Sikkim's Political Development.

A cursory look at Sikkim's domestic politics reveals court politics revolving around powerful elite leaders. There is no denying that the elite competition was amongst two powerful groups; the pro-Tibet faction and the more indigenous-centric group. However, as one moves into the period of colonial dominance in Sikkim, the nature of politics underwent a change. With the creation of the lessee landlords by the British, and other administrative changes, a transformation took place in power equations. If earlier it was felt that those who were able to influence and control the king dictated the path of Sikkim's Political Development, with the British Political Officer residing in Sikkim the power balance shifted. As Pye in his theory of Political

259

Development put forth, after initially adopting a somewhat indirect method of trying to influence the leader, Colonial powers through the British political officers like Claude White began to directly implant institutions. White exercised immense powers and brought about drastic changes that transformed the Sikkimese society. In fact, when the British departed from the subcontinent, in Sikkim they left behind a society that was class based. The institution of Lessee landlord which they had created for administrative convenience was created to rule. They were not equipped to be sensitive to the popular sentiments. Therefore, it is no surprise that it was the grievances against the workings of such institutions put in place by the British, the initial popular mobilisation began. It was a movement of the masses against a system they found exploitative. People of Bhutia, Lepcha and of Nepali origin participated in the movement. There was a need for leadership and this resulted in the birth of political parties, the helm of which was in the hands of the more educated section of the people who constituted a miniscule segment of the populace. The political parties that emerged put up the demand for a popular government, ascension to India and abolition of landlordism, and a no-rent campaign also featured in their agenda. However, through several deliberations a decision was arrived at. Landlordism was abolished, a government that was to last for 49 days[120] was set up and the third demand of ascension to India was scrapped. A process of constitutional development ensued as political parties began to take on a life of their own, making demands for reforms. As one studies the information from the field work, as well as information gleaned from certain secondary sources, one realises that the involvement of the masses abated after the abolition of landlordism. It is apparent that the socio-

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[120] Though many authors like to refer to the ministry as a ' popular ministry',one cannot accept the usage of the word 'popular' because no elections were held to constitute the ministry.It infact turned out to be a temporaryarrangement.

economic constraints prevented the masses from becoming politically active, while the political leaders sought to legitimise their demands by couching them in communal terms. The political parties took upon themselves the role of being an agent of political transformation. However, unlike the role of political parties as modernizing agents in developing societies as put forth by Apter, they were unable to use agencies of socialisation like schools, and religious institutions to increase their influence. To combat the narratives that were beginning to be spun, the Chogyal Palden Thondup tried to focus on Sikkim's uniqueness. Like his ancestor, the third Chogyal Chakdor Namgyal, Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal too tried to create a cohesive national identity for Sikkim. Despite domestic compulsions leading to the signing of the Indo-Sikkim treaty, at timely intervals a demand for treaty revision was put up. His marriage to the American lady who became the Gyalmo helped Sikkim garner the interest of the American media. Despite his many attempts to represent his idea of Sikkim's future, Sikkim's Political Development traversed a different path. The tricky role of narratives of ethnic politics had a lasting bearing of Sikkim on Sikkim's political destiny. Despite ethnic configurations dictated by the ushering in of democracy, the fault lines that were drawn in history continue to emerge at frequent intervals. There is a great need to do an in-depth study on the history of ethnic politics in Sikkim, the history of the pre-Namgyal era, as well as look into the role of Buddhism and other religions in social and political transformation of Sikkim. An unbiased look into the past could help in debunking the myths and narratives that have dominated the writings on Sikkim, both political and social.

Looking back in time, if one were to scan the available history of Sikkim and identify important landmarks in its Political Development, then one could point to the establishment of the Namgyal dynasty, the establishment of the British protectorate

over Sikkim and the union of Sikkim with India as the three important milestones. As one closely studies these three dots in Sikkim's history, one finds a common peculiar thread running through them. The popular narrative of establishment of the Namgyal dynasty, points to the most defining and prominent role of the three Tibetan Lamas. Their religio-political acts defined the status of Sikkim as a Buddhist kingdom. As we move forward into history, the increased role of the British in the affairs of the kingdom was enabled by the signing of the Anglo-Chinese convention of 1890. This convention was signed without consulting the Sikkimese authorities. The two big neighbours (British India and China) decided that Sikkim would be a protectorate of British India. Finally, as we approach the transition period, despite Sikkim's long association with India and the latter's role in the constitutional development of Sikkim, the changed status from an associate state to that of a state within the Union of India (though One may argue that a referendum in Sikkim voted in favour of merger of Sikkim with India) was brought about through the 36th amendment of the Indian Constitution.

And finally, Sikkim's Political Development from a Monarchy to a Democracy at a glance seems to follow Huntington's assumption that a series of interaction between social forces results in breaking up of a homogenous ruling group and development of arrangements to resolve the disagreements. He opines that the diverse social groups interact and sets the stage ready for creation of institutions. However, as one delves deeper, there is no denying that groups like the political parties had a role in making demands on the state, as well as on the protector state for reforms, but the interactions that took place in Sikkim was confined to the elites. Therefore despite the establishment of democratic institutions, the political culture of the general populace was less participatory and more parochial-subject in nature.

Successive elections threw up the dominance of a single party for decades at a time, while fear factor was confessed to have a defining role in political behaviour of its citizenry. Therefore, merely establishment of democratic political institutions does not necessarily translate into democratic polical culture, neither is the establishment of democratic institutions an indicator of a democratic political culture.

One may suggest that an in-depth study on the nature of democracy in Sikkim is the need of the hour. Policies could be made to use agencies of socialisation like schools, colleges and media to not only spread democratic ideas but also encourage the participation of people at policymaking by opening forums of discussions at the grassroot level, and also on social media.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Sir/Madam

I am a Ph.D scholar of Sikkim Central University doing research on the topic " Monarchy to Democracy Understanding Political Development in Sikkim, 1970s to 1994".The objective of the study is to understand Sikkim's Political Development from a Monarchy to a Democracy and to study the impact of political culture in the process and vice versa. The data collected is for research purpose and I assure you that all personal information provided will be kept confidential.

Thanking you

PEM CHODEN TENZING

PhD Research Scholar

Dept of Peace and Conflict Studies and Management

Sikkim University

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Name------------------------

Religion---------------------------

Tribe---------------------OBC--------------------MBC------------ (optional)

District------------------------------

Gender--------------------

Age 1) Below 50 years   2) above 50 years

Educational qualifications

   a)   Matric   b) Graduate   c) Post Graduate d) Others

A) Specific questions for citizens with Sikkim subject Above the Age of 50.

I Monarchy and pre-1975 Sikkim: Perceptions

1. In the pre 1975 Sikkim, the Chogyal Palden Thendup Namgyal was a

a] Hereditary ruler   b] Elected to be the King   c] Was chosen by the British to rule Sikkim

2. Do you think the Chogyal had the right to rule Sikkim in the pre-1975 Sikkim?

a] Yes   b] No   c] May be   c] Not sure

3. How would you describe the Chogyal?

a] An able administrator   b] A well loved public figure

c] A tyrant   d] A corrupt ruler   e] A good king

f] a,b,d   g] c and d

4. Are you aware of any influential groups/pressure groups that could influence policy decisions then?

Answer: --

5. According to you who framed the laws in Sikkim in pre 1975 Sikkim (Under Monarchy)?

Answer: --

6. Were power and function of government centred on the Chogyal or was there division of power/functional specialisation wherein different organs performed their specific role?

Answer: --

7. How was justice administered / legal issues resolved?

Answer: --

8. On what basis, were recruitments made for Bureaucratic and Public Offices?

Answer: --

9, What considerations were upper most when making decisions under a Monarchical government?

Answer: --

10. Did you voice your dissent publicly if you disagreed with the government's decision In pre 1975 Sikkim (under Monarchy)?

a] Yes   b] No   c] Not sure

11.. Were you unhappy with any of the Government's policy during Chogyal's regime?

a] Yes   b] No   c] Not sure

12. What is the Parity system?

a] System of representation   b] The land tenure system

c] No idea

13. Did you ever cast your vote in the pre 1975 period in Sikkim?

a] Yes   b] No   c] Not sure

14. Were you aware of any Political Organisation in the pre 1975 Sikkim?

a] Yes   b] No   c] No idea

15. In the pre 1975 Sikkim, were you a member of any organisation?

a] Yes   b] No   c] Not sure

16. What according to you affected political behaviour of citizens in a pre 1975 Sikkim?

a] Political Awareness [ ]   b] Fear Factor [ ]

c] Political Apathy [ ]   d] Distrust of the System [ ]

II Sikkim's union with India

1. The Chogyal is No longer a king because of

a] Popular uprising against him   b] The Kazis of Sikkim

c] L.D.Kazi   d] His decision to step down

e] He lost the election   f] No idea

2. Sikkim, a former Himalayan kingdom became a part of India in 1975 because

a] The Chogyal wanted to be a Titular Ruler   b] L.D.kazi wanted to be the next Chogyal

c] Through elections people voted for merger of Sikkim   d] People voted against the institution of Chogyal   e] None of the above   f] No idea

III 'From Monarchy to Democracy: Perceptions'

In a scale of 1 to 10, please rate the following questions according to your preferred choice where '10' stands as the most preferred and 1 as the least. Kazi denotes L. D. Kazi and Bhandari means N. B. Bhandari

A) Political Awareness-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M.[ ]

B) Legitimacy of Government-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M [ ]

C) Freedom-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M [ ]

D) Role of media-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M [ ]

E) Transparency in Governance/Decision making-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M.[ ]

F) Accountability of Government-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M.[ ]

G)Division of Power/Functional Specialisation-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M.[ ]

H) Role of coterie-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M.[ ]

I) Corruption-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M.[ ]

J) Fear factor in political/ public sphere-

Monarchy [ ]   Democracy [ ]

Under Kazi as C.M [ ]   Under Bhandari as C.M [ ]

B Question for citizens below 50 years

1. Why do you think the institution of Chogyal was done away with?

Answer............................

C Question for citizens of both above and below 50 years

III 'Democracy in Sikkim:Perceptions'

1. Do you think government should be chosen through elections?
   a] Yes   b] No   c] Not Sure
   Specify Why ------------------------
2. Do you vote?
          a] Always   b] Sometimes   c] Not often   d] Never

   Specify Why---
3. Do you think your vote makes a difference?
   a] Yes   b] No   c] More often than Not
4. Does anyone influence your voting preferences?

a] Yes   b] No   c] Sometimes

5. Do you participate in any other electoral activity like canvassing?

   a] Every time around elections   b] Sometimes

   c] Never

6. Do you allow your family members to take independent political decisions?

   a] Yes   b] No   c] maybe

7. Have you ever considered contesting any elections?

   a] Yes   b] No   c] Not interested

   Specify Why -----------------------

8. Would you encourage your family members to be active politically?

   a] Yes   b] No   c] may be

   c] Not sure

9. Do you think there is place for dissent in a democracy?

   a] Yes   b] No   c] sometimes

   : --