

**Dynamics of Political Culture and Violence in Sikkim:
1974 to 2014**

A Thesis Submitted

To

Sikkim University



In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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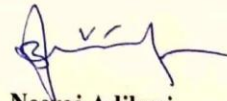
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This is to certify that the thesis titled “Dynamics of Political Culture and Violence in Sikkim: 1974 - 2014” submitted to Sikkim University for partial fulfilment of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in the Department of **Peace and Conflict Studies and Management**, embodies the result of bonafied research work carried out by **Mr. Neeraj Adhikari** under my guidance and supervision. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other Degree, Diploma, Association and fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly recognized by him.

I recommend this thesis to be placed before the examiners for evaluations.

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Dedicated to My Beloved
Father - Late Prem Lall Adhikari
&
Brother - Late Yognath Adhikari

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Abbreviations

AAGSP	All Assam Ghana Sangram Parishad
AGSP	Assam Gana Sangram Parishad
AAP	Aam Admi Party
AASU	All Assam Student Union
ABSU	All Bodo Students' Union
AC	Assam Accord
ACLP	Assam Congress Legislature Party
ADC	Autonomous State Demand Committee
AFSPA	Armed Forces Special Power Act
AGP	Assam Gana Parishad
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AITC	All India Trinomol Congress
AJD	Asom Jatiyatabadhi Dal
ALMA	Achik Liberation Matgrik Army
APHLC	All Party Hills Leaders Congress
APHLC	All Party Hills Leaders Conference
AS	Adhivasi Sangh
ATTF	All Tripura Tribal Forces
AUDF	Assam United Democratic Front
BAC	Bodoland Autonomous Council
BJP	Bharatiya Janta Party
BL	Bhutia-Lepcha
BLTS	Bodo liberation Tiger Force
BSF	Bodo Security Force

CPI (M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
CPI	The Communist Party of India
CPM	Communist Party of India
DAN	Democratic Alliance of Nagaland
DAS	Democratic Alliance of Sikkim
DLF	Democratic Legislature Party
DPC	Denzong Peoples Chogpa
DPN	Democratic Party of Nagaland
DRPP	Democratic Revolutionary Peoples' Party
DWCRA	Development of Women and Children in Rural Area
ECI	Election Commission of India
EVM	Electronic Voting Machine
FFB	Front Forward Block
FPM	Federal Party of Manipur
FPM	Federal Party of Manipur
GNC	Garo National Council
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
HPU	Hill People Union
HSP	Hamro Sikkim Party
HSPDP	Hill State Peoples' Democratic Party
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
INC	Indian National Congress
IPFT	Indigenous People' Front of Tripura
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
IREP	Integrated Rural Energy Planning Programme

JAC	Joint Action Committee
JD	Janta Dal
JLP	Joint Legislator Party
JMP	Jai Mahabharata Party
JP	Janta Party
JRY	Jawahar Rojgar Yojana
KHNAM	Khun Hynviretrep National Awakening Movement
KSU	Khasi Students' Union
LJP	Lok Janshakti Party
MDA	Mizoram Democratic Alliance
MDF	Maraland Democratic Front
MDF	Meghalaya Democratic Front
MHU	Manipur Hill Union
MJD	Mizoram Janta Dal
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MNC	Manipur National Conference
MNF	Mizo National Front
MNFF	Mizo National Famine Front
MPA	Meghalaya Progressive Alliance
MPC	Mizo Peoples' Conference
MPP	Manipur Peoples' Party
MSCP	Manipur State Congress Party
MTYO	Meghalaya Tribal Youth Organisation
MU	Mizo Union
MUF	Meghalaya United Front

MULP	Meghalaya United Legislative Party
MUM	Meghalaya United Movement
MUPP	Meghalaya United Parliamentary Party
MW	Mega Watt
NAGP	Natun Asam Gana Parishad
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NDFB	National Democratic Front of Bodoland
NDM	Naga Democratic Movement
NDP	Nagaland Democratic Party
NDPP	Nationalist Democratic Progressive Party
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NFA	North Frontier Agency
NLFT	National Liberation Front of Tripura
NM	Nikhil Mahasabha
NNDP	Naga National Democratic Party
NNO	Naga Nationalist Organization
NNP	Naga National Party
NOTA	None of The Above
NPC	Nagaland Peoples' Council
NPF	Naga peoples' Front
NPF	Nagaland Peoples' Front
NPP	Nagas Peoples' Party
NSCN	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
NSCN-IM	Naga National Socialist Council of Nagalim
NSDP	Nationalist Socialist Democratic Party

OBC	Other Backward Class
OSU	Organisation of Sikkim Unity
PC	Peoples' Conference
PDF	Peoples' Democratic Front
PDIC	Public Demand Implementation Convention
PLA	Peoples' Liberation Army
PLP	Purbanchaliya Lok Parishad
PPA	Peoples' Party of Arunachal
PREPAK	Peoples' Revolution Party of Kangleipak
PS	Praja Sammelan
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTCA	Plain Tribal Council of Assam
PU	Paharia Union
RJD	The Rashtriya Janta Dal
RLD	Rashtriya Lok Dal
RPS	The Rajya Praja Sammelan
RSF	Revolutionary Socialist Front
RSP	Revolutionary Socialist Party
RSP	Rising Sun Party
SC (R)	Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary)
SCL	Schedule Caste League
SCR	Sikkim Congress Revolutionary
SD	Swantantra Dal
SDF	Sikkim Democratic Front
SGPP	Sikkim Gorkha Prajantrantik Party

SHRP	Sikkim Himali Rajya Parishad
SIBLAC	Sikkim Bhutia-Lepcha Apex Committee
SIF	Sikkim Independent Front
SJP	Sikkim Janta Party
SJP	Sikkim Janta Parishad
SKM	Sikkim Krantikari Morcha
SLA	Sikkim Legislative Assembly
SLF	Sikkim Liberation Front
SNAC	Sikkimese Nepali Apex Community
SNC	Sikkim National Congress
SNP	Sikkim National Party
SPC	Sikkim Prajantantra Congress
SPF	Secular Progressive Front
SRP	Sikkim Republican Party
SSC	Sikkim State Congress
SSC	The Sikkim State Council
SSD	Sikkim Swatantra Dal
SSP	Sanghata Socialist Party
SSP	Sikkim Sangram Parishad
STs	Scheduled Tribes
SUDA	Sikkim United Democratic Alliance
SWP	Samaj Wadhi Party
SWP	Swatantra Party
TMC	Trinomol Congress
TNV	Tripura National Volunteer

TRAS	Tripura Rajya Adhvasi Sangh
TRYSEM	Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment
TUJS	Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDP	United Democratic Party
UF	United Front
UFM	United Front of Manipur
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
ULP	United Legislature Party
UNLF	United Liberation Front
UPPA	United Peoples' Party of Arunachal
USA	United Sikkimese Alliance
UT	Unoin Territory
ZNP	Zoram Nationalist Party

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The democratic political system so far is popularly accepted as better forms of governance in comparison to other forms of governance and political parties are regarded as vital wings of this system in this contemporary world. Democracy is considered to be the most suitable means to provide representation to almost all the sections of society in governing system where political parties play a key role. There are democracies in the world which are progressive with structure of party system. Some democracies are bi-party system and some other are with multi-party system. Some countries in the present world have one party ruled political system but such political system are not considered as democratic system, rather as totalitarian party system. As democratic system is highly sermonized to be participatory political system, political parties are eulogized vehicles of a democracy or a democratic system. Without the presence of proper functional political parties it is always difficult on part of democracy to be a better alternative for political system. It is always difficult to find democratic political system without more than one political party in democratic electoral politics as well as prevalence of political parties is more difficult without an effective democratic system.

1.1. Background

The political system with the presence of political parties summons diverse images in different part of the world. Western world has different forms of political party system from the rest. There is visible crisis in the western world politics particularly the functioning of political parties because of decreasing membership figures, steadily

decreasing turnout of voters during election. Similarly younger generation is seen reluctant in relation to electoral party system. Today, western politics are still dominated by the parties that grew out of the modern European and North American social Movements (Patomaki and Ulvila; 2007).

Similarly in South Asian Countries with the departure of colonial political mechanism political systems grow with the prevalence of political parties. India adopts constitutional scope for multi-party party system to form the popular government through periodic elections between contesting political parties with their ideological lineage. Pakistan as an independent nation has mostly under the Military rule, still the political system in the country is negated the role of parties. Bangladesh after achieving liberation or partition from the Pakistan adopts party based political system and it is dominantly bi-party in nature as there has been often contestation between Awami League (AL) and Bangladesh National Party (BNP). Afghanistan is yet not free from the turmoil which is still waiting to consolidate a popular political system whereas the tiny Himalayan state Bhutan as already adopted a constitutional Monarchical political system with competition between political parties in forming a government under the bless of monarch.

Political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system (Almond and Powell, `1966). Political culture "is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and that provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system (Paye and Verba, 1965). A political culture hinges on the fact of peoples' attitudes and beliefs towards the political system. Thus,

political culture is primarily an output of social, economic and other variables (Gopakuma; 1988).

There is popular notion that political parties in a political culture of democratic system provide more meaningful participation across a broad spectrum of society and better representation of all section in politics. In most of the democratic states there are political parties which shape the frame of the state politics. In some state there is a legacy of history that the national parties is dominating state from last few decades whereas in the some state regional parties are ruling the state. Indian politics have a trend of regional parties and people also give importance to regional parties. In Tamil Nadu, the historical Party 'Congress' is subordinated by either DMK (Dravida Maunnetra Kazhagan) or AIADMK (All India Anna Dravida Maunnetra Kazhagan), in Bihar the RJD (Rashtriya Janta Dal) and in Sikkim the regional parties have been dominating the national parties like SDF (Sikkim Democratic Front) and SSP (Sikkim Sanghram Parishad). This type of regionalization of political parties' found to take place gradually since 1967 in Indian Political system.

Democratic politics function through a relation between the constitution structure and operation of political parties. Parties are not mentioned in the constitutions but they constitute an essential part of the democratic system (Kaviraj; 2008). Political parties were significant institutions even before independence of India, and after Independence they assumed a new importance. Political Parties display numerous contradictory features, which reveal the blending of different form of modern organisation and participatory politics with indigenious practices and institutions. Major changes have been taken place in Indian politics since Independence. Strategies

and support base of political parties have undergone significant changes (Hasan; 2014).

India has a multiparty system with a larger democracy of the world. There are numbers of nation as well as regional parties in the country. After India got Independence from the British Raj in 1947, The Indian National Congress ruled the India under the leadership of Nehru then Indira Gandhi and then Rajiv Gandhi from period to periods. Bharatya Janta Party (BJP) also formed the government with collation to other parties or with absolute majority since 1996. There is much political violence which occurred in election. The last quarter of a century has seen rise of all form of violence in the country.

Violence in politics is like an instrument of electoral mobilization and it is tool of achieving higher political objective. Most of the electoral or political violence directly affect the functioning of the country or state. Many Indian states faced such kind of violence having different roots. After India's Independence from the British rule in 1947, all the independent state of India had to be merged with the Union of India. Years after independent most of the independent state have accepted India as a nation and only few states like Kashmir and Northeast does not accepted India whole heartedly but later some of this state has been counted as Indian state by annexation or by merger. India adopted various means to integrate the more than 600 princely states and issue of integration has been largely settled with mainland.

India's northeastern part often is considered as insurgency and extremism affected region. At the time of the Independent this region was known as North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) comprising Assam and the princely state of Tripura, Manipur. With the departure of British colonial administrators, the nationalist leaders of the country

started to reframe the governing system the NEFA was renamed as North East India. Later Sikkim has been included in it. In order to constitute Northeast, new state of Assam: Nagaland (1963), Meghalaya (1972), Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram (1987). Princely state like Manipur and Tripura and the adjoining hills of Assam have been integrated to constitute the present day of Northeastern part of country. Sikkim was a Himalayan kingdom outside the boundary of India but integrated in 1975 and later brought under the part of Northeast in 1990s (Haokip; 2012). With territorial shift of Northeast frontier of present Northeast into the Indian territorial space, the region carried into the political spectrum of the country and federal units in this region automatically started to fall into prevailing constitutional political framework with the dwell of party system.

Party Politics in Sikkim has a long history, Sikkim started to witness its new phenomena of political system in 1940 but the historians believe that the real democracy was experienced by the people only after 1975 with accomplishment of Sikkim to Indian union as a 22nd state on 16th May 1975. It is undeniable fact that the regional political parties have pivotal role in the democratic process in most of the federal units in India and Sikkim is not an exception. Advent of democratic system in Sikkim appears through various phases of assertion against the hereditary rulers i.e. Chogyal. Various political outfits rose in state challenging feudalism and the monarch. India's struggle for freedom movement played vital role in emergence of numbers of the political outfits and groups. Such political outfits started to raise the voice to abolish the hitherto feudalism and autocratic ruler and to restore democracy in the state (Sinha; 2008).

Sikkim was ruled by the Namgyal dynasty and faced many threats and attacks from Nepal and Bhutan. Nepal in 1717 made repeated attacks and in 1700 Bhutan invaded Sikkim. The Chogyal had to seek help from the East India Company in India, in order to push back the invaders from Sikkim. British interest in Sikkim was the trade route to Tibet and their political interest in Tibet and Sikkim was the possible gate way to Tibet and for this, a treaty was signed with East India Company on February 10th, 1817. Sikkim became a de-facto protectorate in 1861 which changed the ethnic scene in Sikkim. During the period of Tashi Namgyal the exploitation was so high. The Kazi's were the Zamindars and member of the Royal Parishad, they exploited peoples in several ways and means. There was a Zamindari system under the Chogyal and Chogyal was under the influence of Kazi's. People started protest in order to abolish the inhuman nature of Kazi's (Syangbo; 2013).

There was large number of political unrest during the rule of Chogyal. Monarchy was opposed thoroughly and demanded for written constitution, summoning of election and voting, reform in existing electoral system and reforms in land and administrative system. A riot that took place in Gangtok on March 28th, 1973 brought the boiling turmoil of Sikkimese politics on the surface. Chogyal sought help from Government of India and it resulted a tripartite agreement between the political parties of Sikkim, the Chogyal and the Foreign Secretary of India, Kewal Singh. The monarch, as a result of agreement, was reduced to a constitutional head from his absolute authority.

As a provision of the agreement election was conducted and the ever democratic election was held in Sikkim April 1974. As a part of another political development the Himalayan Kingdom was brought under the Indian sovereignty as a federal unit of India on 16th May 1975. Kazi Lhendup Dorjee Khangsharpa became the first Chief

Minister of Sikkim heading an interim government. Kazi had fought against feudalism and corruption for over two decades but when he finally succeeded and came to power he failed to satisfy the aspiration of the people.

Sikkim hosted the ever democratic election under Indian Union in October 1979. The seven political parties and independence candidates contested election for Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) was monitored by the Election Commission of India. Nar Bahadur Bhandari led Sikkim Janata Parishad (SJP), could secure the magical number to form the government. Democracy and socialism its main objectives the SJP was formed in 1977.

Bhandari led SJP government had a premature fall as Governor of the state dismissed the government in 11th May 1984 on major charge of corruption by 13 legislators on Bhandari and his party. Four of nearest ally and ministers of his cabinet expressed lack of confidence. The former financial Minister of Bhandari cabinet Mr. B. B. Gurung was elevated as the third Chief Minister of state but survived only 13 days long existence. The presidential rule under article 356 of Indian constitution was imposed in state on pretext of constant failure of constitutional machinery. Meanwhile Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP), a new political outfit was formed by Nar Bahadur Bhandari formed the government for the second time on 11th March 1985.

Various political parties like Indian National Congress (INC), Raising Sun Party (RSP), Denzong Peoples Chogpa (DPC) and 20 others independent candidates had contested the election but the result of election favoured the SSP with won in all 32 seats of SLA. Such result of election brought the domination of single party in Sikkim favoring SSP even in next the SLA and Lok Sabha election in 1989. The SSP swept the assembly elections for the three consecutive terms. SSP was successful in

maintaining its strong hold from 1984-8, it was the only regional political party in the state which represented the people of all sections of society. But after his victory in 1989 Bhandari become more powerful and confident and somewhat authoritative and autocratic. Bhandari resigned from his chief ministerial post after he could not defend vote of confidence tabled on May 1994 in SLA (Syangbo; 2013).

On 1993 a new political party was formed under the leadership of Pawan Kumar Chamling and the Party called 'Sikkim Democratic Front'. Pawan Kumar Chamling was the minister in Bhandari government. Chamling was dismissed from the party and the cabinet on 16th June 1992. Since the formation of SDF under the leadership of Pawan Kumar Chamling Sikkim is till date under the rule of SDF party as it has won all the elections held during the corresponding periods.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Recent political activities in Sikkim includes the defection of leaders in ruling party and form new party in order to attract the people towards them by bringing new programme. As a federal unit, Sikkim enjoys a democratic and political practice under Indian democratic set up and a comprehensive political culture of multi-party system is not unknown. But history of party politics in the state reflects that it is dominantly ruled by a single party, or though parties other than ruling are not absent, yet their voice and role as political party is not effective. After the emergence of democracy in the state, one party is dominating more than a decade and largely with minimum of opposition parties.

The state rarely experienced Democratic Party system in past. Parties in power and in opposition could sweep political will from time to time because of some new political

force which emerged to challenge the ruling governance and also polarization on issues. Such political force often took the form of political parties. Interestingly, such new parties emerged through the split in ruling party through the initiatives of disgruntled leaders often after a long regime of the ruling party. Whenever such disgruntled leaders came with a fraction of other disappointed party workers, they were successful in receiving the overwhelmed public mandate. Such public mandate helped to bring power shift as well as transition in ruling community or group. But such transitional periods always had a violent end. Keeping this historical background of political trends in the state, it has to be analyzed whether the contemporary political scenario in the state is moving on similar path or else differently?

There have been regular political party based activities in the state. Arguments and counterarguments or ideological clash between political activities had drawn huge political violence and sufferings of commoners in the past and it is difficult to avoid the present scenario without a scholarly study to understand that how will be political activities and party behavior in the state in days to come. Apart from the party based political culture, the ethno-politics is dominantly receiving political momentum in the state. Hence, without an extensive research work it is difficult to understand that why the politics of the state undergo like present one and how will be the political environment in the state in future. This study is expected to answer similar kind of questions through a comprehensive and extensive study.

1.3. Survey of Literature

There are literatures which deal with the Party Politics and political Violence in India, in this proposal, review of some of so far done literatures have been carried. For the proposed work, these reviews of literature give the basic idea about the political

culture and associated violence in democracy, India in general and Sikkim in particular.

Democracy and Indian Politics

Politics seems to be one of the significant markers of human creativity and in societies where this creativity often seems to bear fruit, as in a modernizing society, thinking about politics is a central concern (Shefali Jha; 2010). This book also deals with the views of political thinkers from the past about politics and also about the main features of politics.

Benjamin Reslly (2008), explain political parties as a recognized as an essential components of representative democracy, he further add well-functioning political parties are central not just to representative government but also to the democratic in transitional democracies. Political parties are one of the primary channels for building accountable and responsive government. According to him political parties are the institution that most directly affects the extent to which social cleavages are translated into national policies. The use of electoral system is the main political party engineering which try to refashion the party system. He further describes the political development in conflict-prone societies by top-down approaches.

Keohane and Stephen (2011) in their article '*Constitutional Democracy and World Politics: A Response to Gartzke and Naoi*' state that the modern democracy is multi dimensional, it incorporates the value of faction control, minority rights protection and informed deliberation as well as political accountability. Democracy is an internally complex political idol that should not be identified simply with mass

electoral accountability. Periodic mass election and opportunities for public participation are the crucial features of democracy.

Engineer, Ali Asghar (1998) in his article '*Democracy and Politics of Identity*' mentions about democracy and politics. The politics of identity plays an important role in a democratic process. In de3mocracy various identities are bound to assert themselves politically and the assertion is based within democratic limits and it has its own legitimacy. Besides national identities, every individual have their own identities which is based on religion, caste, language, region, etc. and the democratic aspiration should not be ignored and violent assertion should not be permitted for healthy functioning of democracy.

Ross, Gilbert Rahph (1954), in his article '*Democracy, Party and Politics*' writes that the state is the political aspect of a nation or of several nations united politically the nation of sovereign. A modern state is characterized by its monopoly of official force. In every state, the government acts for the state and the state assumes responsibility for their action. The material condition for the democracy is that political parties be made up of variety of elements in the population, so that their differences are ordinary ones of policy and practice. The political party in a democracy has no rights to be undemocratic and an undemocratic group has no right to become a political party.

Narain, Iqbal (1970), in '*Democratic Politics and Political Development in India*' argued that after the 1967 election one party dominant pattern has been changed. Iqbal talked about the politics of individuals and related it on one party dominance democratic regime in India. He stated that politics of individuation as a process stands, both for differentiation of contradictory and irreconcilable forces and for the synthesis into and organic unity of likeminded and mutually complementary elemis.

The politics of individuation is functional differentiation which is significant both in the context of levels of politics in India and governmental and party obligation.

Gopakumar, G. (1988), in '*Dynamics of Indian Political Culture: A Theoretical Study*' argue that electoral game has been reduced to number game and the vote banks cultures is the greatest bane to Indian politics. The bargaining culture practiced by the linguistics, religions and social minorities' enhanced defection and political instability. Politics and the business have the common objective- the profit. The nexus of Indian political culture lay basically in the Congress system. The impact of the four 'M' in Indian political process (Media power, Money power, Ministry power and Muscles power) requires a clear change.

Nandy, Ashis (1970), in his article '*The Culture of Indian Politics: A stock taking rights*' Indian political cultures have had their historical antecedents, they have been deploying new reference in response to new challenges. The political process have made it increasingly tricky to isolate personal values from individual or group needs as well as from situational to constraints on the individual and the group to which he/she belongs. The lack of the perfect accord among norms, individual personality and socialization is a major aspect of the nation's political culture.

Sebastian Mazzuca and James A. Robinson (2009), explain the power of monopolization by a single party forced the opposition in to revolutionary tactics and government became violent. They also describe electoral rules are usually classified by means of two polar types: proportional versus majoritarian representation.

Brass, Paul R. (2013), in '*The Politics of India since Independence*' argued that the Indian polity has reached a turning point in its post-Independence history. The old

political order dominated by the Congress has been decay because of rise of Hindu Nationalism and the rise of BJP. This book also discussed about the destruction of Mosque in Ayodhya. Brass writes a move towards further centralization and authoritarianism under the regime of militant Hindu nationalism represents the gravest danger to the Indian state, civil society and the ideology and practices of secularism.

Rajni Kothari (2014), '*Politics in India*' brings the theoretical interpretation of Indian Politics. It analyses the existing and emergent paradigms of Indian political life and action. It also deals with the politics of party system and balance growth options, including India's challenges and the greatest role in envisages in sub continental and international politics.

Political Culture in Northeast India and Sikkim

Himansu Chandra Sadangi (2008), in his book '*Emergent North-East India a way Forward*' provides the ethnic mosaic of Northeast India. It assesses the contours of ethno-cultural plurality and social dynamics of the Northeast region. This book provides the fair accounts of origin, history, and cultural heritage of various tribes of the Northeast part of India.

Tohring (2010) in '*Violence and Identity in North East India*' discusses about the ethnic identity, ethnic movement, ethnic conflict and peace process of the Nagas and Kukis in Northeast. This book also discussed about the unnoticed ethnic clashes after India's Independence in Northeast region between the different tribes. This book also discussed about the underground or armed wings as well as civil organization and argued that the armed wings used violent methods to achieve their goals and civil organization used non-violent methods and they are legitimized.

K. S Subramanian (2014), in '*Security, Governance and Democratic Rights*', have been divided into three phases i.e. Security, Governance and Democratic. In first phase it discussed about the environmental security, the peace process in Assam, Corruption and Insurgency. In second phase it discussed about the inhuman Security in Northeast region and special focus on Manipur and in third phase issues of conflict and gender and democratic right in Nagaland is examined.

Monirul Hussain (2005), in his edited book '*Coming out of Violence*' writes that ethnic conflict in Northeast India has severely affected the society, polity and Economy of the region. As the book explores, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, the conflict and violence have increased over the without any sign of abnegation. The conflict has become institutionalized and has propelled a peculiar kind of parallel polity of the Northeast region.

C.J Thomas (2005), '*Polity and Economy, Agenda for Contemporary Northeast India*' bring the idea about the major issues such as social, political and economic of the region which help to understand the current issues of Northeast India. Politics of the region is on ethnicity and ethnic identity and both this concepts continue to serve as the governing metaphors. Next to Kashmir, Northeast is considered to be the turbulent that continues to pose potential challenges to the nation building process initiated by the Indian political elites.

Sanjib Baruah (2005), '*Durable Disorder*' opens up new perspectives of ethnic conflict and the meaning of democracy in Northeast India. The Northeast India has experienced ethnic conflict and suffered human and material losses due to insurgencies and counter insurgencies operation. The counter insurgencies have eroded the democratic fabric of region and institutionalized authoritarian practices.

The reason behind the ethnic violence and internal displacement is due to growing dissonance between ethnic homelands and the existing political economy of the region.

B. Pakem (1999), '*Coalition Politics in Northeast India*' writes Coalition politics has attracted the attention of public leaders, policy makers, administrator, social citizen etc. This attention is due to mainly to the anxiety arising out of the instability of coalition government in India. Coalition politics is not so much successful in Northeast region because of various issues like insurgencies, ethnic movement, student movements etc. There are some state in this regions who is adopting coalition politics after or before Independence and it is because of either of due to communities consideration or because of the imperative of political consideration, but in some state it take time to adopt the coalition politics.

Bethany Laciana (2008), the center's first response to minority violence in the North-East is generally support the existing state government attempts at repression. If a local conflict proves to be beyond the state government control, central may agree to redistribution of political power. By sending forces they control the voice of masses. North-east regions has see decades of insurgency which still exist and centre plays a crucial role to suppress the local people like tribe, and in the name of development, central is violating the customs, tradition and culture of tribes.

A C Sinha has written many books on Sikkim and also done research in Sikkim, he is keen to study about Sikkim and explore facts through his book. In his book *Sikkim feudalism and democratic* where he has explain the past feudal repressive law was prevailed in Sikkim's society, book also tell as the story foreign invaders like Tibetans, Nepalese and British how they dealt with Sikkim. The first part of the book

is dealing with the background and history of the emergence Sikkim as a multiethnic space and cultural plurality indefinite to political conditions.

On the other hand the second part describes the long existing feudalism and emergence of democratic elite in Sikkim. It shows that how elites shaped destiny of Sikkimese politics during two critical phases i.e., feudalism and democratic turns. Similarly the book puts light on journey of Sikkim from a feudalistic domination to modern democratic set up.

A.C Sinha's (1975), '*Politics of Sikkim: A Sociological study*' provides an analysis of political development in Sikkim. This books deals with the historical evolution of the significant social forces active during the pre-merger period in Sikkim. It also gives the basic idea about different section of the society like the elite, the kazis, the pro-palace bureaucrats, the Nepali political leaders and the youth congress leaders. It also explains about the political process and development in the post 1947. Sikkim politics during that time was influence by Indian Independent Movement.

Amal, Datta's (1991), '*Sikkim since Independence*' shows how a remote area like Sikkim leads towards modernization. It deals with the educational system and social structure that existed in the pre-merger period in Sikkim. This book focuses on educational system in order to bring social change. This book also deals with the role of modern education among the emerging new classes and the impact upon the traditional societies and social structure in Sikkim. The book also tries to focus on the social stratification and change in Sikkim after the emergence of new class.

Manas Das Gupta (1992), '*Sikkim- problems and prospects of Development*' highlights the problems of the regions, like the measures initiated by the state and

central government for the proper development of Sikkim especially after its merger with the Indian Union in 1975. The major part of the books focuses on the economic sectors basically industries, natural resources, agriculture etc.

Syangbo, Genevive (2013), on her book '*Sikkim Democratic Front, the Politics of Popular Mobilisation in Sikkim (1993-2004)*' deals with the Sikkim politics and explain the policies and ideology of ruling government through which they holds the political power from more than a decade. She focused on ideology of ruling government i.e. SDF and stated that the ruling government is pro people party and doing development in all fields for the betterment of the state.

Sharma '*Sikkim: Past and Present*' (1996) provides a detailed account of the historical developments in Sikkim. Sharma gives a detailed account on the monarchical set up in Sikkim and it working. He discussed how the people were dissatisfied with the rule of Chogyal and the exploitation and suppression by the kazis, who were zamindars during that period. on the other parts of the work he mainly focused on the emergence of political parties in Sikkim and the state Assembly election and the Lok Sabha Election in the state and the changing government in Sikkim.

J C White (1909), '*Sikkim and Bhutan*' he was British political officer in Sikkim and lives for Twenty One years in north-east frontiers of India, has written about the Sikkim kingdom under British India. He has mention the trade fare in region between Tibet, Bhutan, China and Nepal during that period, Sikkim became significant place for trade route. He also tries to compared the geographical condition of two Buddhist nation Sikkim and Bhutan where he came to distinguished the population living in Bhutan with sophistication and whereas population living in Sikkim were very

nomadic in that period. The book deals with all about his experience and social, economic and political condition of this region.

Subba (1999), translated book, '*Sikkim Bigarney Ko Ho?*' tries to explain how democracy is created to protect the rights of the people. It highlights the violation of democratic rights of the people during SSP (Sikkim Sangram Parishad) rule in Sikkim. It expresses how the ruler violated the rule of law in the state and oppressed the voice of people who raised their voice against anti-government activities in the state.

Gopal Gaunley and samiran chhetri (2002) edited book '*History of Democratic Movement*' gives an outline of the democratic movement. The Kazi's and the moneylenders exploited the masses. The political parties in Sikkim opposed this exploitation and raised movements against the Chogyal and the Kazi's and it sought to eradicate Sikkim from the evil of zamindari system. The book focuses on the contribution made by various people in the democratic movement of Sikkim.

1.4. Rationale and Scope of Study

Sikkim is a state encompassed a number of political transitions and upheavals before or after it became federal unit of India. It is known to be a peaceful state but conflict and violence cannot be overlooked on its political front. After the state was brought under Indian union in 1975, the space was introduced to Indian democratic system. The initial four years between the periods of 16th May 1975 to 18th August 1979, state as a 22nd federal unit of India was under the political reign of ad-hoc government headed by Kazi Lhendup Dorjee Khangsarpa. With first election conducted in 1979 under the Indian democratic surface, state started to experience popular democratic

mobility. Since it became a federal unit of India, it has been the part of political culture and practices under Indian constitution but it has a unique political culture unlike other similar counterparts in the country. Sikkim has witnessed dominance of single party despite a political system under multi-party political framework and often with presence of merger voice of opposition. It provided a space for ruling party monopoly in governance, unaffected of opposition for quite a long time.

Changes in the party in power are not recurrent which is practical in other part of the country. Yet changes are not unknown but by completely a new party which were formed through the fraction and split in ruling party and such changes underwent resulting political violence during or after the elections. Another considerable fact of Sikkimese politics has been the failure of national parties in acquiring the noticeable public mandate. The political scenario plays a prominent role in maintaining peace in the state which is equally of concern for the national interest and politics as the state falls on a sensitive zone of country. It cannot be regardless for national politics because Sikkim defines a crucial part of national security in India. This tiny Himalayan zone of the country is constituted on the margin or borderline of the country but on the lap of China, the most competing and rebelling counterpart. Hence, political activities in this state concerns national interest of the country. But this dynamics of Sikkimese politics is rarely addressed with necessary weight it holds.

Observing the existing political activities in state, it holds importance in research avenues to understand the future dynamics of Sikkimese politics as well as its relative implication in national politics. This study will help to understand the nature of Party politics as well as political violence in the state. Integrating above necessary study apparatuses, this work will help to analyze or differentiate the nature of the national

and regional party in the state to understand the failure of national parties in comparison to regional parties. This study will be a helpful means to understand the party politics or environment in other similar states in the country especially Northeastern region. This study may also help to draw a calculation of a political dynamics of Sikkim in near future. This study may help policy makers of the state to formulate comprehensive policies for local and national interests.

1.5. Objectives

- i. To make theoretical understanding of dynamics of Political Culture in Democracy and relation to violence
- ii. To study the scenario of political culture and associated violence in Northeast Region
- iii. To explore the historical background of political culture in Sikkim
- iv. To study the trends, development and Party Politics in political culture and violence in Sikkim during the period of 1979-2014

1.6. Research Question

- i. What are the dynamics of political culture in democracy?
- ii. How does the democratic political culture and associated violence exist in Northeast Region?
- iii. What is the historical background of political culture in Sikkim?
- iv. What are the trends, developments, Political culture and violence in Sikkim during the period of 1974-2014?

1.7. Hypothesis

- i. Democratic Political Culture in Sikkim is largely dominance of one regional party.
- ii. Political transition and power shift in Sikkim is violent in nature.

1.8. Methodology

This research is based on both quantitative and qualitative in nature. Both Primary and Secondary sources have been used as the data for this research. Primary data were collected from field of the study of research with the help of interviews schedule. Structured and un-structured types of questionnaire were used for the tool of data collection as per the demand of research. Similarly, the focus group discussions were also conducted to understand the view of respondents on the nature of political activities in Sikkim.

Primarily the total sample size was 400 hundred comprising 100 samples from each of the four district of Sikkim. Out of the total 400 samples, 80 (20 from each district) were the key informants comprising the leaders of various political parties, social workers and pressure groups as well as leaders and intellectuals from the various communities. The respondents were divided into two groups, i.e. fifty percent of respondents were above the age of fifty years and other fifty percent of them were of the age group of below fifty years. The gender equation of respondents was proportionally maintained. To understand the political development of the state of Sikkim in relation to political culture and political violence, data was also collected from representatives of political parties especially those contested the elections. Interviews were conducted through open and close ended questionnaires with different Political leaders, political activists, civil society members, scholars includes

Academicians, and media representatives. Secondary data was collected from books, academic articles, newspapers, official records, party manifestos and pamphlets in addition to reports available in various government departments. Social media was also given importance as the source of information.

1.9. Area of study

All four districts viz., East, West, North and South of Sikkim were selected as the area of study. All the respondents were originally hailing from East, West, North and South districts of Sikkim. Fifty percent of the total respondents were from rural area and rest fifty percent were from the urban areas.

1.10. Chapterisation

Dealing with different number of the associated aspects of this research work, the thesis has been designed in following six chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter outlined the nature of the study, rationale, scope and objectives of the intended study. Inherent gaps in existing literature over democratic political culture in relation to violence.

Chapter 2: Sikkim's Political Culture: A Historical Analysis

This chapter deals with the study of historical background of political system in state. Prime attention of the chapter is on political culture in the state prior to amalgamation of the Sikkim into Indian Union in 1975.

Chapter 3: Political Culture and violence in Democracy: A conceptual Framework

This chapter laid the theoretical orientation on political culture in Democracy and a preliminary exposition of role of political parties in violence. It tried to contextualize that how the idea of political culture in democracy and associated violence is conceptualized in the study.

Chapter 4: Democratic Political culture and violence in Northeast India

This chapter brings a general overview putting focus on status of Democracy, discontentment and associated political violence in country and region.

Chapter 5: Transaction of Political Culture and Violence in Sikkim from 1974 to 2014.

This chapter focused on political culture of Sikkim since 1974 to 2014. It explored the emergence of political culture and political development in state during corresponding period. This chapter portrayed the present trends, technique and nature of political system particularly the political party culture.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The final chapter discussed the findings of the study with few recommendations as well as concluding summary of this work.

CHAPTER 2

SIKKIM'S POLITICAL CULTURE: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

2.1. Introduction

The mountainous state Sikkim is situated in Eastern part of giant Himalayas sharing its borders with Tibet in the North, Bhutan and Nepal and Darjeeling hills of the West Bengal in its east, west and South respectively. Each of these entities has their own distinct political culture, apart from being in geographical congruity. Distinct political culture in Sikkim has conformity with relatively peaceful historical process of its development, yet it has the marks of turbulence, the genealogy of wars and the flow of migration from Tibet, and Nepal. History is a continuous process which has to be understood in accordance of time. The history of Sikkim since 13th century onwards has witnessed a spectacular change. Over the period many invasions, raids, and military expedition by British rulers shaped the intercommunity relations and their specific interaction with these external forces had to some extent dormant effect. The Tibetan Monarchy survived in collaboration with Lepcha, later on had to seek help from British. Soon British malfeasance in internal affairs of monarchy showed its signs of reluctance from the Sikkim and that culminated into greater influence of British and less control of monarch. The present phrase of history is in continuity to the various significant events including the decolonization of British India and also 1975 accord related to the annexation of Sikkim into India.

The history pertaining to Sikkim before the seventeenth century is not well documented but it is said that Guru Tashi, a prince of Tibet somewhere in the thirteen century had a divine vision that that advised him to go to beyond the southern frontier

of his kingdom to seek his fortune in 'Denzong'. His eldest son prince Khye Bumsa, despite being divinely powerful and got married with the daughter of Sakya king. Khye Bhumsa settled in Chumbi valley after the dead of Guru Tashi and he made contacts with the Lepcha chieftain Tetong Tek who was also a religious leaders and Khya Bhumsa were blessed with three sons.

The famous treaty of blood brotherhood signed at Kabi Lungtsok between The kong Tek and Khya Bhumsa in 1275 A.D brought a feeling of great friendship among the Lepcha and Bhutia communities. Following this treaty the Tibetans started migrating to Sikkim, the land vested with divine sanctity for them (Dewan; 2012). The third son of Khye Bhumsa, Mi-tpon Rab, had four sons, the youngest of whom was Guru Tashi and it was he who shifted his family and tribe to Gangtok. The Lepchas had meanwhile broken down into small clans and there after came under the protection of the descendants of Guru Tashi (Gurung; 2011). It is also noted that the Limbu and Manger were the earliest settlers of the land along with the Lepchas.

The great grandson of Guru Tashi was Phunstok and events lead to his becoming consecrated as the first king of Sikkim. As the history says, Lama Latsum Chembo, the red hat sects saint left Tibet with the mission to establish a Buddhist Monarchy in the hidden land Denjong. After a long journey he reached a place called Norbugang where he was met by two other holy men, they were Sempa Chembo and Rinzing Chembo. The place where they met was later named as Yoksum meaning the meeting place of the three superior ones (Verma; 2012). As prophesied, they found a man called Phuntsog at Gangtok from where he was brought to Yoksum with his family and followers. Phuntsog was consecrated as the king of the Sikkim in the year 1642 with the title of Chogyal and conferring the surname Namgyal (Dewan; 2012).

Phuntsog Namgyal extended the boundary of Sikkim as far as Chumbi Valley in North, Tagongla (Bhutan) in the east, Titlia (Bihar) in the south and Devagoan (Bangladesh) and Singlila range in the west. By considering Bhutia, Lepcha and Tsong as member of the same family, he improves ethnic relation with other communities (Gurung; 2011). The Bhutia ruler now adopted a device for recognizing the important Lepcha chiefs as Dzongpongs (Governors) by dividing the country into 12 Dzongs (district) to lure and persuade them to align themselves with the new administration (Dewan; 2012).

The growing kingdom was started to be redesigned by Tensung Namgyal since 1670, son of Phuntsog Namgyal after Tensung's succession to the throne. Tensung Namgyal shifted the capital from Yoksum to Rabdantse and reduced the numbers of councilors from 12 to 8. According to the legend Sikkim inherited its present name from his third wife who was the daughter of a Tsong¹ chief Yo-Yo Hang of Rabdentse. They called it 'SU HIM', a new house which was later corrupted in to Sukhim and then to Sikkim (Gurung; 2011).

Chokdor Namgyal, the son of Tensung Namgyal from second wife succeeded him in the year 1700. However his half sister Pendeongmu, whose mother was from Bhutan, claimed that she was entitled to the throne and because of this fact serious differences arose between her and Chakdor Namgya (Verma; 2012). Sikkim suffered first territorial loss during the reign of Chakdor Namgyal at the hand of the Bhutanese in 1700. Chakdor Namgyal had to flee Sikkim as the Bhutanese forces occupied the capital Rabdantse. In the process, Kalimpong which was a part of Sikkim lost to Bhutan. Kalimpong later become part of British India following a war between British

¹Peoples belongings to Limboo Community.

and the Bhutan (Gurung; 2012). Chakdor Namgyal was succeeded by Gyurmed Namgyal in 1717 and Gyaumed Namgyal was succeeded by his minor son Phunstok Namgyal in 1733. During his minority, Sikkim was governed by a regent from Tibet. The regent reorganized the kingdom's administration, levied annual taxes, and drafted a code of law establishing the rights and duties of the citizen of Sikkim (Joshi; 2004).

In 1780, Tensung Namgyal the sixth king of Sikkim, succeeded to the throne. His reign was ill-started, the territorial integrity of Sikkim was threatened by the frequent attacks of the Bhutanese and Gurkhas on the kingdom's eastern and western frontiers respectively (Joshi; 2004).

2.2. Nepal's Invasion of Sikkim

During the reign of sixth king, Prithivi Narayan Shah, the ruler of a small principality of Gorkha in western Nepal, was consolidating Nepal into a strong and unified nation and had already extended his territory as far as river Sutlej. Since 1775 the Gorkha soldiers invaded Sikkim with varying success. In 1788-89 the Gorkha General, Jahar Singh invaded Sikkim from the western border and occupied Rabdentse. In 1791 war broke out between Nepal and Tibet, in the course of which the Gorkhas established themselves firmly in Sikkim especially in the southern and western part of river Tista (Gurung; 2011).

The invigorated Gorkha kingdom had emerged as a garrison state determined to consolidate itself and vanquish all obstacles on its way. In 1788-89, the Gorkha General, Jahar Singh Thapa, crossed the Chiabhanjang pass, taking the Bhutias and Lepchas of Sikkim by complete surprise and made a lightning raid on Rabdentse. The Rabdentse was caught napping which resulted in abandonment of the place.

Terrified by the blow, the Bhutia and Lepcha fled for their lives. The Raja and Rani had to flee too. So precipitately, the very thought of saving any valuable property had to be abandoned. The pursuit was so close that the Raja and his band of faithful followers had to subsist, for days together, on yam and other edible roots. After days of toil, the party made its way to Kabi. The Raja and his family lived in great misery, suffering untold hardship, nursing bitter hatred for the Gorkhas. Any hopes of relief were further dispelled when another army under the redoubtable General Kazi Damodar Pandey, who conquered the whole of Sikkim west of river Tista, at the confluence of Tista and Rangeet. The Gorkha celebrated their victory on the Maghey Sankrati day of 1789 (Basnet; 1974). Aggressive efforts of Nepal continued eastward up to Sikkimese foothills and at the time Nepalese territorial hold bordered on the Koch kingdom and Bhutan. It ended with the treaty of Sagualli, by which Nepal was forced to part with its Sikkimese possessions (Sinha; 2008).

2.3. British Interference in the Politics of Sikkim

Sikkim came to contact with the British power in India during the reign of Tsugphu Namgyal. In the neighboring state of Sikkim, with whom the state of Sikkim shared its border Prithivi Narayan Shah had risen as the ruler and made intrusion on various places to broaden its empire along with the Gorkha forces. The atrocities inflicted among the people by the officials of the monarch in Nepal and the growing opportunities in India started the inflow of Nepalese in to his region. In the southern side they had the British as their neighbor. Sikkim faced an external threat from the Gorkha therefore Chogyal perceived the requirement of external support, which could be provided by the British (Malley; 1989).

The British colonial rulers in India were extremely eager to open the trade routes to Tibet from India plains across the Himalayas. Soon after their victory in Bengal in 1757, they began to work on it. The first Governor General, Warren Hasting, tried his best to open a trade route to Tibet through conventional passage via Kathmandu valley, but he was rebuffed by the emergent Gorkha ruler. Then he took the opportunity provided by Bhutanese attack on Kooch Behar and sent George Bogle as his envoy to Tibet and Bhutan in 1773 with express commercial instructions. The then Sikkim turned out to be a play-field for the Bhutanese and Nepalese aggression, in which Tibetan occasional intervention was not very effective to ward off the territorial loss to Sikkim.

However, the British had already identified Sikkim as the weak link among the three Himalayan states, which might be used to open up the trade link with Tibet. It was also noted that Sikkim ideally lay on the shortest possible route between Lhasa, the Tibetan capital and Calcutta, the British imperial and commercial capital in India. Ultimately, they decided to cultivate Sikkim carefully and for that a golden opportunity arrived after the end of Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814-15. The erstwhile territories of Sikkim, east of river Mechi, ceded by Nepal to the British, were returned to Sikkim. As a result, **Treaty of Titalia** was signed on 10th February 1817 between the representatives of the British and the Sikkim Durbar by which, Sikkim agreed to the British adjudication on the dispute between Sikkim and Nepal and to surrender criminals, fugitives and political refugees. The British sent dozens of inspection mission and expeditions to Sikkim between 1817 and 1860 on one or the other plea. And within four decades, Sikkim effectively turned out to be a British India protectorate, as per the 23 points Treaty of Tamlong, 1861 by which the British could

construct roads in Sikkim, station their army, recruit coolies, catches runaway slaves, appoint court, councilors and control its external relations (Sinha; 2008).

During 1835, Sikkim handed over a hill territory then called 'Dorje Liang' to the east India Company for the purpose building a sanatorium for the British. The way this portion of territory later called 'Darjeeling' was acquired by the company left a bitter taste in the mouth of the Raja Tsugphud Namgyal which was felt as the great loss of Sikkim and he felt cheated for not receiving adequate compensation and non fulfillment of his demands (Shukla; 1976).

Sikkim gifted Darjeeling to British India on the understanding that a certain amount would be paid as an annual subsidy to Sikkim. The gift deed was signed by the Chogyal Tsudphud Namgyal in 1835. The British appointed a superintendent in the ceded territory. The British however did not pay the compensation as had been stipulated and this led to a quick deterioration of relation between the Sikkimese rulers and the Britishers in India. After it was ceded to the British government, Darjeeling developed rapidly. New settlers were coming up mainly from Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. Darjeeling provided the opportunity of emancipation from the miseries of slavery prevalent in those countries. It ensured free trade in labor and all other commodities, enough up for settlement and every encouragement for the fortune seekers. New buildings, wide and better roads and other available amenities of modern civilization were far displacing the medieval slumber of a forest clad village. But the Lamas and the Bhutia nobility in Sikkim were not at all pleased with the different developments which were taking place (Sengupta; 1985).

Dewan Namgyal (mad Dewan), who had developed enormous trade interest in Sikkim as monopoly traders become exceptionally annoyed with the British government.

Moreover the slaves, in order to evade persecution, were taking refuge in the British territory. The runaway slaves were, therefore, a permanent loss to them. British subjects were kidnapped and sold as slaves aids were denied in capturing and surrendering criminals. Person willing to settle in Darjeeling were discourage in every possible way. In 1848, Dr. Campbell, the superintended of Darjeeling tried to meet the Raja, so that the misunderstanding could be removed. But the Dewan was opposed to him did whatever he could to stall the journey and final goal of Campbel. In 1849, Dr. Campbell and Dr. Hooker were arrested when they were returning from Chola at Sikkim-Tibet border. They were later released (Senguptsa; 1985).

The British government in India retaliated by annexing the Sikkim Morang and the hills tract around Darjeeling bounded by the Ramma river on the North, by the great Rangeet and the Tista on the east, and by Nepal on the west and by suspending the payment of its annual subsidy of Rs. 6000. Thus Darjeeling ceased to be enclave in Sikkimese territory (Grover; 1974).

In 1860 some residents of Darjeeling were kidnapped by the Sikkimese. This had been one of the pin-pricks Dewan Namgyal had used right from the day the development of Darjeeling had started under the superintendence of Dr. Campbell. Taking advantage of the pretext provided by the latest kidnappings, Dr. Campbell marched in to the territory of Sikkim at the head of a small body of native troops, only to be pushed back by a stronger contingent of the Sikkimese. This sparked off real hostilities small expeditionary force under the command of Lt Col. Gawler, with Ashley Eden as a political officer, entered Sikkim (Basnet; 1974). The Raja then acceded to the terms dictated to him by the Governor General.

In 1861, a new Treaty was signed in which the Raja of Sikkim expressed his determination to do all in his power to obviate future misunderstanding, and his desire to be again admitted into friendship and alliance with the British government. The treaty introduces free trade system between the two countries, abolition of slave system in Sikkim and British rights to construct roads in Sikkim. It refrained the Raja from ceding any portion of territory to any other foreign power and allowing the passage of any foreign army through its territory without the consent of the British government of India. Dewan Namgyal was banished from Sikkim, and thus, British supremacy on external and internal affairs of the state was established (Sengupta; 1984).

The Treaty of 1861 was very significant in the British-Sikkim relations. It brought Sikkim under the British control. Almost all the demands of the government of British India were realized by the Treaty. The Treaty checked Tibetan influence in Sikkim for a time. The Government of India were then in a position to annex Sikkim, but did not contemplate such a step in view of the British disinclination to involve in any conflict with Tibet, which had vague claims over Sikkim. Although the British gained substantial advantages, without having the need to annex Sikkim, still the treaty suffered from two weaknesses. One was the non-definition of the de-jure status of Sikkim, and the other was the privilege granted to the Maharaja of Sikkim under Article 22 to stay in Chumbi for three months in a years. These two weaknesses manifested themselves with in next three decades and were mainly responsible for the subsequent difficulties of the government of India with Tibet and China (Grover; 1974).

Sidkyong Namgyal, who concluded the treaty with the British government become the Maharaja in 1861. His father died two years later. During his rule he improved the relations of Sikkim with the British government, who restored him the annual grant of six thousand rupees and successively raised it to nine and twelve thousand rupees per annum by 1873 (Sengupta; 1985). Sir George Campbel recommended to the government of India to increase the Maharaja's allowance on condition that;

- a. He should give assistance to British officers like Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling and others when they visit Sikkim.
- b. He should keep the government of India in the opening and development of trade with Tibet and
- c. He should keep the government of India informed of all the happening beyond his northern frontier.

The Government of India accepted the proposal of the Lieutenant Governor and increased the Maharaj's allowance (Rao; 1972).

Maharaja Sidkeong died in April 1874 and was succeeded by his half brother Thutob Namgyal, the ninth consecrated ruler of Sikkim. At the time of his succession the British Empire in Asia was paramount and Sikkim was already feeling the by winds of British diplomacy (Grover; 1974).

Maharaja Thutob after his accession supported a British venture to construct a road from Darjeeling to Jelop La on the frontier of Tibet, despite the opposition from Tibet and China. This gesture was highly appreciated and was rewarded to Maharaja. In 1886 a mission entered Sikkim on route to Tibet under the leadership of Coleman Macaulay, Secretary to the government of Bengal, to explore the possibilities of trade

with Tibet. The mission, however, had to be withdrawn from the Tibet without completing its work in deference to the wishes of the Chinese. Soon after the return of the mission, the Tibetans occupied a strip of Sikkimese territory near Jalep La and built up an improvised fort at Lingtu about 20 miles inside Sikkim (Bhattacharaya; 1984).

The British government decided to send the Sikkim expeditionary force under General Graham against the Tibetans occupying Lingtu and Gnatong. The expeditionary force, after a few fierce battles compelled the Tibetans to evacuate in 1888. Following this defeat of the Tibetans, negotiation with China was opened, resulting in the convention of March, 1890. This treaty not only determined the border between Tibet and Sikkim, it expressly acknowledged the British supremacy in Sikkim (Sengupta; 1985).

2.4. Nepalese Community in Sikkim

The Anglo-Gorkha war had brought two brave and warlike peoples, the British and the Nepalese, face to face in many encounters in the fields of battle stretching from the Sutlej to the Tista. While the fortunes of war were ultimately to go to the British, the two adversaries had learnt, during the numerous encounters, to respect each other for bravery and other qualities. Soon after the cessation of hostilities, the British were to befriend the Nepalese enroll them in their army and exploit them for the furtherance of British imperialist interests. It is recorded in the history that the heroism and courage displayed by Nepali soldiers in many a far-off and remote battlefields in the cause of the enlarging British colonial empire (Basnet; 1974).

The increased British influence in Sikkim made the pro-Tibetan party uneasy. Tinley Namgyal, a leader of pro-Tibet party did not have other alternatives but flee when he tried an unsuccessful attempt to capture the throne in 1874. He constantly kept trying to destabilize the British influence in Sikkim. He paid efforts to divert and exploit the resentment of the Tibet origin people of Sikkim against the settlement of the Nepalis to uproot the growing intervention for British colonial masters. It is mentioned in the chapter of history that with their growing intervention of British colonial masters encouraged the settlement of Nepalis in Sikkim. Nepali, the hardworking and courageous was most often encouraged to settle in dense terrain and valleys of Sikkim to expand the economy of state majorly in the interest of Britishers. Apart from it, British colonial administration intended to thwart the growing fear to their supremacy from royal court of the kingdom whose allegiance they ever doubted that Nepalis who would naturally look to the British for protection (Rao; 1972). The ethnic scene of Sikkim began to undergo a rapid change with the advent of the British. Not only the early Nepalese settlers multiplied in numbers, the British needed more Nepalese labor to develop Sikkim's communication network for access to Tibet (Das; 1983).

The Nepalese settlers, by their industry and their fecundity soon began to displace the local inhabitants. The local inhabitants were afraid lest they were reduced to minority. Maharaja Thotub Namgyal visited Kalimpong in November 1878, to request Sir Asley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to restrict the number of Nepalese settlement in Sikkim (Grover; 1974). The discontent between the anti-Nepalese immigration faction and pro-immigration faction was however, mounting steadily, riots broke out at Rhenock between the Bhutias and the Nepalese in 1880. A.W Paul was then sent to settle the matters at Tumlong, and a fresh agreement was drawn up and promulgated on 14th April, 1880 (Bhattacharya; 1984). By 1981, the Nepalese

constituted fifty-one percent of Sikkim's population, reducing the Lepchas to 19% and Bhutias to 16%.

2.5. Sikkim: The Protectorate State

After driving out the Tibetans from the Lingtu, the British wanted to settle the boundary between Tibet and Sikkim and talks in this regard were initiated under the guidance of H.M Durand, the foreign Secretary. Ultimately, the Anglo-Chinese connection was signed by Lord Lands down Viceroy and Governor General of India and Amban Shen Tai for China. It admitted British Government's protectorate over Sikkim and made the government of India solely responsible for the internal and external affairs of Sikkim and recognized the upper waters of Tista River as marking the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. The treaty was followed by set of regulations in 1893 regarding trade, communication and pasturage. The influence of Anglo-Chinese (1890) and the Lahas (1894) Conventions on Sikkim as a protectorate and dependency of British India were confirmed and it also obtained international reorganization. Besides, the government of India, by demonstrating its power in Tibet, made its position in Sikkim absolutely secure (Bhattacharyya; 1984).

British appointed J.C White as a political officer at Gangtok. He was to administer the affairs of the state. A council was composed of chief Dewans, Kazis, and Lama of which the political officer was the president (Sengupta; 1985). After formation of the council, the British ordered Maharaja Thutob Namgyal to remove himself to Kalimpong and he introduced system of monetary economy and appoints numbers of lessees' landlords in order to collect the land revenue. In order to raise revenue certain measures were taken. Land was given on favorable terms to the Nepalese who started

coming freely in with the increase in revenue, new roads and bridges were constructed which promoted trade and communication within the country (Sengupta; 1985).

The landlords were a class apart. Though, in course of time, the Bhutia elements predominated both as feudal and lessee landlords. Bhutia eroded the Lepchas aristocracy, they gradually lost contact with the Lepcha masses and began to identify themselves with the Bhutia aristocrats, called Kazis. The Lepchas had come to be bracketed with the Bhutia made full use of the monopoly in the exploitation of Lepchas. A large number of Lepchas migrated to the surrounding hill area of Darjeeling, where most of them came under the influence of Christian Missionaries (Basnet; 1974).

Sidkeong Namgyal becomes the 10th consecrated ruler of Sikkim on 11th February 1914 after the death of his father Thutab Namgyal. On becoming the Maharaja of Sikkim, Sidkeong made no secret of his desire to remove vested interest and his proposal to liquidate the system of landlords created staunch enemies among a large number of landlords. However he was not destined to rule for a long time. He died unmarried on 5th December 1914 and was succeeded by his younger half-brother, Tashi Namgyal, for a time, he was under the tutelage of Sir Charles Bell, who was the then political officer in Sikkim. Complete restoration of governmental authority was given to the new ruler when he became formally the Maharaja in April 1918, in this year, the British restored to Sikkim its complete internal autonomy (Grover; 1974).

The British held such sway over the Sikkim that they could not only exercise a paramount influence politically but also could meddle in the internal affairs of the state, thereby incapacitating the Chogyals rulers throughout. No organized force in Sikkim could put up resistance to the expansionist designs of the British which rather

regarded Sikkim a mere principality liable to the subdued at will. The Rajas in Sikkim remained under the mercy of the British rulers who to their own selfish interests, utilized fully the evil practices of conscripted but unpaid labor system of Jharlangi² for the purpose construction of roads and bridges and the system of Kuruwa³ and Kalo Bhari⁴ to carry the luggage's of the British officials and goods in to Tibet. All this kind of social suppression and oppression made life of common people in Sikkim intensely difficult. They were extorted too much that they had no peace of minds as there was hardly any congenial atmosphere for a healthy social life even under the reign of later on Chogyals during when feudal lords like the Kazis and Thekedars exploited the subjects and the riots (peasant serfs) to an extreme extent. This history of Sikkim is not an unhidden fact (Dewan; 2012).

The Sikkimese people during that time had undergone so much sufferings that they were bound to fight against the tyranny of the rulers of all kinds in their very home. Only since the 10th Chogyal's time reformative measures in regard to the prevailing harsh rules were sought to be effected. The 10th Maharaja was a great opponent of feudal aristocracy and the religious hierarchy but his reign was too short for his untimely death (Dewan; 2012).

The Namgyal dynasty reigned supreme in Sikkim for about 333 years during when altogether 12 Chogyals ruled the roost successively till the last one was banished from the throne in 1975 in a revolutionary upsurge and thus came the end of hereditary monarchy. The below table no. 2.1. shows the names of the Chogyals of the Namgyal Dynasty in a Chronological order.

²Exploitation of workers by the contractors on the grounds of wages.

³The process of waiting for work of Kalobhari.

⁴A local name given to the black load containing arms and ammunitions of Britisher's to be carried to Tibet though Sikkim

Table 2.1. Chogyals of the Namgyal Dynasty

Sl. No.	Name	Year of Birth A.D.	Year of Accession A.D.	Year of Death A.D.
1	Phuntsog Namgyal	1604	1641	1670
2	Tensung Namgyal	1644	1670	1700
3	Chagdor Namgyal	1686	1700	1717
4	Gyurmed Namgyal	1707	1717	1734
5	Namgyal Phuntsog	1733	1734	1780
6	Tensung Namgyal	1769	1780	1793
7	Tsugphud Namgyal	1785	1793	1863
8	Sidkeong Namgyal	1819	1863	1874
9	Thutob Namgyal	1860	1874	1914
10	Sidkeong Tulku Namgyal	1879	1914 (Feb)	1914 (5 th Dec)
11	Tasi Namgyal	1893 (26 th Oct.)	1914 (5 th Dec.)	1963 (2 nd Dec)
12	Palden Thondup Namgyal	1923 (22 nd May)	1963 (2 nd Dec)	1982 (30 th Jan)

Source: Sikkim Chronicle, Durga P. Chettri-2010

There were half a dozen British Political Officers in Gangtok between 1908, when J.C White demitted the office, and 1947, when the British left India for good as the colonial ruler. Among them, Charles A. Bell (1908-18), F.M Bailey (1918-28) and Basil Gould (1935-46), were the major players in term of their involvements in politics and J.L Weir (1928-33), Derrick (1933-35) and A.J Hopkinson (1946-47) as well played their roles (Sinha; 2008).

With the accession of Tashi Namgyal to the throne of Sikkim, the British relation with the kingdom entered in to a happy period. The Maharaja remained a loyal friend of the British till the end of their British rule in India. The government of India was so much satisfied with his loyalty that it had restored to him the power over the internal administration of the kingdom. The personal rule of the Maharaja may be regarded as

a success till 1946 when the kingdom was free from communal disturbances and political agitation. However, after 1947, the kingdom were faced many political agitation (Rao; 1972).

Thus, this Chapter gives the brief history of Sikkim since 13th century to 1947 about how the Tibetans, Nepalese and the British dealt with Sikkim. It also explained about the social analysis of the history of Namgyal rule which spread over the 333 long years and it also successfully provide the distinct Lamaist flavor to the body of politics of Sikkim. Sikkim was ruled by the Namgyal Dynasty and in all, 12 Namgyal rulers ruled over the Sikkim but in 18th century British came to Sikkim and interfere in external as well as internal matters of Sikkim. They made changes in different fields like political, cultural as well as social. Later Nepalese also migrated towards Sikkim and it was the British who invited them and later Nepalese out numbers the real inhabitants of Sikkim from their places and in a contemporary era the Nepalese had a majority of population. These chapters also explained about how Sikkim becomes the Protectorate during the reign of British and Namgyal. An attempted has been made to examine the different theories of political culture and violence in democracy in next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

POLITICAL CULTURE AND VIOLENCE IN DEMOCRACY:

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

Sikkim, the tiny Himalayan state has witnessed many political upheavals since the merger of the state with the Indian union. The state of Sikkim was merged with the Indian Union on 16th of May, 1975 and before it achieved full statehood, Sikkim was ruled by the Namgyal dynasty for 333 years. During the monarchy, Sikkim witnessed many political developments and political violence. The major political violence during the monarchy was agitation initiated by the political parties and the people of Sikkim to remove the monarchy and to establish democracy. This resulted in the merger of Sikkim with India. However, after the merger of Sikkim, the state had gone through different phases of legislative assembly elections and it also recorded different forms of violence before, during and after the polls.

The political culture of the state also underwent changes during this time period. In democracy, political violence and political culture is inter-related. The nature of political culture of the state of Sikkim is different from the rest of the states of India. India has witnessed many violent or political conflicts in the past which are different in character from the state of Sikkim. Sikkim has not experienced any major political violence associated with democracy unlike other states in the Indian union. In order to understand the political culture and political violence of Sikkim in particular and India

in general, the scholar first has to deal with the different concepts and theories associated with political culture and violence in democracy.

This chapter tries to look into the diverse and wide body of existing literature in order to build a theoretical framework for the study of political culture and violence. The main objective of this conceptual framework is to look into various definitions of political culture and violence in democracy by various social and political scientists. The chapter also tries to examine a conceptual framework which views political culture and violence from an interdisciplinary approach. On the basis of existing literature various definitions, theories on political culture and violence are being placed. This chapter also tries to look into the selective theoretical approaches as a wide ranging endeavor which would help to analyze the causes and patterns of political culture and political violence.

The political socialization and participation cannot be studied in isolation from each other. There is a relation between polity and society, and, this relation between polity and society is determined on the basis of the political culture. The political culture of a society is a significant variable which helps in understanding the political participation of different parts of society. The nature and processes associated with political socialization gives shape to political culture and it also governs the nature of political participation. The political culture of a country is developed through the process of political socialization and thus, political socialization plays a vital role to maintain and develop the political culture. Political socialization and political culture are interlinked. The former is related with the collective aspects of society and the latter is related with the individuals. Different societies develop their own discernment about the operationalization of the political system by specifying the duty of

governments towards their citizens based on specific norms and values that pertain to them. A democratic political culture implies that the individuals have the same level of awareness, duties and responsibilities towards their rights as their government.

The development of the study of political culture started in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. The concept of 'political culture' was propounded in a famous study by two American political scientists – Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. According to them, political culture is part of a society's culture which is connected with a specific political system. They defined political culture as "a subjective flow policy, which gives the value of political decisions, orders, institutions, and social meaning attached to individual actions." They also identified the five important dimension of political culture:

- a. A sense of national identity.
 - b. Attitudes towards one's fellow citizens.
 - c. Attitudes towards one's self as a participant in political life.
 - d. Attitudes towards and knowledge about the political process of decision making and
 - e. Attitudes and expectations regarding governmental output and performance
- (Almond and Verba; 1963).

Thus the political culture is the base of political activities which determines the nature of politics and it includes the experiences through historical approach to politics, social interaction, memories, individual orientation, political skills and political behaviour. Many political and social thinkers have developed different terms for political culture. Lucian Pye has defined political culture as follows:

“Political Culture is termed as a set of attitudes, sentiments and beliefs which give order and meaning to a political process and also provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system”.

Almond and Powell defined political culture as ‘the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of the political system’. In addition to this they also purport that ‘political culture refers to the pattern of perception and orientation of members of the society towards the political system of a country’. According to Talcott Parsons, ‘Political culture is concerned with orientation towards political objectives’.

Rajni Khothari in his book ‘*Politics in India*’ (2009) elucidates the fact that a country with a multicultural fabric like India needs to undertake socialization of its population into a basic structure and orientation by adopting a common culture which will hold the unity and homogeneity of the country. Orientations of particular political culture and its identification can be useful to understand a certain culture but may not stand true all the times to all segments of societies or individuals.

Bennett, in his book ‘*Public Opinion in American Politics*’ (1980) defines ‘political cultural deficits in the political personality of a nation’ – it constitutes the presence, or the lack thereof, of the deep rooted, well recognized political characters in which a particular society is characterized. Political culture ‘shapes the values, beliefs and attitudes of a society the way people recognize these, including slandered assumptions about the functioning of government in a political system.’

The political culture of one nation is different from the political culture of another nation. None of the nation's share the same political culture as it depends on the collective consciousness of all individuals within a territory towards the polity and functioning of the government or the patterns of governmental system. Almond and Verba have classified political culture into four types:

1. **Parochial Political Culture:** In this type of political culture, an individual does not have any knowledge about the political system of the country and doesn't participate in the processes and activities of the government including decision making and policy formulation. It is characterized by the lack of awareness among the individuals. This type of political culture can be found in countries with a monarchical form of government.
2. **Subject Political Culture:** In this type of political culture, people are conscious about the governmental system inasmuch as they tend to focus their reasoning and orientation towards the output related aspects of the political system. In this kind of political culture, people are not so much active in governmental activities but expect the positive action from the government that is in their general interest.
3. **Participatory Political Culture:** In this type of political culture, people are generally well aware and actively participate in both input and output related aspects of the political system. People actively participate in political activities identifying as active citizens and therefore, have high expectations from the government.
4. **Political Sub-culture:** The reason behind political subculture or differences in the political culture within a country arises due to the varying economic and social background, levels of educational attainment and political training, and

variations across ethnic groups. As it not necessary for the different groups in the country to be equally advanced, some are more or less advanced wherein the more advanced group develops participatory culture and others are retained as subjects (Almond and Verba; 1963).

3.2. Factors for the Development of Political Culture

A political culture is a product of traditional and modern elements which are intertwined across various factors. There are many factors which are responsible for change and development of political culture. They are:

- i. **Historical factors:** History plays a vital role in the creation and evolution of political culture. Historical events influence and shape the political culture. The political culture of every society is widely guided by historical events. The retention of certain old values and the emergence of modern attitudes and how these interact with each other is an important part of historical factors that determine the change and development of political culture.
- ii. **Geographical Factors:** Geography helps in contextualizing and fashioning a political culture. In the Indian context, it has helped in the development of unique civilizational ethos and values including the espousing of secular political culture after suffering from various foreign invasions and annexations.
- iii. **Socio-economic Factors:** The socio economic factors play a deterministic role in the foundational basis of political culture. In urban societies or in industrialized nations, the political culture is more complex because of

rapid communication systems, high levels of employment, better educational attainment, limited poverty, etc. Better socio-economic development in urban societies plays a vital role in shaping the political culture, whereas in rural societies, people are more conservative towards attitudes, values and beliefs.

- iv. **Political Continuity:** It is one of the most important factors for development of political culture in which beliefs and attitudes are unbroken and it is necessary to merge old values with new attitudes.
- v. **Symbols:** Symbols also play a significant role in the development of political culture. These can constitute of patriotic feelings and respect towards the national flag, observance of national mourning and prayers for different martyrs or any other such symbols which have an emotional attachment or reverence for the political system (Kumar, 2008).

3.3. Components for Political Culture

An individual's attitude and orientation towards politics is encompassed by political culture. The orientation towards the development of a specific political system within a society can be understood through three main dimensions which are as follows:

- **Cognitive Orientation:** Cognitive orientation refers to the individual knowledge and skills which help them to participate in a particular group as a member. It also refers to peoples' knowledge about the object of politics in general which helps in understanding the political system.
- **Affective Orientation:** This refers to the individual feelings and emotions towards the political system. It works as a parameter which analyses the

various contours of the attitudes of people towards the political system. It is related to the individual feelings of attachment or disappointment towards the political system.

- **Evaluative Orientation:** This orientation incorporates the individual opinion and judgment towards the political object (Singh; 1992).

Ashis Nandy in his article '*the Political Culture of Indian State*' notes that the prominent feature of the Indian political culture in the contemporary era has been the appearance of the nation- state as a hegemonic actor in the public realm. Since many decades, the nation-state has been an important factor in the Indian political scene and has shared this space with a number of political forces.

India has, for quite a long time, been exposed to colonial culture and has adopted the western knowledge system to transform the Indian society. With the advent of the colonial system, the Indian state had faced internal stresses and external conspiracies, all the while consolidating the grip of the Raj on the country. However, after independence, the concept of the nation state and its associated political culture has evidently changed. Indian political culture has unique character and nature because it has been seen as espousing and representing the essence of the culture of democratic politics the world over. With the advent of rapid global communication and global sensitivities, an individual can speak about global politics today within a community without specific individual cultures acting as a hindrance.

In another article titled 'A Culture of Indian Politics: A Stock Taking (1970)', Ashis Nandy stresses that political culture in India is not merely a reflection of community life style. There is a link between historical experiences of politics in terms of specific identities on the one hand and the need for new political formulations on the other.

According to Nandy, there are clear and distinct historical stages in the development of Indian political culture. Therefore, historical facts and prominent figures in politics play an important role in shaping the development of political culture in India.

The Indian political culture is widely manifested in terms of major challenges that can be analysed through various means viz. by identifying the link between the politics of communalism and the democratic electoral process, the predominance of traditional setting and the lack of secularization, the legacy of colonial rule, ethnic-religious fractions among communities manifested through pressure politics, an imbalance or cultural gap between the central government and the provinces, the dominance of Congress party in India, recurring setbacks or failure of the multi-party system, dominance of sub-national factors in the political culture, etc.

In Indian democracy, electoral politics seems to have been reduced to a game of numbers wherein the culture of accruing vote banks in order to achieve short-term electoral gains have become a predominant factor in the country's politics. Political instability prevails due to the culture of bargaining which is practiced during the electoral process on the basis of religion, linguistics and social minorities within a specific community. Politics and business have a similar objective in India i.e. accumulating profit and both the electorates as well as consumer are likely to be influenced in their respective domains (elections and the market) in order to achieve this goal.

There were two types of political culture in India, the traditional Indian political culture and the post-Gandhian political culture, the latter signifying the difference between political culture per se and the culture of pure politics. Moreover, there is a wide gap between professed and practiced political culture. The professed political

culture has a deep rooted basis in Indian traditions and customs whereas the practiced political culture is a product of western rationalism, secularism, scientism and individualism. The node and genesis of modern Indian political culture has been heavily influenced by the Congress party whose ideology has been dominant in the political discourse of the country post-independence. After independence, India has had a chequered experience of the concept of political culture. Political culture in India in recent times, moreover, has been reduced to a form of consumer culture propagating the values and ideas of the liberal political system (Gopalkumar; 1988).

In ancient India, during the predominance of monarchical form of government, people were not aware of their political rights and devoid of the understanding of political participation. Therefore, the political culture was narrow in terms of its scope of influence in light of the environment that existed during that time. After the advent of British rule in India, different kingdoms and princely states of India fell into the hands of British suzerainty. The despondency and deprivation suffered by the people of India during the British regime made people aware about their rights and duties. Earlier, power was confined in the hands of a few, but after independence, the scope and impact of politics widened and caste as a critical factor began to influence the Indian political system (Kumar; 2008).

The freedom movement of India made people more aware about the politics of the nation. After the British left the country in 1947, India adopted the parliamentary form of government. After the promulgation of the Constitution of India in 1950, Indian citizens participated in the first pan-national electoral process that guaranteed universal adult suffrage irrespective of one's caste, creed, gender or identity. The study of political stratification, political behaviour, political socialization, political

corruption, political defection, influence of pressure groups etc. are linked with the study of political culture (Kumar; 2008).

In a dynamic and fluid political system like that of India, what is attempted through this chapter is to understand the political culture of Sikkim the nature of the political legacy which has characterized the different political parties in the state. The state of Sikkim has witnessed many political upheavals since its inception. Sikkim has witnessed the *Chogyal* regime of the Namgyal dynasty for 333 years and during the period of monarchy, the people of Sikkim were not aware of their political and civic rights because of a lack of education, general political unawareness and poor communication.

The domain of politics was confined to very few individuals i.e. the kings, his ministers and few others who held official positions in the palace. People were loyal towards the king and the entry barriers present in the arena of politics were numerous which resulted in power disparity among Sikkim's population with a large portion of it residing within a few hands due to lack of education and communication. Other factors which led to lack of awareness about politics within the state under the monarchical rule were the low level of economic development and an incessant struggle towards ensuring their livelihoods. This meant that the people hardly had enough time to think about their political status.

The struggle for a free and independent India during the colonial rule inspired the people of Sikkim to fight for their basic political rights. With the advent of western education system in India, and later in Sikkim, the people of Sikkim became aware of their political rights and raised their voice by agitating on the streets against the monarchical rule, the Kazis and the Thekedars of the Chogyal monarchy. After 1947,

many regional political parties were formed in Sikkim and these parties started demanding the introduction of a democratic form of government in the state. The aim of these variegated and different political parties and organizations in Sikkim was to abolish the feudal and semi-colonial administrative system, all the while demanding the establishment of a popular government elected through polls in the state.

The formation of different political parties and their agitations against the monarchical rule provided renewed political consciousness among the people of Sikkim. After many a struggle, on 16th May 1975, Sikkim became the 22nd state of Indian Union. Under the constitution of India, in the year 1979, the first general election for the legislative assembly of Sikkim was held post which Nar Bahadur Bhandari assumed the role of the Chief Minister of the State by virtue of winning the elections under the banner of Sikkim Sangram Parishad Party (SSPP).

After the merger of Sikkim into the Indian Union, the political culture of Sikkim underwent a remarkable change. Now, under democracy, regional political parties began playing an important role in the politics of Sikkim. Since the 1960s, the regional political parties had begun their political activities with full vigour, thus, gradually becoming popular and strong within the state. Moreover, after the merger of Sikkim with India in 1975, their vociferousness and strength kept on growing as a result of their persistent efforts towards ensuring the protection of political rights of the people of Sikkim.

Beginning with the first general election of the legislative assembly in 1979, only regional parties have been ruling the state of Sikkim. These regional political parties influence the peoples' choice of candidates and their political orientation through exhibiting and expressing their specific regional political ideology. The phenomena of

horse-trading and splits within a political party through defections in order to achieve political power became a common phenomenon in Sikkim as the years under democracy progressed. Since 1975, the opposition in the assembly was not vibrant and there was a palpable absence of opposition parties in the state due to the dominance of a single party. This led to the creation of one-party like system in the state which resembled the feudal power relations of the monarchy in the past.

In Sikkim, the opposition parties leveled many charges against the ruling front including, among others, indulging in corruption, redtapism, favouritism, nepotism etc. In essence, therefore, despite the promises of the protagonists and self-styled harbingers of change, peace and democracy in its real form did not exist in the state. The political culture and the process of political socialization in Sikkim have undergone numerous changes from time to time. The political culture in contemporary era in the state may be characterized as participant political culture where people are more conscious about the political rights and are involved in the functioning of democratic politics.

3.4. Political Violence

Elections play a fundamental role in democratic governance as they provide legitimacy through direct popular participation, and in turn, legitimacy creates capacity for effective governance (Brown, 2003). Elections are intended to provide a peaceful method for groups to compete for political power, sometimes directly replacing violent alternatives. However, in situations when political parties have not yet accepted the rules of the game, violence is theorized to be an effective tool to influence election results (Machado et al. 2011).

The clear demarcations drawn by political parties, especially when formed by already contentious groups can make conditions suitable for violence to emerge, a subject of interest in its own right (Chandra, 2001; Reilly; 2002). The different visible group markers make violence more effective at manipulating election results; this implies that groups formed along such lines, like ethnicity, are more inclined to election violence. Although many theories of election violence exist, the electiveness of electoral violence remains largely untested (Hickman; 2009).

Elections play several fundamental roles in democracies, primary among which is their role in conferring legitimacy to a government. Kerr (2009) argues that it is most important for elections to be perceived as free and fair. When this is true, the author purports, voters are more satisfied with democracy, more supportive of the ruling government, and that members of the losing party are more likely to accept defeat. But when one party refuses to accept the result, there is a significantly higher chance that violence will accelerate.

Political violence has developed into a highly interesting research area within the social science as it can be considered as one of the oldest and most intricate problems in modern politics and international relations revealing the more harsh facets of politics. In recent times the field of political violence has been expanding with numerous researches being carried out and ample amount of contemporary literature being written on the subject. With the expansion in its utility as a concept in understanding contemporary politics, it indicates its dominant place amongst the modern disciplines of social sciences. The study of political violence was significantly less so within the social sciences until the 1960s. Harry Eckstein observes that this neglect was indicative of the lack of literature on the subject (Eckstein, Harry; 1964).

The gradual increase in attention devoted to the field of political violence since the early 1960s is largely attributed to the growing number of politically-related violent incidents. The starkly striking incidents, which distinguish this period from any other previous era, are the Civil Rights Movement in America, the assassination of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King Jr., and the Vietnam War (Mehden, Von Der and Fred R.; 1973). Later on political violence was accepted and considered as the legitimate field of study by various social and political scientists and proved to be an incentive for investing further academic resources towards the study of the problem. Political violence can be viewed as a representation of a form of struggle and an expression of this struggle.

Political violence is a term that continues to evolve temporally in the realm of political science. In 1970, Ted Robert Gurr defined political violence as “all united attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actor, or its policies.” He added that the use of force, force being the “use or threat of violence by any party or institution to attain ends within or outside the political order”, is inherent to all forms of political violence (Gurr, Ted Robert; 1970). The articulation of political conflict or violence among other authors is a bit different in that they define political violence as ‘non-institutionalized coercive or threatening interactions between citizens and states’ (Jenkins, J. Craig and Kurt Schock; 1992). Still others articulate political violence as “the intentional use of illegitimate force (actual or threatened) with arms or explosives, against a person, group, community, or state that undermines people-centered security and/or sustainable development” (Gilgen, Elisabeth Keith Krause and Robert Muggah; 2010).

Mohammed Hafez points out that political violence is not a tangible term that has a single definition. He argued that not only did the targets of violence change, but the 'methods and instruments of violence also changed over the course of time'(M. Hafez, Mohammed; 2000).

The theory related to political violence, made popular by Ted Robert Gurr in 1970, suggests that 'discontent manifested by the failure to aspire or receive can lead to political violence'. Gurr's three-step model illustrates how discontent grows into violent action: first the development of discontent, second the politicization of that discontent, and finally its actualization in violent action against political objects and actors (Gurr, Ted Robert; 1970)

Political Process theory advocates that political violence is an outcome of an unfortunate convergence of three variables: indiscriminate repression, exclusive organizations and anti-system ideologies. This theory stated that the repressiveness of the political system is the prime indicator of political violence (M. Hafez, Mohammed; 2000). Fearon and Laitin argue that poverty and inequality are better indicators of political violence because weak states are the cause of political violence and economic variables are simply indicators of weak governance (D. Fearon James and David D. Laitin; 2003).

There are salient theories which represent the existing views of the phenomenon of political violence given by various political scientists. "*Curve theory of Rising Expectations*" by James C. Davies' or J-curve theory states that violent revolutions occur when there is an unacceptable gap between people's expectations and the satisfaction of actual needs (year). If the ensuing frustration and aggression is widespread, intense and focused on the government, then a revolution may follow.

Thus, Davies applies the frustration and aggression thesis to connect a country's economic conditions to its society's potential for revolution. Although the J-curve theory has also been criticized as a theory with serious limitations, it is nevertheless an important theory in the study of political violence. One of the major advocates of the behaviorists, Ted Robert Gurr, supports Davies argument that widespread frustration and aggression directed against the government are conducive to revolution. Gurr identifies the systematic blocking of political and economic opportunities as a main cause of the frustration and aggression.

Important supporter of political modernization, Samuel P. Huntington, focuses on the question of why revolutions occur more frequently in modernizing societies or the societies undertaking transition between traditional and modern forms than in categorically traditional or modern countries. This theory argues that the process of modernization undermines the traditional political authority and institutions, and that revolutions are likely to take place during the period of transition before new institutions are established. The modernization theory is important to this study as its main focus is on the developing countries of the Third World. It is the main thesis which addresses the political violence in modernizing countries and, therefore, is particularly relevant to this study.

The conditions of political violence are multiple and complex. Harry Eckstein makes a distinction between preconditions and precipitants. 'Preconditions of political violence are long-term socio-economic and political factors that generate discontent and cover the way to the creation of violent organizations. Precipitants are short-term factors that ignite political violence' (Eckstein. Harry; 1965) Political participation and political development has been seen in terms of the capacity of the political

system to implement collective goals, resolve the issues by which it is confronted, and adapt to challenges involved in the emergence of a modern polity. S. P. Huntington states that in modernizing societies, building the state means enlarging the bureaucracy, but more importantly also means establishing an effective party system capable of structuring the participation of new groups in politics. The precondition of political stability is a party system capable of assimilating the new social forces produced by modernization (Huntington, S P; 1968)

Thus, the nature of the concept and the wide area it covers makes it almost impossible to arrive at a generally accepted single definition of political violence. Yet, there are certain important definitions which focus on some of the salient aspects of political violence and provide a working definition. Harry Eckstein in his definition of political violence chose to replace the term 'revolution' with that of 'internal war'. He defined political violence as "any resort to violence within a political order geared to change its constitution, rulers or policies" (Eckstein; 1965).

H. L. Nieburg has advanced the definition of political violence as "acts of disruption, destruction (and) injury whose purpose, choice of targets or victims, surrounding circumstances, implementation, and/or effects have political significance, that is, tend to modify the behavior of others in a bargaining situation that has consequences for the social system" (Nieburg, H.L; 1969). Nieburg's definition, however, has been criticized on the grounds that it lacks precision and is too inclusive. Furthermore, the definition fails to distinguish violence perpetrated by the state or regime in power from the violence and related activities of the general populace (Mars, Perry; 1975).

Samuel P. Huntington in his definition of political violence sought to limit the term revolution mainly to movements with objectives related to radical changes in the

social structure, institutions and ideology. He defined a revolution as "a rapid, fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership, governmental activity and policies" (Huntington, S P; 1968). For Ted Robert Gurr political violence meant "all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors, including competing political groups as well as incumbents or its policies" (Gurr, Ted Robert; 1970).

According to Gurr's definition, armed attacks are political violence perpetrated on the state by non-governmental political actors. Gurr's definition of political violence too has raised questions, the most obvious of which is, if political violence is comprised of collective attacks against a political regime, how he defines the collective defense of non-state bodies against attacks by a regime. This mono-causal chain of attacks against the state perpetrated by non-state bodies and the exclusion of the reverse directional relationship fails to account for the attacks carried out by the state against non-state bodies. Thus he fails to define violence originating from the regime thereby weakening his definition of political violence.

As shown above, there is no general agreement on the definition of the subject. This leads one to conclude that political violence is a very broad term that is applied to all kinds of violent acts with a political motive. Thus, political violence is used as a term for events variously labeled as riots, rebellion, internal wars, turmoil, revolution, insurgence and other forms of violence. It will not be the task of this study, however, to provide a generally agreed definition which covers all aspects of political violence. Therefore, the present study will examine political violence as pre-planned armed

attacks by an organized group or groups to capture or change political power in a domestic political system.

According to Powell, political violence has three general objectives: ‘to change the negotiating rules of the democratic game, to undermine the support enjoyed by the regime or its major parties, or to coerce the opposition while mobilizing support’ (Powell; 1982).

Violence increases the cost of certain actions; therefore, individuals have no chance but to accept the authority of the dominant armed actor. This general expectation has three main assumptions. First, that in violent contexts, there is a conflict between two competing armed actors. These actors may be the government and an insurgent force or an illegal armed actor close to the government – a counterinsurgent force or a paramilitary group and an insurgent group. Second, that these groups have legitimized over ground political counterparts or associate political parties which compete in the domain of electoral politics. Some armed actors have close links to political parties as they share a common political project (Elazar; 2000).

Other armed actors develop alliances with political parties. However, these agreements may be temporally limited and they do not necessarily demarcate a fraternal or an ideological connection. They may be a product of strategic decisions to reach a common political goal. The political dimension of armed actors suggests that they may also differ in terms of their strategies toward the political system. Some armed actors may want to influence politics by trying to affect, for example, electoral results, while others may want to undermine the existing political system, by blocking elections or by overthrowing elected authorities (Pizarro; 1996).

Theorizing political violence further, Wolf defines it as: ‘the illegitimate and unauthorized use of force to effect decisions against the will or desires of other people in the society’ (Wolf; 1969). According to Gurr (1970), political violence refers to all collective attacks within a political community against the political regime, its actors including competing political groups as well as incumbents or its policies. It is possible to clearly see that there is a correlative relationship between the two concepts given by Wolf and Gurr and that they are complementary.

Conflict theoretical perspective shares the same assumptions concerning the nature of the society and political violence. Marxists situate every social action within the realm of economic base and lays much emphasis on historical and dialectical materialism as a methodological device. Conflict theory on the other hand emphasizes conflict as the hallmark of the society (Yecho; 2005). The theory is based upon the view that the fundamental causes of political violence are the social and economic forces that operates within society.

Conflict theorists are of the view that there are groups in the society that have different interests. In this regard they believe that social arrangement will tend to benefit some groups at the expense of others. Due to the existence of different interests, the potentials and the likelihood of conflict is always present. According to this theory, some groups come to dominate others and to win for themselves a disproportionate share of the society’s political power, which includes wealth and privileges in the society at the expense of the less powerful ones. They also insinuate a motive or incrimination against the activities of the less powerful while they protect that of the powerful persons. Such situations according to this theory create violence (Anderson and Taylor; 2009).

The theory is of the view that, the masses are not bound to society by their shared values, but by coercion at the hands of those in power. This perspective emphasizes social control, not consensus and conformity. Groups and individuals advance their own interests, struggling over control of societal resources. Those with the most resources exercise power over others with resultant outcomes being inequality and persistent power struggles to influence the polity. There is great attention paid to class, race, and gender in this perspective because they are seen as the grounds of the most pertinent and enduring struggles in society which often lead to political violence (Anderson and Taylor; 2009).

3.5. Theories on Political Violence

The main purpose of this chapter is to give a general overview of the major theories relating to the study of political violence. Since the independence of India and formation of democracy in the country, the growing interest in political culture and the political violence has formulated many theories in the field. Jack Goldstone identified three generations of studies on political violence.

The first generation, including works by Brinton and Edwards, was primarily descriptive in that it identified preconditions and stages in the process of revolution, but lacked a solid theoretical basis (Brinton; 1938). The second generation theorized about the determinants of revolutionary activity by focusing on the rebels' intentional actions, whether psychological in origin or rational but violent, extensions of ordinary political conflict (Skocpol; 1979). The third generation, including Skocpol's study has been more sensitive to the historical and social-structural context and thus is able to account for the diversity of outcomes (Goldstone; 1980).

3.6. Approaches to Political Violence

There are three main approaches to study political violence i.e. Social-structural, social-psychological and politico-economic. The main reasons for emphasizing these three approaches are, first, that they are basically concerned with internal or domestic forms of political violence. Secondly, the theoretical assumptions of the study are mainly derived from these approaches. Finally, these theories include the major theories in the field of political violence. As there are many arguments pertaining to these approaches, this chapter will present each of the four theories in brief and go on to outline its major criticisms.

Chalmers Johnson, who is a major exponent of the social-system approach to political violence, has remonstrated some of the salient points of the social-structural argument. He formulated the contours of his theory first in *Revolution and the Social System* (1964) and later in, *Revolutionary Change* (1966). Johnson's simplest observation of violence is that it is a form of human behavior. Having been influenced by Max Weber's analysis of social action, however, his final definition of violence is that, it is action which deliberately or unintentionally disorients the behavior of others. It has to be noted that Johnson does not dwell on the concept of violence but chooses to focus on a universal model of revolution which, according to him, is a 'phenomenon of wide-ranging implications'. It is elite intransigence which always "serves as a remote cause of revolution" (Johnson, Chalmers; 1966).

In the model of revolution thus demonstrated Johnson goes on to discuss a typology of revolution which shall be addressed below when discussing the typologies of political violence in general. Chalmers Johnson identifies six types of political

violence by adapting the following criteria, which have been discerned at an abstract level:

- a. **Targets or aims of revolutionary activity:** the revolution is aimed at substituting personnel in the government, replacing the entire political regime or forcing the resettlement of the community.
- b. **Identity of the revolutionaries:** they represent or originate from the elite or the masses.
- c. **Revolutionary goals or ideology:** eschatological, nostalgic, nation-forming elite or nationalists.
- d. **Whether the revolution' is impulsive or pre-planned** (Johnson, Chalmers; 1964).

Johnson finds it necessary, however, to further explain his criteria. In this context, the first question that can be raised is as to whether a revolution results in the replacement of only a portion of the government, the entire regime or even the community. Community is viewed as a dynamic concept, characterized by a division of labor which unifies and is a means by, which people perceive their social life. The criterion of mass or elite-led revolution refers to those who perceive the dysfunctional conditions within the society. The criterion of ideology deals with the proposed methods of easing social dysfunction and the alternate regimes suggested by the revolutionaries. Johnson's six types of political violence are as follows:

1. **The Jacquerie:** The target of a Jacquerie rebellion is the government. The rebellion has limited goals, and is characterized by a mass uprising of peasants who act spontaneously. The accelerators of this type of rebellion have immediate effects such as famines and wars. The conditions conducive for a Jacquerie may exist for some

time but a particular occurrence such as a defeat in war may indicate that the elites are incapable of performing their role. A characteristic response would be a purge of local elites by the masses.

2. **The Millenarian Rebellion:** Millenarian rebellions are defined as those which are caused by unidentified sources of dysfunctions. The alternate way of recognizing the changes that are necessary to elevate the dysfunctions is to rely on the belief that supernatural forces would cause such changes. These rebellions have taken place in traditional societies which have been forced to change by external forces such as industrialism, imperialism and secularism.

3. **The Anarchistic Rebellion:** This category of rebellion occurs as a result of changes made in response to the dysfunctions perceived by the majority of the population. The motivation behind an anarchistic rebellion is the dissatisfaction with the previous changes and the perception of dysfunctions after such changes have occurred. Hence, these rebellions are made by members with a bleak future, and are aimed at the government or regime. Their ideology is based on an ideal which means making additional but much more radical social changes.

4. **The Jacobin Communist Revolution:** This type of revolution attempts to transform almost every substructure in a society. The social system is characterized by multiple systemic dysfunctions. An accelerator causes revolution within one group and this revolution in turn acts as an accelerator towards revolutions amongst other groups. The French Revolution and the Russian Revolution are two examples.

5. **The Conspiratorial Coup d' etat:** This pattern of revolution narrows Johnson's typology to a micro level. The conspiratorial coup d' etat is an attempt by a limited

and select group, who share a common grievance, to bring about revolutionary change. Such revolutions are pre-planned and are void of mass support. The ideology of these revolutions is elitist or tutelary, e.g. the Egyptian coup of 1952, and the Ghana coup of 1966.

6. The Militarized Mass Insurrection: The distinguishing character of this form of revolution is that it is a pre-planned revolution with a revolutionary strategy and mass support. Although this type of revolution is launched by a mass segment of the population, it is engineered by a "conspirational revolutionary general staff", and is nationalist oriented. The more widely known revolutions which come within the purview of this typology are the Chinese Revolution (1937- 49), and the Algerian Revolution (1945-62).

James C. Davies' J-curve Theory: The J-curve theory of revolution, as presented by James C. Davies, has been reformulated and adapted to the study of other indicators of political violence. In this discussion, the researcher examines the J- curve theory, including one of its adaptations, and then focuses on its applicability to the study of political violence. The most systematic attempt to relate the dynamics of frustration-aggression to political violence is Davies's theory of the J-curve. He has been influenced in its formulation by the Marxist theory that revolutions occur when there is socio-economic degradation, and by de Tocqueville's theory that revolutions occur when economic conditions improve. Consequently, revolution is accordingly seen by Davies as the effect of neither poverty nor economic improvement alone but of a certain sequence of the two. Thus influenced, Davies maintains that revolutions are most inevitable in societies which first have experienced economic and social growth, and are subsequently faced with a period of "sharp reversal during which the gap

between expectations and gratifications quickly widens and becomes intolerable" (Davies, 1972).

Davies observes that people who are at a marginal state or level of existence and are deprived of resources, remain politically passive and inactive. This passivity is explained by the facts that within the framework of an impoverished society people tend to endure hardships and detach themselves from any activity other than mere survival. The family remains the basic unit of interaction, and social contact is restricted to the limits of survival. Such levels of low social interaction do not permit a high level of political awareness and participation. Davies' conclusions are based mainly on studies and reports of the Minnesota starvation experiment conducted during World War II, and the reported behavior of victims/inmates in Nazi concentration camps (Davies; 1972).

Gurr's Theory of Relative Deprivation: The social-psychological theories purport to explain the occurrence of political violence. They draw heavily on the frustration-aggression model to formulate a causal model of violence. In contrast to the J-curve theory which is concerned with defining the conditions in which a revolution may occur, the proponents of relative deprivation trace the origins of revolutionary motivation to the minds of the masses. Theorists such as Gurr, Feierabend and Nesvold have constructed models on the basis of this theory. Since Gurr's model of political violence is the most sophisticated of these, the researcher here concentrates on Gurr's model of civil strife. Gurr's theory is an attempt to analyze the following three aspects of political violence: its sources, magnitude, and forms. In tracing a causal link in political violence, Gurr finds that the development of discontent is

followed by the politicization of that discontent and finally, by its realization in "violent acts against political objects and actors" (Gurr; 1978).

Ted Gurr formulated a three-fold typology of political violence based on the following aspects: who participates, whether it is the elite or the masses, and whether or not the violence is highly organized. Gurr goes on to define three forms of political violence. They are as follows:

Turmoil: Correspondingly unplanned and unorganized mass conflict. It is usually found occurring in the form of political strikes, riots, political clashes and localized rebellions. According to Gurr, the difference between turmoil and the other two forms of civil strife can be reduced to differences in the degree of organizational clarity of goals and the extent of citizen participation.

Conspiracy: Planned political violence involving a few participants as in political assassinations, small scale terrorism, small-scale guerrilla warfare, coups and mutinies.

Internal War: Large-scale, organised, widespread and mass civil strife involving extensive violence as in widespread terrorism, guerrilla war, civil war and revolution (Gurr; 1978).

Gurr has utilized a variety of techniques and aggregate indicators in an attempt to prove his theory. Paradoxically, due to the complexity of his techniques and their proliferation, the weaknesses of the theory have increased. It becomes increasingly evident from the data which Gurr has utilized that the validity of Gurr's theory is questionable. In measuring the magnitude of violence Gurr relies heavily on event data derived from secondary sources. For instance, data on the number of participants

and casualties is determinative of the intensity and pervasiveness of the violence. Information obtained in conditions of political violence regarding the number of participants and casualties could hardly be accurate because most of the data would be inaccessible and some participants would operate undercover (Tilly; 1971).

Furthermore, on the basis of his own studies, Tilly finds that the less the model of political violence applies, as a result of the discontent of a total population, the less the frustration- aggression argument yields. Tilly, in his studies, finds that an important part of collective violence is the violence carried out by representatives of the state. Tilly contends that a majority of the violence is initiated and carried out by "troops, police and other specialized repressive forces" (Tilly; 1971).

Consequently, in Gurr's theory there is no area for discussion of the socio-economic structures and political processes which are essential to any theory of the development of political violence. Another definitional weakness which Gurr fails to circumvent is the distinction between violent and non-violent protests. All forms of protest which reach beyond the institutional limits are covered by the term civil strife (Nadi; 1971).

Samuel P. Huntington's Theory of Modernisation: Huntington, who is one of the major exponents of the modernisation thesis, seeks to explain the process of violence and revolution in terms of social changes and political development. He draws a distinction between countries which are governed effectively and those which are devoid of effective government. The countries which are governed effectively are characterized by a stable political system, by a mutually shared vision of the people and their leaders of what comprises public interest and other fundamentals of a public community, and finally by the government's ability to command the loyalty and

obedience of the citizenry. The countries which are not governed effectively depict contrary characteristics and are potentially revolutionary (Huntington; 1968).

Thus, revolutions are won by a coalition of social forces in which the peasants and the middle class are significant players. Charles Tilly, in analysing the theory of social change, mobilisation and political institutionalization, finds that the theory offers a "plausible" explanation of revolution, government instability and collective violence in the poorer countries. The explanation is found to be plausible in the sense that it ignores the fact that relatively peaceful countries are also subject to more rapid changes. Modernisation can cause disintegration but there is no assured evidence that political violence and revolution are an integral part of social change (Tilly; 1973).

CHAPTER 4

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CULTURE AND VIOLENCE IN NORTHEAST INDIA

4.1. Introduction

The history of Sikkim spans across the traditional knowledge and politics of the indigenous people of Sikkim, their encounter and interaction with the Tibetan and Namgyal dynasty, education and governing system of the British and missionaries and of late the political culture and the system of union of India. Ruled since 1642 by the Chogyals of the Namgyal dynasty, the erstwhile land locked kingdom of Sikkim merged with Indian in 1975. The presence of the British Political Officers in Sikkim and their policies brought many changes in the history of the state which had the lasting impact. In order understand the history and culture of Sikkim, it is essential to know Sikkim's relation with the neighboring states like Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, and Nagaland. This chapter dealt with how Northeastern region of India is emerged and it also dealt with the political development as well as the dynamics of electoral politics and political violence in the North Eastern part of India. Northeast plays a significant role in the Indian union and its political structure is different from rest of the country.

4.2. Emergence of Northeast India

Northeast India is considered to be the land of Tribal. Before Independence this entire areas was known as Assam province. The region has a high concentration of tribal population. Time and again seven different states have been separated from the same

area. The states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram are mostly inhabitant by a numbers of native tribes, each tribe has its own distinct tradition of art, culture, dance, music and lifestyle. The North East states shares boarders with China in the North, Mynamar in the East, Bangladesh in the south west, Nepal in the west and Bhutan in the north-west. The landscape range of the communities and geographical and ecological and political diversity makes the North east quite different from other state of India.

Assam is divided in to two physical units, the northeastern and central hills tracts and the valleys of the Barak and the Brahmaputra. On the north of Assam lie the eastern Himalayas reaching the highest altitude in the Northeast at Namchu Burwa 7,756 meters. The different part of the sub Himalayan regions, comparatively lower in elevation is named after the semi mongoloid tribes who inhabit in these hills: the Bhutias, Akas, Duflas, Abors, Miris and Mishmis. These ranges continue towards the southeast and join the Patkai hills, the natural boundaries between Assam and Burma. The Assam range in the middle is also occupied from east to the west by the various tribes of the Nagas, Jaintias, Khasis and Garos. On the south lie Chin and Lushai (Mizo) hills, Chittagong hill tracts and hill Tipperah. Though hemmed in on the three sides by mountain barrier, Assam was linked up with the neighboring countries by several routes. The physical division lead to the emergence in Assam of two distinct ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups, namely dweller of hills and those of the plains (Bar Pujari; 2007).

4.3. History of Northeast India

The history of these regions was in a distinct form, the region was known as Pragjyotisha a very powerful kingdom with is capital at Pragjyotishapur, and where

presents it's called Gauhati. Some non Aryan kings ruled the region during epic period and the name of the region became Kamrupa during Pauranic and Tantrik period. After a long period of peace and freedom, the kingdoms enter a new phase of unrest and hostilities. During the Medieval period with the invasion of Muslims (1205-1206 AD) and the Ahoms (1228 AD), as a result many small kingdoms were merged with Kamrupa. Thus the kingdom of Koches, Bhuyans, Kacharis, Chutiyas and Ahoms were established during 13th to 15th Centuries (Hazarika; 1996).

During the beginning of 16th centuries Ahoms and Koch dynasties attain their supremacy in eastern and western part of Kamrupa. Later on British came to this region through the treaty of **Yandaboo in 1826**, to emancipate people from the difficulties which they faced by the Burmese invasion and political instability. Since 1826, the British administration started the development and formulated strategies to achieve its ends. Their strategies were different for hills and plains of this region. The elite class was emerged in the plains through the process of modernization and later on they felt the exploitation made by the colonial administration and raised voice against it. The inherited socio economic inequalities in the post-independence scenario, the Indian nation state building process faced serious problems of conflict such as the sub-national movements, boundary disputes, demand for regional autonomy etc. and most of this conflict have roots in the historic past i.e., from pre-colonial to colonial period (Hazarika; 1996).

From 1826 to 1873 Assam was under the Bengal presidency without any representative in any legislative or policy making bodies. On February 6, 1874 Assam was constituted in to a chief Commissioner's Province and declared as schedule

district. From 1874 to 1906 legislative functions for the region was carried on in three ways:

- a. Either directly by the imperial legislative council,
- b. Or by regulations under 33 Victoria by the Governor General on a proposal from the Chief Commissioner,
- c. Or by the chief commissioner with the prior sanction of the Governor General under Schedule district Act, 1874 (Pakem; 1999).

On 1st September 1905, it became part of the Lieutenant Governor's Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. On 1st April 1912, it was separated and converted to Chief Commissionership, this time with a Legislature (under the Indian Council Act of 1909). It became a Governor's province in 1921 (Chaube; 2012).

On 16th October 1905 Bengal was partitioned and a new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was created. On 1906 Assam came to belatedly enjoy the rights of representation in a provincial council formed under the Act of 1892. It was an integral part of a Lieutenant Governor's Province endowed with a legislative council. This council was small body of fifteen members, out of which two quasi-elected seats were allotted to Assam. These members did not come through elections in the ordinary sense of the term, but were merely recommended in rotation by groups of public bodies such as local boards and municipalities. Therefore, it rested with the lieutenant governor to accept the recommendations or not, as he thought fit, even lieutenant governor had no power to appoint the members of his council. Such small council could hardly accommodate the top brass of all the communities, particularly two third of its members were in practice always Britishers. Therefore the Assamese community went unrepresented on this council until February 1909 (Guha; 2014).

It was only the Indian Council Act of 25 May 1909, which came to force on 15th November 1909, that Assam got five out of forty seats, and again out of five only three were elective seats and the other two went to industry and one for Muslim from Surma Valley. So, the legislative council of Eastern Bengal and Assam, though under a non-official majority did not fully represent the local people. On 1st April 1912, Assam was again reconstituted in to its former status of a Chief Commissioners Province because of strong opposition to the partition of Bengal (Pakem; 1999).

The seats in the Assam Legislative Council which was created in November 1912 Under the Indian Council Act of 1909 had been increased to twenty five. The nonofficial members were also in a majority in view of the fact that fifteen seats were allotted to them. Indian members were only twelve in numbers, six Bengalis, five Assamese and one Parsi. On 23rd December 1919 the new Government of India Act was passed and called Dyarchy. The reform council under the new act for Assam constituted in November 1920. The strength of the council was raised from twenty five to fifty three. Nationalists boycott the general elections to the first reformed council (1921-23) because of strong opposition to Dyarchy. In spite of the boycott, out of fifty three seats thirty three were elected and the other twenty were nominated officials (Pakem; 1999).

The Dyarchy in operation in Assam had two wings of its executive government. i. the administration of transferred subject and ii. The administration of reserved subject. Two ministers, supposedly responsible to the Legislature, were to advise the Governor on the administration of transferred subject. The reserve subject was entrusted to two executive councilors who were not responsible to the Legislature. In administrating these reserved subjects, the provincial government was responsible

only to the Government of India. The area of transferred subject was more limited in Assam, to begin with, than in other provinces. The position of a minister under the system was unenviable. He was appointed and dismissed by the Governor, but his pay was fixed by the council (Guha; 2014).

The First Reform Council plays a colorless and submissive role. The First Council fail to pass even a perfunctory resolution recommending the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of repressive laws, despite the fact that such resolution had been passed by other provincial councils after the suspension of the movement. The First Reform Council's record of legislative output was conspicuously poor. The only major of importance was the Municipal Act, 1923, containing provisions for separate electorates on a communal basis in Municipal elections. The council deliberation reflected a disagreement between the majority of its members and the government on the issue of land revenue resettlement in the temporarily settled areas. The land revenue demand used to be periodically revised every ten years. A resettlement had been made during 1905-12, for a period of twenty years. As, this settlement was about to expire, government decided to commence another settlement operation in district of Kamrup and Sibsagar but the reform council opposed resettlement because of fear of increased taxation (Guha; 2014).

In the Second Reform Council (1924-26) there were a coalition between the Swarjists, Nationalist and Independent. The alliance between the parties makes the ruling front weak so that the government was defeated in time to time. There were no confidence motion ruled was formed during the second reform council, so that government did not resigned from the ministry even after defeated by the opposition front. It was only on Third Reform Council 1926 to 29 in which provision of no-confidence motion

were introduced. On 27th March 1929, a non-confidence was tabled in the house against Rev. J. J M Nicholas Roy and later on with the intervention of Governor General, Nicholas resigned as an individual not as a government (Rao, Pakem et. All; 1984).

Due to changing political scenario, there was no opposition during Fourth Reform Council of 1929-36. The leaders of political parties were fighting for independent and none of the Nationalist leaders were interested in participating the parliamentary system of the state. Bicameral was introduced in the state under the provision of the Government of India Act 1935, in which Legislative Council as Upper house with 22 members and Legislative went through election. During 1935, with the new system, the general election of legislative assembly was held in Assam. The Congress party, Surma Valley Muslim Party, United Peoples' Party, Muslim League Party, Tribal League, European Planters and other many political parties took part in the election and Saadula became the Chief Minister of Assam with Coalition with others parties. There were more than seven coalition government in Assam during 1937 to 1947 (Pakem; 1999).

After India became Independent from the British colony in 1947, only three states cover the Northeast area i.e., Manipur and Tripura were princely states, while Assam province was under direct British rule. After the decades of Independence, Indian government reorganized the other four states on the basis of ethnic and linguistic lines. Nagaland became a separate state in 1963 and Meghalaya in 1972. Mizoram became a Union Territory in 1972 and later on achieved statehood along with Arunachal Pradesh in 1987. (Sadangi; 2008).

Since India Independence in 1947, Northeast India has been split up in to smaller and smaller states and autonomous regions. The divisions were made to accommodate the requirements of tribes and ethnic groups which want to assert their sub-national identity and obtain an area where the facility of their little coterie is recognized. The New Delhi has yet to comprehend that its policy of accepting and institutionalizing the identities of these ethnic, linguistic and tribal group has ensured more demands for even smaller states. Assam has been cut up in too many states since the time of colony, the autonomous regions of Karbi Anglong, Bodo Autonomous Regions and Meghalaya were all part of pre Independence Assam (Raatan; 2006).

Since Independence, the various kind of conflict have been developing from time to time in the state of Northeast India conflict among the various ethnic groups, armed conflict between the security forces and underground organizations, conflict between hills and the plains, conflict due to immigrations etc. was there in this regions. The genesis of the conflict situations in the Northeast can be traced from the imperial exaggeration, colonial expansionist policies and commercial interests of British imperialism (Maibam; 2016).

Most of the nationalities of Northeast region have always been on the fringe of the rest of the country. Administratively it was never a part of India till the advent of the British although there were influences on Indian Culture over some parts of its region. Even during the last our and half decades of independence diverse group of this region could not be brought in to the mainstream of national culture, as a result different nationalist of this region have been feeling a sense of alienation. In this context, some section has been involved in insurgent activities in a bid to establish a sovereign independent state of their respective areas outside the Indian Union. Thus

the insurgent movements have been launched by the organizations such as National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Mizo National Front (MNF), Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA), All Tripura Tribal Forces (ATTF), Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) etc. (Pakem; 1997).

4.4. Northeast Tribal Governing Administration

The northeast tribal polity and administration is quite heartening to note that their time honored self-governing institution have remained more or less effected by main fold social changes and political turmoil in the courses of many centuries. The dynamics process of transaction from monarchy to aristocracy and unto democracy is unique features. The remarkable features of tribal living in north east India is a fundamentally the smooth functioning of their age- old legal and political but free and representative institution maintaining their republican character and sprit which indicates their highest attainment and skill in the art of self-government running throughout their whole history and stands in comparison and contrast with the ancient Hindu Republican forms of Governance and democratic system in various aspects i.e. equality before law, judicial procedure, crime and punishments, freedom opinion and expression, local governance in the villages, working patterns of councils and councilors etc. (Singh; 2009).

Khasis and Jaintias had practice republican system of administration. Khasi syiems and other local heads of the administration have always carried on the administrative works in acclaim the concordance with the advice and consent of council of ministers and other advisors in a better way than the system that existed in Hindu republics. The elaborate elective system of khasis and Jaintia Hills has its in genuine form and far more superior to what existed elsewhere in India during ancient period. Khasi

tradition clearly reveal the fact that in many states both male and females Syiems where elected various Khasi states had both electoral and executive councils. The clans, who laid the foundation of state, where jointly responsible in running the dministration with the Syiem maintaining the right to elect their Syeims. The administration of Jaintia Hills who belonged to special clans and were elected. They were assisted by subordinate officers like Pators, Sangot, Dan and others. (Singh; 2009).

The Kuki of North Cachar Hills had republican government. Villages are administered by a group of village officials, the Kalin or headmen, the Kabur or assistant headmen. According to report of surgeon Mccrea Kukis' nation was their principals hereditary chiefs but divided into clans each under its own chief, whose officers were elective not hereditary. Similarly, in Lushai Hills, although chieftainship was hereditary, but in the administration of villages the chef was assisted by a council of village elders. After the annexation of Lushai Hills, British also recognized the principled and value of election and put forward scheme of constituting of Durbar composed of elected chiefs, one each from administrative circles. In North Cachar Hills during the days of Kachari Rajas, the management of the hills was entrusted to Senapati or General and Chief Law Officer with a number assistance. Village headmen had been elected (Singh; 2009).

In Manipur, during pre-independence period, tribal of Manipur had their own administrative system. It remains for long times, the system maintain law and order of the society but the system is varies from tribes to tribes. According to V. Venkata Rao, among the Chin-Mizo, Kuki, Singphos, Khamtis etc and authoritarian type of institution was exist and republican type existed among the Morpas, the Akas, the

Tangdas, the Adhis and the Naga of Manipur. The Nagas political institutions are more liberal than non-Nagas in Manipur (Ruolkhu Mzo; 2018).

In Arunachal Pradesh the self-governing institution is prevailed. The people, composing the councils are accepted, the leaders of village and decision for those are not taken by formal vote but it goes towards discussions and debates until general achievement of unanimity. Since from last one thousand years, the idea of elected people is very familiar among Monpas of Kameng who practices village self-government institutes. The Monpas general assembly is based on republican government nature whereas Apa-Tani buliangs acting as the representative of public opinion. The Tribal village council in North eastern Region also functions as an open court where the establish customs and customary laws decided according to disputes which heard through this courage action had been taken. In this open courts, all the male members and in some areas even women are allowed to take part in the trial of the case (Singh; 2009).

4.5. Physical Profile of Northeast India

Northeast is located in Northeastern side of India. The region is located in a strategically vulnerable geographical situation and surrounded by international boarders like China, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Burma. The Northeast region is connected with other state of India through Siliguri corridor or chicken neck. It lies between 22 degree and 29 degree North Latitude and 89 degree 46' and 97 degree 5' east Longitude. It covers the total area of 255083 sq km. the Northeast region is divided in to seven sister and one brother state include, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura, Nagaland, Manipur and Sikkim. Northeast India is a inhabitant of various races of Mangoloid and Indo-Aryan groups. It is also the lands

of various ethnic and tribal population (Pakem; 1999). The Northeast India has its distinctive culture and traditions. It is a home for more than 166 Tribes and wide ranges of languages.

The state of Arunachal Pradesh is surrounded by China and Tibet in the North, the Eastern part of Arunachal Pradesh is bounded by Burma, Bhutan in the West and its southern part is surrounded by Nagaland and Assam. Hinduism is the pre dominant religion of the state followed by Christianity. According to 2011 census, the total population of Arunachal Pradesh is 1, 383,727. The economy of state mainly depends on agriculture. Besides agriculture, Hydropower project, coal mines, industries, crude oil etc. also helped to boost the economy of the state. The state has lowest density of population per sq km as compared to other state of country and literacy rate is also lowest (Joshi; 2010). Arunachal Pradesh is the largest state of Northeast India. The Mc. Mohan Line defines the international boundary between India and China. The state has 15 districts and has 60 constituencies and two Lok Sabha seats.

Till 1972 Arunachal Pradesh was known as Northeast Frontier Agency (NEFA) and on 20th January 1972 the NEFA was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh as full-fledged state of Indian Union. Arunachal Pradesh covers the total areas of 83, 743 sq km. The state lies in the extreme Northeast part of India between 26.28 degree and 29.31 degree N Latitude and 90.31 degree and 97.30 degree E Longitude. The state is covered by international borders with 1628 Kms. Arunachal Pradesh is the land of 24 major and 86 sub major tribes who speaks Tibeto-Burman language (Joshi; 2010).

Historically, the Assam was known as Pragjyotisha and Kamarupa and later on with the advent of Asom dynasty rule, it became Assam. The state is surrounded by Kingdom of Bhutan in north-west and Arunachal Pradesh in North-east, Nagaland,

Manipur and Mizoram in South, Meghalaya in south-west, Bengal and Bangladesh in west. The state is connected with rest of the Indian Union states through Siliguri Corridor or Chicken neck. The state has total area of 78, 438 sq km. the total population of Assam is 3.12 corer (2011 census). Assam is a home for different race, Austric, Dravidian, Mongolian and Aryan who came to settle in Assam from different places and times. The inhabitants of Assam are divided in to three categories, the tribal, non-tribal and Schedule Caste. Despite having different ethnic groups, the major language of Assam is Assamese (Sadangi; 2008).

The Assamese language is considered to be the official language of state, besides English. Assam is the state of many religious and ethnic groups. The major economy of the state is agriculture and nearly 70% of its population is based is depend on agriculture. Besides agriculture, Assam is the major producer of natural gas and crude oil in India. Assam is also famous for tea plantations which help to boost the economy of the state. The state is well connected with Railways, Airways, and Roadways with the other state of India. Assam faced the major insurgencies issues in the past. The state of Assam have 126 legislative assembly seats and 14 Lok Sabha seats (Sadangi; 2008).

Manipur, one of the states of India is situated in extreme corner of the Northeast India. It has two district areas, Hills and a plain. It comprises only 0.68% of the total land of whole country and it has total area of 22,356 sq km. The hilly area of Manipur constitutes 80% of its land and only 10% constitutes to plain. According to 2011 census, the total population of Manipur is 27, 21756. The state shares 854 Km international border areas with Myanmar and China. The state is surrounded by Mizoram in South, Nagaland in North and the Cachar Hills of Assam in West.

Manipur is located between 93.03 degree E- 94.78 degree E Longitude and 23.83 degree N- 25.68 degree N Latitude (Ahmed, Devi, Ali et. All; 2009).

Manipur is largely dominated by Schedule Tribe population. The density of population is higher in valley district as compare to hill districts. The Manipur has nine Revenue District including Tribal Development Blocks and six autonomous hill district. The state composed of different religion, different languages and dialects. About 60% population of Manipur are Meities. The sate consists of main three ethnic groups, the Meities, the Nagas and the Kukis. Besides, there are several other communities who stayed in Manipur are Nepalis, Biharis, Sikhs, Punjabi, Bengalis, Marwaris and Temils. Mnaipur is a Multi Lingual state (Singh; 2009).

The people speak different Tibeto-Myanmar languages but the majority speaks Manipuri language which has their own scrip. The state is depends on agriculture as its economy. Majority of the people depend on agriculture, even though they also practiced business, trade, industries, commerce, etc. The state has high numbers of Hindu religion followed by Muslims and Christian. Manipur merged with Indian Union in 1949 and became full-fledged state in 21st January 1972. It has 60 constituencies out of which 19 are reserve for Schedule Tribes and one is reserved for Schedule Caste. The state has two Lok Sabha Members (Singh; 2009).

The state of Manipur is surrounded by Mymensingh and Sylhet in the South, to the West by Bangladeshi division of Ranpur, and to the North and East by the state of Assam. Meghalaya was formed by carving two districts of Assam i.e. Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills, and the Garo Hills on 21st January 1972. The state of Meghalaya covers the total area of 22,430 square kilometers. English is the Official Language of Meghalaya and according to the 2011 census, the total population of Meghalaya is

2,964,007. Meghalaya has predominantly an agrarian economy state with the significant commercial forestry industry. Arunachal Pradesh has 11 districts with 60 Assembly seats along with 1 Rajya Sabha and 2 Lok Sabha seats (Singh; 2009).

Mizoram is situated in the Southern corner of Northeast India. The small state of Mizoram covers total area of 21,087 Sq Km. the state shares the boundary with Burma in east, Bangladesh in west, Manipur in north and Tripura in north-west. Mizoram occupies a strategic geographical location having 318 km international boundary with Bangladesh and 404 km boundary with Myanmar. Mizoram is located between 21.56 degree N- 24.31 degree N latitude and 92.16 degree E- 93.26 degree E Longitude. The indigenous people of Mizoram are 'Mizo', who is ethnically a Tribe. There are also other several tribes who lived in Mizoram are Chakmas, Riangs, Hmar, the Pawis, the Paihtes and the Raltes. The Mizo speaks Tibeto-Burman dialects and are of Mongoloid origin. The Mizo developed the Lusei dialect known as 'Duhlian' as a major language used as Lingua Franca by different tribes of the state. But in some places different Tribe has different languages (Lalrintluanga; 2009).

According to 2011 Census, Mizoram has 1, 097, 206 population. The Mizo comprises of five major and eleven minors tribes. The majority of Mizos are Christian by faith. Before the advent of British, the Mizo were animist. The state of Mizoram is depend upon agriculture as its state economy. The Jhuming agriculture system is well known in the state. On 21st January 1972, the Mizo Hills District became the Union Territory and on 20th February 1987, Mizoram became the 23rd state of Indian Union having eight districts and 40 constituencies with one Lok Sabha member (Sadangi; 2008).

Nagaland, the state of Indian Union is surrounded by the Manipur in the south, Assam in the West and Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh in the northeast. The state shares

international borders with Myanmar in the east. The state covers the total areas of 16,579 sq km. the state lies in between 26.00 degree N latitude and 94.20 degree E longitude. As per 2011 census, the total population of Nagaland is 1,978,502. Nagaland is a Mountainous state is a home land for Naga and other tribes includes LOthas, Ao, Chang, Angami, Chakhesang, Konyak, Phom etc. (Raatan; 2006).

Nagas belongs to Indo-Mongoloid race which have their own languages. There are about thirty languages within the Nagaland and varies from tribes to tribes and villages to villages. A Nagas language is based on Tibeto-Burman family. The major percentage of population of Nagaland is depended on agriculture thus, agriculture is the main economy of the state. Over 85% of its population is depend on agriculture. Traditionally, Naga was animist by faith but after the advent of British, Christianity was introduced and Christianity is a predominant religion of the state followed by Hinduism. Most of the population of Nagaland lives in rural areas. After independence, Nagaland was made a centrally administration on 1957 and on 1963 it became the state of Indian Union. The state of Nagaland is divided in to eleven districts. The state has 60 legislative assembly seats with two Lok Sabha (Raatan; 2006).

Tripura, the state of Indian Union lies in the Northeastern part of India having population 3,673,917 (2011 Census). Tripura is third smallest state of India having an area of 10,486 sq km. Tripura is surrounded by international borders of Bangladesh in west, south and north, Assam on north-east and Mizoram on east. The state lies in between 23.44 degree-42.45 degree N latitude and 91.44 degree-48.57 degree E longitude. Tripuris tribe of Tripura is the biggest tribe which consists of 66% of the total tribal population.

Tripuris speaks Tibeto-Burman languages and the most dominating languages of Tripura is Bengali. About 80% of the population speaks Bengali language. The main occupation of the Tripura is agriculture and besides agriculture, tea plantation is also practiced in the state. There are two main ethnic communities in the state, the Indio-Aryans represented by Bengalis and Indo-Mongoloids represented by other communities like Tripuris, Noatias, Kukis, Chakma, Lushai, Reangs and others. The main religion of the state is Hindu and majority of tribes of Tripura is Hindu. On 21st January 1972, Tripura became a full-fledged state having parliamentary system of government and the state has been divided in to four districts, seventeen subdivisions, and forty development blocks. The state has 60 constituencies with two Lok Sabha seats (Barpujari; 2008).

The mountainous state of Sikkim is situated in Eastern Himalayas, the state of Sikkim shares its boundary with Bhutan in the Eastern part, Nepal in the western side, Tibet in the Northern part, and the Darjeeling district of west Bengal in the Southern part, apart from being in geographical congruity, Each of these units have their own different political culture. The total area of Sikkim covers 7, 096sq km. the state lies in between 27.20 degree- 20.16 degree N Latitude and 88.36 degree-23.42 E Latitude. The state of Sikkim having its population of 6.11 lakh as per 2011 census and it is a second smallest state of India. The small state of Sikkim has three main ethnic groups, Nepalese, Lepchas and Bhutias. Sikkim is Multilingual and Multi ethnic state.

Nepali language is considered as a lingua franca followed by Bhutia and Lapcha and English is also widely accepted and considered as official language in Sikkim. By faith the Sikkimese people are Hindu and Buddhist. The economy of the state is depend on cardamom, zinger and other species. Agriculture is also widely practiced in

Sikkim. On 16th May 1975 Sikkim Merged with Indian Union and it has total number of 31 assembly Constituencies and one Sangha seat (religions seat) and one Lok Sabha member.

4.6. Insurgency in Northeast India

North East India possess of numbers of problems for the Indian states, the most serious being the problem of secessionist insurgency. This is no merely a law and order problem but a thread to the unity and integrity of the post-colonial Indian nation states. It is not only the question of the nation hood for all the communities of India but even question the legitimacy of Indian states to rule over marginalized communities like the Mizo, Naga, Bodo, Khasis, Karbis, Meithei, Dimasa and so on. They present themselves as a separate nation demand the right to self-determination and the right opt out of Indian union as a separate sovereign nation states (Nag; 2008).

The north eastern region of India is faced with insurgency of separatist movement from last 60 years. Although each conflict has its own routes and antecedents, the issues raised included language and ethnicity, tribal rivalry, migration, control over local resources, access to water and widespread feeling of exploitation and alienation. The region had witnessed more violence in last 60 years than any other part of the country (Raatan; 2006).

Post-independence situation in the north eastern region of India has been dominated by ethnic reinsurance and it is because of political and economic instability, inequalities and sub-regional disparities. The complex geographical mosaic of the north east, explanations included impact of the historical patterns, integrative process and politicization of ethnic elements. This has been compounded by the emergence of

distinct middleclass in identity as factors in political, social and economic relations in the region (Gopal Krishan; 1997). Demography changes most immediate source of conflict in northeast India. Unwanted migrants on the move across the region, mass movement in traditional insular area invites linguistic, ethnic and religious strife. Settlement of an alien population leads to battle over resources, particularly land (Hazarika; 1997).

The term insurgency which was used to characterized the violent challenge thrown to the government by the several ethnic groups in the northeast, has acquired a specific connotation, the process of emotional integration of all ethnic groups to forge for a common Indian identity i.e. the consciousness of a collective self-comprising all racial, ethnic, linguistic etc. groups has still remain incomplete. This process has been challenge particularly by educated elites belonging to some tribal communities of northeast. Insurgency in northeast implies armed uprising of an ethnic group against government seeking to established the rights to secede from the Indian Union, which according to the objective resolution passed by the constituent assembly comprised the territories that British India (Ganguly; 1997).

The state of Nagaland bears the scars of the region's long drawn history of insurgency, which served as a precursor and a model for other constituent states of the region. The Naga tribes are divided by the state and national boundaries. The principal Naga militant group today, the Nationalist socialist council of Nagalim demands a united home land, Nagalim and claims a territory six times the size of present day Nagaland including most of Manipur as when as parts of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar. In 1950s Naga founder of Naga insurgency A.Z.

Phizo opened the Myanmar from to the insurgency. Phizo's group gradually established linked with Chinese and Pakistani leadership also (Raatan; 2006).

After the independence of India in 1947, the Nagaland remain part of the province of Assam, Nationalist activities arose amongst Naga tribes who demanded a political union of this ancestral and native group damaged government and civil infrastructure and attacked government officials and Indians from other states (Barpujari; 2008). The seeds of the Naga problems were sown by the British colonialist. The Naga National Councils which emerged with the patronage of the British officials became instrumental in pleading the case of Naga Independence and representing Naga case before the case of Naga Independence and representing Naga case before the British government and the government of India. Nagaland demand that they, who had never been conquered by any other except the British, should not be thrust to the mercy of others and also demanded to left them alone to determine their future by themselves. So, there emerged a conflict between the Naga National Council and the Bordoloi sub-committee which ascertaining the future of the hill area of Assam (Maibam; 2016)

The extremist Naga group argued that Nagas are not Indians as they have a diametrically opposite racial, cultural, political as well as religious background. The Nagas had have a statement that Nagaland were never a part of India and after British left over the region they were free to determine their own future. The ideology of Naga Nationalism grew over a period about 30 years since the formation of Naga club in 1918. It got further impetus with the formation of Naga National Council in 1946. The movement further slipped in to underground organization and give birth to ethnic insurgency with its defined goals, mass-base, charismatic leadership and well-knit

organization in both the political as well as military fronts. During the initial years of movement, the moderate force remained dormant in the face of violent mass upsurge in favour of Independence. After the government response on it with the demand for independence, the moderate forces become active (Das; 1997).

The Mizo insurgency lasted from 1966-1986, and their initial success they captured several towns including the capital of Mizoram, Aizwal and Radio Station and by 1980 the rebels were negotiating surrender. And accord was signed in 1987 between the govt. of India and Laldenga, President of Mizo National Front (Hazarika; 1997).

The Mizo hills was devastated by great famine in 1959, the cause of famine was attributed to flowering of bamboos which resulted in a boom of the rat population. After eating bamboo seeds, the rats turned towards crops and infested the huts and houses and become plague to the villagers. So by this, the famine was started in Mizo hills. In order to come up through this starvation and famine of darkness, many welfare organization tried to best to villages.

In 1955, the Mizo culture Society was formed in a leadership of Pu Laldenga. During the famine in 1959-1960, this society took leading demanding relief and managed to attract the attention to all section of society. In September 1960, the society adopted the name of Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF). On 22nd October, 1961 MNFF became Mizo National Front (MNF) under the leadership of Laldenga, with the goal of achieving sovereign independence of greater Mizoram. The MNF took to violence to secure its goals of establishing a sovereign land, other political forces in the hills of Assam were fighting for separate statehood. The MNF was outlawed in 1967 and as a result the demand for statehood gain fresh momentum (Barpujari; 2008). With the demand of statehood for the Mizo, the Indian govt. offered the proposal of Mizo hills

into Union Territory to the delegates of Mizo District Councils. The Mizo leaders accepted the offer on condition that the UT would be upgraded as statehood sooner or later. The UT of Mizoram came into being on 21st January 1972.

The state of Manipur has been under the grip of two major problems viz. the problem of insurgency and problem of ethnic conflict. The former was directed against the govt. and seeking for secession from the Indian Union and the latter is the struggle between the two major tribes- Kuki and Nagas. These two problems crippled the state development in all aspects, demolished the lives of thousands of civilians and ruined millions in annual financial allocation. Ever since 1948, the state of Manipur is characterized by a high degree of political, social and economic instability. The origin of insurgency movement is not a recent phenomenon but it is deep rooted in the post independent era of India (Thomas; 1997).

The multi-faceted conflicts situations have been appearing since long back and more deteriorating with the coming up of ethnic based Armed opposition groups that have different objectives to strengthen their rights. During last few decades, Manipur has been wrecked by armed conflict that has left thousands killed and rendered thousands of others homeless. In 1990s, various ethnic clashes took place Meitei-Pangal, Naga-Kuki and Paite-Naga, apart from the decade's long insurgency and counters insurgency operations. The state of conflict in Manipur may be described as

1. Conflict between state and non-state actors
2. Inter-Ethnic armed conflict and
3. Intra AoGs conflict.

After the merger of Manipur in Indian Union on 1949, the people of the states who belongs to Tibeto Burman Family who also have a separate culture and history have been struggling to regain the lost sovereignty. With this Hijam Irabot establish the first ever armed revolutionary organization of Manipur and Manipur Red Guard (Sing; 2016).

The Meiteis inhabit primarily in the valley of Manipur extending up to March and along the Bishenpur axis in to the Cachar district of Assam. They considered themselves superior to all the other ethnic groups in Manipur intellectually, culturally and in all other aspects. They feel that they are being oppressed to meet the demands of the tribes inhabiting the hills and are antagonistic towards them (Mukherjee; 2008).

The Meiteis do not belong to the Scheduled Tribe category while the hills tribes enjoy certain privileges like job reservation, protection of their land from settlement and ownership by non STs even if they are Manipuris. This has been strongly resented by the Meities who perceived that the hill tribes are garnering benefits disproportionate to their population. Manipur was merged with Indian union on 1949 but became full-fledged state in 1972 and with the delay in granting statehood caused discontent among the Meiteis who felt that their identification with Hindu India brought them no political or economic benefits. This gave rise to secessionist tendencies among a section of the Meities and a number of separatist group emerged. The Meitei secessionist movement received a serious jolt when most of its leaders were arrested during the Bangladesh Liberation war in 1971. During 1979-81 Meitei insurgents stepped up their activities and unleashed a violent campaign looting banks and treasuries and killing many security force personnel. In order to tackle the situation,

the entire Imphal valley was declared a disturb area and Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958 was imposed on the valley in September 1980 (Sadangi; 2008).

Since from 1948, the state of Manipur is characterized by a high degree of political, social and economic instability. The main factors responsible to this instability are the problem of insurgency. These are large numbers of insurgent groups operating in Manipur in various forms and some of them are:

- a. Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) which was formed in the 1978 and its main objective was to organize the people's support and wage an armed struggle for separation and liberation of Manipur from India and to establish a society based on socialist. This organization undertook guerrilla warfare, political assassination, robbery, killing of security forces in order to achieve their goals
- b. People's Revolution Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) was a valley based Meitei insurgent group fighting for independent Manipur. Its wanted a pan Mangloid movement on ethnic lines and an independent state embracing geographically all Northeastern states except western part of Assam and a part of Tripura.
- c. The united Liberation Front (UNLF) was formed in 1986. With a objective to bring unity among the insurgent groups operating in different part of the Northeastern region. Its target was to make free itself from Indian Colonialism and restoration of Manipur's Independence.
- d. National socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-Isac-Muivah Group) was formed in 1986 to oppose shilling accord. It wants to control North region through which narcotic drugs are smuggled in to India (Thomas; 1997).

Assam had faced many insurgency and conflict since from the British colony to till dates. Emergence of Assamese Nationalism was the initial movement towards conflict. In 1837 British introduce Bengali as an official language in Assam and as a result newly emerged Assamese middle class began to oppose an imposition of Bengali language on Assamese and after the year of agitation, in the year 1873 Bengali was replaced by Assamese as an language of the state. In 1874, Sylhet district was incorporated into the state of Assam, where the population was mainly Bengali. This made Assamese more worried that they would be minority in their own region and with the end of 19th century Assamese national awareness began in full-fledged (Baruha; 2005).

The problem of Militancy and insurgency has its origin in the large number of migration from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Even after independence the illegal migration in the region was continue across the boarders and had disturb the local demography and brought much of India's NE to the knife edge of violence. Assam insurgency has its routes from the birth of All Assam Student Union (AASU) movement in 1973. AASU and all Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) launched a mass movement for the detection of illegal migrants, their deletion from voter list and their deportation to Bangladesh (Sadangi; 2008).

During late 1970s and 1980s were persistent disputes between the govt. and students and some political fraction of the people over the right of the illegal immigrants to citizenship and suffrage. The grass roots political movement demanding the safeguarding of the interest of the native and this movement was supported by all native of the region. The people consider the movement for survival against the onslaught of uncontrolled migration from Bangladesh and elsewhere. The govt. of

India and state govt. try to suppress the movement by using huge force. The many demonstrators were killed which led to worst communal violence since partition in India (Raatan; 2006).

Insurgency in Assam leads the various movement after the formation of United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) in 1979, to fight against the colonial Indian govt. with the aim to achieve a sovereign socialist Assam and it also urged that all Indian State has been exploiting Assam's rich tea, Oil and forest resources without giving any benefit to the people of Assam.

AASU started the agitation in 1973 by stating that govt. is not fulfilling the demand of the people in the region. The movement started in Shivasagar and spread all over the region quickly. In 1979, hardliners of the AASU created a military wing called ULFA, with the moderates forming a political party later on called Assam Gana Parishad (AGP). The AASU started agitation on immigration and other issues. The AASU demand illegal immigrants identified on the basis of the National Register of Citizens of 1951 and electoral rolls of 1952, all others be deported and further immigration be prevented. AASU efforts failed, as a central govt. would agree only to a post 1971 cutoff date. The AASU started the blockade of roads and continuous agitation coupled with ethnic and communal riots. The central govt. finally signed the Assam Accord in 1985. The Accord failed to meet the aspiration of the hard liners because it failed to identify the illegal migrants. From 1988 onwards ULFA took control over Assam and launch terror campaigning with killings abundant (Mukharjee; 2008).

From November 1990, the govt. of India deployed the Indian Army to control the situation. The Indian Army deployment has been institutionalized under the unified

command. The low intensity military conflict has been continuing for more than a decade. The ethnicity based militant group have a huge impact on the region leading to violent (Barpujari; 2008).

Bodo Insurgency has long history prior to independence. Bodo insurgency in Assam has created a major ethnic conflict and it became another major problem. Bodos who settled in Assam is considered to be the earliest settlers in Assam. The Bodo ethnic group has been fighting for regaining their lost vintages since centuries. They have been demanding better economic, social and political conditions since from independence and they felt that Assamese were exploiting them. Their movement is a struggle for indigenous rights and tribal empowerment in a majority of non-tribal states. In 1987, they demand and motivate their ethnic population for creating their own states within Assam called Bodoland based on the historical precedent (Raatan; 2006).

In 1967, All Bodo Student Union (ABSU) headed by Upen Brahma was formed to represent the Bodo cause and demand a separate state of Bodoland in the north bank of Autonomous area for the Rabhas and Tiwas in the South Bank of Brahmaputra. They realized that their demand for a separate state would not easily be accepted by the authority so the movement take form and armed conflict and insurgency started in the region (Sarma; 1997).

In 1986, the hardliner from Bodo Security Force (BSF) an insurgents group. Security force deployed to deal with the Bodo Security Force. Bodo Autonomous Council was formed in 1993 on the North Bank of Brahmaputra for the Bodos, thus resulted in the fraction among the Bodos. The BSF latter renamed and became National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and it became violent in nature in order to secured

independent Bodo Nation. Large portion of conflict and violence like killing, explosions, attack on police station and arson was carried out by the NDFB in the state. In meanwhile another insurgent group was formed, the Bodo Liberation Tiger Force (BLTS) headed by Prem Singh Brahma which had been fighting for a separate state of Bodoland within India Union.

On February 1993, an Accord was signed between Govt. of India, Govt. of Assam and Bodo leaders to form the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) within Assam. Both BLTF and NDFB have condemned the the Bodo Accord because the demarcation of the jurisdiction of the BAC has a problem and since then violence has been started against other ethnic group within Bodos areas and large scale of attacks were carried out against Santhals tribes in 1996 and 1998. The non Bodo communities and Santhals has also begun to armed themselves and fight back and as a result Bodo population displaced from areas where they were in minority (Sadangi; 2008).

Meghalaya was carved out of Assam in 1972, through peaceful process, peace did not exist for a long time in the state. In 1979, the violent was occurred against foreigners and it's resulted in number of deaths and arson. The Khasi protest against Nepalis, Biharis, Marwaris and Bengali who settled in Meghalaya in some decades ago. By 1990, the Federation of Khasi, Jaintia and Garo people and Khasi Student Union (KSU) came together fight to uphold the rights of the hill people from Garo, Khasi and Jaintias hills (Raatan; 2006). Despites of Bengali, Bihari and Nepali, latter on Khasi have also started targeting too, including tribal from other NE states. During late 90s the situation of Meghalaya had in worst situation with huge extortion being made day by day, a large number of outsiders, who were involved in business and trade fled the state. There were political instability in state, and there was continue

strikes and curfew in the states to which the state was unable to function effectively (Ray & Rakhee; 2008).

The initial insurgency and militancy in Meghalaya were traced with the formation of Meghalaya United Movement (MUM) in 1972 and its main objective was around development of Khasi society and secession from Indian Union. MUM had a joining hand with the ULFA of Assam. In order to create separate Garo land comprising of the Garo inhabitants of Meghalaya, Assam and Bangladesh and also eradication of corruption and against foreign nationals, the Achik Liberation Matgrik Army (ALMA) was formed in 1991 (Pakem; 1999).

The insurgency in Tripura started with the threat of majority of non-tribal Bengali inflow in the states from erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), which they have a perception of threat to their identity culture and tradition.

Basu (1997) in his article '*Tribal Iinsurgency in Tripura: Prospective and Issues*' stated that after independence and merger of Tripura in Indian Union, Tripura face major challenges, the large number influx of refugee into Tripura after independence reduce the percentage of tribal population which tribal of Tripura think that their existence in Tripura faced a threat. In 1947, some tribals came together and formed an organization called Seng-Krak with an objective of protecting the interest of the tribal. Due to its violent activities this organization was band. In the same time others organization was formed like Adhivasi Sangh, Paharia Union and Tripura Rajya Adhivasi Sangh with the objective of establishment of Tribal dominance in the administration.

Tripura National Vounteer (TNV) was formed in 1978 which led the insurgency in Tripura. TNV aimed is to establish an Independent Tribal State of Tripura by Outsting the legally constituted govt. through armed struggle. TNV surrendered themselves along with arms after the tripartite peace accord was signed with the govt. of Tripura in 1988. The state was peaceful till the formation of All Tripura Tribal Force (ATTF) in 1990. National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) started their activities in 1991, with an objective of free Tripura from Indian Colonial System through Guerilla War. They carried operations by selectively killing leaders and workers of Congress and Tripura Upazati Juba Samity (TUJS) who were ruling the state then. The large number of security forces were deployed latter on in order to resemble the situation in the state (Raatan; 2006).

Arunachal Pradhes and Sikkim remain peaceful state in NE region. In the initial stage, Arunachal Pradesh has little affected by the insurgency because the insurgent from Nagaland and Assam were using the Arunachal Pradesh as a transit route to Mayanmar and also setup their camps for extortion. But later on the security forces tackle the issues. Arunachal Pradesh remains as land of peace although sometimes it experienced the threat, insurgency and violence from the movement or activities from neighboring states and militants from Myanmar. Sikkim whereas did not experience such insurgency in past and present and it considered to be the most peaceful states in Indian Union. There is no such ethnic violence and threat from outside, people are law binding and cooperative because it has less population as compare to other states. So, Sikkim as marked as insurgency frees state of country.

4.7. Counter Insurgencies Measures in Northeast India

Northeastern states of India witnessed many insurgencies which were related to ethnic, politics, linguistic etc. most of the movements was in violent nature and in order to solve the problems, government has taken several policies. In some cases, government tried to underline the movements and in other cases government try to find out the solutions by signing different accords with the particular insurgent groups. Above all this, government has introduced the measures and passed an Act on 1958 called Armed Forces' Special Power Act which dealt with the insurgents. This Act is considered to be the Draconian Act in which the security and army personals down the rank of noncommissioned officer and they have given a power to shoot and kill, without warrant they enter in to the houses and search and even arrest the people without any information (Maibam; 2016).

The AFSPA gives the army weeping power to search, arrest and many a time, kill with impunity. Under this Act, in Manipur there have been practices of custodial killings of underground suspects and fake encounters. People protest against the misuse of this Act by security force in the name of counter insurgency. A huge protest against act has been carried out by the peoples of Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, Manipur and other state of NE India (Maibam; 2016).

4.8. Nature of Politics and Election in Northeastern State of India

The dynamics of politics and election in Northeastern states of India is different from the other state of Indian Union. The politics of northeastern states is basically depended on the regional politics and sentiments of its people. The political culture and elections of Northeastern states are as described.

4.8.1. Nature of Politics and Election in Arunachal Pradesh

The 20 Members Agency Council for North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) was formed by regulation number 3 of 1967 through the recommendation of Deying Erring Committee. The member was elected indirectly by Zilla Parishad from four each from five district of Arunachal Pradesh. The Agency Council was upgraded to Pradesh Council in 1971. The Pradesh Council consist the member which includes Member of Lok and Rajya Sabha, all the president of zilla Parishad and three nominated by the Administrator from tribes. The North Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act 1971 recommended Arunachal Pradesh as a Union Territory in the same year. The Pradesh Council was headed by the Chief Commissioner. In 1975, Pradesh Council was upgraded to Legislative Assembly with five councilor as a ministers headed by Chief Minister. The post of Chief Commissioner was promoted to Lieutenant Governor. The legislative assembly increased its members from 20 to 30 and all the 30 members of legislative assembly consist six from each district. In 1987 Arunachal Pradesh became full-fledge state having concurrent lists of the seventh Schedule with 60 legislative assembly seats (Rao; 1987).

The first general election to the legislative assembly of territory was held on 25th February 1978 for 30 seats. Among the national parties the Congress (I) took part in the election and two regional parties namely Janta Party (JP) and Peoples' Party of Arunachal (PPA) along with 35 independent candidates were in election fray. There were a tough fight between JP and PPA in which JP secured 17 seats, PPA with eight seats and five seats went in favor of independent candidates. Prem Khandu Thungan of JP was sworn as the first Chief Minister of the state on 14th March 1978 (Joshi; 2010).

In 1979, the JP government was toppled because of defection within the party and Prem Khandu Thungan resigned from the government and the defector group of JP and PPA joined together and formed new political party called United Peoples' Party of Arunachal (UPPA) and formed the government under the leadership of Tamo Riba but his ministry remained in office only for two months and as a result Presidents' rule was imposed in Arunachal Pradesh in November 1979. After the revoked of Presidents' rule, the state went for second legislative assembly of territory election on 3rd January 1980 along with Lok Sabha election of 1980. Altogether 95 candidates contested the election representation from different political parties and independents. Congress (I) and PPA were in serious contender for the ministership. Congress (I) and PPA secured 13 seats each and independents got four seats. The independents joined with Congress (I) and Congress (I) formed the government as Gegong Apang as its Chief Minister (Joshi; 2010).

On December 1984, the third general elections of legislative assembly of territory were held in Arunachal Pradesh. BJP, Congress (I) JP, PPA and many other independent candidates contested the election where Congress (I) got full majority and formed the government and Gegong Apang again sworn as Chief Minister. The opposition front could not secured much and defeated by Apang led Congress (I). Under the implementation of state Arunachal Pradesh Act of 1986, the state declared the full-fledged state in 1987 and the state again went for next election in February 1990. Altogether 170 candidates were in election fray for 60 seats in which 59 seats were reserved for Schedule Tribe and one for general. Congress (I) secured 37 seats in the election. During the National Front government, PPA joined with Janta Dal could only secured eleven seats. Among the 37 seats of Congress (I), three were

uncontested. Congress (I) got more strength in the house after election got over because many MLAs joined the ruling front (Talukdar; 1998).

After the statehood, Arunachal Pradesh went for second assembly election on 11th March 1995 in which Congress (I) for full majority in the house securing 43 out of 60 seats. There were 174 candidates who participated in election representing different political parties and independent candidates. There were a contest between Congress (I) and rebel Congressmen who had formed Janta Dal but secured small votes. BJP were also in election fray and participated second time in the state election but could not able to mobilize and got no seat in the election. The Chief Minister Gegong Apang led Congress (I) resigned from the Congress party because of intra party conflict and formed new party called the Arunachal Pradesh Congress on 20th September 1996 and remain Chief Minister of the state for whole tenure. Later on, in parliamentary election, Arunachal Congress supported the BJP led coalition government in the center (Pakem; 1999).

The next elections of legislative assembly of Arunachal Pradesh were held in 1999 where Mukut Mithi led Congress (I) won the election. For the first time in the political history of Arunachal Pradesh, Congress (I) got huge margin with 54 seats out of 60 seats and also won both the seats of Lok Sabha too. The newly formed Nationalist Congress Party secured four seats in the first election which they contested. Mukut Mithi of Congress (I) sworn as Chief Minister of state till 2003. Mithi formed new political party called Arunachal Congress- Mithi after he separated from Congress (I) because of political differences and Gegong Apang hold the power for the rest of the tenure. During the 2004 assembly election, Congress (I) again came in majority with 34 seats and formed the government. For the first time BJP secured

nine seats and 13 seats went in favor of independent candidates. There were no close contestant and other parties were not able to get even a single seat. Gegong Apang became the Chief Minister of state. BJP also won both the parliamentary seats of Arunachal Pradesh (Election Commission of India; 2003-2009).

.On April 2007, Dorjee Khandu became the Chief Minister of state after Gegong Apang resigned from the post because of ideological conflict and pressure from the Congress MLAs. Similarly, Congress (I) also won assembly election by bagging 42 out of 60 seats which was held on October 2009. Among the 42 elected representative from Congress (I) three were unopposed. Among the national parties BJP, INC, All India Trinomol Congress and NCP were in election fray where BJP secured three seats and NCP and All India Trinomol Congress secure five seats each. Among the state parties PPA bagged only four seats and independents got one seat. Congress (I) led Dorjee Khandu was sworn as the Chief Minister of state till 2011, when he was died in plane crash, he was replaced by Nabam Tuki till next election (Election Commission of India; 2003-2009).

After the completion of five years tenure, the state went for another general legislative assembly election on 9th April 2014 along with the parliamentary election. Congress (I) won the election by huge margin of 42 seats with a percentage of 49.5. Eleven candidates were unopposed who all are from Congress (I). BJP has got eleven seats, which has increased from 2004 election. The PPA has able to secured 9.0% votes that are five seats and two seats went in favor of independent candidates. Other parties who were in fray could not able to secure even a single seat. Nabam Tuki of Congress (I) became the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh. But since from 2016, the state went for political crises and Presidents' rule was imposed and after the revocation of

Presidents' rule, Kalikho Pul became the Chief Minister for four months and again Nabam Tuki restore his power. But within a couple of months Nabam Tuki resigned from the power and Pema Khandu became the Chief Minister of state. He later on joined the PPA with his MLAs and again in December 2016, he joined BJP (The Hindu; 30th December 2016).

The 2009 legislative assembly election went in favor of BJP by securing 41 seats. The land slide victory of BJP is due to the joining of Pema Khandu in to BJP. Congress (I) who ruled the state for several times able to got only got four seats and Janta Dal able to secured seven seats, NPP got five seats and independents with two seats. Pema Khandu the leader of BJP sworn as the Chief Minister of state. The state witnessed less number of regional political parties who were in the election fray. The largest parties in Arunachal Pradesh are Congress (I) and BJP (Election Commission of India; 2019).

4.8.2. Nature of Politics and Election in Assam

The Assam occupied unique position in the politics of the country. The bicameral was introduce in Assam after the Provision of the government of India Act 1935 and the legislative members were raised from 53 to 108 and all seats of legislative assembly of Assam were held in the last phase of Colonial rule in 1937 and many political parties took part in Assam' election. During those elections no got majority and coalition government between seven parties was formed. After the independence, under the Constitution of India, the first legislative assembly was held in 1952, which was supposed to hold on 1951 but it delayed with some internal reasons. Since from the 1952 general assembly election till 1978, Congress (I) was dominated the state. In 1952 election, there were an alliance between various regional parties but could not

come up to the expectation of public, so voters cast their votes in favor of Congress (I). More than 400 candidates from different parties were in election fray where Congress (I) secured 72 seats out of 108 seats in the assembly election and 11 Lok Sabha seats out of 12 seats (Hazarika; 1994).

In 1952 election, the voting percentage was low i.e., 47.54% only. Bishnu Ram Medhi became the Chief Minister of Assam. Similarly, in 1957 assembly election Congress (I) contested for 101 seats and won 67 seats and again Bishnu Ram Medhi became the Chief Minister of state. Soon after the election, Medhi became the Governor of Madras and in bye election B. P Chaliha won the election and took an office of Chief Minister led Congress (I) on December 1957. The third general election of legislative assembly of Assam was held in March 1962 in which Congress (I) got the majority in the house and B. P Chaliha again swon as the Chief Minister of Assam. There were all together eight political parties contested the election along with some independent candidates (Hazarika; 1994).

The fourth general election of Assam legislative assembly was held in 1967 for 126 seats. Congress (I) secured 73 seats with absolute majority. CPI able to secure seven only, Praja Socialist Party (PSP) got five seats, Sanghata Socialist Party (SSP) got four seats, Swatantra Party (SWP) got two seats, All Party Hills Leaders Congress (APHLC) got nine seats and independents got 26 seats. Congress (I) again formed the government under the leadership of B.P Chaliha. There were two alliances between the parties during pre-polls, one was headed by G. S Bhattaharay consisting of 22 members called United Legislature Party (ULP) and other was headed by Phani Bora of CPI consisting of 20 members and called United Democratic Front (UDF). But

these two alliances could not defeat the Congress (I) in election (Election Commission of India; 1972).

The major issues in this election were, Independence of Mizo, separation of Cachar Hill from Assam, borders problems with Bangladesh, Immigration, unemployment etc. B. P Chaliha could not able to continue his ministry for full term because of health issue and Assam Congress Legislature Party (ACLP) elected Mahindra Mohan Choudary as the Chief Minister of state in November 1970 and he completed his tenure till next election (Election Commission of India; 1972).

In 1972 assembly election, nine political parties along with independent candidates were in election fray, Congress (I) secured a land-slide victory with 95 seat. Congress (I) focused on major issues like health, education, unemployment, interest of minority and most importantly the slogan 'Garibi Hatao' (to remove poverty) was the main factors which Congress (I) got majority in the house. Sarad Chandra Sinha of Congress (I) was sworn as Chief Minister of state (Election Commission of India; 1972).

The assembly election of 1978 witnessed four Chief Minister in the state, two each from Congress (I) and Janata Party followed by three times Presidents' rule during 1978 to 1983. In this election five national, six regional political parties along with some independent candidates took part in the election. Janata Party bagged 26 seats, CPI got five seats, CPI (M) got eleven seats, Congress (I) got eight seats, INC got 26 seats, Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) and Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCI) got four seats each and independent candidates 15 seats out of 126 seats in the assembly election. No gained majority in the house. With the support of

Congress (R), PTC and other independent candidates, Golap Borbora of Janata Party formed the government (Hazarika; 1994).

The Congress which ruled the state since from three decades came in to minority in the house. Golap Borboras' Ministry could not last for long because of political unrest in the state and Foreigner's problem and other issues is the break-down of Janata coalition government in center. The Jogendra Nath Hazarika, the former speaker formed the government with Congress, CPI, Janata (S)(fraction of Janata Party) and some other independent candidates but again his government could not sustained more because of agitation by the All Assam Ghana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) which was formed on 27th August 1979 and Presidents' rule was imposed in Assam (Hazarika; 1994).

The Presidents' rule was revoked on 6th December 1980 and with a single largest group Ministry under the Chief Ministership of Sayida Anwar Taimur of Congress (I) was formed. Taimur resigned from the Chief Ministership after the many coalition partners left and failed to give majority in the house. Presidents' was again imposed in the state after having no possibilities of any alternative government. On January 1982 Presidents' rule was revoked and Congress (I) again formed the government under the new leader of Keshab Chandra Gogai. On 17th March 1982, a non-confidence motion was moved and Keshab Chandra Gogai failed to gained support for his Ministry and on 19th March 1982 he resigned from the Ministry and Presidents' rule was imposed till next election (Hazarika; 1994).

The seventh assembly election of Assam was held in February 1983 was remarked as a most important and extra ordinary election in the political history of Assam. During the pick hours of agitation which was called by All Assam Students' Union (AASU)

and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) for foreigners' issues and electoral roll problem, the assembly election has been called. The government decision having conducting election without proper investigation of electoral rolls which were vitiated by inclusion of names of thousands of foreigners resulted the violence during the election. Many regional political parties boycotted the election and only three parties i.e., Congress (I), Congress (S) and Communist Party took part in the election (Hazarika; 1994).

The voting percentage was too low during this election i.e., 32.74%. More than 15 consistency, election were post pond because of agitations and protest. The AASU and other organization also boycotted the election. On 27th February 1983, Hieswar Sakia of Congress (I) was sworn as the Chief Minister of state but his Ministry only lasted for 30 months because of Assam Accord of 15th August 1985 and after the accord was signed, the fresh election was conducted for general assembly on 1985 (Hazarika; 1994).

After the six years of agitation by different organization came in to end by signing ' Assam Accord' which was between AASU, AAGSP and Government of India. After the Accord was signed, the eight legislative assembly election of Assam were held in 16th December 1985. All together nine political parties along with independent candidates were in election fray. The leaders of agitation from AASU and AAGSP formed the new political party called Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) and formed the Ministry under the leadership of Prafulla Kumar Mahanta who was the General Sectery of AASU. The AGP thus contested the election as an independent candidate and won 92 seats out of 126 seats. Congress (I) managed to secured only 25 seats. Thus the non-congress ministry was formed in the state. For the first time Assam

witnessed the regional party government in the state. The ant-foreigners movements give space to regional party to deal with the local problems. With the effort of AASU, and for regional sentiments, some parties like Asom Jatiyatabadhi Dal (AJD), Purbanchaliya Lok Parishad (PLP) and others who contested the election before came and merged with the AGP and got victorious in election. This election also witnessed the large number of voters turn out in polling (Hazarika; 1994).

The ninth legislative assembly elections of Assam were held on in 1991. The split of AGP in to Natun Asam Gana Parishad (NAGP) gives advantage to Congress (I) which formed the government in 1991 election with 66 seats. The AGP secured only 19 seats. For the first time the BJP secured ten seats, CPI got four seats, NAGP bagged five seats, the Autonomous State Demand Committee (ADC) and CPI (M) secured four seats each, JD got one seat and independent candidates got 15 seats. Total 26 political parties including nine national and 17 regional parties along with independent candidates were in election fray. Histeswar Saikia of Congress (I) was sworn as the Chief Minister of Assam (Hazarika; 1994).

The AGP came in power after 1996 general election of legislative assembly of Assam. The AGP had a pre-poll alliance with four other parties and contested the election for only 99 seats in which able to secure only 59 seats. Many political parties and independents contested the election but result went in favor of AGP. The split form of AGP before 1991 election i.e., NAGP could not took part in election because it merged again with AGP before 1996 election. Congress (I) got 34 seats, BJP which got 10 seats during 1991 reduce to four seats in this election. The pre-poll alliance between the four parties with AGP, brought unity of opposition camp and AGP

coalition Ministry was formed under the Chief Ministership of Prafulla Kumar Mahanta for second time (Pakem; 1999).

Congress (I) again came in power during eleventh legislative assembly election of 2001 with 71 seats out of 126 seats. The AGP could not come up to expectation and won only 20 seats. The other alliance partner of AGP i.e. All Bodo Student Union (ABSU) contested election in 15 seats an independent candidates and won 10 seats, but AGP which was in power could not formed thr government and Congress (I) under the leadership of Tarun Gogai took the oath of the office. The main issues during the election were illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.

The election of 12th legislative assembly of Assam was held in two phases i.e. 11th and 20th May 2006. Five national parties, 25 regional parties and other independent candidates took part in the election. In this election many new regional parties were emerged. Congress (I) secured 43 seats where the regional party AGP able to secured 24 seats. The BJP could not able to get score since from the beginning and only got 10 seats. The newly formed party Loko Sammilon (LKS) bagged one seat and independent got 22 seats, CPI (M) - 2, CPI- 1, AUDF-10, ASDC-1, AGP (P)-1 and NCP-1. Tarun Gogai led Congress (I) formed the coalition government in Assam (Election Commission of India; 2006).

The thirteen legislative assembly election of Assam were held in two phases on 4th and 11th April 2011 respectively. The total candidates who contested the election was 981 representing various political parties. The voting turnout was 76%, which is higher than average. There were pre-poll alliance between BJP and AGP. As a result of election, Congress (I) won 78 seats, AGP won 10 seats, the Assam United Democratic Front (AUDF) became the second largest party by winning 18 seats,

Bodoland Peoples Front (BPF) who was a partner in Congress government contested the election separately and won 12 seats. The Congress did well in its traditional seats of upper Assam in which they won 44 seats out of 56 Constituency. Tarun Gogoi of Congress (I) sworn as Chief Minister of Assam (Lokniti, CSDS; 2011).

Congress (I) who was ruling the state since 2001 lost the fourteen general legislative assembly election which was commenced on two phases on 4th and 11th April 2016. There were a pre-poll alliance between the members of National Democratic Alliance with BJP and the alliance partner was BPF and AGP. The BJP and its alliance partner won the absolute majority in the house. For the time in the political history of Assam, BJP bagged 60 seats and its alliance partner BPF got 12 seats and AGP got 14 seats, Congress (I) got 26 seats, AIUDF got 13 seats and one seat in favor of independent candidates. BJP with its alliance partner formed the government under the Chief Ministership of Sarbananda Sonowal of BJP (Election Commission of India, 2016 and Jagaran Josh; May 20, 2016).

4.8.3. Nature of Politics and Election in Manipur

Manipur has a unicameral legislator after the full-fledged merger of Manipur in Indian Union. After the merger of State, the election has been held under the election commission of India there is one house in the legislation with 60 elected members. Manipur has two lok sabha seats and one Rajya Sabha seat in the Indian Parliament. The state is an inhabitant of various tribes and state legislatures and lok Sabah also has a reserve seats for tribal i.e. out of 60 seats, 20 are reserve for ST and one for SC. There are many national and regional political parties in the states and some them are Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP), Indian National Category (INC), the Communist Party of India (CPI), the Rashtriya Janta Dal (RJD) etc. and among the regional parties,

Manipur Peoples Party (MPP), Manipur State Congress Party, Manipur National Conference, Nikhil Mahasabha, Democratic Revolutionary Peoples Party, Federal Party of Manipur etc. . The State had two parliamentary constituencies, inner Manipur and outer Manipur. Outer Manipur seat are reserved for ST and Inner Manipur has 32 legislative assembly seats whereas outer Manipur has 28 Assembly seats.

In 1963, the government of Union Territories Act enacted Manipur as a Union Territories and established a Legislative Assembly of 30 elected and three nominated members in the union Territory. During last 60s, the political situations in the state were unstable because of insurgency and secessionist movement. The legislative Assembly was dissolved and presidents' rule was imposed and administration was governed by Lt. Governor. In 1972 Manipur became full-fledged state. After Manipur became a part of Indian states in 1949, the people of Manipur witnessed the political activities of different political organizations (Singh; 2006).

The idea of regionalism with in the frame work of national identity has seen in Manipur after the establishment of different regional political parties like Manipur Peoples Party (MPP), Manipur Hill Union (MHU), Praja Socialist Party (PSP), Nationalist Socialist Democratic Party (NSDP) etc. academician and social workers of the state had discussed on key issues like political , social, economic and cultural condition of state and the decision was based on historical facts and as a result Federal Party of Manipur was established. People stated that, Manipur was integrated in to India through a rough political weather and expressed their resentment to the blunder committed by the Maharaja of Manipur. On 22nd January 1950, government of India granted Manipur the political status of part 'C' state under Indian constitution. After

23 years i.e, in 1972 Manipur was granted statehood and this had happen after having a series of political agitations (Singh; 2006).

The legislative assembly of Manipur under the Manipur Constitution Act was dissolved in 1947, the General election for the two Manipur Lok Sabha seats was held in 1952 where 14 political parties were contested for 30 member council. In 1957 election, the numbers of political parties was reduced who contested the election as compare to 1952 election. The Congress and the socialist won the Lok Sabha seats with one each in 1952 and 1957 respectively and for 30 members council of 1952 election, no party could secured the majority but in 1957 election Congress got 12 seats but fell short of a majority. During third general election of 1962, Congress and socialist parties got one each in Lok Sabha election but in 30 members council, Congress got 15 seats and socialist won five and ten for independents and congress which form the coalition government after the territorial council upgraded to legislatives assembly in 1963 under the chief ministership of Mairembam Koireng Singh of the Congress (Pakem; 1999)..

In fourth general election of 1967, congress and socialist failed to secure a single seat in Lok Sabha and communist and independent got one seat each but in legislatives assembly Congress secured majority with sixteen seats. Congress got both the seats of Lok Sabha midterm poll in 1971. After 1967 elections, the political scenario of state was instable because of defection with in a congress party which resulted that, assembly had suspended from October 1967 to February 1968, when the state was placed under Presidents' Rule. After Manipur became a full-fledged state in 1972, the legislative assembly seats were also increased from 33 to 60. Manipur went to fifth general election along with the rest of the country in 1972. In this election, no single

party secured one third seats and Manipur peoples' Party (MPP), Socialist, Congress (O) and independents formed the United Legislature Party (ULP) with 32 members and formed the coalition government under the leadership of Md. Alimuddin. In 1974, the mid-term poll to state assembly was held in which there were pre-poll alliance between Congress and Communist party of India in one side and MPP and Manipur Hills Union (MHU) in other sides. None of the alliances or other parties got majority in this election and there were three term collation government in between 4th March 1974 to 23rd July 1975(Pakem; 1999).

The first coalition government was formed on 4th March 1974 by ULP which lasted for four months only, the second collation government was formed in 10th July 1974 by PDF which existed for about five months and on 6th December 1974, the third collation government was formed under Democratic Legislature Party (DLP) which lasted for eight months. Congress took charges of government from 23rd July 1975 and continued during the period of the national emergency. The Lok Sabha elections of 1977 was held during the end of the emergency in which Congress won the two Lok Sabha seats (Pakem; 1999).

The assembly election which was held in January 1980, nine political parties' contested the election but no party gained the majority in the house. The termed produced three ministries in the state. The first term collation government was consist of Congress (I), Congress (U), MPP, KNA and independent candidates with the leadership of R.K Dorendro but after his resignation, the second alliance government was formed on 27th November with Congress (I), Congress (U) and MPP led by Rishang Keishing of Congress (I) but his government fell down after three months because of defection and the third coalition government was formed by Peoples'

Democratic Front (PDF) consisting of CPI, CPI (M), Congress (I), MPP and Janta Party led by Kh. Chaoba Singh but could not function properly and governor recommended Presidents' rule for three and half months and it was revoked on 19th June 1981. Rishang formed the government second time and survived for the remaining period (Singh; 2009).

In 1984, another assembly election were held in Manipur in which nine political parties including National and regional parties along with independent candidates contested the election. During this election, Congress got 30 seats and formed the government which lasted till its term. The assembly elections of Manipur were held in 1990 where nine political parties and some independent candidates took part in election. There was a pre-poll alliance between six parties and congress remains single and as a result, no party got the majority in the house. The state experienced three ministries in this five years term. The non-Congress parties formed United Legislative Party (ULP) and on 23rd February 1990, ULP coalition led MPP formed the government but this government lasted for two years only, with the arrival of Presidents' rule keeping the Assembly on animated suspension. After the revoke of Presidents' rule, Congress led the government after the coalition with MPP but this ministry faced ethnic clash between Nagas and Kukis.

The communal clash caused intra party leadership crisis and there was a political instability in the state. Again central rule was imposed in the state in between 31st December 1993 to 13th December 1994. On the same day after the revoked of central rule, Rishang Keishing sworn as a Chief Minister till another election (Singh; 2009).

Manipur went for next Assembly election in 1995 where elections were conducted in two phases. The second phase polling witnessed large numbers of political violence of

firing, boom blast and killings of political leaders and supporters of party. On 11th February 1995, the sitting MLA of MPP was gunning down by unidentified gunmen. There were more than 14 political parties and 66 others independent candidates took part in election. There were poll- eve and poll-day incidents of violence. During the last phase of polls, many violence were recorded where people were killed, booths has been captured, kidnap of party worker by the rival groups, party workers were assaulted, intimidated, physically manhandled and shot (Singha; 1999).

Unlike previous election none of the party got majority seats and coalition government was established. Congress (I) formed the government after alliance with other parties like Federal Party of Manipur (FPM), Nagas Peoples' Party (NPP), Congress (S), Samajwadhi Party (SWP) and Independents. Keishing Coalition with Congress (I) were lasted for 35 months, when dissidents members from the Congress (I) withdrew their support. During vote of confident, Congress (I) was lost and after that, the four parties coalition called the United Front (UF) was formed and Wahengbam Nipamacha of MSC became the Chief Minister of state till another election (singha; 1999).

The Election Commission of India announced another Assembly Election in 2000. There were two phases election in the state, where 422 candidates from national, regional parties and independent candidates took part in election. There were all together 15 political parties who contested the election and many independent candidates withdrew from campaigning because of the threat which they got from armed and gun men. There were pre-poll alliance between the Congress (I) and the MPP, but they were rivals since the formation of statehood, but in 200 assembly election they joined hand in order to defeat the Manipur state congress party. As a

result of the election Congress (I) and MPP defeated badly and United Front of Manipur (UFM) (alliance of MSCP and FPM) got the majority with 29 seats and formed the government.

The new Ministry led by W. Nipamacha as Chief Minister took the office on 3rd March 2000. During March 2000, many defectors from different political parties break themselves and joined MSCP and as a result, Manipur saw two ministries in 2000 legislative assembly election. No ministry was stable due to a political instability and selfness and power hungry MLAs activities. The kidnapping of speaker, political violence, anti-defection, no confidence motion in the house against the ruling government, unchecked party hopping etc. leads state towards the imposition of Presidents' rule in 2nd June 2001 for six months and again extended for another six months till 7th September 2002. After the dissolution of state assembly, the Election Commission of India announced next election of Manipur in 14th and 21st February 2002 (Singha; 1999).

There was much more political violence during 2000 Assembly election in Manipur. There was an intensified activity by armed men during the election. Election witnessed the large number of violence like firing, at the ministers/ candidates houses, ambush at the convey of candidates, grenade attack, taking away the guns from arm forces, hijacking vehicles etc. During the period of election, on 22nd January 2000 a powerful bombs exploded in the campus of the ruling MSCP office where many vehicles has been damaged and six peoples were injured. The suspected Hmar Revolutionary Front (HRF) killed the JD (U) candidates Songlienthang Sougate Hmar. Tourism and Family Minister Babu and his escort were ambushed by the suspected KYKL (O) militants in 29th January 2000 where one party worker was

killed. Three Manipur Rifles personnel were killed and 13 were injured while attacking the MSCP candidates Lala by the suspected Kuki National Front militants during this election, while he was coming from campaigning (Singh; 2009).

The suspected KNF (P) insurgents snatched away the weapons and ammunitions from the security personnel of BJP candidates on 12th February 2000. Suspected UNLF insurgents ambushed the BJP candidates and killed two Manipur Rifles Personnel and three civilians. The national Secretary of BJP, P.B Acharya were assaulted by unidentified gunmen during a press conference in Imphal on 1st March 2000, giving warning to leave Manipur immediately. During first phase of election in the outer Manipur, many security personnel, BSF inspector and other civilians were killed and more than dozen were injured. Many candidates, civilians and security personnel were killed and injured during the election. Booth capturing, proxy votes, threaten to poll officer, snatch ballot papers, threatening to voters, mishandle to polling officers were common incidents in some booths during the election. In many places, party workers, polling agents were also assaulted and force to open the ballot boxes. In some polling stations, ballot boxes has been taken away at gun points and threw them in water by the unidentified armed persons and also threat voters to cast votes according to their decision (Singh; 2009).

After the presidents' rule was revoked, Manipur again went for Assembly election in two phases on 14th and 21st February 2002. This election were different from other elections in Manipur because people doesn't want to vote as ministers and MLAs were unfriendly, politician was irresponsible, the public hatred for politician for their unchecked defection, party hopping and many other issues. In this election in some polling booths, some sit in protest during polling hours and boycott the elections

stating that candidates are not qualified and they cannot cast their precious votes as they fear that after election same political situations prevailed in the state which happened during previous election (Singh; 2009).

There were fifteen political parties and some other independent candidates took part in election. No single party gained workable majority in the election, the congress (I) got only 20 seats out of 60 and Federal Party of Manipur (FPM) got 13 seats. The coalition government was formed on 7th March 2002, O. Ibobi Singh, leader of four party, Secular Progressive Front (SPF) (SPF consist of Congress I, CPI, NCP and MSCP) alliance was sworn as the Chief Minister of Manipur. For the first time in the state, the O. Ibobi led SPF government completed a full term of its tenure and his ministry on 7th March 2007 (Singh; 2009).

The Assembly election of 2002 marked as a highest level of political violence in Manipur as compare to previous election. There are more than forty cases of poll related violence been registered in the state. The election violence was early before the announcement of the formal election notification. On 22nd December 2001, the spokesperson of MSCP was shot at Langol Hills of Manipur. The unidentified gun mens attacked with grenade in several areas and resident of many political leader include former chiefminister W.Nipancha , Radha Binod Koijam, former deputy chiefminter Kh.Amutombi , lok subha MP and president of MSCP Th. Chaoba. During the polling days, many houses of candidates and leaders have been assaulted. The unknown persons threat many political leaders and supporters and bared them for campaigning (NE Sun Delhi, Feb 1-14, 2002).

Vehicles used in election were fired and hijacked and many vehicles has been damaged during this election. Candidates were forced to withdraw their candidatures

from the election by the gunmen's. Many political offices has been forcefully locked and brunt in this election. Election agents, party workers, voters has been threaten and bitten up by the rivals group. The underground KYKL(O) militants threatened the MSCP candidates in Nambol constituency and announced ban on election campaign by MSCP candidates and also warning to voters that they should vote for Congress(I) not MSCP and as a results high and tight security was deployed in order to conduct smooth election. In remote areas, many polling booths have been capture by the militants and many security personals have been killed. Near Leikhong kuki village, one IRB jawan and two polling officials along with six civilians and three homeguards were killed and many were wounded with power full bomb while heading towards Saikul constituency. while returning from election patrolling, four AR personals including captain Sharmer Bhan were killed and several others were imgured by the suspected armed cadres of UNLF by land mine blast (NE Sun Delhi, Feb 1-14, 2002).

The 2007 Assembly election of Manipur were held in three phases on 8th, 14th and 23rd February 2007. Eighteen national and regional political parties along with 55 independent candidates joined the election fray. In the first phase, nineteen constituencies went to the polls. The second phase covered twenty nine constituencies and third phase covered twelve constituencies. The reason behind the conduct of election in three phases is due to security aspects and to conduct free and fair election. There was no pre polls alliance between any parties.

Many veteran leaders from different parties defeated in this election including former Chief Minister, former Deputy Chief Minister, Cabinet minister etc. congress party got 30 seats out of 60 seats. Out of 30 candidates who got elected, 17 were sitting

legislature and 6 are Ex-MLA. The regional parties could not able to form the government or secure the majority because of factors such as frequent shift of allegiance of the regional leaders from one party to another which result the betray of trust of voters. The Congress (I) won the election with simple majority and again Congress led coalition government was formed in the state under the leadership of O. Ibobi Singh for five more years (Ahmed, Devi et. All; 2009).

The political violence was common in Manipur and as well as in this election too. Several incident of violence were reported from different polling stations. Hand grenade was found in a polling station of Saikul Constituencies. In many polling stations re-pollled was demanded by the Congress after the activities of proxy vote and rigging. The third phase of election recorded and most violent in nature. Chandel and Tamanglong district became the most violent prone district of Manipur. Kidnapping and threatening to voters by NSCN (IM) and UNC was common in these two districts. Some suspected Kuki undergrounds forced to withdraw the candidature of CPI candidates of Chandel and Tengnoupal constituencies. The NSCN (IM) cadres kidnapped the independent candidate Khangthuanang Panmei of Tamenglong constituency and damaged his house, harassed his worker and snatched the arms of his personal bodyguard and vandalized his vehicles but later on they released him and give force retirement from the election contest. The election in Churachandpur district saw many political violence due to use of money and muscle power. The underground groups were instrumental in making MLAs. Many candidates in this district spend corer of rupees to get votes and the polling agents and government officials were heavily bribed. Many proxy votes have been casted in favour of their candidates and political parties. In some polling booths, it is recorded that the dead men also voted in the election. It is also reported that one voter voted more than 30/40 times. In order to

control the political violence, polling was conducted under unprecedented security by deploying army and Assam Rifles in some sensitive areas.

After the completion of five years term of O. Ibobi Singh coalition government in Manipur, state again went for assembly election on February-March 2012. Many national, regional and independent candidates took part in election. The Congress (I) got 42 seats and after election MSCP joined the Congress (I) and they have 47 seats and again O. Ibobi Singh became a Chief Minister of Manipur. Congress led in many constituencies and district. Congress won all the six seats in Churachandpur district. Out of ten seats in Thoubal district, Congress won eight seats and in Schedule Tribe areas, out of 19 seats Congress won 14 seats. The voting percentage of the state assembly was decreased as compare to previous election.

As per the India Today report dated 28th January 2012, 82% of the 17.50 lakh electorate cast their votes in Manipur. The state saw many post and pre polls violence. In Sugnu assembly constituency in Chandel district experienced bitter poll day, as one person entered in to the polling station and started firing strongly and killed one CRPF man and three polling persons. Similarly, many other polling station found on target by militants. In six other places reported damage of EVM and snatching of EVM by mobs. Congress candidates has been threaten by the militants group and called for ban on election meeting and campaigning. Many polling stations saw militants attack and polling agents and officers were also threatened. The Election Commission of India deployed around 350 companies of security personnel which include 270 central para military force along with state armed police.

On 4th and 8th March 2017, Manipur went for next election after the completion of five years. The election was conducted in two phases. There was a pre-polls alliance

between various parties where BJP had formed a Coalition government with National Peoples' Party (NPP), Naga Peoples' Front (NPF) and Lok Janshakti Party (LJP) where N. Biren Singh was sworn as the Chief Minister of the state. Congress got 28 seats and BJP got 21 seats. After the polls, BJP collides with regional parties and for the first time BJP came in power in Manipur. The iron lady of Manipur, Irom Sharmila who seated in fast for sixteen years against Armed Force Special Power Act (AFSPA) also contested the election against former Chief Minister O. Ibobi Singh but secured only 90 votes. Many other National, regional parties and independent candidates also took part in the election. Unlike previous election, this election also witnessed a number of political violence in Manipur (First Post, 27/2/2017).

Many houses of candidates and party supporters have been destroyed by the rival groups. There was a clash between BJP worker and Congress leaders in some places. Security personnel's were attacked by the villagers and more than two vehicles had been vandalized and bombs exploded in Imphal during pre-polls. In some places, mob also attacked the police party in which several police personnel were injured. During second phase of election, one polling officer and two Assam Rifles Jawan were injured in two IED blasts in Phungyer Constituency. Former Congress minister was torched by an angry mob during post polls. Many clashes between the rivals groups has been reported in various places during campaigning (Hindustan Times, 8th March 2017).

4.8.4 Nature of Politics and Election in Meghalaya

Unlike the other state of North East region, Meghalaya also experienced electoral politics and political violence in past and present. The Assam Reorganization (Meghalaya) Act was passed on 1969 in the Parliament of India in which the

Autonomous state of Meghalaya with in an Assam was formed. The Act provided few provinces for the Autonomous state that can send elected representative to the Assam Legislative Assembly which was not applicable earlier and there was a provisional Legislative assembly with 38 members (elected) and three nominated members (Pakem; 1999).

The voters for provisional Legislative assembly were the member of the Khasi, Garo and Jainta hills which can elect their representatives from respective district council. On March 1970, election were held for Provisional legislative assembly for 16 seats from Garo hills, 18 from Khasi hills and four from Jainta hills and as a result of election, All Party Hills Leaders Conference (APHLC) won the election and later on the three nominated members also joined APHLC and Captain Sangma became the Chief Minister of Meghalaya (Pakem; 1999).

The North Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971 upgraded the Autonomous state of Meghalaya in to full-fledged state having their own legislative assembly of 60 seats. The first general election of Meghalaya legislative assembly was held in 9th March 1972. Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India.), APHLC and many other independent candidates contested the election. APHLC won the election with 32 seats. There were pre-poll alliance between Congress and APHLC in Garo Hills and Khasi Hills but Jainata Hills remain free from coalition between the two parties. The regional party APHLC got majority in the assembly and formed the government under the Chief Ministership of W.A Sangma (Pakem; 1999).

On 25th February 1978 Meghalaya legislative assembly went for second general election and in this election, INC (I), Indian National Congress, CPI and other regional party like APHLC, a new formed political party called Hill state peoples'

Democratic Party (HSPDP) and independent candidates were on election fray (Das, pp 83-84). In this election no party got majority seats. Congress (I) got 20, APHLC-16, HSPDP got 14 seats and independent and unrecognized state party got 10 seats in the assembly election. The APHLC could not able to get the amounts of votes which they secured in first election with a regional sentiments but Congress (I) improve them in the state. The coalition ministry was formed. A series of discussion were held between the parties to form a government. Meghalaya Tribal Youth Organization (MTYO), Tribal Student Organization (TSO) put pressure and demanded that the leaders should from regional party and form non Congress government(Pakem; 1999).

On 9th March 1978, the issue of leadership was settled by forming Meghalaya United Legislative Party (MULP) which includes the coalition of APHLC, HSPDP and Public Demands Implementation Convention (PDIC) and D.D Pugh from APHLC became the Chief Minister and S.D Khongwir from HSPDP became deputy Chief Minister on 10th March 1978. The MULP government could not lasted for long as HSPDP was breakdown from the collation. Due to internal problems and conflict with in an APHLC member, B.B Lyngdoh and S.D.D Nichols Roy split from the APHLC. In May 1978, United Meghalaya Parliamentary Democratic Forum (UMPDF) was formed which includes leaders from Congress(I) APHLC lead by B.B Lyngdoh and HSPDP form the government as B.B Lyngdoh became the Chief Minister for two years. After two year in 1980 B.B Lyngdoh handed the charge to Sangma (Congress I) for the next UMPDF coalition government in Meghalaya (Pakem; 1999).

The third general elections of Meghalaya Legislative Assembly were held in 17th February 1983. Unlike previous election many political parties were in fray. None of the party could got absolute majority. Congress (I) got 25 out of 60 seats where

APHLC and HSPDP got 15 seats each, PDIC got 2 and independent got three seats. Congress (I) secure more votes than other parties because of division of votes among the regional parties. During first general election, there were only one regional party but it increased to three in 1983 election. The three regional parties formed Meghalaya United Parliamentary Party (MUPP) and under MUPP B.B Lyngdoh of APHLC was sworn as Chief Minister on 22nd March 1983 but it lasted for 29 days only because of dissidence and defection with in this coalition. On 31st March 1983, after the weakness of MUPP, Congress (I) moved a non-confidence motion and after the fall of MUPP coalition government, another coalition ministry was formed called Meghalaya Democratic Front (MDF) under the leadership of W.A Sangma of Congress (I) and took power of state on 2nd April 1983 and this government continued till 1988 election (Das; 2009).

The fourth general assembly election of Meghalaya was held on 2nd February 1988 where Congress (I) secured 21 seats and APHLC (A) got 2 seats, Hill People Union (HPU) got 19 seats, HSPDP got 5, PDK 2 seats and other went in favor of independent and other candidates. In this election, the major fight was between Congress (I) and HPU (which formed during 1984 Lok Sabha election between APHLC and HSPDP). Congress (I) which was in government in prior election could not secure the majority and the alliance of regional parties formed the government. But government lasted for a month only because of dissention within the alliance front. Congress (I) again remained in power after the down fall of coalition government (Das; 2009).

The interesting fact about the politics of Meghalaya is that, National party was doing better than regional feelings. In every election Congress (I) become alternative to the

state. All regional parties together secured more than national party but unable to form the government. On 12th October 1991 Presidents' rule was imposed in Meghalaya after speaker had disqualified five members of MUPP. After the revoke of Presidents' rule, Congress (I) led UMPP coalition proved its majority in the house and D.D Lapang became the Chief Minister on 6th February 1992 (Pakem; 1996)

Meghalaya went for fifth general assembly election in 15th February 1993 and like previous election no party got absolute majority in 60 seats assembly. The Congress (I) has improved its position in 1993 election. There were more regional political parties in the ground as compare to previous legislative assembly election. The increase of regional parties get benefited to Congress (I) because the regional party's ideology was based on regional and Tribal sentiments but the non-Tribal voters were attracted by Congress (I). The another factor for better performance by Congress (I) was the regional parties leaders split from one party to party and some leaders also formed new party and as a result voters lost their confident in regional parties (Das; 2009).

The another political party was formed before 1993 election called Meghalaya Peoples' Party (MPP) which also bring difference in vote sharing among the regional party in the state. The fraction among the regional parties benefitted the Congress (I) and as a result of election Congress (I) got 24 seats which is higher than previous election. The HPU secured 11 seats, HSPDP got eight seats, APHLC (A), got 3 seats, PDIC got 2 seats and independent and unrecognized party secured ten seats. Congress (I) coalition with split fraction of HSPDP and APHLC along with some independent candidates form the government under the leadership of Salseng C. Marak under the

banner of Meghalaya United Front (MUF) which completed its full term tenure in Meghalaya legislative assembly (Das; 2009).

The sixth general assembly election of Meghalaya was held on 16th February 1998 for 60 assembly seats. Under the United Democratic Party (UDP), the three regional party's viz. HPU, PDIC and a fraction of HSPDP came together as a opposition front under the leadership of E. K Mawlong. Unlike, no political parties show their majority in the house. The national parties like BJP, CPI (M), INC and Janta Dal were in election fray. Among the state parties HPDP, PDM, RJD, SP and UDP also contested the election and Garo National Council (GNC) and HSP were in fray. Many other independent candidates also contested the election. Since from the formation of statehood, CPI gives its presence in every aspect but till now failed to secure even a seat but BJP for the first time contested the election in the state and secured three seats. Among the national parties Congress (I) got largest seats with 25 out of 60 seats. Where state parties failed to secured as compare to Congress (I), HPDP got 3 seats and other seats went to unrecognized and independents.

On 27th February 1998, Congress (I) under the leadership of S.C Marak formed the government by claiming single largest party who secured more seats than others but his government lasted for only 12 days. The second coalition government was formed under United Democratic Front (UDF) under the leadership of B.B Lyngdoh from UDP and obtains an office from 10th March 1998 along with 20 UDP, three BJP, three HSPDP, one GNC and four independent candidates (Riker, Vol. 6, P 65).

On 27th July 1998, B.B Lyngdoh the Chief Minister of the UDF coalition ministry resigned from the Ministership after having claims and counter claims from both the ruling UDF coalition government. The UDF and Congress (I) coalition called the

Meghalaya Parliamentary Forum (MPF) was formed and B.B Lyngdoh of UDP was sworn as Chief Minister and D. D Lapang of Congress (I) as deputy Chief Minister on 50-50 basis of power sharing for two years each (Pakem; 1999). The seventh legislative assembly election of Meghalaya was held on 26th February 2003, where four national parties, nine regional parties and 58 independent candidates contested the election. The Congress (I) secured 22 seats where HSPDP got nine and other seats went for BJP-2, Khun Hynviewtrep National Awakening Movement (KHNAM) got 2 seats, MDP-4 and five for independents. Since from the formation of statehood, CPI there but till this election, CPI doesn't able to secure even a single seat. The regional parties could not secure more seats in this election and this remarked as a beginning of decline of regional party in the state. The Congress (I) formed the government under the leadership of D. D Lapang from 4th March 2003 to 15th June 2006 and charges of office was taken by J. D Rymbai who remained in office for nine months and later on again D. D Lapang became the Chief Minister till another election of March 2008 (Election Commission of India; 2008).

The eight assembly election was held in Meghalaya on 3rd March 2008 where many parties and independent candidates were on election fray. As a result of election, Congress (I) got 25 seats out of 60 seats, the NCP secured 14 seats only. The regional parties like UDP got 11 seats, HSPDP-2, KHNAM-1 and independent candidates got five seats. However, BJP secured one seat and CPI could not secured single seat even with huge struggle since from the inception of the state. The election was conducted in peaceful manner across the state. On 10th March 2008, Governor of Meghalaya invited Congress (I) who got 25 seats out of 60 seats to form the government but the Congress (I) lead by D. D Lapang unable to get the support in the house and resigned from the Chief Minister office. The coalition government was formed under the

banner of Meghalaya Progressive Alliance (MPA) which include all non-Congress parties like NCP, with 15 seats, UDP 11 seats, HSPDP with two seats, KHNAM with one seat and three went for independents formed the government under the Chief Ministership of Donkumar Roy. The coalition of MPA lasted for a year and Presidents' rule was imposed in a state for a month. After the revoked of Presidents' rule, several parties left the alliance and joined the Congress (I) and D.D Lapang became the Chief Minister of state. The ninth assembly election Meghalaya was held on 23rd February 2013. All together 345 candidates contested the election from different parties and independent candidates. Congress (I) had improved in 2013 election got 29 seats out of 60 seats. No party got absolute majority in the house. The Congress (I) under the leadership of Mukul Sangma formed the coalition government in the state with full term of five years till the next election of 2018 (Election Commission of India; 2018).

The 10th assembly election of state was held on 29th February 2018 where many national, regional parties and independent candidates was on election fray. Out of 60 seats only 59 seats went for polls, the Williamnagar constituency seats were delayed because of the death of Nationalist Congress party candidates in IED blast in Gharo Hills. Since from 1976 to this election no party got majority to form the government. Congress (I) got 21 seats and NPP got 19 seats and other seats went in favor of UDP-6, BJP-2, PDF-4, HSPDP15, NCP-6, GNC-7, KHNAM-6 and independent got three seats. The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government was formed by the coalition with NPP, UDP, PDF, HSPDP, NCP, BJP and independent candidates who won the election and Conrad Sangma became the Chief Minister of Meghalaya (Election Commission of India; 2018).

After the formation of Meghalaya, the CPI unit of Meghalaya was formed, it also supports the formation of Meghalaya state. CPI also had an ideology to safeguard the identity, culture and tradition of Tribal of the state. They worked for the agrarian reforms in the state. The CPI through its election manifesto appeals the farmer to raise their voices against the exploitation of resources. The CPI has contested all the assembly election in the state and till now they have not achieved success. In every election CPI voting percentage was declined (Gupta; 2009).

4.8.5. Nature of Politics and Election in Mizoram

The Mizo hills district was upgraded in to Union Territory under the North Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act of 1971 and it became Union Territory on 21st January 1972. The Union Territory of Mizoram went to the first general assembly election on 18th April 1972 for 30 seats assembly and three nominated members. There were four political parties and 56 independent candidates contested the election. As a result of election, Mizo Union (MU) secured 21 seats and Congress (I) got six seats and independents with three seats. In May 1972, The Lawrence C. Chhunga led MU government was established in the state of Mizoram. In May 1974, MU merged with the Indian National Congress and two Congress members became Minister in Chhunga Ministry. In May 1977, Chhunga ministry was resigned and Presidents' rule was imposed for seven months in the state (Lalrintluanga; 2009).

The second legislative assembly election was held on May 1978. The Peoples' Conference (PC) under the leadership of T. Sailo was formed in 17th April 1974 which got absolute majority with 22 members and independents got 8 seats. The PC ministry under the leadership of T. Sailo was formed in June 1978. On 13th October 1978, eight discordant MLAs split and withdraw from the PC to form the alternative

government with other leaders of Congress (4 MLAs) Janta having two MLAs and two independents under the banner of United Legislature Party (ULP) and elected Thangridema, the Speaker of the assembly as their leader and as a result, T. Sailo Ministry got minority in the house, thus, he resigned from the ministry and recommended for the dissolution of assembly. Again Presidents' rule was imposed in Mizoram. In April 1979, the midterm election were held and T. Sailo lead PC secured majority with 18 seats and formed a government till the next election (Lalrintluanga; 2009).

The fourth assembly election of Mizoram was held in 1984 where one national party (congress I), regional parties (PC) and some independent candidates were in fray. A total 138 candidates contested the election from different constituencies. Due to the popularity of Mrs Indira Ganghi in central, the Congress (I) secured absolute majority having 20 seats out of 30 seats. The PC able to secured only eight seats and two for independents. The total numbers if voters turned out in this election was 63.38%. The Congress (I) formed the government under the Chief Ministership of Lalthanhawala on 3rd May 1984. His government could not lasted for long because of Mizoram Peace Accord (Nunthara; 1996).

On 2nd January 1986, the coalition government between Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Congress (I) was formed and Laldenga became the Chief Minister of Mizoram and Lalthanhawala as Deputy Chief Minister. The Mizoram Accord was signed between the Union Home Secretary and Chief Secretary of Mizoram on 30th June 1986 and the Accord provided full statehood with 40 members in legislative assembly. After the formation of statehood, the state legislative election were held in 16th February 1987, in which MNF secured 24 seats, the Congress (I) secured 13

seats, PC secured three seats, in which 145 candidates contested the election. With the formation of new state, the voting percentage was also increased in the election. The MNF formed the government with absolute majority and Laldenga was sworn as the Chief Minister of state but the conflict within the party resulted in the falling down of MNF government which leads to fresh election in 1989 (Nunthara; 1996).

After the revoked of Presidents' rule which was imposed for five months, the Mizoram went for sixth assembly election on 21st January 1989. In this election 162 candidates from different parties contested the election in which the Congress (I) got absolute majority of 22 seats from 40 seats. The MNF secured 14 seats and a new party which was formed from MNF legislators called MNF (Democratic) able to obtain two seats, whereas PC got only one seats. The Lalthanhawa led the Congress (I) ministry continue its government till the end of its term (Pakem; 1999).

The pre-pol alliance was in between the Congress (I) and Mizoram Janta Dal (MJD) before the 1993 election. The Congress (I) agreed to contest the election in 28 seats and MJD contested for 12 seats. There were other parties and independent candidates were in election fray. The election witnessed 121 candidates for 40 seats state assembly. The election were held on 30th November 1993 in which the Congress (I) coalition government with MJD was formed with 24 seats in the house and Lalthanhawal of the Congress (I) was sworn as Chief Minister of Mizoram on December 1993. His ministry again completed its full term of five years (Pakem; 1999).

Another assembly election of Mizoram was held in 25th November 1998 where many new political parties contested the election. Many newly formed regional parties also took part along with independent candidates. There were all together 221 candidates

for 40 seats. The Congress (I) which ruled the state since from the decade could not form the government and it got only six seats. There were pre-poll alliance between Zoramthanga led MNF and T. Sailo led MPC which formed the coalition government by securing 21 and 12 seats respectively. The MNF leaders, Zoramthanga became the Chief Minister for the first time. Since from the formation of state, regional parties could not hold the government for full term or without coalition with the Congress (I) but 1998 election saw the regional coalition government in the state. The BJP which were in election fray since long can not able to secure even a single seat. For the first time, the coalition between the regional parties defeated the Congress (I). With the internal conflict between the coalition government of MNF and MPC, the government could not last for long and MNF alone led the government from 9th December 1999 till the next election under the leader ship Zoramthanga (Lalremruata; 2016).

The legislative assembly election of 2003 was contested by three national parties, three regional parties, four unrecognized parties and other independent candidates. There were a coalition between Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP) and Mizo Peoples' Conference (MPC) before the election but could not came up to the expectation. As a result of election, MNF won 21 seats and again formed the government led by Zoramthanga. Congress (I) only secured 12 seats and other seats went in favor of HPC, MDF, ZNP and others. The Zoramthanga government holds the office smoothly till next election. Except the Congress (I), many other national parties also took part in the election but could not able to got even a single seat (Lalremruata; 2016).

The rulling MNF was defeated with huge margin by the Congress (I) in 2008 election which was held on 2nd December 2008 in Mizoram. Congress (I) got full majority in the state with 32 seats, where the ruling front MNF suffered with anti-incumbency

factors and got only three seats. The other regional parties like NPC and ZNP got two seats each and MDF one seat. After the ten years of MNF, Lalthanhawla of the Congress (I) was sworn as Chief Minister of state for the fourth term. Out of 40 seats, the Congress (I) again secured 33 seats in 2013 legislative assembly election of Mizoram and Lalthanhawla became the Chief Minister for the fifth term. The main opposition MNF only secured five seats. On 29th October 2013, the regional Parties like MNF, MPC, Maraland Democratic Front (MDF) had collaborated and formed Mizoram Democratic Alliance (MDA) but could not come to power (Election Commission of India; 2013).

The next legislative assembly election of Mizoram was held on 28th November 2018, where many political parties participated and as result of election, the ruling the Congress (I) got defeated and secured only five seats. The MNF who was in opposition got majority with 26 seats and formed the government under the Chief Ministership of Zoramthanga. Lalthanhawla, who served as a Chief Minister for fifth term lost from both the seats which he contested. For the first time BJP secured one seat in Mizoram state assembly election (Election Commission of India, 2018).

Among the national parties who had contested the election since from the formation of statehood, only the Congress (I) got successful result in the state assembly election. Many parties contested the election from 1986 to 2018 but the Congress (I) and MNF were always in contest fray. Congress (I) formed the fifth term government but other national parties could not secure even a single seat but during 2018 election BJP got only one seat. MNF able to formed the ministry for third term and remain the strongest regional party in the state. In Mizoram, 80% of its population belongs to Christian community and Church plays a major role in politics and other relevant

issues. Mizoram politics had witnessed peaceful electoral voting as compare to other North Eastern state of India (Lalremruata; 2016).

4.8.6. Nature of Politics and Election in Nagaland

In span of 56 years after its creation of Nagaland had witnessed a prolonging list of as many as 20 Chief Minister from various national and regional political parties. Nagaland experiences its first statehood election I n 10th to 16th February 1964 making its boundary as a newer state in 1963 through 13th Amendment of Constitution of India. In its first legislative assembly election, two regional parties contested with each other along with the independent candidates for 46 seats.

The Naga Nationalist Organization (NNO) bagged 33 seats where another regional party Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) got 11 seats and independent candidates with two seats. The P. Shilu of NNO became the first Chief Minister of state but interestingly, he was brought to the floor test by his own MLAs from NNO to prove the confidence and strength of government which was consequently failed with the failure of P. Shilu in defending no confidence motion and another NNO leader T. N Angami replace the government and the entire political development was unique in its nature as there was no such political upheaval across the country and the world. T. N Angami became the Chief Minister till next general election of Nagaland (Pakem; 1999).

Similarly, the second general election of legislative assembly of Nagaland was held on 1969 where the assembly seats were increased from 46 to 52 and the seats allotted to Regional Council of Tuensang was also raised, which was six during first assembly election was increased to 12 where member were indirectly elected. During this

election NNO formed the Ministry after gaining support from independent candidates and MLAs from Tuensang Regional Council which later on increased its members to 33 and Hokishe Sema became the Chief Minister. In 1972, UFN was joined by 14 NNO legislators and formed United Democratic Front (UDF) (Pakem; 1999).

The third assembly election was held on 1974 and seats were also raised from 52 to 60. For the first time the Regional Council of Tuensang got the voting rights through adult franchise. In this election two regional parties and independent candidates were in election fray. The UDF got 25 seats out of 60 seats, NNO secured 23 seats and independents got 12 seats. No party could secure the majority seats in the house. With the help of seven MLAs from independents, UDF under the leadership of Vizol Angami formed the Ministry but due to defection he could not hold the office till the full tenure. NNP along with United Democratic Front (UDF) formed United National Democratic Front (UNDF) and the coalition ministry of UNDF under the leadership J. B Jasokie formed the ministry but Ministry survived only for ten days. Due to defection in UNDF government, the Presidents' rule was imposed in Nagaland for 32 months till another election. During the Presidents' rule, NNO merged with Congress (I) (Pakem; 1999).

The fourth general assembly election of Nagaland was held on 1977. For the first National Parties i.e., Congress (I) took part in assembly election of Nagaland but able to manage 15 seats only. Along with national party, UDF, NCN and independent candidates were in election fray. UDF secured 35 seats, NCN with one seat and independent candidates with nine seats. Vizol Angami led UDF form the government after many independents joined the UDF but his ministry toppled in April 1980 because of intra party conflict and lack of confidants with in members. Under the

leadership of J. B. Jasokie, Naga National Party (NNP) was formed after the fall of Vizols' Ministry and some MLAs also joined the NNP. The 28 UDF legislators also joined NNP and formed the Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP) and under the leadership of J. B. Josokie the coalition government was formed on June 1980 and remains in power till next election (Kumar; 1992).

In 1982 assembly election, Congress (I) secured 24 seats, NNDP- 24 and 12 went in favor of independent candidates. Congress (I) formed the government after getting support from independents and S. C. Samir became the Chief Minister. With the defection and changing political development, S. C. Jamir was replaced by Hokishe Sema in October 1986. Congress (I) came with a full majority in 1987 election with 31 seats, NNDP secured 15 seats and NNP got one and independent candidates got seven seats. Congress (I) formed the government and Hokishe Sema as its leader of the house. On July 1988, 13 Congress (I) legislators split from the party and Congress (I) came in minority and as a result Hokishes' government fell from the Ministry. The NNDP and 13 split legislators of Congress (I) formed a new party called Nagaland Peoples' Council (NPC) with a view to form a government but could not succeed and President's rule was imposed in the state (Kumar; 1992).

On 21st January 1989, after the revocation of President's rule, the state went for next assembly election in the state. Many political parties and independent candidates took part in the election where Congress (I) got full majority with 36 seats out of 60 seats. The NCP got 24 seats. Other parties like BJP, NNP, NND, NPP and independent candidates could not secure even a single seat. In January 1990 S.C. Jamir led Congress (I) sworn as the Chief Minister of Nagaland but in 1990 many NPC formed

the Ministry after the defection in Congress (I) under the leadership of K. L Chishi but his Ministry could last for a month (Indian recorder, 1998).

The Joint Legislators Party (JLP) was formed after various groups of legislators came together and formed the government under the leadership of Vamuzo Phesao but with political disability and deteriorating law and order situation in government, the governor Dr. M. M Thomas imposed the President's rule. S. C Jamir of Congress (I) became the Chief Minister of Nagaland after securing 35 seats out of 60 seats in assembly election in 15th February 1993. Many political parties and some independent candidates were in election fray where NPC secured 18 seats and remaining seven went in favor of independent candidates. The S.C Jamir government completed its full tenure till next election (Indian recorder, 1998).

The next election of legislative assembly was held in February 1998. The 1998 election was remarked as unique in character as 34 candidates of Congress (I) were unopposed because of National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN-IM) boycott the election and BJP, Naga Democratic Movement (NDM), NPC could not set up any candidates. It is because they were demanding for Nagautism within a state. In this election, despite of unopposed seats, Congress (I) again won nine more seats. All together Congress (I) got 43 seats out of 60 seats in the house. Under the Leadership of S. C Jamir, Congress (I) formed the government (Indian recorder, 1998, p 3501).

The 10th legislative assembly election of Nagaland was held in February 2003 for 60 member assembly. From the national parties like BJP, Congress (I), Janta Dal (United) put up 105 candidates and regional parties like Nagaland Democratic Party (NDM), Nagaland Democratic Party (NLDP), NDF put altogether 81 candidates and other state parties like All India Trinomol Congress (AITC), Rashtriya Lok Dal

(RLD), Samata Party (SAP), put 22 candidates and 17 independent candidates also took part in election. As a result of election Congress (I) got 21 seats, BJP-7, JD (United)-3, Samata Party-1, NDM-5, NPF-19 and independents secured four seats. No party got full majority and the combined efforts of the NPF, BJP, JD (U) and Samata formed Nagaland Peoples' Front (NPF) and formed the government under the Chief Ministership of Neiphiu Rio (Dev; 2003).

The opposition parties who boycotted the 9th legislative assembly election of 1998 with slogan, 'Solution not election' regarding the Naga problem realized the importance of election and political implication of participation came with slogan, 'Election for Solution' in 10th assembly elections. The Rio led coalition government ended the ten years Congress (I) rule from the state. Rio was dismissed from the Chief Ministership during completing his first term as he had survived a controversial no confidence motion in the house and Presidents' rule was imposed in Nagaland in 3rd January 2008 (Dev; 2003).

After the revoked of Presidents' rule in Nagaland, the 11th state legislative assembly election were held in 5th March 2008 for 60 seats in which many political parties and some new parties contested the election. In this election NPF secured 26 seats, Congress (I) secured 23 seats, BJP and NCP got 2 seats each and independents got seven seats. The NPF coalition government was formed and Neiphiu Rio sworn as the Chief Minister of state and he completed his full tenure (Election Commission of India, 2008).

On 23rd February 2013, general elections to the legislative assembly of Nagaland were held. In this election, the voters' turnout was much higher as compare to 11th legislative assembly election. Total 185 candidates from different political parties

contested the election and as a final outcome went in favor of NPF with 38 seats. The NPC led Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN) led by Chief Minister Neiphiu Rio got full majority in the house for the third times. Congress (I) faced the worst election in the entire history of Nagaland. Congress (I) contested for 56 seats but could secured only eight seats. On May 2014, T. R Zeliang took over the charges of state after Neiphiu Rio went to national level politics. Later on T. R Zeliang was succeeded by Shurhozelie Liezietsu on 22nd February 2017 and became the 11th Chief Minister of state. After the couple of months again his ministry was succeeded by T. R Zeliang on 19th July 2017 till next election of state legislative assembly (Election Commission of India; 2013).

On 27th February 2018, the Nagaland legislative elections were held for 59 seats, as one seat was unopposed in favor of Neiphiu Rio of Northern Angami II constituency. NPF and BJP led National Democratic Alliance dissolved their alliance during pre-election and BJP formed the alliance with newly formed political party under the leadership of Neiphiu Rio called Nationalist Democratic Progressive Party (NDPP). As a result of election, NPF got 26 seats, NDPP got 18 seats, BJP got 12 seats, NPP got two seats, Janta Dal (United) and independents got one each. Noparty gained majority in the election. The NPF led T. R Zeliang failed to prove the majority in the house and Governor P. B Acharaya asked Rio to prove his majority before 16th March 2018 and Neiphui Rio along with the BJP legislators with 32 MLAs formed the government and T. R Zeliang led NPF remained as a strong opposition in the house with 27 seats (India Today; March 6, 2018).

4.8.7. Nature of Politics and Election in Tripura

Tripura became part C state by the central government in which state to be administered through Chief Commissioner or Lieutenant Governor. Thus Tripura got their nominated council of advisors and legislators. During the visit of State Reorganization Commission for statehood suggest that Tripura could not be viable states and recommended the conversion of Part C states in to Union Territory, and government accepted the recommendation placed by the states Reorganization Commission and Tripura Became Union Territory in November 1956 and full-fledge state on 21st January 1972.

Since from 1963, Tripura has elected government on the basis of Adult Franchise. The part ii of the Union Territory Act provided a legislative assembly with strength of 30 elected and two nominated members and also provided seats for Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe (Chaube; 2012).

After Tripura became a full-fledge state, the first legislative assembly was constituted in 1972. The delimitation of constituency of Tripura legislative assembly was done as per Northeastern Areas Act of 1971 which provided the total seats of legislative assembly to 60 out of which six seats were reserved for Schedule Caste and 19 for Schedule Tribe. During 1957 to 1971, there were an ideological fight between Congress veteran leader Sachindra Lall Singh and Sijhamoy Sen Gupta and their differences led to the imposition of Presidents' rule in the state in December 1971 till the general election of 1972. The general election of legislative assembly was held in 11 March 1972. In this election, six political parties including national and regional along with some independent candidates took part for 60 seats. Congress (I) won the election securing 41 seats where the main opposition CPI (M) won 18 seats along

with two seats supported by independent candidates. Sukhamoy Sen Gupta of Congress (I) became the Chief Minister of Tripura till next election of 1977 (Election Commission of India; 1972).

After attaining full-fledge statehood, the Tripura went for second legislative assembly election on 31st December 1977 where 17 seats were reserved for Schedule Tribe and seven seats were reserved for Schedule Caste. In this election, Congress votes were divided in to Janta Dal, Tripura Upajati Juba Samity (TUJS) and the independent candidates but the leftist could not share the votes and CPI (M) coalition government was formed with 53 seats and four seats went in favor of TUJS, RSP got two seats independents got one. Nirpen Chakraborty became the Chief Minister of Tripura on January 1978 and he remains in power till the full term of five years (Singh; 1987).

In 1983, The Nripen Chakraborty of CPI (M) again sworn as the Chief Minister of Tripura. This election is marked as the deterioration in law and order due to the Tripura National Volunteers' (TNV) extremism. Because of violence in left government , the voter ere in favor of Congress (I) but the fact is that Congress (I) were already divided in to various fraction and as result left front led by CPI (M) secured 37 seats in 60 constituencies. The Congress (I) secured 12 seats, TUJS won six seats and RSP got two seats (Pakem; 1999).

The third legislative assembly elections of Tripura were held in 2nd February 1988. Many National parties like BJP, CPI, CPI (M), INC, and JNP were in fray and among the regional parties i.e., Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), TUJS and some independent candidates were also in the election fray. As a result of election, Congress (I) and its ally TUJS secured 24 seats and seven seats respectively and CPI (M) bagged 26 seats and its ally Front Forward Block got two seats. In bye election

of Fatikroy Constituency which got delay due to the death of the CPI (M) candidate went in favor of Congress (I) and Congress (I) coalition government with TUJS was formed for the first time under the leadership of Sudhir Ranjan Majumdar in Tripura. After the coalition ministry led by Sudhir Ranjan Majumdar was survived for few months and Samir Ranjan Barman took charges of Chief Minister of state. The opposition front opposed the ruling front and claimed that law and order of state are deteriorating in Congress (I) coalition government and demanded to declared Tripura as a 'Disturb area', thus the Governor in consult with President imposed the Presidents' rule in the state from 11th March 1993 till one month (Pakem; 1999).

The left front again came in power in Tripura through the legislative assembly election which was held in 15th February 1993. The CPI (M) got absolute majority scoring 44 seats. The ruling Congress (I) only secured 10 seats and RSP with one seat. The TUJS and Front Forward Block got one seat each. The CPI (M) Dasartha Deb took over the power of Chief Minister of the left front coalition government on the state. During the campaigning period, the left front took of the issues like tribal safeguard, restoration of democracy in Tripura and it also high-lighted the issues of development of Schedule Caste communities and Other Backward Class (Indian Recorder; 1998).

The issues which left front raised during the election campaigning helped them to come in power after defeating Congress (I) ruling government. Altogether, there were ten national and regional parties along with some independent candidates were in the election fray. Dasartha's government completed its full tenure till next election. The left front secured 41 seats with full majority in general legislative assembly election which was scheduled in 11th March 1998 and Manik Sarkar of CPI (M) sworn as the

Chief Minister of Tripura. Extremist problem were the fieriest issues in assembly election of Tripura in 1998. The opposition parties blamed left front government responsible for not tackling the extremist problem in the state and the ruling front raised the allegation the Congress (I) and its alliance were instigating the violence in the state. The scholars can assumed that, the 1998 election was based on blame game. The opposition front of Congress (I), TUJS and TNV got 19 seats and one seat went in favor of independents (Indian Recorder; 1998).

The ninth legislative assembly election of Tripura were held in 2003 where CPI (M) headed Manik Sarkar formed the government after left front won 41 seats out of 60 seats. Congress (I) and its ally could not form the government. The 2003 election of Tripura witnessed more than 13 political parties including national, regional, unrecognized state parties and independent candidates took part in the election. Many parties could not able to secure even a single seat in the election. After the completion of five years term, the state went for 10th legislative assembly election on 14th January 2008. All together 313 candidates from different political parties were in election fray. Out of 60 legislative assembly seats in Tripura legislative assembly, 20 seats were reserved for Schedule Tribe and seven were reserved for Schedule Caste. The CPI (M) retain in power after securing 49 seats and Manik Sarkar was sworn as Chief Minister of the state, again BJP could not able to secured even a single seat. Along with BJP, other political parties like NCP, All India Forward Block, AITC, Janta Dal, Lok Janshakti Party and many others could not able to open seat (Election Commission of India; 2003- 2008).

On 14th February 2013, Tripura went for next election of legislative assembly for 60 seats. The voting percentage of the state was 93.5% which was higher than 2008

election. All together 249 candidates from different political parties along with independent candidates contested the election. All together 14 political parties were in fray where CPI (M) got 49 seats, Congress (I) got 10 seats and Communist Party of India got one seat. The CPI (M) got the majority and one again formed the Ministry under the leadership of Manik Sarkar for fourth consecutive time (India Today, February 15, 2013).

The 2018 assembly election of Tripura created a new history; BJP for the first time formed the government by defeating CPI (M) 25 years of government in the state. Tripura legislative assembly was held in 18th February 2018 for 59 constituencies. There were 60 seats in legislative assembly of Tripura but polling was conducted only for 59 seats because of the death of CPI (M) candidates from Charilam (ST seat). The BJP got 35 seats, CPI (M) got 16 seats and newly formed political party called Indigenous Peoples' Front of Tripura (IPFT) got eight seats. With a full majority in the house, BJP formed the government and Biplab Kumar Deb became the 10th Chief Minister of Tripura. Manik Sarkar of CPI (M) remained as a leader of opposition in the house. Many national and regional parties took part in the election and in previous election BJP has failed to win even a single seat despite contesting for 50 seats but during this election BJP managed to secured 35 seats and formed the government in Tripura (Financial Express, March 3, 2018 and Election Commission of India; 2018).

4.8.8. Nature of Politics and Election in Sikkim

Sikkim conducted its first general election in March to May 1953. The result of the 1953 elections was a triumph for the forces of communalism in Sikkim. The National Party captured all the Bhutias, Lepchas seats in Sikkim Council and the Sikkim State Congress (SSC) won all the Nepali seats. A few candidates of Praja Sammelan (PS)

and members of Schedule Caste League (SCL) had also contested but all were defeated in the polls. Thus in the first election held in Sikkim an equal number of candidates represented both the major political parties of Sikkim and each have six seats in the council. The hold was firmly and effectively driven between the Bhutia-Lepcha and the Nepali. The first election could not secure the single majority vote. Since no party enjoyed a majority in Sikkim Council. On the eve of the second election on November 1958, a new political party was formed called 'Swatantra Dal' (SD), a splinter group of the State Congress, under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorjee, who had been the president of State Congress since 1953 after the death of Tashi Tshering. The SD could secure only one seat (BL) in the election (Sikkim Darbar Gazette; 1959).

On 20th May 1960, 'Sikkim National Congress' (SNC) was formed as a new political party in Sikkim, which was considered as a powerful force in Sikkim's politics. The four parties, viz, The Sikkim Swatantra Dal (SSD), The Sikkim National Party (SNP), Sikkim Praja Sammelan (SPS) and SSC decided at a joint convention held in Singtam in east Sikkim, to merge into one compact body to be known as the Sikkim National Congress (SNC). The SNC had a great influence among the Sikkimese peoples as compared to other political parties. In 1959, on account of the decision of the election Tribunal, the election of five candidates to the council was set aside. The Chogyal had upheld the decision and ordered fresh election. An interim election was held in 1960. The SNP having strength of five, later roped in one more from the National Congress Party and claimed a majority in the council and hence senior executive councillorship also (Bhadra; 1992).

The third general election in Sikkim took place in 1967. In the election, the SNC emerged as a major party by winning eight seats including the general seat. A six member executive council was formed in which two members of the SNC were admitted. A new political party, 'The Sikkim Independent Front' (SIF) was formed in 1966 under the leadership of Miss Ruth Karthak Lepcha. The party contested election, but could not secure any seat in the council (Basnett; 1974).

Sikkim went to polls for the fourth time in April, 1970. The political activities were accelerated by the proclamation of the Chogyal Pladen Thodup Namgyal. On 31st December 1969, when he promulgated the representation of Sikkim Subject Act, 1969, the people through three preceding election had understood the political processes unhorses in the country since 1953. During fourth election new political party was formed under the leadership of Lal Bahadur Basnett called 'Sikkim Janta Party' (SJP), but this party failed to capture any seats. Lal Bahadur Banett resigned both from the party and membership and its leadership after the election (Bhadra; 1992).

The fifth election held in 1973 remarked as a turning point in the political history of Sikkim. The 8th May Agreement postulated the formation of a responsible government, wider legislative and executive power for the elected representative of peoples. The system of election was based on adult suffrage on the principle of 'one man one vote'. The proclamation of representation of Sikkim subject Act 1974 was issued by the Chogyal in the month of February 1974, According to this Act, the assembly was to be composed of 32 members and Sikkim was divided in to 31 territorial constituencies and one Sangha constituencies. Out of 32 seats, fifteen seats

were reserved for Bhutia-Lepcha, fifteen were reserved for Nepalese and one was reserved for Sangha and other for schedule caste (Bhadra; 1992).

The National Congress and The Janta Congress which had been working together to achieve their common goals since February 1973, merged together and gave rise to 'Sikkim Congress'. The Sikkim Congress started election campaigning in a full swing and due to the birth of Sikkim Congress, different environment arouses among the National party. As a result of election, the Sikkim Congress swept the poll securing thirty seats. The other was the Sangha seats. A Ministry was formed under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorji. The disagreement between the Chogyal and the Sikkim Congress over the issue of Government of Sikkim Bill and later conflict between the Ministry and the Chogyal ultimately led to the merger of Sikkim with India in the Month of May, 1975 (Bareh; 2001).

After the merger of Sikkim with India, Sikkim adopted unicameral legislative system in the name of Sikkim Legislative Assembly. It also got one seat in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The Sikkim Legislative Assembly had 32 members and is directly elected by the people on the basis of adult suffrage. In October 1979, election to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly was held. This was the first elections in Sikkim under the direction of the Election Commission of India and Indian election rules (Syangbo; 2013).

Prior to the elections, however, an ordinance called the Representation of the people (Amendment) Ordinance 1979 was issued in which seat reservation for the Nepalese was withdrawn. Out of 32 seats, 12 seats were reserved for Bhutia-Lepcha, two seats for the Scheduled Caste and one for the Sangha. Other seats were general (Lama; 2003).

In 1979 election, seven political parties and independent candidates were in the field. National Parties such as Indian National Congress, Janta Party, the CPI (M), and many regional parties such as Sikkim Janta Parishad (SJP), Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary), Sikkim Prajantantra Congress (SPC), Sikkim Scheduled Caste League and other independents contested the election. The total numbers of voters in 1979 election were 1, 17,640 and 65.13% votes were cast. Election was conducted for 31 constituencies and election in one constituency was countermanded on account of death of a candidate (Lama; 2003).

The election was won by the Sikkim Janta Parishad. SJP was formed in 1977 by Nar Bahadur Bhandari. His party secure absolute majority and formed a new government for the first time based on a regional party. The Sikkim Janta Parishad under the leadership of Nar Bahadur Bhandari could not complete its tenure and his government was dismissed by the then Governor of Sikkim Homi. J.H. Taleyarkhan in May 11, 1984 under Article 164 (1) of the constitution on the ground that Bhandari ceased to command the pleasure of the Governor and the same Governor under the same provision of the constitution of India appointed Mr. B.B Gurung, Finance Minister in Bhandari cabinet as the third Chief Minister of Sikkim. His Government remained in office for only 13 days. As a result of the failure of the constitutional machinery, Sikkim was once again brought under the Presidential rule for ten months. In the mean time Bhandari formed a new political party called Sikkim Sangram Parishad and came in power by winning 31 out of 32 seats in 1985 election (Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1979; Election Commission of India).

The Assembly election of March 1985 was contested by many National political parties such as Congress (I), Janta Party, CPI, CPI (M) and Regional parties such as

Sikkim Sangram Parishad and Sikkim Prajatantra Congress. Some unregistered political parties and numbers of independent candidates also contested the election. Sikkim Sangram Parishad won the election and Bhandari assumed his office for the second time (Statistical Report, Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1979; Election Commission of India).

Sikkim again went for Legislative Assembly Election in 1989. National party like Indian National Congress, two regional Parties namely Sikkim Sangram Parishad and Rising Sun Party of Ram Chandra Paudyal, one unrecognized party- Denzong Peoples Chogpa and many independent candidates contested the election. The SSP won 32 out of 32 seats and the lone Lok Sabha. In 1989 election, SSP and the Rising Sun Party were the main rivals but Rising Sun Party could not even get one seat. SSP swept the assembly elections for three consecutive terms. Several political parties existed and functioned but these parties were engaged in solving their own problems instead of standing as a strong opposition to the ruling party. National Political parties like CPI and the Congress (I), tried to establish their hold in Sikkim and took active part in the election but could not success to form a government in Sikkim (Syangbo; 2013).

In 1994 election, three National political Parties viz., Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) Indian National Congress and Communist Party of India (M) and three regional political parties such as Revolutionary Socialist Party, Sikkim Sangram Parishad and Sikkim Democratic Front contested the election in which SDF party under the leadership of Chamling won 19 seats out of 32 seats and formed the government in Sikkim. Although, many political parties participated in these election but the main contest was between SDF and SSP. SDF defeated the SSP government which was in

power since 1984. SSP won ten seats and INC won two seats and one seat was won by the Independent candidate (Ganley; 2002).

On 16 July, 1992, Pawan Kumar Chamling a cabinet Minister in SSP government was dismissed from the party because he opposed the Bhandari in the Assembly on the ground of, Mal-administration, failure of government in implementing developmental project and OBC issues. After his dismissal from the government, he formed a new political party called 'Sikkim Democratic Front' (SDF) on March 4, 1993, with the aim of establishing democratic principles(Ganley; 2002).

In 1999 election SDF government again came in power by winning 24 out of 32 seats. The SSP government who won 10 seats in 1994 election and stayed in opposition for five years also lost the battle by winning only seven seats. Instead of having opposition parties and various organizations that was directly or indirectly acted like a strong opposition was not succeed to decrease the popularity of SDF government, so as a result SDF government again came in power in 2004 election by winning 31 out of 32 seats. There were three National political parties, three Regional parties and some independents candidates who contested the election but once again SDF holds the office by making hatric in Sikkim's politics. The SSP who had in power for 15 years (from 1979-1993) could not able to secured even a single seat in 2004 election (Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1999 to 2009; Election Commission of India).

The SDF further strengthened their majority in the Sikkim Assembly by winning all the 32 seats in 2009 legislative assembly election. The Chamling's government returns for a record of fourth consecutive term having won previous election in 1994, 1999 and 2004. The other national as well as regional political parties stood weak in

front of SDF party. After facing defeated in a huge margin of seats in Assembly election for three consecutive terms, the SSP merged with Congress (I) and contested election under the national banner of Sikkim Pradesh Congress (Statistical Report, Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1999 to 2009; Election Commission of India).

After the 2009 election, one of the prominent leaders of SDF government Mr. Prem Singh Goley, who had been there in SDF government for more than two decades, who served as a Cabinet Minister for 15 years criticize the Chamling's government on various issues like SDF government failed to restore the democracy in Sikkim, the issues of corruption, hydro power project scam, selling of land for private industries etc. and split from the SDF and formed the new political party called Sikkim Krantikari Morcha. During 2014 general legislative assembly election, many political parties contested the election but the major fight was between Sikkim Krantikari Morcha (SKM) and SDF. The national parties Bharatiya Janta Party, Indian National Congress, West Bengal based party Trinomol Congress contested the election. The result of 2014 election came in the favour of SDF. The ruling party forms the government by taking 22 seats and lone Lok Sabha seats also. The SKM get 10 seats and remain as a strong opposition in the state Assembly. Pawan Kumar Chamling sworn as a Chief Minister of Sikkim for fifth time in 2014.

Another election for legislative assembly of Sikkim was held in 2019. Many national and regional political parties were in election fray for 32 constituencies and as a result of election, the opposition front SKM won 17 seats and the ruling front SDF who was in power since 1994 to 2019 got only 15 seats. The former Football captain of India, Bichung Bhutia led Hamro Sikkim Party also contested the election in 26 seats but could not able to secured even a single seat. The Prem Singh Golay led SKM formed

the government by defeating the veteran politician who ruled the state for 25 years and Prem Singh Goilay became the Chief Minister of Sikkim (Statistical Report, Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2014 and 2019; Election Commission of India).

CHAPTER 5

TRANSACTION OF POLITICAL CULTURE AND VIOLENCE IN SIKKIM FROM 1974 TO 2014

5.1. Introduction

The roots of the political parties in Sikkim from 1942, show a significant influence of political culture of subcontinent, most of the leaders in Sikkim were influenced by the freedom movement of India against British. After India got Independence many political reforms introduced in India. Sikkim also felt its influence as many leaders were inclined towards the mainstream politics of India but their voices were suppressed by the then ruler of Sikkim. After having many struggles, Sikkim finally merged with Indian Union in 1975 and became the 22nd state. After the merger of Sikkim with Indian Union, the first democratic election in Sikkim was held in 1979 under the Indian Constitution.

Sikkim enjoyed the real democracy only after the merger with Indian Union in 1975 and the people of Sikkim enjoyed their democratic right i.e., Adult Suffrage for the first time in 1979. From 1979 to till now many political parties, both national and regional parties contested elections but were most dominated by regional parties. Sikkim is relatively new to competitive politics and democratic practices. While comparing political parties of this land to the political parties of other parts of the country, parties of Sikkim considerable new as per their origin. Being the part of India the political parties in this state follow the democratic norms that the constitution of country has allowed, yet sharp look at the behavior political parties in Sikkim show different dimension of party behavior and uniqueness in their practices. The peculiar

history and social composition of Sikkim have compelled its government, the politics of Sikkim, to remain in an irregularity when compared to other states of India.

With the growth of freedom movement in India under the colonial rule, a sign of similar aspiration apparently began to take roots in the Sikkim. Many educated youths, different political parties and various organization of Sikkim raised their voices in favor of democracy and democratic rule in the State rather than the orders of the durbar. The waves of nationalist movements in India under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru inspired many politically conscious people. The ruler of Sikkim could not properly cater to the growing aspiration to the larger portion of Sikkimese people. People began to believe that a democratic set up would overthrow inequality and injustice (Rummenes and Koen; 2010).

The politically conscious minds of Sikkim thus espoused a Liberal democratic government as a constitutional project in which both law making and ordinary legislation would be mainly concerned with proper and impartial realization of equal liberty of all citizens. Various aspects of political life in Sikkim were bound clash between Lamaist traditionalism and secular democracy. The former, with its monk-incarnated ruler, theocratic political structure, and religious and aristocratic bureaucracy is based on the Tibetan political system. Sikkim, formally under Tibetan guidance, had been ruled by the Bhutia rulers who represented the tenets of the Lamaist theocratic practices. The elite of the nobility, the Kazis, the Bhutias and the ministers of durbar preferred this model because of their historical, cultural and political tie with Tibet (ibid).

A variety of Sino-Tibetan style of architecture was identified as the Sikkimese. In short, the ruler was engaged in transplanting the items of Tibetan theocratic

traditionalism into Sikkimese culture and life. In this effort, he was supported strongly by the Lamas, Kazis and all Bhutias as they also identified themselves with the Lamaist theocratic traditionalism. Perhaps, in spite of the theocratic and feudal political structure, certain aspects of secular and liberal democracy began to germinate in the kingdom. The emergence of this liberal democratic thinking might be traced to the reformist movements of 1940's (Rummenes and Koen; 2010).

The acceptance of some aspects of liberal democracy gave birth to the institutions of party system, responsible government and universal suffrage. In fact the liberal democracy professes the sovereignty of the masses and upholds the ideal of the welfare State. The need for informal public sphere became important, a place where an individuals or civil society can actively participate in all kinds of informal political actions and public discussions. (Rummenes and Koen; 2010).

The other factor which led to the formation of political parties and demand for the abolition of monarchy system is the exploitation of rural masses by the Kazis. They claimed that they were the member of royal family and have every right to exploit, to tax and to adjudicate the cases of king's subject. The Kazis used the system of Kalobhari, Kuruwa, Theki-Bethi⁵ and rents of the masses. They monopolized control over the agricultural land where the people simply worked. Many Sikkimese families left Sikkim and took refuge in Nepal, Assam, Darjeeling and Siliguri, due to the ever growing suppression and exploitation by the Kazis. Reforms were meted out during the reign of Sir Tashi Namgyal. Many powers of the Kazis were curbed. Some of the Kazis however were against the reform policies of the Chogyal. The suppression in

⁵The gifts presented to Zamindars by the farmers during the festivals.

Sikkim during that time was very high. The masses raised their voices against the suppression of Kazis.

The first underground movement began at Namthang followed by a secret meeting held in the forest of Tendong Hill, Damthang under the leadership of Dhan Bahadur Tewari and Gobardhan Pradhan of Temi Tarku. In 1947, the new political party called Praja Sammelan was formed by the villagers of Temi Tarku. The party submitted memorandum to the Maharaja of Sikkim requesting to bring an end to the suppression of the Kazis, but Maharaja did not give positive response to the memorandum which was submitted by the political party (Syangbo; 2013).

The other political party, 'Rajya Praja Mandal' formed at Chyakhung under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorjee, Birkha Bahadur Gurung, Nar Bahadur Gurung, Maita Bahadur Gurung, Norbir and Sangey Lama. Meantime another political party called, 'The Praja Samaj Party' was formed at Gangtok on 7th December 1947. The leaders of these political parties and other interested politician of Sikkim felt the need of strong and unified political party in the kingdom and in order to make strong political opposition which works for the welfare of the country to counter the monarchy, these three parties came together at Palzor Stadium at Gangtok and merged together and formed a new party called 'The Sikkim State Congress' (SSC which was a much stronger force than earlier ones (Syangbo; 2013).

The leaders of Sikkim State congress adopted the resolution at their meeting for political reforms in the kingdom and a deputation called on the then Maharaja of Sikkim, Tashi Namgyal and presented a memorandum to him presenting three demands:

1. Abolition of landlordism;
2. Formation of an interim Government as a democratic form of government;
3. The accession of Sikkim to the Union of India (SSC Memorandum to the Ruler; Gangtok 8, 1947).

The activities of the State Congress directed along peaceful and legitimate lines, exercised a considerable influence throughout Sikkim. It sought changes in the social and economic structure of the kingdom. Several deputations waited for the authorities for the abolition of slavery, protection against forced labor and demanded that these people be allowed to pay their taxes directly to the landlords because the intermediaries had often cheated them while recording the payments. The movement under the State Congress gained strength and within a short a span of time, the landlordism was on its way to end. The forced labor, locally termed as ‘Jharlangi’, became a thing of the past. The landlords’ courts and their powers of registration of lands and deeds were abolished in 1984. The lessee system was dropped and the people were given the right to pay tax directly to the State (Grover; 1974).

The growing popularity of the State Congress became threat to the monarch. The ruler feared of losing age old power in the hands the ardent supporters of democracy. The monarch thought of opposing the popularity of State Congress from within the democratic framework. He gathered a, group of Bhutia landlords and his courtiers to establish the Sikkim National Party on 30th April 1948 as an anti-thesis of Sikkim State Congress with a view to protect special privileges of the feudal elements of Bhutia dominance in affairs of the State and to oppose Sikkim accession to India. They also confirmed that party would make all effort to establish a separate entity outside the Indian constitution. And to force Sikkim to accede to the Indian Union,

either by direct or indirect means would be denial to Sikkim of her right to stick to her natural affinities. The resolution which was passed on April 30, 1948 by the National Party is;

1) Historically, socially, culturally and linguistically, Sikkim has closer affinities with Bhutan and Tibet.

2) From the geographical and ethnic points of view, Sikkim is not a part of India. Sikkim has only political relation with the India, which was imposed to Sikkim.

3) From the religious point of view, being Lamaist, Sikkim is quite distinct from India.

4) The policy of the party is to maintain intact by all means the indigenous character of Sikkim and to preserve integrity (India Today; 1970).

The National Party in Sikkim opposed the State Congress's demand for the establishment of interim government. It raised a counter slogan demanding the retention of effective powers in the hands of the Chogyal. Thus, the State Congress leaders dubbed it as a 'Party of the Palace' (Grover; 1974). It became the tug of war for political power as every ethnic entity aspired for itself the Vehicle of a State. The ethnic conflicts can now be seen in the form of party conflicts (Sleth; 1989).

In the meantime another political party called 'The Rajya Praja Sammelan' (RPS) was formed under the leadership of Dhan Bahadur Tiwari Chettri and Goverdhan Pradhan. Its aim is to strived for the complete union with India and Affiliation and identification with the Gorkha population of North Bengal (Grover; 1974).

5.2. Movement for Democracy and Formation of Popular Ministry in Sikkim

Ever since India gained its independence, the Sikkim feudal state has been increasingly exposed to winds of change. One such change has been the emergence of a new sense of political identity. Such new aspiration generates a new pattern of political dynamics and call for new institutions to cope with the task of nation building (Sinha; 1975).

The State Congress demanded the establishment of interim popular government. It proposed the 'No Rent' and 'No Tax' campaigning as a part of its programme of agitation. The State Congress had opened the party office in different parts of Sikkim in order to make their agitation more successful. Some unscrupulous elements had founded in the movement a money spinner, taking help from equally unscrupulous collaborations, they had formed sham branches of Congress party and started collecting money for the party fund, with the view of trust and faith towards Tashi Tshering, people contributed unstintingly to the party fund of these frauds (Basnet; 1974).

When this state of affairs was brought to the notice of Tashi Tshering, he immediately launched a drive that sought to enlighten the people on the Congress programme. In order to bring the awareness among the people about the feudal tyranny, proper branch offices in different parts of Sikkim were opened. Accredited and popular leaders were sent in branches to spread the Congress gospel. The speeches of the visiting leaders came as a marvel, remarkable as much for their novelty as for their seditious content. Some of the visiting leaders fell a foul of the fund collecting leaders and were beaten up, but, by and large the drive was a success and the peasant of

Sikkim were thoroughly aroused and motivated for the struggle against feudalism (Basnet; 1974).

The State Congress organized a series of no tax campaigning, non-cooperation movements and non-violent agitations. Its leaders got arrested for their three-point demands (Sinha; 1975). At the annual session of the State Congress at Rangpo, which was held in February 1949, momentous discussions were taken to intensify steps for the achievement of popular ministry.

On 7th February 1949, Tashi Tshering and twenty other important members of the party were summoned for defying the government notification by preaching 'no rent' campaigning. When the party members reached Gangtok, six important leaders were arrested and jailed. On hearing the news of the arrest and detention of State Congress leaders, several thousand people marched to Gangtok and demonstrated peacefully in the streets of Gangtok against the repressive policy of the Darbar. On February 12, 1949 on account of immense public support against the arrests, the Congress leaders were released unconditionally (Grover; 1974).

On 1st May 1949, a crowd estimated about ten thousand people gathered and marched towards the palace for demanding the formation of Popular Ministry. In the morning of that day, a strong procession went up to the palace, shouting slogans like 'down with the landlords', 'Long live democracy', 'people's rule is a must', etc. The Sikkim Durbar had to yield some ground if it did not want to face a worse situation. On the advice of the Political Officer, the Maharaja agreed to form a Popular Ministry under the Chief Minister-ship of Tashi Tshering. History was made in Sikkim when a five-member council of ministers, composed of three Congress nominees and two Durbar nominees, took oaths of office on 9th May 1949 (Basnet; 1974).

5.3. Indo-Sikkim Treaty: Sikkimese Politics and Intervention of India

The Ministry started to face trouble from Maharaja from the beginning, after the formation of Popular Ministry, since it wanted to implement land reforms, and it also wanted that the state should accede to India. These two points were not to the liking of Maharaja. Further, as there was no constitution defining the respective powers of the ruler and the Ministry, each side blamed the others of encroachment. The Maharaja invited the Government of India to intervene, the Government of India was in a delicate position.

Even though its sympathies were with the State Congress, which represented the majority of the population, it was unable to advise the Maharaja to accept the popular demands lest it might be accused of having sinister designs on a small state located on a sensitive international border. On 7th June 1949, Maharaja finally dismissed the popular Ministry. The Ministry remained in office for 29 days only (Rao; 1975). After the dismissal of Ministry, Government of India took over the administration and in 1950, the India Sikkim-Treaty was signed without including any leaders from political parties.

The Treaty of 1950 marked as the beginning of a new chapter. It contained thirteen articles. All previous treaties between the British Government and Sikkim were cancelled. It was decided that Sikkim shall continue to be a protectorate of India and subject to the provision of this treaty, shall enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs (Grover; 1974). This Treaty disappointed the Sikkim State Congress Party which wanted that state should be fully integrated with India. This treaty also disappointed the National Party, they wanted the political relation of Sikkim with India on the basis of equality (Rao; 1975). In order to strengthen the bond of new

relationship established between the two countries by the Treaty signed in 1950, Prime Minister Jawahar Lall Nehru visited Sikkim in April 1952. Nehru's visit not only served to underline the close and friendly relations with Sikkim but also demonstrated the importance that free India attached to this strategically located border state (Grover; 1974).

5.4. Constitutional Development in Sikkim

After the dismissal of the first popular Ministry, the Sikkim State Congress intensified its agitation for popular reforms, so in 1953 Maharaja created a legislative body called 'The Sikkim State Council' (SSC). It was given the power to enact, with the assent of the ruler, laws for the peace, order and good government of the state, but it cannot discuss or deal with the matters of external relations and the ex officio president of the state council. The State Council consists of twenty members, fourteen elected and six nominated, out of the fourteen elected seats, six were reserved for Nepalese and six for Bhutias and Lepchas, one for Sangha (Monk) and one for general seats (Rao; 1978).

Later, the number was increased to twenty-four, eighteen elected and six nominated by the ruler. Out of the eighteen elected seats seven were reserved for the Nepalese, seven for the Bhutias and Lepchas, one each for Sangha, the Chongs and the Schedule Caste, one seat was general. The president of the Council was also nominated by the ruler. Distributions of seats were not equitable from the fact that Nepalese consist of 70%, but allocated only seven seats from eighteen elective seats. At the same time Bhutias and Lepchas who together consist about 25% of the total population were also given equal reserved seats as the Nepalese. Elections were very complicated, a candidate in order to get elected must not only secure the highest numbers of the

voter from his community but also have to score a minimum percentage of the other community (Rao; 1978).

5.5. Elections in Sikkim

5.5.1. First General Election - 1953: Sikkim conducted its first general election in 1953. The diffusion of idea of democracy had destroyed the foundation of many traditional establishments and released new forces which ended the splendid isolation of Sikkim. The elections for the first Sikkim Council were held from March to May 1953. About 40% of the electorate of 60670 went to the polls. The salient features of Sikkim's first ever elections in its history are under as follows:

- a. The Council was composed of twelve elected and nominated members. These members were to be nominated by the Maharaja at his discretion.
- b. For elected member, the overall parity between the Bhutia-Lepcha and Nepali communities was maintained. Out of the twelve elected members, six seats each were reserved for the Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali, according to the agreement of all political parties of the country.
- c. The election was to be held on the basis of Universal Adult franchise (Sikkim concise cronical)

The result of the 1953 elections was a triumph for the forces of communalism in Sikkim. The National Party captured all the Bhutias, Lepchas seats in Sikkim Council and the Sikkim State Congress won all the Nepali seats. A few candidates of Praja Sammelan and members of Schedule Caste League had also contested but all were defeated in the polls. Thus in the first election held in Sikkim an equal number of

candidates represented both the major political parties of Sikkim and each have six seats in the council. The hold was firmly and effectively driven between the Bhutia-Lepcha and the Nepali (Grover; 1974).

The first election could not secure the single majority vote. Since no party enjoyed a majority in Sikkim Council. Although the Maharaja of Sikkim retain absolute power, as announced by the Proclamation of March 1953, diarchic system of administration was set up as a step towards a progressive association of the people with the administration of the kingdom. Consequently, the two elected leaders of State Congress and the Nationalist Party, Kashiraj Pradhan and Sonam Tsering respectively were taken into the Executive Council, with the Dewan as its Chairman. The State Congress opposed the system and composition of Executive council. In March 16, 1958, Maharaja made a proclamation after having discussion with the major political parties of Sikkim. The pursuance of this proclamation, election was again held in Sikkim in November 1958 (Grover; 1974).

5.5.2. Second General Election - 1958: On the eve of the second election on November 1958, a new political party was formed called 'Swatantra Dal', a splinter group of the State Congress, under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorjee, who had been the president of State Congress since 1953 after the death of Tashi Tshering. The Swatantra Dal could secure only one seat (BL) in the election (Sikkim Darbar Gazette; 1959).

In September 1959, a joint convention of different political parties of Sikkim viz. Sikkim Swatantra Dal led by L.D Kazi, Sikkim National Party of Sonam Tshering and Sikkim Schedule Caste League was held at Melli. It reiterates the old demand of popular government and written constitution for Sikkim (Chelho; 1970).

On 20th May 1960, 'Sikkim National Congress' was formed as a new political party in Sikkim, which was considered as a powerful force in Sikkim's politics. The four parties, viz, The Sikkim Swatantra Dal, The Sikkim National Party, Sikkim Praja Sammelan and Sikkim State Congress decided at a joint convention held in Singtam in east Sikkim, to merge into one compact body to be known as the Sikkim National Congress. The objectives of the new party, outlined in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India were:

1. A constitutional monarchy for Sikkim.
2. A council based on communal party, but elected by a joint electorate and
3. An independent judiciary with a High Court established by a charter (Bhadra; 1992).

The Sikkim National Congress had a great influence among the Sikkimese peoples as compared to their political parties. The entire political picture of Sikkim was changed after the emergence of SNC. In 1959, on account of the decision of the election Tribunal, the election of five candidates to the council was set aside. The Chogyal had upheld the decision and ordered fresh election. An interim election was held in 1960. The SNP having strength of five, later roped in one more from the National Congress Party and claimed a majority in the council and hence senior executive councillorship also (Bhadra; 1992).

5.5.3. Third General Election - 1967: The third general election of Sikkim had been postponed from scheduled time because of Indo-China border conflict and in November 1962 a people's Consultative Committee was formed and the main function of the Committee was to strengthen internal security and national defense. Dewan was appointed as a Chairman of the Committee. In December 1963, Maharaja

Tashi Namgyal died and Maharaja Palden Thodup Namgyal succeeded him as a king of Sikkim. He had made many strategies and visited various department of government of Sikkim and brought many changes in the field of development (Bhadra; 1992).

The third general election in Sikkim took place in 1967. In the election, the SNC emerged as a major party by winning eight seats including the general seat. A six member executive council was formed in which two members of the SNC were admitted. A new political party, 'The Sikkim Independent Front' was formed in 1966 under the leadership of Miss Ruth Karthak Lepcha. The party contested election, but could not secure any seat in the council (Basnett; 1974).

5.5.4. Fourth General Election - 1970: Sikkim went to polls for the fourth time in April, 1970. The political activities were accelerated by the proclamation of the Chogyal Pladen Thodup Namgyal on December 31, 1969 when he promulgated the representation of Sikkim Subject Act, 1969. The people through three preceding election had understood the political processes unhorses in the country since 1953. During fourth election new political party was formed under the leadership of Lal Bahadur Basnett called 'Sikkim Janta Party', but this party failed to capture any seats. Lal Bahadur Banett resigned both from the party and membership and its leadership after the election (Bhadra; 1992).

5.5.5. Fifth General Election - 1973: The fifth election held in 1973 remarked as a turning point in the political history of Sikkim. The May 8 Agreement postulated the formation of a responsible government, wider legislative and executive power for the elected representative of people. The system of election was based on adult suffrage on the principle of 'one man one vote'. The proclamation of representation of Sikkim

subject Act 1974 was issued by the Chogyal in the month of February 1974, According to this Act, the assembly was to be composed of 32 members and Sikkim was divided in to 31 territorial constituencies and one Sangha constituencies. Out of 32 seats, fifteen seats were reserved for Bhutia-Lepcha, fifteen were reserved for Nepalese and one was reserved for Sangha and other for schedule caste. Election to the 31 Constituencies of the assembly were held on the basis of adult suffrage, a candidates in order to be a member of assembly must have a subject of Sikkim and 25 years of age (Bhadra; 1992).

5.6. Sikkim Subject Regulation

In July 1961, the Sikkim Subject Regulation was promulgated by the Maharaja, without the consent of the state council to provide citizenship to three categories of persons:

1. All persons of Sikkimese domicile, if born in Sikkim and resident there or if ordinarily resident in Sikkim for not less than fifteen years prior to the promulgation of the regulation.
2. Persons not domiciled in Sikkim but of Lepcha, Bhutia or Tsong origin whose father or grand-father was born in Sikkim, and
3. Person not domiciled in Sikkim but whose ancestors have deemed to be Sikkimese Subjects before 1850.

The Sikkim Subject regulation 1961 was severely criticized by various political parties in Sikkim. The Government of India was criticized for approving it and the National Congress raised the slogans: “India practices democracy at home and

imperialism abroad". The Sikkim State Congress and The Sikkim National Congress jointly protested against new regulation and termed it as discriminatory and harmful (Grover; 1974). The regulation referred to Sikkimese, Bhutia, Lepcha and Tsong as many categories of persons entitled to citizenship but excluded Nepalese who form about 70% of the population of Sikkim. This led to a certain amount of apprehension among Nepalese of possible discrimination against their community. To allay the fears of the Nepali all reference to the communities was deleted from the regulations with effect from 16th January 1962 (Rao; 1978).

Towards the middle of June, 1970, the President of India was scheduled to visit Sikkim. There were secret meetings of the study forum, which wanted a show down with India by staging a 'black flag' demonstration on the occasion of the President's visit. The visit was postponed saying to inclement weather. In Sikkim, anti-Indian elements having tested the moral weakness of India began to plan more effective methods to bully the giant. The Sikkim United Front was launched in September 1970. It criticized the Treaty of Sikkim 1950 by distributing leaflet and demanded its revision as pioneer to Sikkim's total independence. The strongest voice among the members of the United Front was Krishna Chandra Pradhan, the erstwhile General Secretary of the Janta Party (Basnet; 1974).

5.7. Downfall of Namgyal Dynasty and Political Agitation of 1973

In April 1973, an anti-Chogyal agitation broke out, within no time the agitation spread to the interior and agitators established people's regime at places after chasing away the state functionaries from their posts. The face of the agitation started off during the fifth General Election in January 1973 where in Rabong constituency it was alleged that the Durbar had rigged the election result. The National Congress led by L D Kazi

and Sikkim Janta Congress led by KC Pradhan charged the Presiding Officer with aiding and abetting the Sikkim National Party in rigging the election.

On February 2 protest was lodged and letters written to the Chogyal and the Election committee. With the final outcome of the election result favoring Sikkim National Party (they won 11 out of 18) there was major disappointment among the other local parties. Two (one each of National Congress and Sikkim Janta Congress) of the six newly elected councils declined the office. The masses felt that they had been cheated as a result large demonstration broke out at Gangtok bazaar that slowly ignited every corner of the then Independent kingdom of Sikkim. The agitators demanded the conduct of popular elections and full-fledged democracy, a written Constitution, fundamental rights, one man one vote principle based on adult franchise, and abolition of the notorious parity system. Agitation held an important role, mostly the turning point of the Independent Sikkim and the Sikkim State.

The mass demonstrations against the Chogyal rule shocked the 300 year old monarchy system and ushered democratic rule in Sikkim. The agitation was of a result, due to serious differences which ensued with the demand of repoll in one booth by Kazi Lhendup Dorji and Mr. Krishna Chandra Pradhan, as such the Chogyal had to face the people's agitation launched by the Joint Action Committee with the tacit blessings of the Government of India. The people's political movement spearheaded by Kazi Lhendup Dorji finally resulted in Sikkim joining the mainstream as 22nd State of India in 1975. The Joint Action Council of the Sikkim Janta Congress and the National Congress submitted a memorandum to the Chogyal seeking four demands. The demands were i) release of the arrested leaders, b) enquiry into the rigging of the

1973 Council elections, c) one man one vote system of election and d) setting up of a democratic system of government (Pradhan; 2009).

With the demands of the JAC not getting fulfilled, on April 4 the agitated mobs surrounded the Durbar. The Durbar Police fired injuring eight persons and even tear gas shell was used on the protestors. The crowd turned to violence capturing police stations and government offices and houses of government officers were destroyed, effigy of the king was also burnt. The agitators echoed the ending of monarchy rule. Till then the agitation had spread to other towns and villages of Sikkim. The Durbar administration had collapsed and Gangtok Bazaar was beyond control. The much hyped 50th birthday of the Chogyal on April 4 was cancelled at every villages and small towns of Sikkim. The agitation turned violent and the ruler lost all his control on the state and the Sikkim police were unable to control the demonstrations and Kazi Lhendup Dorji asked India to exercise its responsibility for law and order and intervene. Chogyal had no option than to call upon India for help and restore normalcy in the region. In the circumstances, for the second time after 1949, the ruler of Sikkim had to request the Government of India to take over the administration of the state (Pradhan; 2009).

On 8th April 1973, B.S Das was appointed as the Chief Administrator of Sikkim. The following day JAC suspended all their revolution. This signified the takeover of the administration of the Kingdom of Sikkim by the Government of India and the people of Sikkim too acknowledged it. On April 13, the Chogyal attended the press conference and announced that the constitutional and administrative reforms would be discussed. Thus it was in May 8, 1973 **Tripartite Agreement** was signed at the Palace by the Chogyal, Kewal Singh, Indian Foreign Secretary and the five

representatives of the three political parties that included the Sikkim National Party, the Sikkim National Congress and the Janta Congress. The Agreement provided democratic set up for Sikkim, administrative improvement and the closer relations with India (Sikkim blogspot.com).

The election to Sikkim Assembly, as per Tripartite Agreement, was scheduled to be held in April, 1974. The National Congress and the Janta Congress which had been working together to achieve their common goals since February 1973, merged together and gave rise to 'Sikkim Congress'. The Sikkim Congress started election campaign in a full swing and due to the birth of Sikkim Congress, new dynamics and political atmosphere was witnessed. As a result, the Sikkim Congress swept the polls securing thirty seats. One seat was taken by Sangha also. A Ministry was formed under the leadership of Kazi Lhendup Dorji. The disagreement between the Chogyal and the Sikkim Congress over the issue of Government of Sikkim Bill and later conflict between the Ministry and the Chogyal ultimately led to the merger of Sikkim with India in the Month of May, 1975 (Bareh; 2001).

5.8. Sikkim as a State of Indian Union

During fifth election, when Sikkim Congress swept 31 seats, most of the elected member refused to take oath in the name of Chogyal denying their loyalty to him. That refusal continues till the merger. The Ministry and the Sikkim Congress gradually found it difficult to carry on with the Chogyal as the head of the state. The mutual distrust and antagonism reached such a height that on the 10th April, 1975 the Sikkim Assembly unanimously passed a resolution seeking the abolition of the institution of the Chogyal and demanding merger of Sikkim with India (Sikkim Darbar Gazatte; 1975).

In another resolution a referendum was decided to be held on the 14th of April to that effect. The Sikkim Congress started mobilizing the opinion of the people by organizing meetings in favor of the resolution adopted by the Assembly. The opinion poll overwhelmingly supported the resolution seeking the abolition of the rule of the Chogyal and making Sikkim a constituent unit of the Indian union (Sikkim Darbar Gazatte; 1975).

The political leadership along with minister visited Delhi and conveyed the Government of India about the desire of the people of Sikkim. They requested the Government of India to immediately accept the unanimous decision of the Sikkim Assembly through necessary Parliamentary process. The Government of India accordingly proposed the constitutional Amendment Bill seeking to make Sikkim the 22nd state of the Indian Union. The Bill was passed by the Parliament on 26th April, 1975, and on the 16th May, B.B Lal, the Chief executive, was appointed as the Governor of Sikkim (Sengupta; 1985).

After Sikkim became a constitutional state of the Indian union, the Sikkim Congress decided to merge with the National Congress. In December, 1975 it officially merged with the National Congress and became the state unit of National Congress party. The only National Party representative in the Assembly also joined the Congress, making the house a single party affair. The Congress Party kept its unity intact up to 1977, but strains were already developing within the party. Inner party conflict, clash of interests and the impact of communalism, all these, though they could be restrained during the emergency, found their way immediately after the lifting of emergency in 1977 in the state politics (Bareh; 2001).

After the merger of Sikkim with India, Sikkim adopted unicameral legislative system in the name of Sikkim Legislative Assembly. It also got one seat in both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The Sikkim Legislative Assembly had 32 members and is directly elected by the people on the basis of adult suffrage.

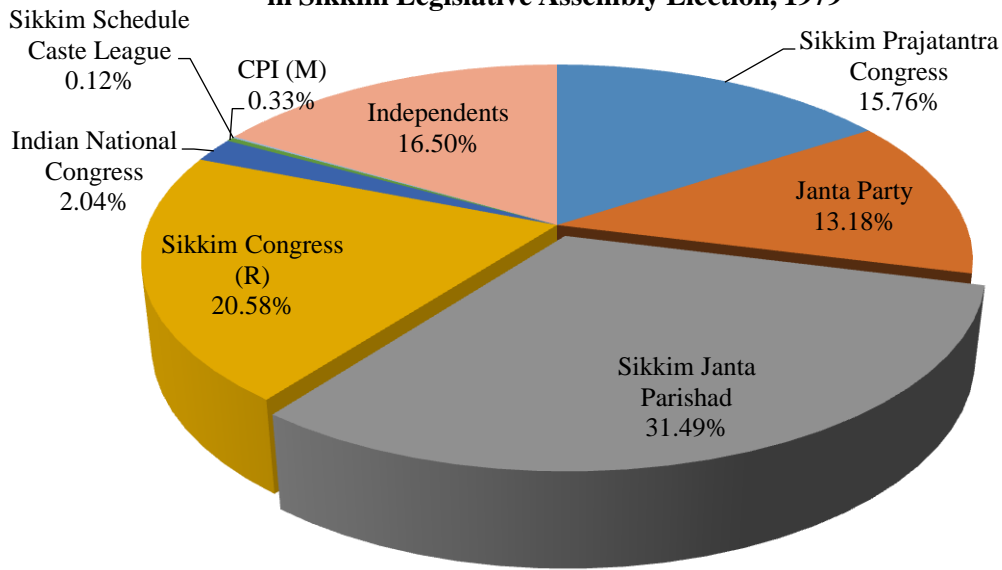
5.9. Political Parties in the Sikkim's Politics

In October 1979, election to the Sikkim Legislative Assembly was held. This was the first elections in Sikkim under the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India and Indian election rules (Syangbo; 2013). Prior to the elections, however, an ordinance called the Representation of the people (Amendment) Ordinance 1979 was issued in which seat reservation for the Nepalese was withdrawn. Out of 32 seats, 12 seats were reserved for Bhutia-Lepcha, two seats for the Scheduled Caste and one for the Sangha. Other seats were general. Many parties dubbed this ordinance as a Black Bill because it completely neglected or undermined the Nepalese reservation which was the majority of the population of the state (Verma; 2012).

5.9.1. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1979

After Sikkim became the 22nd state of Indian Union, under the direction of Election Commission of India, on 1979 Sikkim went for its general Assembly election. The below figure no. 5.1 gives details about the results of 1979 election of Sikkim.

Figure 5.1 : Percentage of Votes Secured by various Political Parties in Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1979



Source: Election Commission of India: 1979 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election.

All together Seven national and regional political parties and independent candidates participated in 1979 election. National Parties such as Indian National Congress, Janta Party, the CPI (M), and many regional parties such as Sikkim Janta Parishad (SJP), Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary), Sikkim Scheduled Caste League, Sikkim Prajatantra Congress (SPC), and other independent candidates contested the election. All together 11 women candidates from different political parties were in election fray from 10 constituencies and as a result none of them able to win the seat. The total numbers of voters in 1979 election were 1, 17,640 and 65.13% votes were cast.

“Election was conducted for 31 constituencies and election in one constituency was countermanded on account of death of a candidate” (Lama; 2003). The SJP secured 16 seats out of 31 seats, SPC also contested in 32 seats but won only four seats, Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary) contested for 27 seats and won 11 seats and independent candidates got one seats. Other parties like Janta party, Sikkim Scheduled Caste League, INC and CPI (M) could not secure even a single seat.

The election was won by the Sikkim Janta Parishad. The SJP was formed in 1977 by Nar Bahadur Bhandari. His party secured absolute majority and formed a new government for the first time based on a regional ideology. Democracy and Socialism were its main objectives. The Party brought in to limelight the drawbacks of Kazi government (Syangbo; 2013).

The SJP had fought the election with very impressive slogans such as “ushering democracy, destroy communalism, discontinue divisive policy, and were ready to lay down the lives to get the rights of the Sikkimese. The party also committed that after forming the government it will work for bringing People’s self-respect and sense of dignity” (Lama; 2003). The 1979 election gave the new leaders to the Sikkim’s politics with new hopes and aspiration for the people of Sikkim.

The Sikkim Janta Parishad under the leadership of Nar Bahadur Bhandari could not complete its tenure and his government was dismissed by the then Governor of Sikkim Homi. J.H. Taleyarkhan in 11th May, 1984 under Article 164 (1) of the constitution of India on the ground that Bhandari ceased to command the pleasure of the Governor and the same Governor under the same provision of the constitution of India appointed Mr. B.B Gurung, Finance Minister in Bhandari’s cabinet as the third Chief Minister of Sikkim. The B.B Gurung Government’s lasted only for thirteen days. Sikkim was brought under the Presidential rule for ten months, As a result of the failure of the constitutional machinery. In the meantime Bhandari formed a new political party called Sikkim Sangram Parishad and came in power by winning 31 out of 32 seats in 1985 election.

The newly formed Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) contested December 1984 Lok Sabha and March 1985 Sikkim Assembly election. SSP contested both elections with the following main issues:

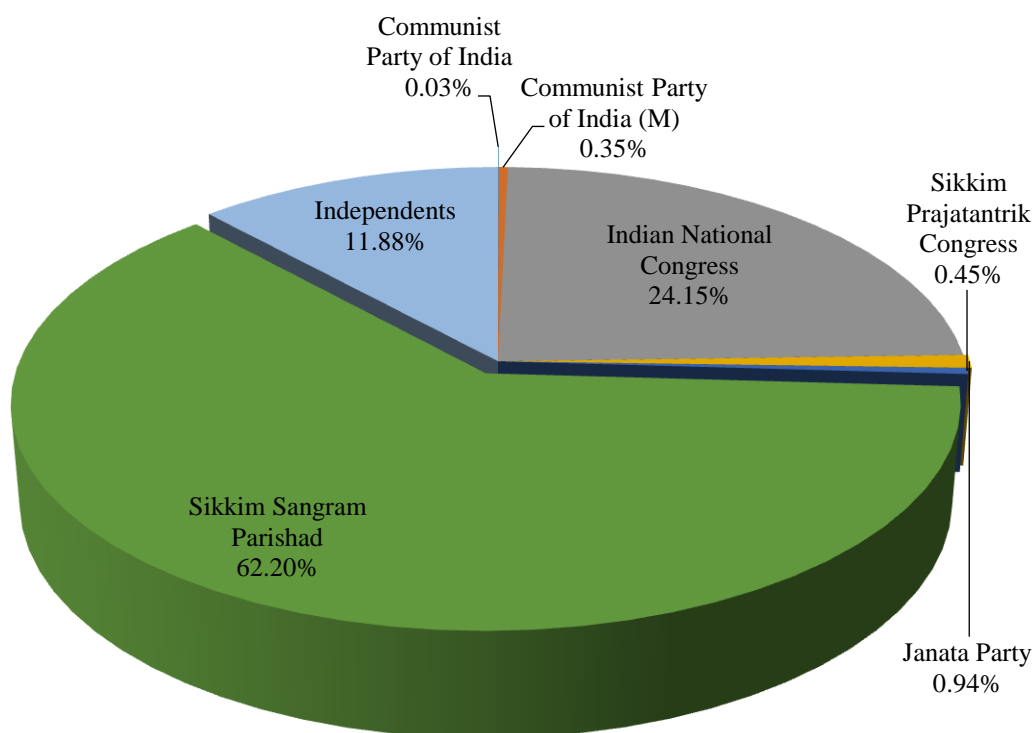
- a. Restoration of seat reservation: to restore parity and maintain reserved seats for Sikkimese Nepalese as originally contained before merger and under article 371 F of the Indian constitution.
- b. Citizenship: for people rendered stateless in Sikkim and to fix the cut off year at 1970.
- c. A son of the soil safeguard: to preserve local identity to give all government jobs and trade license to the people of Sikkim.
- d. Constitutional recognition: the state's lingua-franca viz., Nepali language commonly spoken by all and majority of the people in Sikkim to get constitutional recognition under VIII Schedule of the Indian Constitution.
- e. To alter Centre-State Relation: for demanding more financial and political freedom for the state of the Indian Union and to extend support for constitutional amendment (taking in to account the role played by Governor in Sikkim, Andhra Pradesh and J&K in the year 1984) to the concept of state Government continuing in power in the pleasure of the government (Lama; 2003).

5.9.2. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1985

The Assembly election of March 1985 was contested by many National political parties such as Congress (I), Janta Party, CPI, CPI (M) and Regional parties such as Sikkim Sangram Parishad and Sikkim Prajatantra Congress. Some unregistered political parties and numbers of independent candidates also contested the election.

The following figure no 5.2 gives the details about the winning party's result of 1985 election.

Figure 5.2: Percentage of Votes Secured by Various Political Parties in Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1985



Source: Election Commission of India: 1985 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election.

Six political parties and many other independent candidates took part in the election. Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP) contested for all the seats and secured the absolute majority by winning 30 seats. Indian National Congress contested in 32 seats and for the first time they managed to win one seat and one went in favor of an Independent candidate. Other parties like CPI (M), Sikkim Prajatantrik Congress, Janta Dal and Communist Party of India contested the election with various ideologies but could not secure even a single seat. SSP won the election and Bhandari returned to his office for

the second time. The total women candidates were 11 from eight constituencies who contested the election from various parties but none of the women candidates were elected. The main features of the 1985 election were that, from Kabi Tingda Constituency of north Sikkim, Congress (I) won the election and from the Gangtok Constituency which was considered to be the most prestigious constituency, Balchand Sarda, who is from lowland won the election by defeating the most prominent and the back bone of SSP leaders Smt. Dil Kumari Bhandari. He won the election through the votes of lowland peoples.

5.9.3. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1989

Sikkim Sangram Parishad was able to mobilize the people easily as there was no other political party which could not muster a strong opposition and check the government in each and every field. There was a dominance of single party in the state since 1979. And with the developmental work which was carried out by the SSP government during their 10 years reign favored them for 1989 election. National party like Indian National Congress, two regional Parties namely Sikkim Sangram Parishad and Rising Sun Party of Ram Chandra Paudyal, one unrecognised party- Denzong Peoples Chogpa and many independent candidates contested the election. The SSP won 32 out of 32 seats and the lone Lok Sabha seat from the state and made a record not only in state but also in the country. The following table no 5.1 gives the details about the 1989 election.

Table No 5.1 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1989

Sl. No.	Name of Political Parties	No. of Candidates	No. of Seats Won
1	Indian National Congress	31	0
2	Rising Sun Party	31	0
3	Sikkim Sangram Parishad	32	32
4	Denzong Peoples Chogpa	04	0
5	Independent	20	0

Source: Statistical Report, Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1989, Election

Commission of India

In 1989 election, SSP and the Rising Sun Party were the main rivals but Rising Sun Party could not even get one seat although they had contested 31 seats. SSP swept the assembly elections for three consecutive terms. National Political parties like the Congress (I), tried to establish their hold in Sikkim by filing 31 candidates and took active part in the election but could not succeed to form government in Sikkim. The four women candidates took part in the election and for the first time the women candidates from Richenpong constituency won the election. It is clear from the election results from 1979 onwards that not only in the Legislative Assembly Election but also in the Lok Sabha Elections, the regional parties have become dominant and prominent in the state (Syangbo; 2013).

SSP maintained its strong hold from 1979 to 1989. Before 1989 there were no strong opposition in Sikkim but after the election some regional as well as national parties played their role by criticizing government policies in various fields. The opposition parties like Congress (I) demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister, as the ruling party failed to maintain law and order in the state. Even though in 1989, SSP won all

the Assembly seats and formed a government with absolute majority but again could not complete the tenure because he lost a vote of confidence in May 1994 in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly and resigned from the government.

Bhandari government from 1989 onwards marked the gradual integration of Sikkim with Indian political system. The government of India decided to implement the recommendation of the Backward Class report by reserving 27% seats in educational, political, welfare, and administrative offices to the communities listed by the commission as the backward. The said Commission had listed all the communities in Sikkim as economically and educationally backward. Bhandari government did not give positive response to the issue of Other Backward Classes, because of this reasons his cabinet Minister Mr. Pawan Kumar Chamling raised the issue of implementing the recommendation of the Mandal Commission Report in Sikkim in 1992 and for that he was expelled from the party. In 1994, state Assembly passed the resolution against the implementation of Mandal Commission Report. Within, no time 19 out of 31 members of Bhandari's government deserted him to form a parallel political forum (Sinha; 2009).

On 17th May 1994, Bhandari's fourteen and half years rule in Sikkim end when his dissident legislators voted against him. After the loss of confidence motion of Sikkim Legislative Assembly, Mr. Sanchaman Limboo was sworn as the fourth Chief Minister of Sikkim on 18th May 1994 by the then Governor of Sikkim R.H Tahiliani. Since his Ministry was in minority and as election to the Assembly was announced S.M Limboo remained a Chief Minister for only 127 days.

A Joint Action Committee (JAC) was formed by the leaders of all the opposition political parties against SSP rule in Sikkim. Considering the complete failure of

constitutional machinery in the state and because of the series of repressive measures adopted by the SSP government, the leaders of opposition unanimously constituted the Joint Action Committee in June 1993, consisting of several political parties and organizations functioning in the state for the restoration of democracy, preservation of the constitution and for rule of law. The JAC mobilized public opinion and tried to seek the support of the people and democratic organizations for the realization of the following demands:

- Unconditional release of all the opposition leaders and workers of the aforesaid parties and withdrawal of illegal warrants issued by the government against the prominent leaders.
- The JAC demanded the immediate withdrawal of political leaders and persecution of the leaders of the opposition and other organization.
- Restoration of democracy and the preservation of the Constitution and the rule of law.
- Imposition of President's rule in Sikkim by invoking article 356 of the Indian Constitution.

The JAC launched a peaceful movement for the realization of these demands both inside and outside Sikkim. A Committee issued a press release in June, 1993 and declared that the government led by the SSP has been ruling Sikkim in an undemocratic manner for the past thirteen years. It has persistently denied the political and democratic rights of the people and suppressed the voice of all the opposition and mass media in the state. The JAC appealed all the democratic organization and associations in Sikkim to join hands with the JAC and cooperate in the struggle for the restoration of democracy in Sikkim (Gaunley; 2002).

5.9.4. Establishment of Sikkim Democratic Front

Pawan Kumar Chamling came to the prominence when he entered the Sikkim Legislative Assembly with a lighted candle in search of Democracy in Bhandari's regime. On 16th July 1992, Pawan Kumar Chamling a cabinet Minister in SSP government was dismissed from the party because he opposed Bhandari in the Assembly on the ground of mal-administration, failure of government in implementing developmental project and OBC issues. After his dismissal from the government, Chamling travelled all over Sikkim and met different people. After various meeting with the people and different organizations of Sikkim, Chamling felt that there is a need of strong leadership and opposition in order to counter the government.

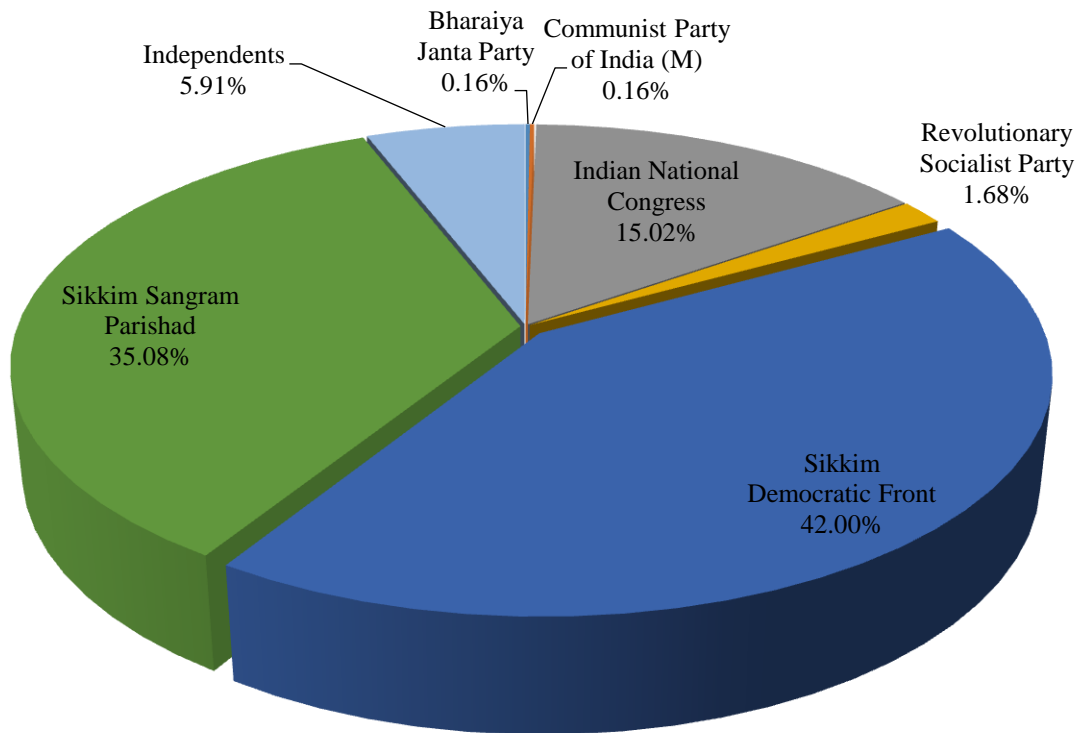
Under the leadership of Pawan Kumar Chamling, a new political party called 'Sikkim Democratic Front' was formed on 4th March 1993 with the aim of establishing democratic principles. The main objective of Sikkim Democratic Front was to fight against the anti-people policies adopted by the SSP government and wanted to replace it by a pro-people policy and programme. The main aim of the SDF party during its foundation was to restore the lost identity of the Sikkimese people, the economic and political development of the Other Backward Classes in Sikkim. SDF formed a different level of party Committee in order to mobilize the people and started campaigning for 1994 election.

5.9.5. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1994

Sikkim went for next legislative assembly election in 1994 and with the pro people policy of SDF government and the misgovernment of Bhandari, SDF won the 1994

general election and Pawan Kumar Chamling was sworn as the fifth Chief Minister of Sikkim. The following figure no 5.3 shows the party position in the Assembly of 1994.

Figure 5.3 : Percentage of Votes Secured by various Political Parties in Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1994



Source: Election Commission of India: 1994 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election

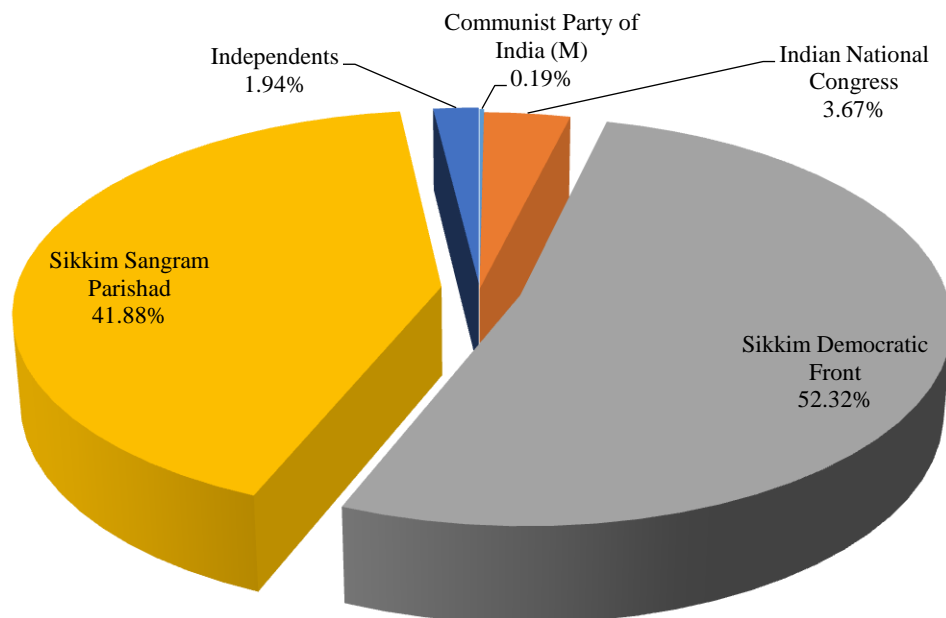
In 1994 election, three National political Parties viz., Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) who entered in to the politics of Sikkim for the first time, Indian National Congress and Communist Party of India (M) and three regional political parties such as Revolutionary Socialist Party, Sikkim Sangram Parishad and Sikkim Democratic Front contested the election in which SDF party under the leadership of Chamling won 19 seats out of 32 seats and formed the government in Sikkim but the main contest was between SDF and SSP. SDF defeated the SSP government which was in power since 1984. SSP won ten seats and INC won two seats and one seat was won by an

Independent candidate. All together nine women candidates were in election fray from eight constituencies and as a result one woman candidates won the election from Sikkim Sangram Parishad party.

5.9.6. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1999

Sikkim again went for assembly election for its legislative assembly in October 1999. The SDF government had done remarkable developmental work in the fields of social, political, educational, environmental, and other fields within the five year of term and because of their pro people policies and developmental work, SDF were able to maintain their strong hold and won the Assembly elections of 1999. The following figure no 5.4 represents the results of 1999 election to Sikkim Legislative Assembly.

Figure 5.4 : Percentage of Votes Secured by various Political Parties in Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 1999



Source: Election Commission of India: 1999 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election

There were four political parties and nine independent candidates in the election fray. SDF got 52.32 % of total vote share with 24 seats and got majority in the house. INC filed the nomination for 31 seats but got only 3.67% votes and the main opposition party SSP filed the nomination in all the seats but was only able to secure seven seats with 41.88% vote share. The CPI (M) could not win even a single seats and independent got one seat. In 1999 election six women candidates were in fray but only one candidate from SDF party were elected.

In 1999 election SDF government again came in power by winning 24 out of 32 seats. The SSP government that won 10 seats in 1994 election and stayed in opposition for five years also lost the election by winning only seven seats. Their popularity was decreased as the SDF government held the power. The SDF government claims that it is a party of the people and for the people. SDF government is the government where people are the rulers and there is maximum participation of the people in political activities. Because of this reasons SDF succeeded to hold the office. In August 2000, six MLAs resigned from SSP under the intimation to the party president and formed a separate group and later joined the ruling front. The strength of SSP thus reduced to one elected representative only while SDF got stronger with 31 MLAs.

Some section of the society was dissatisfied with the SDF government because it promised to give the real political rights to the people but it failed to give such rights. On 12 October 1999, there was a 12 hours hunger strike by representatives of the three ethnic communities at the Bhutia-Lepcha House in Gangtok for the restoration of political rights. Four member of the Sikkim Bhutia-Lepcha Apex Committee (SIBLAC) represented the minority Bhutia-Lepcha Community, former Minister K.C Pradhan represented the Sikkimese Nepali Apex Community (SNAC), the

Organization of Sikkim Unity (OSU) represented by its Chairman, Jigme N. Kazi during the hunger strike.

The opposition parties formed Sikkim United Democratic Alliance (SUDA), on February 2003, in order to restore democracy in the state which SDF government failed to bring. It was formed with the objective to strengthen democratic process, ensure freedom of expression and fight for restoration of the political rights of the Sikkimese people as safeguarded under the article of 371F of the Indian Constitution. The Alliance Consisted of the BJP, Congress (I), Sikkim Himali Rajya Parishad, Organization of Sikkimese Unity (OSU) and National Liberation Front (Kazi; 2008). In the year 1997, a new political party –‘Sikkim Ekta Manch’ was formed under the leadership of the former state power secretary, Laxmi Prasad Tiwari with the view that the administration in Sikkim was deteriorating day by day, so he formed the party to bring political reform in Sikkim (Sikkim Express; 1997; August 26).

5.9.7. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2004

The Sikkim Legislative Assembly election was held in 10th May 2004 for 32 assembly constituencies. Despite having opposition parties and various organizations coming together with strong opposition, they could not succeed to decrease the popularity of SDF government, so as a result SDF government again came to power in 2004 election by winning 31 out of 32 seats. The below mention table no 5.2 represents the position of political parties in 2004 election.

Table No. 5.2 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2004

Sl. No.	Name of Political Parties	No. of Candidates	No. of elected Candidates
1	Bharatya Janta Party	04	00
2	Communist Party of India (M)	01	00
3	Indian National Congress	28	01
4	Sikkim Democratic Front	32	31
5	Sikkim Himali Rajya Parishad	09	00
6	Sikkim Sangram Parishda	01	00
7	Independents	16	00

Source: Statistical Report, Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2004, Election Commission of India

During 2004 election there were six political parties and 16 independent candidates that took part in the elections. The newly formed regional political Party called Sikkim Himali Rajya Parishad under the leadership of Dr. A.D Subba also contested election for one seat. The SDF swept 31 out of 32 seats in 2004 election. Once again SDF holds the office by making hatric in Sikkim's politics. The SSP that was in government for 15 years could not compete with the SDF government. SSP was gradually losing his seats in each consecutive election. In 2004 election, they failed to secured even one seat, this shows that the SSP was not able to mobilize the people and SSP could not stand for people's perspective and aspirations. The interesting feature of the 2004 election was that four candidates of SDF were declared uncontested and one Sangha seat was won by the Congress (I) candidate. BJP and CPI (M) could not able to secure even a single seat.

5.9.8. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2009

Building upon the well-established roots at the rural base the party gradually built its sweeping electoral success in 1994, 1999 and 2004 election. The policy perused by the SDF government helped the party to construct a solid base more particularly in the rural areas and the caste base was purely OBCs. The government gave much emphasis on the economic development of the state, since it believed that economic development will usher in overall development of the state (Sangbyo; 2013). The SDF government fought the election with two main slogans i.e. ‘Janta Rajma Jantai Raja’, which means “in people’s regime, people are sovereign”, this means that the party believes in the people’s power and people’s rule and ‘Khali Kuttey ko Sarkar’ i.e. bare footed government. This slogans motivated rural people so much and with their votes SDF again came in power in 2009 election also.

Table No. 5.3 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2009

Sl. No.	Name of Political Parties	No. of Candidates	No. of Elected Candidates
1	Bharatya Janta Party	11	00
2	Communist Party of India (M)	03	00
3	Indian National Congress	32	00
4	Sikkim Democratic Front	32	32
5	Sikkim Himali Rajya Parishad	20	00
6	Nationalist Congress Party	01	00
7	Sikkim GorkhaParishad Party	27	00
8	Sikkim Janekta Party	06	00
9	Independents	16	00

Source: Statistical Report, Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2009, Election Commission of India

The above mention table no 5.3 gives the summery of 2009 election;

The SDF further strengthened their majority in the Sikkim Assembly by winning all the 32 seats. The Chamling's government returns for a record of fourth consecutive term having won previous election in 1994, 1999 and 2004. Altogether four national as well as four regional political parties along with 16 independent candidates were in election fray but all national and regional parties stood weak in front of SDF party. For the first time 15 women candidates took part in the election from different political parties and four women candidates from SDF able to win the election. After facing defeated with a huge margin of seats in Assembly election for three consecutive terms, the SSP merged with Congress (I) and contested election under the national banner of Sikkim Pradesh Congress.

The name of the party was changed but the leaders remained the same. The party could not even get single seats. Many regional parties like Sikkim Gorkha Parishad and Sikkim Janekta Party also joined the mainstream of election but failed to satisfy the public with their policy, as a result they were also defeated in election. The Sikkim National Peoples Party under the leadership of Biraj Adhikari was formed in 2009 but could not contest the election. SNPP and SJP formed 'United Sikkimese Alliance' (USA) on 2nd April 2009 and stated that it was formed respecting the sentiments of the people. The main objective of the USA was to prevent the vote distribution of the opposition parties. The Alliance promised to work for the restoration of Nepali seats in the Assembly and unemployment issues, but their dream remains dream because SDF won the election with huge margin by taking all the seats.

A new political party called 'Sikkim United' was formed in 2008, which committed to strive for the following issues and objectives- political, social, and economic, good

governance and democratic principles. This party believed that freedom, Justice and rule of Law are the fundamental values in a democracy and should be preserved. This party demanded the settlement of a long pending reservation of seats in the Assembly. Despite, criticism leveled against the SDF government the Sikkimese people always supported the party in every election which is reflected by the observation that the SDF government continues its 4th term (Sangybo; 2013).

5.9.9. Dawn of Sikkim Krantikari Morcha

After the 2009 election, one of the prominent leaders of SDF government Mr. Prem Singh Goley, who had been there in SDF government for more than two decades, who served as a Cabinet Minister for 15 years started criticizing the Chamling's government by stating that SDF government had failed to restore the democracy in Sikkim and there are lot of corruption taking place in the tiny Himalaya in the regime of SDF government.

He also opposed the developmental project like Hydro power project and selling of land for private industries. So, it was for the first time in the history of Sikkim that the cabinet minister opposed government policies in the state Assembly session. In order to bring the awareness among the governmental activities and their policies which is directly hampering the people, P.S Golay organized a Picnic in Rolu in south Sikkim and addressed gathering. Many change seekers like rural people, government employees and people from different fields also participated in the programme. As a result of first meeting of Golay, SDF government issued show cause notice to these employees who attended the picnic but Golay got mass support from the public.

Golay contested election from Soreng-Chakung constituencies in west Sikkim for three consecutive terms and won the election too but during 2009 election Golay was brought to Upper Burtuk Constituencies in East Sikkim and this also signifies as a dissatisfaction of Golay over SDF government. An anonymous pamphlet against Golay, alleged to have been manufactured by people within the party itself, led to further friction and soon after the election Goley found himself excluded from the cabinet.

The state vigilance department also started an investigation against various charges leveled against Golay which was seen as vendetta politics by Gogay, Golay got so much perturbed that he started open opposition against SDF. He was absent from the first session of the Assembly and thereafter, did not visited his constituencies ever again. His vacant seats in the Assembly fired the imagination of the public as a symbol of dissent which crystallizes the opposition of Chamling. After three years and two months, the MLA who had not attended the house since 2009 appeared in the Assembly on June 25th, 2012 and the four day budget session of the Assembly became the battle fields between Chamling and Golay.

Many political leaders and bureaucrats resigned and joint hands with P.S Golay. The support of mass public motivated him towards the formation of new political party, with the objective of bringing 'change' in Sikkim. Along with his team, Golay started his interactive meeting with public by forming different levels of committee in order to make a direct interaction with the people of Sikkim. After meeting and taking grievances from people, Golay and his team felt that, SDF government was not leading Sikkim towards progress and development but towards dark ages. In the name of development, corruption is increasing day by day and in order to protect the Sikkim

and its people, Goley formed a new political Party called ‘Sikkim Krantikari Morcha’ (SKM).

In the history of Sikkim, the political dam was burst for the first time when the rebel MLA of SDF government, P.S Golay launched his political party on 4th February 2013. In the initial phase, technically and officially he was not considered to be the part of Sikkim Krantikari Morch. Mrs. Bharati Sharma, former East Zilla Adhakshya and former OBC Chairperson in SDF government, was declared as working President of the new Party. Former MLA of the SDF government Mr. Bhoj Raj Rai was declared as a Vice President and he stated in party gathering that ‘SKM is the party of Sikkimese People, SKM is formed in order to save Sikkim from being plundered and to unite the fragmented Sikkimese society’ (Talk Sikkim; February 2013).

For the first time in the history of Sikkim’s politics, a strong opposition was born in the form of SKM. The opposition had to have its origin within the SDF party and this has precedent in the political culture of Sikkim. From 1975, when Sikkim merged with India, only regional parties were ruling the state which shows that people are averse to national parties. And from 1979 Bhandari ruled the state and after 1989 election Chamling had witnessed similar fate when he was dismissed from the party which encourage him to form a new political party, and in 1994 election Chamling stood as a strong opposition to Bhandari’s government and finally he won the election.

Although there were many parties which acted like an opposition in Chamling’s government but they failed to project themselves as a strong opposition. For the first in the history of Sikkim Politics, SDF government faced such a strong opposition which could mobilize significantly public opinion. The large numbers of party

workers from the SDF party and several officers resigned from the government service to join the SKM party, this became severe against the SDF government because there were no such mass resignation earlier when other parties were opposing. SKM became an alternative to SDF in which a lot of dissident voices found their space and many of disgruntled party workers found their refuge.

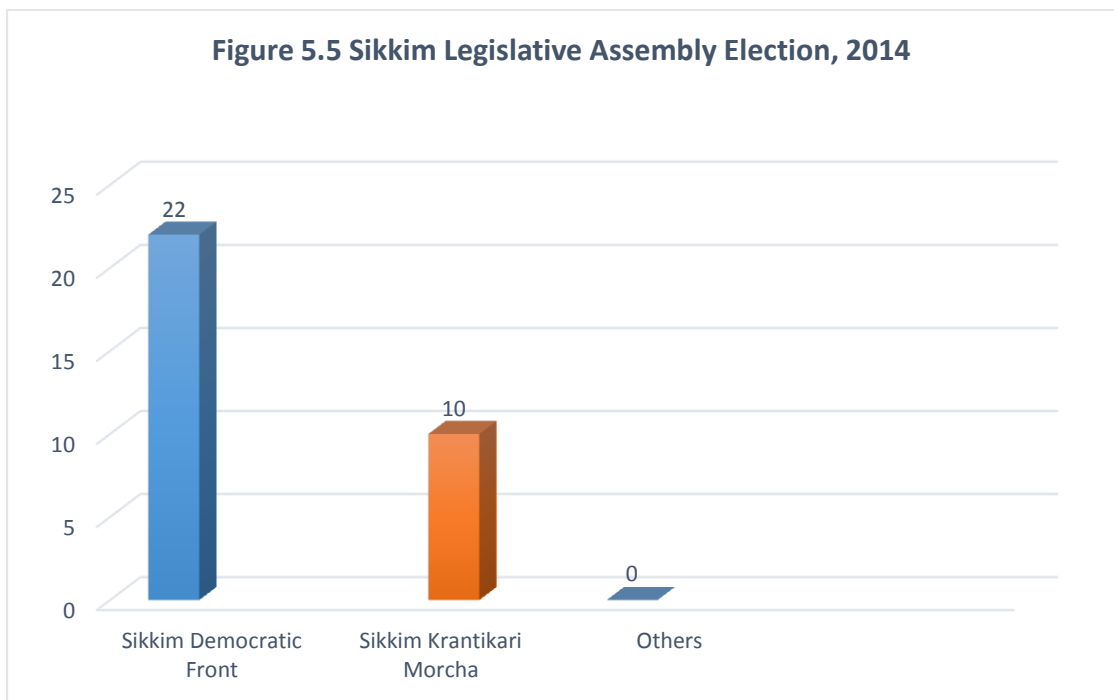
The formation of SKM was the watershed movement in the social and political story of the state. The slogan of the party-‘Parivartan’ (Change) seems to be the most vibrant slogan and because of this slogan large numbers of people were motivated towards the party. After one year of the formation of the party, P.S Golay took charge as president of SKM on its first foundation day held in Jorhang in South district of Sikkim. A gathering of about 20,000 peoples witnessed the foundation day. For the first time in recent history, a party other than the SDF organized such huge mass gathering. During the function of SKM’s, the pre-election manifesto was released where in it was assured that all the promises will be fulfilled within the 100 days of coming to power. There were other issues like safeguard of local interests and Article 371F was also mentioned. In its first foundation day speech, Golay said that “SKM is not my party; this is the party of all Sikkimese. This party was not formed to bring me into the power but was born out of a revolt against massive corruption and dictatorship. This is the people’s party, supported by all the poor people of Sikkim. I came from a poor family. I feel for the poor. I want to empower them. I promise that I will dedicate my life to serve the people of Sikkim”. This speech of Golay became source and the medium of motivation for the people and they supported them in an openway (Talk Sikkim; 2014).

SKM started preparation for the 2014 assembly election, they started vehicles rallies or other kinds of rallies too. They went ahead and formed constituency level committees and opened party offices in all the constituencies as a part of election campaigning. It was a big political threat to the ruling SDF government and in order to control the situation the ruling SDF government introduced some schemes before the code of conduct for 2014 election like distribution of laptops to higher secondary and college students, regularization of 4000 temporary employees in the government ranks, distribution of money to girls to open beauty parlors, announcement for the public work to be completed in time, call for Janta Mela just before election etc. surprised the people.

The people were confused about to whom they should vote. The SKM leaders were addressing the SDF leaders in a public gathering by calling them the most corrupt leaders and they had done nothing for the development of Sikkim, in the name of development they are misusing the government funds and on the other hand SDF Party leaders addressing their Opponent leaders as anti-social elements. The Election Commission of India announced the Assembly Election of Sikkim to be held on 12th April 2014. In the mean-time, the former Chief Minister of Sikkim, Nar Bahadur Bhandari resigned from the Congress Party and came back with his old regional party SSP but could not contest the election rather along with his supporters, he supported the SKM. Bhandari found SKM election manifesto pro-people and pro-Sikkimese and SDF manifesto is a repetition of promises that it has been making since 1994. So he did not want to divide the vote of SKM and because of these reasons, he quit the 2014 election and supported the SKM.

5.9.10. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2014

Sikkim went for next legislative Assembly election along with lone Lok Sabha seat on 12th April 2014. During this election 368,948 i.e., 89.97% voters casted their vote. There were 121 candidates were in the fray. The below figure no 5.5 illustrates the details of assembly election of 2014.



Source: Election Commission of India: 1999 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election

During 2014 election, many political parties contested the election but the major fight was between SKM and SDF. The national parties Bharatiya Janta Party, Indian National Congress, West Bengal based party Trinamol Congress contested the election but could not secure single seat in the election. In lone Lok Sabha seat many candidates from different parties like Aam Admi Party, BJP, INC, TMC, SDF and SKM contested the election with different ideologies. All together 11 women candidates were in election fray and three candidates able to secured the seats. The result of 2014 election came in the favour of SDF. The ruling party formed the

government by taking 22 seats and lone Lok Sabha seats also. The SKM got 10 seats and remained as a strong opposition in the state Assembly. P.K Chamling was once again sworn as a Chief Minister of Sikkim for fifth time in 2014. Even after facing several criticisms from other national as well as regional parties, Chamling hold his office as a Chief Minister and has continued as Chief Minister from 1994. He set a record of longest serving Chief Minister in the country. Since 1979 election, none of the national parties formed the government in Sikkim. The people of Sikkim have high trust on regional parties. Pawan Kumar Chamling contested the election from two constituencies and won both the seats and after forming the government he resigned from one constituency i.e. Rangrang-Yangyang constituency and during bye election Rup Narayan Chamling from Sikkim Rajya Manch won the election and remained as an independent MLA in the house.

5.9.11. Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2019

The ninth legislative assembly elections for Sikkim legislative election were held on 11th April 2019 for 32 assembly seats. The election was participated by two national parties i.e., Bharatiya Janta party and Indian National Congress and there were eight regional political parties along with Independents Candidates also contested the election. The newly formed four regional parties were also in the election fray. Altogether 150 candidates from different political parties and independents and 11 candidates for lone Lok Sabha seat were in election fray. The major political fight was between SDF and SKM parties.

The below table no 5.4 explains about the result of 2019 Sikkim legislative assembly election:

Table No. 5.4 Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2019

Sl. No.	Name of Political Parties	No. of Candidates	No. of Elected Candidates
1	Bharatyia Janta Party	12	00
2	Indian National Congress	24	00
3	Sikkim Krantikari Morcha	32	17
4	Sikkim Democratic Front	32	15
5	Hamro Sikkim Party	23	00
6	Jai Mahabharath Party	01	00
7	Sikkim Republican Party	10	00
8	Sikkim Rajya Manch Party	03	00
9	Sikkim United Front	01	00
10	Independents	09	00

Source: Statistical Report, Sikkim Legislative Assembly Election, 2019, Election Commission of India.

The 2019 legislative election was considered as the historic election in the political history of Sikkim, in this election the voter was so conscious. Many national, regional and independent candidates were in election ground. The three women candidates out of 16 women candidates won the election. Almost all the political parties placed their young and intellectual candidates in the field. The election result was declared on 23th May 2019. During this election SKM able to secured 17 seats and SDF secured only 15 seats. The twenty five years of government under the leadership of Pawan Kumar Chamling was replaced by Prem Singh Golay. After almost ten years of Struggle, ultimately the leader of SKM was able to form the government. The twenty five years government lead by Chamling only managed to secure 15 seats. In 2019 election, the

lone Lok sabha seat was also won by the SKM. The struggle which has made by the SKM functionaries since last ten years became fruitful during 2019 election.

After the formation of government under the leadership of P.S Golay, on 21 October 2019, the by-election were held for three constituencies that is Pokklok Kamrang, Martam Rumtek and Gangtok Constituencies. Two MLAs from SDF Party and one MLA from ruling front won the election from two constituencies at same time and vacate their second seat. As a result of by-election in three constituencies BJP won two seats and SKM won one seat. Before the by election in this constituencies, 10 MLAs left the SDF party and joined the national party i.e. BJP and other two MLAs of SDF joined the ruling party i.e., SKM leaving only one MLA in SDF (Pawan Chamling). The final seats of Sikkim Legislative Assembly are SKM 19, BJP 12 and SDF 1 (Election Commission of India, 2019).

5.10. Political Violence in Sikkim

Unlike other state of Indian Union, Sikkim has also witnessed political violence during pre-post-election but the political violence has not been recorded as compared to other states of India. The major political violence was recorded in 1973 where large numbers of political parties, different organizations, Students Unions, civil societies and people came together and raised their voices against the monarchy and in support of establishment of democracy in the state. During the time of every election there were minor incidents of violence like clashes between the party workers, threatening of voters and polling agents, snatching of ballot papers, biting up the party workers by the rival groups, arsons of campaigning vehicles etc. From the 1973 to 2014 election, Sikkim witnessed five chief Ministers and during the power shifting, the major political violence was recorded.

The political instability across the Himalayan Kingdom started when the people of Sikkim had started to feel the need of Democracy in order to tackle down all the monopoly of the administration under the Monarch.

The system of Kalobhari, Theki Bethi and Kuruwa practiced under the Monarch had also ignited the sense of inequality among the suppressed groups, while on the other side the Indian Independence had a major impact on people of Sikkim. The political development and participation started from the 1940s, when the educated youth started to mobilize the people in order to challenge the Monarch. This led to the birth of first political party in Sikkim known as the State Congress with their three point demands that were placed in front of Monarch. Then led to the birth of another party in order to counter the State Congress, Sikkim National Party was considered as the Kings Party.

The political instability in the hills attracted the Indian Union to interfere in the state affairs, thus making it a protectorate once again. With the Intervention of the Indian Union, the Monarch along with the other political parties agreed to have its first Assembly election in the year 1950s. The parity system was formulated with six seats for Nepalis, six seats for Bhutia-Lepcha and five seats (nominated by the King). Later on with the passage of time the political scenario of Sikkim suffered worst situations, with people demanding more relaxation in the administration and political fields. This worst situation was grabbed by the democratic aspirants and started to mobilize the students, youths and all the sections of the place, until the situations turn out to be the Monarch vs the People. In the year 1973, Sikkim suffered a mass political violence between the pro-democratic aspirants and the pro-monarch supports. The clashes took several lives of the people, several shoot outs were carried on by the police. The people took control over the many institutions of the Monarch and the police stations

were also under the grip. This democratic movement was supported by many leaders of the various parties, students and other sections of the societies. Political unrest in the hills was settled down with the intervention of Indian Union asserting elections. L.D. Kazi became the first Chief Minister of Sikkim. Later in the year 1975 Sikkim was merged into Indian Union as the 22nd state and with this merger brought the democratic system.

After Sikkim became the 22nd state of Indian Union, the first election was held under the direction of Election Commission of India in 1979 in which Nar Bahadur Bhandari became the Chief Minister of Sikkim and held the office for three term from 1979 to 1994. During his tenure many political development took place. The 1979 election was smooth in nature and after 1985 election some incidents of political violence were recorded. During his tenure many people were murdered, many vehicles torched, many opposition parties worker were assaulted, the opposition party worker's houses were burnt, roads were blocked, government servants were victimized and undue punishment transfers were done on the pretext of political vendetta.

Pahhalman Subba in his book 'Sikkim who Ruined it' gives the details about the political violence in Sikkim during Bhandari's regime and stated that under the direction of Bhandari, police official along with the party workers killed Dharmadatta Sharma, on 2nd February 1988 who was the panchayat president of Timburbong Tharpu, west Sikkim and leader of Sikkim Congress Committee who contested election from Bhandari's Constituency.

On 17th July 1994, a group of Bhandari's goons who hailed from out-side the state attacked Amar Lama at Gangtok by Sword in his stomach and flew away and later on

he was admitted in the hospitals, but no one was arrested in this incidents and later on the central government intervention, the state home department hatched a false story and reported that the culprits has been arrested and later on released on bail. Similar other cases have been witnessed during the Bhandari regime like malpractice of power for the personal interest, corruptions, distributions of government property to the close ones etc.

During 1993 assembly session Chamling opposed Bhandari's government in various issues and from the beginning of the assembly session he was very vocal and argumentative. Chamling voiced his displeasures and accused SSP with many allegations. On 28th February, 1994 the newly formed SDF party led by Chamling called a peaceful strike in Sikkim against the failure of democracy in the state, against the corruption, disregard for human rights in the state and the price hike in the entire nation. But the Bhandari gave permission to the party workers for shootout order to those who participated in the strike. The statement of Chief Minister was recorded by the newspaper and in the assembly session Chamling read out the statement made by the Bhandari in the house, it stated that *'whosoever does not go to their duties, I will terminate him. Sikkim is just one, no body except I have the right to call on strike. Open the shops and the offices, burn them with kerosene and petrol if they do not comply. For the first time in the history of Sikkim, I am giving the shoot-out order to my party workers and police do not arrest my party men'* (PSLA, 1994). Chamling stated that there is no law and order in the state and considered it as a black spot on the history of the Sikkim and appealed in the house that Bhandari should be punished.

Unlike the Bhandari regime, political violence has been recorded during the Chamling's government. The incidents like misuse of ballot papers, threatening of

voters, torching of campaigning vehicles of opposition parties, transfer and victimization of government employees were common during the Chamling Regime. Many opposition party workers have been assaulted after the election by the worker of ruling front. After 1999 election, the party workers of SDF government distributed all the development aid to people who casted their votes in favor of the government and assaulted many voters who campaigned against the policy and programme of the ruling front. Many regional political parties were shut down by the ruling front of SDF with the help of money power. SDF government also brought many people from outside the state and casted proxy votes in favor of the SDF.

The state of Sikkim is considered being the most peaceful state in the country. There is no major incident of political violence recorded in the Sikkim but after 2009 election some political scenario was changed when Chamling won all the Assembly seats. New political Party called Sikkim Krantikari Morcha was formed under the leadership of Prem Singh Goley, who was the Cabinet Minister in Chamling's government. In 2014 election many incidents of political violence took place which brokes all the previous records. Sikkim recorded 85 poll related incidents of violence in 2014 election, a double of what was recorded during 2009 election. Ninety five persons were injured during the one months of election campaigning. Two SDF workers N.K Gurung and Arun Rai were beaten to death in west Sikkim during the poll violence. Other incidents of poll violence like assaulting, arson, setting vehicles on fire and creating public nuisance was also recorded. More than four hundred persons across the state were hounded before voting day as a precautionary measure (Sikkim Express; April 12, 2014).

During the poll not only physical but cyber-crime was also reported. Nearly six cases of cyber-crime were recorded. One day before the election more than two dozen cases of assault were recorded. To control the situation police officers called a joint meeting with different political parties in order to maintain peace in the state. Instead of having adequate security forces many incidents of violence occurred during the election which shows that the large number of people participated in the election process this means that people were much more conscious about their voting rights which were provided by the Constitution of India.

During 2014 legislative assembly election of Sikkim, it was reported that 121 polling stations were in critical situation. The ruling front SDF accused the SKM for lifting such violence and also stated that SKM brings people from outside the state and create an unhealthy environment in the peaceful state of Sikkim. SKM also alleged that ruling front for disturbing the free and fair election process in the state. Just one month before the election, SDF vice president from west Sikkim was brutally attacked on his way from party meeting and later on he died. There was a blame game with in the two political parties in this context. One hand SDF alleged that SKM was responsible for the incident and on other hand SKM countered that the ruling front SDF for such incident and stated that the ruling government is responsible for the incident in order to get the sympathy votes by killing their own party worker (News 18, 9th April 2014).

Conclusion

After Sikkim merged with Indian Union on 1975, the first election of Sikkim Legislative Assembly election was held in 1979 and Bhandari formed the government after that he continued his tenure up to fourteen and half year. In 1994

one of his Cabinet ministers criticized his policy and launched a new party called Sikkim Democratic front and it remains in power for 5th consecutive terms. SDF under the leadership of Pawan Kumar Chamling won the Sikkim Assembly election in 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014 with an absolute majority. Sikkim Krantikari Morcha was formed by the Prem Singh Tamang in 2013 and this party is consider to be the most effective opposition party in Sikkim Assembly ever since. Much political violence occurred in Sikkim since 1973 but for the first time in the history of Sikkim.

The political culture of the Sikkim is that the national parties contested the elections several times but failed to gain the absolute majority or to form the government in Sikkim. The regional parties have much influenced the people of Sikkim and one party is dominating the state for a decade's which shows that the people have trust about the regional parties in Sikkim. So, this chapter gives the details about the political culture and political violence in Sikkim. The other chapter deals with the behaviors of political parties in Sikkim

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

This research has been an attempt to analyse that how political culture and political violence came to form a space in Sikkimese politics. Despite its limitations, one may still venture to list some of the broad nature that how political violence is associated to political culture in Sikkim and summarize.

The political culture and political violence in Sikkim is rarely addressed in larger political discourse as well as in academic circle in India. The dominant studies on political system and culture in India lack the representation of study of Sikkimese politics. The historians apposite that political nature and culture in Sikkim before the seventeenth century is not well documented yet most other historians on Sikkim dominantly trace it's visibility in the history since thirteenth century. Though the dearth of reliable sources is not ignorable, the historians notice that the visibility to political culture in Sikkim roots in the thirteenth century. It is often mentioned that a prince named Guru Tashi in Tibet had a divine vision that he should go south to seek his fortune in 'Denzong'. His eldest son prince Khye Bumsa, despite being divinely powerful and he got married with the daughter of Sakya king. After the dead of Guru Tashi, Khye Bhumsa settled in Chumbi valley and he made contacts with the Lepcha chieftain Tetong Tek who was also a religious leaders and Khya Bhumsa were blessed with three sons.

The famous treaty of blood brotherhood signed at Kabi Lungtsok between Thekong Tek and Khya Bhumsa in 1275 A.D to materialize a congenial atmosphere for communities living in the region during the date. The treaty had opened the migration

of Tibetans to the valley which used to be the castle of the ancestors of present Lepcha, Limboo and Mangar (Limboos and Mangars are presently brought under umbrella Gorkha/Nepali fold) communities. The verbal agreement between communities later eased the way to consolidate the Tibetan monarchy in the valley by Phuntchok Namgyel in 1642 AD and the chapter present Sikkim begins.

The history of “blood brothers treaty” (considered to be a verbal treaty) endeavours to assess that the present Sikkim had witnessed a form of nation-state long before the emergence of global format of nation-state system that is considered to emergence since the Westphalia treaty of 1648. Indeed, the “blood brothers treaty” of Sikkimese political history still desires more reliable assessment to commensurate it with treaty of Westphalia of 1648, yet the facts from other forms of the sources of history like perpetually verbal history, the tribal folk-talks etc are difficult to ignore abruptly and leave unnoticed. The consolidation of Namgyel dynasty into the monarchical power in 1642 AD, started to sketch the present socio-political spectrum of present Sikkim with assorted local chieftains into a single territorial amalgamation named *Denzong*.

The most crucial phase of the Sikkimese politics was started in 1973 when the then (Congress) resurrected the demand for a democratic Sikkim invoking principle of equality for all the people of Sikkim irrespective of their caste, class and religion. The revolution of 1973 against autocratic rule and predominant feudal *kazism* brought Sikkim into the global democratic fray. The revolution was to establish a democratic nature of the politics in the state. It would not be any kind of exaggeration to mention that the nature of revolution during 1973 was a manifestation by the community that perceived a deep-rooted exploitation and suppressions from the side of ruling class and its feudal subordinates.

The historic *kazism* in the state had created a vacuum between the communities in rule and ruled, state and subjects and obviously haves and have-nots. The state initiated machineries or state's ignorance toward the minimum right to subjects had given a space to the land-lords, feudal *kazis* or other bourgeoisies to control the people of lower strata in a coercive manner. The policies like *Kalobhari*, *Jharlangi* and other forceful means to deploy common mass of state to materialize the interests of people in upper socio-political and economic strata brought consequences for manifestations by the section of society at receiving ends of exploitation.

It is not much difficult to interpret the evidences from the history of politics in Sikkim that the nature of revolution that took place during 1973 was a class confrontation between bourgeoisie and proletariats albeit it was not subscribed by any establish ideology and political parties of deep-ideologically motivated. The demonstration consorts by people to restore the way of equality overthrowing the deep rooted exploitation had brought some educated youths and juxtapose elites from the disgruntled section of the society to lead the civil-political resistance.

The popularly discussed involvement of Indian forces brought Sikkim into a federal structure of India and with it, Sikkim started to subscribe the political culture of India in one or other way. The multi-party system expected to grow in Sikkim under Indian democratic manner. The election campaigns to seize the power were started. The then dominant party Indian national congress that led by Indira Gandhi attempted to consolidate power in the state. When to central wing of the party failed to establish rapport with the local wing, the Sikkim provincial congress committee freed itself from the control of national wing of congress and renamed itself Sikkim Congress Party.

The claim of central congress to have a branch in the state had withered away. Since the efforts of Indian national congress failed to consolidate it in restoring its prevalence during the beginning days of Indian Sikkim, none of the national parties of India was seen to be able to maintain the influential existence in the state. The data shows that the national parties still have to secure the confidence from the people in state. Ninety two percent of total respondents have opinion that, none of the national parties like INC, BJP, CPI (M) and others could convince the voters to grow as dominant alternative of the power in state. Many national political parties members in state stated that the national political parties only use to revamp during election and that even with much lesser importance. It is also found that the smallness of state in the lens political circle as well as negligible capacity of state politics to influence the national politics has been playing role behind such kind of attitude of national party.

Another nature of political culture in Sikkim is durable dominance of one party. Since the merger Sikkim into India, the state politics has been often dominated by one political party. The interim government appointed after merger of Sikkim into India was formed by the Sikkim National Congress (SNC), a political which had larger support from the mass as it was leading the revolution. The election of 1979 had given a hint that the Indian national congress may keep its influential existence in the state but, it could not sustain long time.

The election of 1979 paved the way for Nar Bahadur Bhandari to form a government leading his Sikkim Janata Parishad (SJP) but it witnessed the fragmentation in 1982. The division on SJP had furnished a situation for congress to restore itself in power position plotting an alliance with B. B. Gurung fraction of SJP but sustained for only

thirteen days. The disarrayed condition between the fractions in assembly brought a provincial emergency in Sikkim within a span of seven years of its accomplishment into India and into constitutional framework.

The election of 1985 gave a mandate to Nar Bahadur Bhandari, the president of Sikkim Sangram Parishad (SSP). The state had been ruled by SSP under the leadership of Nar Bahadur Bhandari for ten years with overwhelming wins. The Sikkim state assembly election of 1994 turned against the SSP and coloured the rise of new political outfit named Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) under the leadership of Mr. Pawan Kumar Chamling. The SDF celebrated its consecutive wins until 2014 for five times.

The political upbringings before the assembly election of 2014 for ninth assembly of Sikkim had generated stipulations about replacement of twenty-year long Pawan Chamling led of SDF government. Many political analysts had predicted the power consolidation of new party Sikkim Krantikari Morcha (SKM) led by Prem Singh Golay, the erstwhile SDF core founding member to receive robust mass support. The result had disavowed all the political stipulations. The SDF ensured its fifth consecutive terms as well as silver jubilee celebration and achieved a height of twenty-five years in government of Sikkim. Indeed, the result of the assembly election of 2014 gave a space for opposition in Sikkimese assembly with strength of ten MLAs from SKM against remaining all other MLAs of ruling party SDF in the state assembly which owns strength of total thirty-two MLAs.

Sikkimese politics has been maintaining its distinctiveness with prominence of regional party in rule. Right from 1975, none of political parties of national character could affect the dominance of local or regional political party. The interim

government that was formed under L.D. Kazi of SRC, the Nar Bahadur Bhandari led SSP that dwelled in power for more than ten years was a political outfit of local or regional character. Similarly the SDF under the leadership of Pawan Chamling as well as the presently ruling party SKM are also own the nature of regional party.

The data shows that people of Sikkim hold faith in leaders of local political party. Total ninety percent of respondents hold the opinion that leaders of local or state party could convince voters more effectively than their counterparts from national political parties. The ability to raise the local issues makes local or regional political party leaders more efficient. In this regard provincial leaders from national party in Sikkim are found to receive the interferences to haul the issues of local character. A respondent who leads the provincial committee of a national party in state is of opinion that party of national character are not as free as local party in convincing voters with most local issues. As the respondent adds, the interferences and guideline from the national committee of national political parties often differs his other leaders to stay away from certain issues of peoples touch. Other hand, leaders from political parties of local character argue that national parties are not sensitive of the problems of people in the state.

The national parties in the state constantly failed to reach up to the confidence of people of Sikkim. The rise of new political outfit through the fragmentation of ruling party makes different form of political culture in Sikkim in comparison to the rest part of the country. The new political parties which were formed fresh without any earlier lineage with ruling party could not affirm bases. The replacement of governments in Sikkim ever came through the new party that is formed by the disgruntled and rival leaders of party in government. Every political party in state which could form the

government has embraced by the fractions of ruling party and such new fraction use to overthrow governments.

The power crisis in Sikkimese assembly during 1982 was the first case of this kind. The B.B. Limboo faction of SJP with the support of congress MLAs fractured the Nar Bahadur Bhandari led SJP government. The thirteen days long tender government of B.B. Limboo again encountered by Nar Bahadur Bhandari faction and it caused presidential rule in the state. The Bhandari unit of SJP renamed itself as SSP conquering assembly with absolute majority in 1985. The SSP had to come upon similar situation during the election of 1994. Pawan Chamling, one of the cabinet ministers of Bhandari government turned a hard core rebel against SSP and appeared as founder of SDF with other likeminded members of SSP.

The erstwhile Chamling squad of SSP vehemently opposed the policies of Bhandari government and formed the SDF. The SDF's regular emphasis to uproot SSP government received familiarity raising the issue of corruption and repressive totalitarianism inside the party and mass as well. The slogan against corruption and rudeness in rule help the SDF to sweep the Twenty three seat reducing SSP to nine members during assembly election of 1994.

The policies of SDF were found to convince voter when the party kept away SSP from the power in 1999 assembly election. By the period of assembly election of 2004 SSP reduced almost out of the poll battle, the Sikkim Himali Rajya Parishad (SHRP), the new party formed in the year 2002 seen as the challenging counterpart to SDF instead of SSP. Similarly, in 2009 SSP Chief Nar Bahadur Bhandari was nominated as the chief of provincial committee of Indian National Congress and obtained a noticeable attention during the election. It was expected INC to grow as a dominant

factor to challenge SDF raising the voice against ongoing dam projects in the state but, the result proved the strength of SDF regime when it swept all thirty two constituencies of assembly.

Until the growth of the rival faction within the party, the SDF remained unaffected for a period of twenty years. Before the assembly election of 2014, Prem Singh Golay, a founding member of the SDF and a dependable ally of Chief Minister Chamling bend to be mutineer along with Bharati Sharma, another trusted leader of party against the party and formed SKM in 2013 creating anti SDF wave. The strategy and mode of anti-government mobilization of SKM gave a space to political observers to contemplate that if the new party displaces SDF from the government in 2014. The election result favoured SDF to maintain its existence in government, but the SKM was able reduce SDF to twenty two MLAs.

Sikkim is often branded as a peaceful state. The dominance and long term rule with minimum presence of opposition brought smoothness in conduction of election bereft poll violence in many instances. Nevertheless, the political culture in the state is not free from the poll conflicts and violence. The calmness of state in regard of political violence has been wrecked during the factionalism. The instances of fraction within the ruling party and mobilisation for the emergence of new party by rebel fraction as well as counter to it by the ruling faction often brought conflict in political culture in the state. The supporters of two factions were found to be in clash during and after the poll campaign and its results.

It is found that election of 1985, 1994, 1999 and 2014 had undergone pre poll as well as post poll clashes and political violence more than the elections of 1979, 1989, 2004 and 2009. The data show that the election years which suffered more numbers of

political violence were the years of faction in party in rule and emergence of new party as a challenging confronter before and after the election. Total 80 percent of respondents say that before the elections which changed the party in government were always chaotic and anarchic in the state. Subsequently, such election result had brought the victimization of the supporters of opposition political parties. The victimizations were in the form of demolition of residential houses damage of properties, sudden transfer of government employees, discontinuation of government welfare schemes, freezing of business license etc.

The Major Finding of the Study

1. Sikkim has been maintaining its uniqueness with certain features like single party dominated political culture, the often absence of influential opposition, ineffective of political parties of national character and dominance of local or regional political parties in government.
2. The smallness of the state in comparison of other federal units in India, small size of constituencies with noticeably small size of population, voters' reliability on local political parties have been other factors of the uniqueness of political culture in Sikkim. Whatever may be the nature and distinctiveness of political culture and the violence in Sikkim, it has been celebrating the democratic practices with both of its rewards and limitations.
3. The political violence of Sikkim is lesser in numbers in comparison to other states of Indian Union. The study found that faction in party in rule and emergence of new party as a challengeable confronter before and after the electionthe election causedincreasing numbers of political violence in Sikkim.

4. The study also found that the opposition alleged the ruling parties for cases of totalitarianism, rudeness during rule, corruption, nepotism, and others, the choices of people of Sikkim forerun this political culture in the state.
5. The power transition is found to occur through the rival section of the ruling party. starting from the regime of Kazi Landup to present Preamsingh Golay government, only three major political power shift those state witnessed are the results of rivalry and tussle among the leaders of ruling political parties. The rival sections of ruling party are found to be successful to over through the government lunching the new political party.
6. The study found that major promises floated through election manifestoes of political parties were fulfilled like Limboo Tamang seats reservation in SLA, Status of Tribal to eleven left out communities, elimination of unemployment, well maintained road conditions and construction of bridges, modern education equipped with modern amenities and free flow of electricity and drinking waters etc.
7. Political parties were found to advocate issues of youth as being the pro youth party and try to harvest the vote from youths of state but contrarily post-election scenario is different. Youths are either deprived in ministerial council or put as back benchers. Most of the influential ministerial positions are distributed among old or more aged leaders of ruling party.
8. The study also observed that newly formed political parties with fresh leaders are not trusted by the voters and always get less numbers of votes.

Recommendations and Suggestions

- i.** There has been a very limited scholarly research on Sikkim's Political Culture and violence due to which the fact findings has not been unearthed properly. There is an ardent need of archives and institutions to keep the records of political violence associated with the political culture of Sikkim for more information and records keeping to assist upcoming researchers of this area of study.
- ii.** Every successive government should be accountable to its citizens of the state to avoid the political violence.
- iii.** Political parties in Government should be answerable to citizens for the promises made during elections and should also execute the promises made in party manifesto during election.
- iv.** Most of the political parties and independent candidates right from the first general election of SLA to till date have not fulfilled their major promises up to the expectation of the people of state. Keeping the scenario in the view, they should act accordingly the promises made.
- v.** The political parties participate in the election should be holistic in nature and so as the violence which take place during the election to be eliminated.
- vi.** During the elections, the political parties should not force citizens to cast votes in favor to them, instead the political parties should attract citizen to vote on the basis of their ideology and manifesto.
- vii.** Right from the first general election of SLA to till the date, there have been controversies relating to transparency during election, hence the election

conducting agency should be transparent enough towards the voters of the state.

- viii.** The political party of the Sikkim should do away with the politics of hatred towards the supporters of other political parties who are not influence by their ideologies and manifestoes.
- ix.** The political parties need to come up with the idea of inclusive politics rather than the exclusive one, so that the supporters of all the political parties feel prevalence of positive change in the political environment of Sikkim.
- x.** Political violence during the election should be control deploying the enough independent security machineries so that the voters feel safe and fair environment of elections.
- xi.** Educated youthsshould be preferred during for the candidature so that the educated young mindscontribute their thoughts and ideas for the development of the state.

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APPENDIX - 1

Questionnaire for Field work

Personal Information

1. Name_____
2. Age_____
3. Sex_____
4. Present Address: Village/Town_____ District_____ State_____
5. Permanent: Village/town_____ District_____ State_____
6. Occupation: 1.Govt.sector_____ 2.Pvt.Sector_____ 3.others_____
7. Educational Qualification_____
8. Family Members_____
9. Monthly Income_____
10. Religion: 1.Hinduism_____ 2.Islam_____ 3. Christianity_____ 4.Any
others_____

General Questions

11. How do you perceive present Political Environment in Sikkim?

- i. People friendly
- ii. People Unfriendly
- iii. Suspicious
- iv. Any other(s)

Give reason(s) _____

12. Are you satisfied with present Political Environment in the state?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

- iii. Cannot say
Give you argument(s) _____

13. How do you see Political Culture in the state?

- i. Satisfactory
- ii. Unsatisfactory
- iii. Difficult to say
Give your argument(s)_____

14. What are the bases of political parties in Sikkim?

- i. Ideology
- ii. National issues
- iii. Local issues
- iv. Ethnic
- v. Any other, Give reason(s) _____

15. What is the present nature of political system in the state?

- i. One party dominance
- ii. Bi-party
- iii. Multi-party
- iv. Any other
Why? Give your argument(s)_____

16. Have you experienced any political/ conflict(s) in your village/town?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. Cannot say
Give reason(s)_____

17. If yes what are the conditions that promote such political conflict?

- i. Ethnic competitiveness
- ii. Resource competition
- iii. Political consciousness

Give reason(s) _____

18. The causes for frequent political conflict(s) in the district or State.

- i. Rise in insurgency
- ii. Poor governance
- iii. Political aspirations
- iv. Any other

Give reason(s) _____

19. Do you think peaceful-coexistence is possible under present socio-economic-political environment of the district or State?

- i. Agree
- ii. Disagree

Give reason(s) _____

20. Compare with the others states Politics', what you found uniqueness in Sikkimese Politics? _____

21. Are you a member of any political parties in state?

22. If yes, which party and when did you become a member? _____

23. Are you satisfied with the function of Sikkim Legislative Assembly? Give the reasons. _____

24. What are the reasons behind the emergence of new political parties in Sikkim?_____
25. Why the regional parties are so strong in Sikkim?_____
26. Why there is an absence of opposition parties in Sikkim Legislative Assembly?_____
27. What are reasons behind the failure of National parties in Politics of Sikkim?_____
28. Have you witnessed any political uprising in Sikkim? If yes, explain._____
29. Have you witnessed any ethnic tension in past which was caused by political parties? If yes when and how?_____
30. According to your political experiences, which election is considered to be the most violent and effective election in Sikkim?_____
31. How can you frame a power shifted process in Sikkim?_____
32. What do you think about the perception of Sikkimese people towards politics?_____
33. What will be the political future of State/Sikkim?

APPENDIX - 2

Treaty of Segowlee: 2nd December, 1815

Treaty of peace between the Honourable East India Company and Mhaha Raja BikramSah, Rajan of Nipal, settled between Lieutenant Colonel Bradshaw on the part of Honourable Company, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Francis, Earl of Moira, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garte, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Pirvy Council, appointed by the Court of Directors of the said Honourable Company to direct and control all the affairs in the East Indies, and by SreeGooroGujrajMisser and ChunderSeekurOpedeea on the part of Maha Raja GirmaunJodeBikramSahBahadur, Shumsher Jung, in virtue of the powers to that effect vested in them by the said Rajah of Nipal, - 2nd December 1815.

Whereas was has arisen between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal, and whereas the parties are mutually disposed to restore the relations of peace and amity which, previously to the occurrence of the late differences, had long subsisted between the two States, the following terms of peace have been agreed upon:

Article 1st

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable East India Company and the Rajah of Nipal.

Article 2nd

The rajah of Nipal renounces all claim to the lands which were the subjects of discussion between the two states before the war, and acknowledges the right of the Honourable Company to the sovereignty of those lands.

Article 3rd

The rajah of Nipal hereby cedes to the Honourable the East India Company in perpetuity all the under mentioned territories, viz –

First :- The whole of the low lands between the Rivers Kali and Rapti

Secondly :- The whole of the low lands (with the exceptions of BootwulKhas) lying between the Rapti and Gunduck

Thirdly :- The whole of the low lands between the Gunduck and Coosah, in which the authority of the British Government has been introduced, or is in actual course of introduction.

Fourthly :- All the low lands between the Rivers Mitchee and the Teestah.

Fifthly :- All the territories withing the hills eastward of the River Mitchee including the fort and lands of Nagree and the Pass of Nagarcote leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that Pass and Nagree. The aforesaid territory lying shall be evacuated by the Gurkha troops within forty days from this date.

Article 4th

With a view to indemnify the Chiefs and Barahdars of the state of Nipal, Whose interests will suffer by the alienation of the lands cede by the foregoing Article, the British Government agrees to settle pensions to the aggregate amount of two lakhs of

rupees per annum on such Chiefs as may be selected by the Rajah of Nipal, and in the proportions which the Rajah may fix. As soon as the selection is made, Sunnuds shall be granted under the seal and signature of the Governor General for the pensions respectively.

Article 5th

The Rajah of Nipal renounces for himself, his heirs, and successors, all claim to or connexion with the countries lying to the west of the River Kali and engages to have any concern with those countries or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 6th

The Rajah of Nipal engages never to molest or disturb the Rajah of Sikkim in the possession of his territories, but agrees, if any differences shall arise between the State of Nipal and the Rajah of Sikkim, or the subjects of either, that such differences shall be referred to that arbitration of the British Government by whose award the Rajah of Nipal engages to abide.

Article 7th

The Rajah of Nipal hereby engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European and American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8th

In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two States, it is agreed that accredited Ministers from each shall reside at the Courts of the other.

Article 9th

This treaty, consisting of nine Articles, shall be ratified by the Rajah of Nipal within fifteen days from this date, and the ratification shall be delivered to Lieut-Colonel Bradshaw, who engages to obtain and deliver to the Rajah the ratification of the Governor-General within twenty days, or sooner, if practicable.

APPENDIX - 3

The Treaty of Titalia, 1817

Treaty Covenant or Agreement entered into by Capital Barre Latter, Agent of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Moria K.G., Governor General, etc., and by NazirChainaTenjin and MachaTeinbath and lama DuchimLindoo, deputies on the part of the Raja of Sikkim put tee, being severally authorised and duly appointed for the purpose, 1817.

Article 1

The Honourable East India Company cedes, transfers and makes over in fully sovereignty to the Sikkimputtee Raja, his heirs or successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Mechi River ant to the westward of the Teesta River, formerly possessed by the Raja of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the treaty of peace signed at Segoulee.

Article 2

The Sikkimputtee Raja engages for himself and his successors to abstain from any act of aggression or hostility against the Goorkhas or any other state.

Article 3

That he will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or question that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepaul of any other neighbouring state, and to abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 4

He engages for himself and his successors to join the British troops with whole of his Military Force when employed in the Hills, and in general to afford the British troops every aid and facility in0 his power.

Article 5

That will not permit any British subject, or the subject of any European and American State to reside within his dominions, without the permission of the English Government.

Article 6

That he will immediately seize and deliver up any dacoits or notorious offenders that might take refuge within his territories.

Article 7

That he will not afford protection to any defaulters of revenue or other delinquents within demanded by the British Government through their accredited agents.

Article 8

That he will afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's provinces and he engages that no duty shall be levied on the transit of merchandise beyond the established custom at the several golahs and marts.

Article 9

The Honourable East India Company guarantees to the Sikkimputtee Raja and his successors the full and peaceable possession of the tract of hilly country specified in the First Article of the present Agreement.

Article 10

This Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged by the Sikkimputtee Raja within one month from the present date, and the counterpart when conformed by His Excellency the right Honourable the Governor-General shall be transmitted to the Raja.

Done at Titalia, this tenth day of February 1817, answering the ninth of Phagun, 1873 Sambat, and to the thirtieth of Magh 1223 Bengallie .

S/d

Barre Latter

Nazir Chaina Tenjin

Machateinbath

Lama DuchimLindoo

S/d

Moria

N.B. Edmonstone

Archd. Seton

Geo. Dowdeswell

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William, this fifteenth day of March, and one thousand and seventeen.

S/d

J.Adam

Acting Chief Seceratory to Governer

APPENDIX - 4

Anglo-Sikkimese Treaty of Tumlong, 1861

Treaty, Covenant, or Agreement entered in to by the Ho'ble Ashley Eden and Special Commissioner on the part of the British Government, in virtue of full power vested in him by the Right Hon'ble Charles, Earl Canning, Governor-General in Council, and by His Highness SekeongKuzoo, Maharaja of Sikkim on his own part, 1861.

Whereas the continue depredation and misconduct of the officers and subjects of the Maharaja of Sikkim, and the neglect of the Maharaja to afford satisfaction for the misdeeds of his people have resulted in as interpretation for the many past years of the harmony which previously existed between the British Government and the Government of Sikkim, and have led ultimately to the invasion and conquest of Sikkim by a British force, and whereas the Maharaja of Sikkim has now expressed his sincere regret for the misconduct of his servants and subjects, his determination to do all in his power to obviate future misunderstanding, and his desire to be again admitted into friendship and alliance with the British Government, it is hereby agreed as follows:

1

All previous treaties made between the British Government and the Sikkim government are hereby formally cancelled.

2

The whole of the Sikkim territory now in the occupation of British force is restored to the Maharaja of Sikkim, and there shall henceforth be peace and amity between the two states.

3

The Maharaja of Sikkim undertakes, so far as it is within his power, to restore, within one month from the date of signing of this Treaty, all public property which was abandoned by the detachment of British troops at Rinchinpong.

4

In indemnification of the expenses incurred in 1860 by the British Government in occupying a portion of the territory of Sikkim as a means of enforcing just claims which had been evaded by the government of Sikkim, and as compensation to the British subjects who were pillaged and kidnapped by the subjects of Sikkim, the Government of Sikkim agrees to pay to the British authorities at Darjeeling the sum of 7,000(seven thousand) rupees in the following instalments, that is to say:

May 1 st 1861	Rs.1,000
Nov 1 st 1861	Rs.3,000
May 1 st 1862	Rs.3,000

As security for the payment of this amount, it is further agreed that in the event of any of these instalment not being duly paid on the date appointed, the Government of Sikkim shall make over the British Government that portion of its territory bound on the such by the River Rummam, and on the east by the Great Rangeet River, on the north by a line from the great Rungeet to the Singaleelah River, including the monasteries of Tassiding, Pemwongchi, the Changacheling, and on the west by the Singaleelah Mountain Range, and the British government shall retain possession of this territory and collect revenue thereof, until the full amount, with all expenses of occupation and collection, and interest at 6%, per annum, are realized.

5

The Government of Sikkim engages that its subjects shall never again commit depredations on British territory, or kidnap or otherwise molest British subjects. In event of any such depredation or kidnapping taking place, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to deliver up all persons engaged in such malpractice, as well as the Sirdars or other chief conniving at or benefiting thereby.

6

The Government of Sikkim will at all times seize and deliver up any criminals, defaulters, or other delinquents who may have taken refuge within his territory, on the demand being duly made writing by the British Government through their accredited agents. Should any delay occur in complying with such demands, the police of the British Government may follow the person whose surrender has been demanded into any part of Sikkim territory, and shall on showing a warrant, duly signed by the British Agent, receive every assistance and protection in the prosecution of their object from the Sikkim officers.

7

Inasmuch as the late misunderstanding between the two Governments have been mainly formatted by the acts of the ex-Dewan Namgay, nor any of his blood relations, shall ever again be allowed to set foot in Sikkim, or to take part in the councils of, or hold any office under, the Maharaja or any of the Maharaja's family in Choombi.

8

The Government of Sikkim from this date abolishes all restrictions on the travellers and monopolies in trade between the British territories and Sikkim. There shall

henceforth to be a free reciprocal intercourse, and fully liberty of the commerce between the subjects of both countries, it shall be permitted to reside in the pass through Sikkim, and to expose their goods for sale at any place and in any manner that may suit their purpose, without any interference whatever, except as is hereinafter provided.

9

The Government of Sikkim engages to afford protection to all travelers, merchants, or traders of all countries, whether residing in, trading in, or passing through Sikkim. If any merchant, traveller, or trader, being a European British subject shall commit any offence contrary to the laws of Sikkim, such person shall be punished by the representative of the British Government residing at Darjeeling, and the Sikkim Government will at once deliver such offender over to the British authorities for this purpose, and will, on no account, detain such offender in Sikkim on any pretext or pretence whatever. All other British residing in the country to be liable to the laws of Sikkim, but such person shall, on no account, be punished with loss of limb, or maiming, or torture, and every case of punishment of a British subject shall be at once reported to Darjeeling.

10

No duties or fees of any sort shall be demanded by the Sikkim Government of any person or persons on account of goods exported into the British territories from Sikkim, or imposed into Sikkim from the British territories.

11

On all goods passing into or out of Tibet, Bhutan, or Nepaul. The Government of Sikkim may levy on duty of customs according to such a scale as may, from time to time, be determined and published. Without reference to the destination of the goods, provided, however, that such duty shall, in no account, exceed 5% on the value of the duty aforesaid a pass shall be given exempting such goods from liability to further payment on any account whatever.

12

With the view to protect Government of Sikkim from fraud on accounts of under valuation for assessment of duty, it is agreed that customs officers shall have the option of taking over for the Government any goods at the value affixed on them by the owner.

13

In the event of British Government desiring to open out a road through Sikkim, with the view of encouraging trade, the Sikkim Government will raise no objection thereto, and will afford every protection and aid to the party engaged in the work. If a road is constructed, the Government of Sikkim undertakes to keep it under repair, and to erect and maintain suitable traveller's rest-houses through.

14

If the British Government desires to make either topological or geological survey of Sikkim, the Government of Sikkim will make no objection to this being done, and will afford protection and assistance to the officers employed in this duty.

15

Inasmuch as many of late misunderstanding have had their foundation in the custom which exist in Sikkim of dealing in slaves, the Government of Sikkim binds itself, from this date, to punish severely any person trafficking in humans beings, or seizing persons for the purpose of using them as salves.

16

Henceforth the subjects of Sikkim may transport themselves without let or hindrance to any country to which may wish to remove. In the same way the Government of Sikkim has the authority to permit the subjects of other countries, not being criminals or defaulters, to take refuge in Sikkim.

17

The Government of Sikkim engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighbouring states which are allies of the British Government. If any disputes or question arises between the people of Sikkim and those of neighbouring states, such disputes or questions shall be referred to the arbitration of the decision of the British Government.

18

The whole military force of Sikkim shall join and afford every aid and facility to British troops when employed in hills.

19

The Government of Sikkim will not cede or lease any portion of its territory to any other State without the permission of the British Government.

20

The Government of Sikkim engages that no armed force belonging to any other country shall pass through Sikkim without the sanction of the British Government.

21

Seven of the criminals, whose surrender was demanded by the British Government, having fled from Sikkim and taken refuge in Bhootan, the Government of Sikkim engage to do all in its power to obtain the delivery of those persons from Bhootan Government, and in the event of any one of these men again returning to Sikkim, the Sikkim Government binds itself to seize them, and to make over to the British Authorities at Darjeeling without delay.

22

With the view to the establishment of an efficient Government in Sikkim and to better maintenance of friendly relations with the British Government from Tibet to Sikkim, and reside there for nine months in the year. It is further agreed that a Vakeel shall be accredited by the Sikkim Government, whose shall permanently reside at Darjeeling.

23

This treaty, consisting of twenty-three Articles, being settled and concluded by the Honourable Ashley Eden, British Envoy, and His Highness SekeongKuzooSikkimputtee, Maharaj, at Tumlong, this 28th day of March 1861, corresponding with 17th Dao Neepoo 61, Mr.Eden has delivered to the Maharaja a copy of the seal and signature of the said HonourableEshley Eden and His Highness the Sikkimputtee Maharaja, and the Sikkimputtee Maharaja has in like manner deliverd to the said Honourable Ashley Eden another copy also in English, with

translation in Nagri and Bhootiah, bearing the seal of His Highness and the said Hon'able Ashley Eden. The Envoy engages to procure the delivery to His Highness, within six weeks from this date, of a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India in council, and this Treaty in the meantime be in full force.

(Seal)

S/d Sekeong Kuzoo Sikkimputtee

(seal)

S/d

Ashley Eden, Envoy

(seal)

S/d

Canning

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy & Governor-General of India in council

On the sixteenth day of April 1861.

S/d

C.U. Aitchinson

APPENDIX - 5

Sikkim –Tibet Convention of 1890-1893

Trade

I

A trade-mart shall be established at Yatung on the Tibetan side of the frontier and shall be open to all British subjects for purpose of trade from the first day of May 1894. The Government of India shall be free to send officers to reside at Yatung to watch the conditions of British trade at that mart.

II

British subjects trading at Yathung shall be at liberty to travel to and fro between the frontier and Yatung, to reside at Yatung, and to rent houses and godowns for their own accommodation and the storage of their goods. The Chinese Government undertake that suitable buildings for the above purpose shall be provided for British subjects, and also that a special and fitting residence shall be provided for the officer or officers appointed by the Government of India under Regulation I to reside at Yatung. British subjects shall be at liberty to shall their goods to whomsoever they please, to purchase native commodities in kind or in money, to hire transport of any kind, and in general to conduct their business transaction in conformity with local usage, and without any vexatious restrictions. Such British subjects shall receive efficient protection for their persons and property. At Lang-Jo and Ta-Chun, between the frontier and Yatung, where rest-houses have been built by the Tibetan authorities, British subjects can break their journey in consideration of a daily rent.

III

Import and export trade in the following articles-arms, ammunition, military stores, salt, liquors, and intoxicating or narcotic drugs, may at the option of either Government be entirely prohibited, or permitted only on such conditions as either Government on their own side may think fit to impose.

IV

Goods, other than goods of descriptions enumerated in Regulation III, entering Tibet from British India, across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier, or vice-versa, whatever their origin, shall be exempt from duty for a period of five years commencing from the date of opening of Yatung to Trade, but after the expiration of their term, if found desirable, a tariff may be mutually agreed upon and enforced.

Indian tea may be imported into Tibet at a rate of duty not exceeding that at which Chinese tea is imported into England, but trade in Indian tea shall not be engaged in during the five years for which other commodities are exempt.

V

All goods on arrival at Yatung, whether from British India or from Tibet, must be reported at the customs stations there for examination, and the report must give full particulars of the description, quantity and value of the goods.

VI

In the event of trade disputes arising between British and Chinese or Tibetan subjects in Tibet, they shall be enquired into and Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council at Calcutta on the sixteenth day of April 1861.

C.U. ATCHISON
UNDER-SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

APPENDIX - 6

Indo-Sikkim Treaty of 1950

The President of India and His Highness, the Maharaja of Sikkim, being desirous of further strengthening the good relations already existing between India and Sikkim, have resolve to enter in to a new Treaty with each other, and the President of India has, for the purpose, appointed his plenipotentiary Shri HarishwarDayal, Political officer in Sikkim, and His Highness the Maharaja having examined Shri HarishwarDayal's credentials and fond them good and in due form, the two have agreed as follows:

Article I

All previous treaties between the British Government and Sikkim, which are at present in forces as between India and Sikkim, are hereby formally cancelled.

Article II

Sikkim shall continue to be a protectorate of India and, subject to the provisions of this Treaty, shall enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.

Article III

1. The Government of India will be responsible the defence and territorial integrity of Sikkim. It shall have right to take such measure as it considers necessary for the defence of Sikkim or the security of India, whether preparatory or otherwise, and whether within or outside Sikkim. In particular, the government of India shall have the right to station troops anywhere within Sikkim.

2. The measure referred to in paragraph(I) will as far as possible be taken by the Government of India in consultation with the Government of Sikkim.

3. The Government of Sikkim shall not import any arms, ammunition, military stores or other way like material of any description for any purpose whatsoever without the previous consent of the Government of India.

Article IV

1. The external relation of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial, shall be conducted and regulated solely by the Government of India: and the Government of Sikkim shall have no dealings with any foreign power.

2. Subjects of Sikkim travelling to foreign countries shall be treated as Indian protected persons for the purpose of passports, and shall receive from Indian representatives abroad the same protection and facilities as Indian nationals.

Article V

The Government of Sikkim agrees not to levy any import duty, transit duty or other import duty, transit duty or other impost on goods brought into or in transit through Sikkim, and the Government of India agrees not to levy any import or other duty on goods of Sikkimese origin brought in to India from Sikkim.

Article VI

1. The Government of India shall have exclusive right of constructing, maintaining and regulating the use of railways, aerodromes and landing grounds and air navigation facilities, posts, telegraph, telephones and wireless installation in Sikkim, and the Government of Sikkim render the Government of India every assistance in their construction, maintenance, and protection.

2. The Government of Sikkim may, however, construct, maintain, and regulate the use of railways and aerodromes and landing grounds and air navigation facilities to such extent as may be agreed to by the Government of India.

3. The Government of India shall have right to construct and maintain in Sikkim roads for strategic purposes and for the purpose of improving communications with India and other adjoining countries, and the Government of Sikkim render the Government of India every assistance in the construction, maintenance and protection of such roads.

Article VIII

1) Subjects of Sikkim shall have the right of entry into, and free movement within India, Sikkim.

2) Subjects of such regulations as the Government of Sikkim may prescribe in consultation with the Government of India, Indian nationals shall have:

a) The right to carry on trade and commerce in Sikkim, and

b) When established in any trade in Sikkim, the right to acquire, hold and dispose of any property, movable or immovable, for the purpose of their trade or residence in Sikkim,

3) Subjects of Sikkim shall have the same right

a) To carry on trade and commerce in India, and to employment therein, and

b) Of acquiring, holding and disposing of property, movable and immovable, as Indian nationals.

Article VIII

1) Indian nationals within Sikkim shall be subject to laws of Sikkim and subjects of Sikkim within India shall be subject to the laws of India.

2) Whenever any criminal proceedings are initiated in Sikkim against any Indian National or any person in the service of the Government of India or any foreigner, the Government of Sikkim shall furnish the Representative of the Government of India in Sikkim (hereafter referred to as the Indian Representative) with particulars of the charges against such person.

If in case of any person in the service of the Government of India or any foreigner it is so demanded by the Indian Representative, such person shall be handed over to him for trial before such courts as may be established for the purpose by the Government of India either in Sikkim or outside.

Article IX

1. The government of Sikkim agrees to seize and deliver up any fugitive offender from the outside Sikkim, who has taken refuge therein on demand being made by the Indian Representative. Should any delay occur in complying with such demand, the Indian police may follow the person, whose surrender has been demanded into any part of Sikkim, and shall, on showing a warrant signed by the Indian Representative, receive every assistance and protection in the prosecution of their object from the Sikkim officers.

2. The Government of India similarly agrees, on demand being made by the Government of Sikkim, to take extradition proceedings against, and surrender any fugitive offender from Sikkim, who has taken refuge in the territory of India.

3. In this article, “fugitive offender” means a person, who is accused of having committed an extradition offence as defined in the First Schedule to the Indian Extradition Act, 1903, or any other offence, which may hereafter be agreed upon

between the Government of India and the Government of Sikkim as an extradition offence.

Article X

The Government of India, having in mind the friendly relations already existing between India and Sikkim and now further strengthened by this Treaty, and being desirous of assisting in the development and good administration of Sikkim, agrees to pay a sum of rupees 3 lakhs every year so long as the terms of this Treaty are duly observed by the Government of Sikkim.

The first payment under this article will be made in the month of August every year.

Article XI

The Government of India shall have right to appoint a representative to reside in Sikkim, and the Government of Sikkim shall provide him and his staff with all reasonable facilities in regards to their carrying out their duties in Sikkim.

The Government of India shall have a right to appoint a representative to reside in Sikkim, and the Government of Sikkim shall provide him and his staff with all reasonable facilities in regards to their carrying out their duties in Sikkim.

Article XII

If any dispute arises in the interpretation of the provision of this Treaty, which cannot be resolved by mutual consultation, the dispute shall be referred to the Chief Justice of India, whose decision thereon shall be final.

Article XIII

The Treaty shall come into force without ratification from the date of signature by both parties.

Done in duplicate at Gangtok on this fifth day of December 1950.

S/d
Harishwar Dayal
P.O.in Sikkim

S/d
Tashi Namgyal
H.H. of Sikkim

APPENDIX - 7

The Text of the Sikkim Agreement,

May 8, 1973 Tripartite Agreement

An agreement envisaging a democratic set-up for Sikkim and administrative reforms was signed in Gangtok on Tuesday. The following is the text of the agreement:

Whereas the Chogyal and the people of Sikkim are convinced that their interest and the long-term interest of Sikkim as a whole called for:

- i. The establishment of a fully responsible Government in Sikkim with more democratic Constitution, the guarantee of Fundamental rights, the rule of law, an independent judiciary, and greater legislative and executive powers for the elected representatives of the people,
- ii. A system of elections based on adult suffrage, which will give equitable representation to all sections of the people on the basis of principle of one-man one-vote,
- iii. The strengthening of Indo-Sikkim co-operation and inter-relationship, and

Whereas the Chogyal as well as representative of the people had requested the Government of India:

- I. To take responsibility for the establishment of law and order and good administration in Sikkim following the breakdown of all three,
- II. To ensure the further development of constitutional government, communal harmony, good administration and rapid economic and social development in Sikkim,
- III. To provide the head of the administration (chief executive) in Sikkim to help achieve and safeguard all the above needs and objectives.

Basic Rights

And whereas the Government of India have agreed to discharge the responsibilities hereby renewed to them.

Now, whereas the Government of India, the Chogyal of Sikkim and the leader of the political parties of Sikkim, have agreed as follows:

1. The three parties hereby recognise and undertake to ensure the basic human rights and fundamental freedom of the people of Sikkim. The people of Sikkim will enjoy the right of election on the basis of adult suffrage to give effect to the principal of one-man one-vote.
2. There shall be an assembly in Sikkim. The assembly shall be elected every four years. The election shall be fair and free and shall be conducted under the supervision of a representative of the election commission of India, who shall be appointed for the purpose by the Government of Sikkim.
3. In accordance with this agreement, the assembly shall have the power to propose law and adopt resolution for the welfare of people of Sikkim on any of the matters enumerated herein below, namely(i) education, (ii)public health, (iii)excise, (iv)press and publicity, (v)transport, (vi)bazaar, (vii)forest, (viii)public works, (ix)economic and social planning, including state enterprise, (xii)home and establishment, (xiii) finance, and (xiv) land revenue.
 - i. The assembly shall not discuss or questions on the following:
 - a) The Chogyal and the members of the ruling family,
 - b) Any matter pending before the court of low,
 - c) The appointment of the Chief Executive and the member of the judiciary, and

d) Any matter, which concerns the responsibilities of the Government of India under this agreement, or under any other agreement between India and Sikkim.

Executive Council

1. There shall be an Executive Council consisting of elected members of the assembly, who shall be appointed to the chief Executive. The Chief Executive Council by the Chogyal on the advice of the chief Executive. The Chief Executive will preside over the meetings of the Executive Council.

2. The system of election shall be so organised as to make the assembly adequately representative of the various section of the population. The size and composition of the assembly and of the Executive Council shall be such as may be prescribed from time to time, care being taken that no signal section of the population acquires a domination position due to mainly its ethnic origin, and that the rights and interests of the Sikkimese of Bhutia-Lepcha origin and of the Sikkimese of Nepali, which includes Tsongs and Scheduled Caste, origin are fully protected.

3. The Chogyal shall perform the functions of his high office in accordance with the Constitution of Sikkim as set out in this agreement.

4. To head the administration in Sikkim, there shall be a Chief Executive, who shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his functions and responsibilities, and(he will) exercise his powers in the following manner:

I. With respect to matters allocated to a member of the Executive Council. He shall act in consultation with the member to whom administrative functions in this regard have been allocated.

II. He shall submit all-important matters to the Chogyal for his information and his approval of the action proposed to be taken, except where immediate action is

required. In the latter case, he shall obtain Chogyal's approval as soon after the action has been taken as possible.

III. He shall have special responsibilities to ensure the power implementation of the Constitutional and administrative changes in Sikkim, the smooth and efficient running of its administration, its continued enjoyment of basic rights and fundamental freedoms by all sections of the population of Sikkim, and the optimum utilization for the benefit of the people of Sikkim of the funds allocated for the economic and social development of Sikkim.

IV. In case involving amity between the various section of the population of Sikkim, on the development of democratic Government and efficient administration in Sikkim, any difference of opinion between him and the Chogyal shall be referred to the Political Officer in Sikkim, who shall obtain the advice of the Government of India, which shall be binding.

5. There shall be equality before the law in Sikkim. The judiciary shall remain independent.

6. The palace establishment and the Sikkim Guards shall remain directly under the Chogyal.

7. The Government of India, who are solely responsible for the defence and territorial integrity of Sikkim and who are solely responsible for the conduct and regulation of the external relations of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial, affirm their determination to discharge these and their other responsibilities for the benefit of the people of Sikkim, for their communal harmony, good administration and economic and social development. It is hereby affirmed that they shall have necessary powers for carrying out these responsibilities.

Done in triplicate at Gangtok on this eight day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred seventy three, A.D.

S/d

Kewal Singh
Foreign Secretary
Government of India

S/d

Palden Thondup Namgyal
The Chogyal of Sikkim

APPENDIX - 8

371-F of the Indian Constitution

A Special Provision to Sikkim

Special provisions with respect to the State of Sikkim- Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,-

(a) the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim shall consist of not less than thirty members,

(b) as from the date of commencement of the Constitution (Thirty-sixth Amendment) Act, 1975 (hereafter in this Article referred to as the appointed day)-

(i) the Assembly for Sikkim formed as a result of the elections held in April, 1974 with thirty-two members elected in the said elections (hereinafter referred to as the sitting members) shall be deemed to be the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim duly constituted under the Constitution,

(ii) the sitting members shall be deemed to be the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim duly elected under this Constitution, and

(iii) the said Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim shall exercise the powers and perform the functions

(c) in the case of the assembly deemed to be the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim under clause (b), the references to the period of five years in (1) of Article 172 shall be construed as references to a period of four years and the said period of four years shall be deemed to commence from the appointed day,

(d) until other provisions are made by Parliament by law, there shall be allotted to the State of Sikkim one seat in the House of the People and the State of Sikkim shall

form one parliamentary constituency to be called the parliamentary constituency for Sikkim,

(e) the representative of the State of Sikkim in the House of the People in existence on the appointed day shall be elected by the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim,

(f) Parliament may, for the purpose of protecting the rights and interests of the different sections of the population of Sikkim make provision for the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim which may be filled by candidates belonging to such sections and for the delimitation of the assembly constituencies from which candidates belonging to such sections alone may stand for election to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Sikkim,

(g) the Governor of Sikkim shall have special responsibility for peace and for an equitable arrangement for ensuring the social and economic advancement of different sections of the population of Sikkim and in the discharge of his special responsibility under this clause, the Governor of Sikkim shall, subject to such directions as the President may, from time to time, deem fit to issue, act in his discretion,

(h) all property and assets (whether within or outside the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim) which immediately before the appointed day were vested in the Government of Sikkim or in any other authority or in any person for the purposes of the Government of Sikkim shall, as from the appointed day, vest in the Government of the State of Sikkim,

(i) the High Court functioning as such immediately before the appointed day in the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim shall, on and from the appointed day, be deemed to be the High Court for the State of Sikkim,

(j) all courts of civil, criminal and revenue jurisdiction, all authorities and all officers, judicial, executive and ministerial, throughout the territory of the State of Sikkim shall continue on and from the appointed day to exercise their respective functions subject to the provisions of this Constitution,

(k) all laws in force immediately before the appointed day in the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim or any part thereof shall continue to be in force therein until amended or repealed by a competent Legislature or other competent authority,

(l) for the purpose of facilitating the application of any such law as is referred to in clause (k) in relation to the administration of the State of Sikkim and for the purpose of bringing the provisions of any such law into accord with the provisions of this Constitution, the President may, within two years from the appointed day, by order, make such adaptations and modifications of the law, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as may be necessary or expedient, and thereupon, every such law shall have effect subject to the adaptations and modifications so made, and any such adaptation or modification shall not be questioned in any court of law,

(m) neither the Supreme Court nor any other court shall have jurisdiction in respect of any dispute or other matter arising out of any treaty, agreement, engagement or other similar instrument relating to Sikkim which was entered into or executed before the appointed day and to which the Government of India or any of its predecessor Governments was a party, but nothing in this clause shall be construed to derogate from the provisions of article 143,

(n) the President may, by public notification, extend with such restrictions or modifications as he thinks fit to the State of Sikkim any enactment which is in force in a State in India at the date of the notification,

(o) if any difficulty arises in giving effect to any of the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by order 374, do anything (including any adaptation or modification of any other article) which appears to him to be necessary for the purpose of removing that difficulty:

Provided that no such order shall be made after the expiry of two years from the appointed day,

(p) all things done and all actions taken in or in relation to the State of Sikkim or the territories comprised therein during the period commencing on the appointed day and ending immediately before the date on which the Constitution (Thirty-sixth Amendment) Act, 1975, receives the assent of the President shall, in so far as they are in conformity with the provisions of this Constitution as amended by the Constitution (Thirty-sixth Amendment) Act, 1975, be deemed for all purposes to have been validly done or taken under this Constitution as so amended.

APPENDIX - 9

Treaty of Yandaboo, 24 February 1826

TREATY of PEACE between the HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY on the one part, and HIS MAJESTY the KING of AVA on the other, settled MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, K.C.B., and K.C.T.S., COMMANDING the EXPEDITION, and SENIOR COMMISSIONER in PEGU and AVA; THOMAS CAMPBELL ROBERTSON, ESQ., CIVIL COMMISSIONER in PEGU and AVA; and HENRY DUCIE CHAD, ESQ., CAPTAIN, COMMANDING BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S and the HONORABLE COMPANY'S NAVAL FORCE the IRRAWADDY RIVER, on the part of the Honorable Company; and by MENGYEE-MAHA-MEN-KYAN-TEN WOONGYEE, LORD of LAYKAING, and MENGYEE-MARA-HLAH-THUO-HAH-THOO-ATWEN-WOON, LORD of the REVENUE, on the part of the King of Ava; who have each communicated to the other their full powers, agreed to and executed at Yandaboo in the Kingdom of Ava, on this Twenty-fourth day of February, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-six, corresponding with the Fourth day of the decrease of the Moon Taboung, in the year One Thousand One Hundred and Eighty-seven Gaudma Era, 1826.

ARTICLE 1

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honorable Company on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Ava on the other.

ARTICLE 2

His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty States of Cachar and Jyntia. With regard to Munnipoor it is stipulated, that should Ghumbheer Sing desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof.

ARTICLE 3

To prevent all future disputes respecting the boundary line between the two great Nations, the British Government will retain the conquered Provinces of Arracan, including the four divisions of Arracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway, and His Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Unnoupectoumien or Arakan Mountains (known in Arakan by the name of the Yeomatoung or Pokhingloun Range) will henceforth form the boundary between the two great Nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation will be settled by Commissioners appointed by the respective governments for that purpose, such Commissioners from both powers to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

ARTICLE 4

His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered Provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Salween River as the line of demarcation on that frontier ; any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of Article third.

ARTICLE 5

In proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the Nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government for the expenses of the War, His Majesty the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore of Rupees.

ARTICLE 6

No person whatever, whether native or foreign, is hereafter to be molested by either party, on account of the part which he may have taken or have been compelled to take in the present war.

ARTICLE 7

In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two governments, it is agreed that accredited ministers, retaining an escort or safeguard of fifty men, from each shall reside at the Durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase, or to build a suitable place of residence, of permanent materials ; and a Commercial Treaty, upon principles of reciprocal advantage, will be entered into by the two high contracting powers.

ARTICLE 8

All public and private debts contracted by either government, or by the subjects of either government, with the others previous to the war, to be recognized and liquidated upon the same principles of honor and good faith as if hostilities had not taken place between the two Nations, and no advantage shall be taken by either party of the period that may have elapsed since the debts were incurred, or in consequence

of the war ; and according to the universal law of Nations, it is further stipulated, that the property of all British subjects who may die in the dominions of His Majesty the King of Ava., shall, in the absence of legal heirs, be placed in the hands of the British Resident or Consul in the said dominions, who will dispose of the same according to the tenor of the British law. In like manner the property of Burmese subjects dying under the same circumstances, in and part of the British dominions, shall be made over to the minister or other authority delegated by His Burmese Majesty to the Supreme Government of India.

ARTICLE 9

The King of Ava will abolish all exactions upon British ships or vessels in Burman ports, that are not required from Burmah ships or vessels in British port nor shall ships or vessels, the property of British subjects, whether European or Indian, entering the Rangoon River or other Burman ports, be required to land their guns, or unship their rudders, or to do any other act not required of Burmese ships or vessels in British ports.

ARTICLE 10

The good and faithful Ally of the British Government, His Majesty the King of Siam, having taken a part in the present War, will, to the fullest extent, as far as regards His Majesty and his subjects, be included in the above Treaty.

ARTICLE 11

This Treaty to be ratified by the Burmese authorities competent in the like cases, and the Ratification to be accompanied by all British, whether Europe or Native,

American, and other prisoners, who will be delivered over to the British Commissioners ; the British Commissioners on their part engaging that the said Treaty shall be ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council ,and the Ratification shall be delivered to His Majesty the King of Ava in four months, or sooner if possible, and all the Burmese prisoners shall, in like manner be delivered over to their own Government as soon as they arrive from Bengal.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

LARGEEN MEONJA,
Woonghee.

T. C. ROBERTSON,
Civil Commissioner.

SEAL OF THE LOTOO.

HY. D. CHADS,

Captain, Royal Navy.

SHWAGUM WOON,
Atawoon.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE

The British Commissioners being most anxiously desirous to manifest the sincerity of their wish for peace, and to make the immediate execution of the fifth Article of this Treaty as little irksome or inconvenient as possible to His Majesty the King of Ava, consent to the following arrangements, with respect to the division of the sum total, as specified in the Article before referred to, into instalments, *viz.*, upon the payment of twenty-five lacks of Rupees, or one-fourth of the sum total (the other Articles of the Treaty being executed), the Army will retire to Rangoon. Upon the further payment of a similar sum at that place within one hundred days from this date, with the proviso as

above, the Army will evacuate the dominions of His Majesty the King of Ava with the least possible delay, leaving the remaining moiety of the sum total to be paid by equal annual instalments in two years, from this Twenty-fourth day of February 1826 A.D., through the Consul or Resident in Ava or Pegu, on the part of the Honorable the East India Company.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

LARGEEN MEONJA,

Woongee.

T. C. ROBERTSON,

Civil Commissioner.

SEAL OF THE LOTOO

HY. D. CHADS,

Captain, Royal Navy.

SHWWAGUM WOON,

Atawoon

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council, at Fort William in Bengal, this Eleventh day of April, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-six.

AMHERST.

COMBERMERE.

J. H. HARRINGTON.

W. B. BAYLEY.

APPENDIX - 10

Assam Accord 1985

Accord between AASU, AAGSP and the Central Government on the Foreign National Issue

15 August 1985

1. Government have all along been most anxious to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of foreigners in Assam. The All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) have also expressed their keenness to find such a solution.

2. The AASU through their Memorandum dated 2nd February 1980 presented to the late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, conveyed their profound sense of apprehensions regarding the continuing influx of foreign nationals into Assam and the fear about adverse effects upon the political, social, culture and economic life of the State.

3. Being fully alive to the genuine apprehensions of the people of Assam, the then Prime Minister initiated the dialogue with the AASU/AAGSP. Subsequently, talks were held at the Prime Minister's and Home Minister's level during the period 1980-83. Several rounds of informal talks were held during 1984. Formal discussions were resumed in March, 1985.

4. Keeping all aspects of the problem including constitutional and legal provisions, international agreements, national commitments and humanitarian considerations, it has been decided to proceed as follows:

Foreigners Issue

5.1 For purposes of detection and deletion of foreigners, 1.1.1966 shall be the base data and year.

5.2 All persons who come to Assam prior to 1.1.1966, including those amongst them whose names appeared on the electoral rolls used in 1967 elections shall be regularised.

5.3 Foreigners who came to Assam after 1.1.1966 (inclusive) and upto 24th March, 1971 shall be detected in accordance with the provisions of the Foreigners Act, 1946 and the Foreigners (Tribunals) Order 1964.

5.4 Names of foreigners so detected will be deleted from the electoral rolls in force. Such persons will be required to register themselves before the Registration Officers of the respective districts in accordance with the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 and the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939.

5.5 For this purpose, Government of India will undertake suitable strengthening of the government machinery.

5.6 On the expiry of a period of ten years following the date of detection, the names of all such persons which have been deleted from the electoral rools shall be restored.

5.7 All persons who were expelled earlier, but have since reentered illegally into Assam shall be expelled.

5.8 Foreigners who came to Assam on or after March 25, 1971 shall continue to be detected, deleted and practical steps shall be taken to expel such foreigners.

5.9 The Government will give due consideration to certain difficulties expressed by the AASU/AAGSP regarding the implementation of the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983.

Safeguards and economic development

6. Constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards, as may be appropriate shall be provided to protect, preserve and promote the culture, social, linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people.

7. The Government take this opportunity to renew their commitment for the speedy all round economic development of Assam, so as to improve the standard of living of the people. Special emphasis will be placed on education and science and technology through establishment of national institutions.

Other Issues

8.1 The Government will arrange for the issue of citizenship certificates in future only by the authorities of the Central Government.

8.2 Specific complaints that may be made by the AASU/AAGSP about irregular issuance of Indian Citizenship Certificates (ICC) will be looked into.

9.1. The international border shall be made secure against future infiltration by erection of physical barriers like walls, barbed wire fencing and other obstacles at appropriate places. Patrolling by security forces on land and riverine routes all along the international border shall be adequately intensified. In order to further strengthen the security arrangements, to prevent effectively future infiltration, an adequate number of check posts shall be set up.

9.2 Besides the arrangements mentioned above and keeping in view security considerations, a road all along the international border shall be constructed as to facilitate patrolling by security forces. Land between border and the road would be kept free of human habitation, wherever possible. Riverine patrolling along the international border would be intensified. All effective measures would be adopted to prevent infiltrators crossing or attempting to cross the international border.

10. It will be ensured that relevant laws for prevention of encroachment of government lands in tribal belts and blocks are strictly enforced and unauthorized encroachers evicted as laid down under such laws.

11. It will be ensured that the relevant law restricting acquisition of immovable property by foreigners in Assam is strictly enforced.

12. It will be ensured that Birth and Death Registers are duly maintained.

Restoration of Normalcy

13. The All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the all Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) call off the agitation, assure full co-operation and dedicate themselves towards the development of the country.

14. The Central and the State Government have agreed to:

a. review with sympathy and withdraw cases of disciplinary action taken against employees in the context of the agitation and to ensure that there is no victimization;

b. frame a scheme for ex-gratia payment to next of kin of those who were killed in the course of the agitation;

c. give sympathetic consideration to proposal for relaxation of upper age limit for employment in public services in Assam, having regard to exceptional situation that prevailed in holding of academic and competitive examinations, etc., in the context of agitation in Assam;

d. undertake review of detention cases, if any, as well as cases against persons charged with criminal offences in connection with the agitation, except those charged with commission of heinous offences;

e. consider withdrawal of the prohibitory orders/ notifications in force, if any.

15. The Ministry of Home Affairs will be the nodal Ministry for the implementation of the above.

Signed/-
(P.K. Mahanta) *President All Assam
Students Union*

Signed/-
(B.K. Phukan) *General Secretary All
Assam Students Union*

Signed/-
(Biraj Sharma) *Convenor All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad*

In the presence of

Signed/-
(Rajiv Gandhi) *Prime Minister of India*

Signed/-
(R.D. Pradhan) *Home Secretary Govt. of
India*

Signed/-
(Smt. P.P. Trivedi) *Chief Secretary Govt.
of India*