

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LIMBOO AND BHUTIA TRIBES IN SIKKIM, 1974-2014

By

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Registration No. 09SU1185

*Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy in the Department of Political Science*



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DECLARATION

I, **KAUSILA SUBBA**, hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this dissertation did not form basis for the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the dissertation has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university/institute.

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Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “*A Comparative Study of Limboo and Bhutia Tribes in Sikkim, 1974-2014*” submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science is the result of bonafide research work carried out by **Ms. Kausila Subba** under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associateship and fellowship.

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

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List of Abbreviations

APL:	Above Poverty Line
BL:	Bhutia Lepcha
ECOSOC:	United Nations Economic and Social Council
HH:	Household
IAS:	Indian Administrative Service
IFS:	Indian Forest Service
IPS:	Indian Police Service
LT:	Limboo Tamang
MBC:	Most Backward Classes
NGO:	Non Governmental Organisations
SABCCO:	SC, ST and OBC Development Corporation
SC:	Schedule Caste
SCSP:	Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan
SLA:	Sikkim Legislative Assembly
ST:	Schedule Tribes
SWE&WD:	Social Justice Empowerment & Welfare Department
TSP:	Tribal Sub-Plan
UTs:	Union Territories

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The present study seeks to comparatively analyze the Limboo and Bhutia communities of Sikkim from the socio-political perspective. This is done in order to understand the gap within the tribal communities in Sikkim, as hypothetically the four tribal groups in Sikkim i.e. Bhutia, Lepcha, Limboo and Tamang, the Bhutia tribal groups are fairing much better than the Limboo tribal groups when measured in terms of socio-political well being. If one looks back to the history of Sikkim, the Limboo communities were the original inhabitants of the state whereas the Bhutia communities had migrated over a period of time. Thereafter, Bhutia communities ruled over the people of Sikkim for almost 333years but after merger with Indian Union in 1975 and with The SC ST Amendment Act of 1978 Bhutia communities were included in the Tribal List and reserved 13 seats including "Sangha"¹ in the Sikkim Legislative Assembly on community basis. There was no any issue since no other communities were recognized as tribes except Bhutia and Lepcha². But it was only with The SC ST Orders Amendment Act of 2002 that both the Limboo and Bhutia communities were included in the Tribal list. This delay in the implementation of reservation and other governmental facilities is cited as one of the primary reasons because of which gap emerged within tribal groups in Sikkim.

This study would try to find out the political history of Limboo and Bhutia Tribal groups and also try to understand the context in which people of Sikkim perceive about tribal groups. Apart from that, analysis will be made on various governmental initiatives towards tribal groups for their inclusive growth. The socio economic profile of Limboo tribal groups are lower than the Bhutia tribal groups so this study also tries to analyse whether socio economic status influences the political rights. The main reason behind choosing the two tribal communities i.e. Limboo and Bhutia is a comparative study within tribes are never done before. Within tribes of Sikkim, Bhutia communities are one of the most successful tribes of Sikkim whereas Limboo

¹ Seat in Sikkim Legislative Assembly given to monks of Sikkim.

² Lepchas are one of the original inhabitants or the ethnic communities of the Sikkim. They had their own ruler before the formation of Namgyal Dynasty in Sikkim.

communities can be labelled not so successful. If we look into the IAS, IPS, IFS cadres in Sikkim of 1999 and 2005, there were 21 and 22 Bhutia cadres respectively including Sherpa³. But only 17 and 19 cadres respectively from the whole Nepali Community. So the question of Limboo cadres in particular is a far cry. Even if we look into the socio economic status, the sex ratio, Literacy rate, number of households Above Poverty Line (APL) is high in comparison to Limboo communities. There has been a huge gap especially after the recognition of so called 'Second Class' tribes in Sikkim. The so called 'First Class' Tribes are afraid of losing their status and on the other hand others are demanding equal rights. So, this study seeks to study and analyse reasons for this difference. To understand this gap we primarily need to understand the conceptual framework of Tribes in Sikkim.

Theoretical Perspective

A theoretical understanding of tribal communities is very essential in present day context. The tribal people are existing in the world from time immemorial. Even the "*Ramayana*" and "*Mahabharata*" have given the reference of Tribes as "*Jana-Sthana*"⁴. Vedic literature has also mentioned about the people with different physical appearance, who worship strange gods with their own way of living with distinct cultures and traditions (Vidyarthi & Rai, 1976). There are different scholars with different views on tribals. Tribe basically refers to the group of tribal people living in the forest hills and naturally isolated regions. Imperial Gazetteer of India defines, "a tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so" (Upadhyay Pandey, 2003). In the etymological understanding, the term 'Tribe' is derived from the Latin word "*Tribus*," referring to the three ancient ethnic group of Roman state. They have a particular kind of social and political organization existing in societies. They are the people with distinct physical appearance, customs, traditions, practices, believe

³ Sherpa is also one of the ethnic communities of Sikkim who were also known as one of the sub caste of Bhutia Tribes.

⁴ When Rama reached borders of the forest of Central India, in his exile, the land was introduced to him as an abode of the tribal people.

system, who worship in ghosts and spirit, who are economically backward and who live in the forest, away from the civilized world (Padma, 2011).

There is no uniform definition of tribes. Different scholars have defined tribes in different ways, but the most common characteristics they refer while defining tribes are indications of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the outside community at large and backwardness. Stephen Corry, director of Survival International⁵ has defined tribal people as “those which have followed ways of life for many generations that are largely self-sufficient, and are clearly different from the mainstream and the dominant society.” On the other hand *S. K. Singh* (Chettri, 2013, p.8) says, “[T]he notion of a tribe was introduced by colonial administrators. It was part of the universal trend to dichotomize the indigenous peoples and colonizers, the savage and the civilized, the tribals and non-tribals”.

According to D.N. Majumdar,

“a tribe is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well-assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations” (Chettri, 2013, p.9).

The Oxford Dictionary defines it as “a group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as descendants of a common ancestor.”

Ralph Linton is on the opinion that tribes, “In its simplest form the tribe is a group of bands occupying a contiguous territory or territories and having a feeling of unity deriving from numerous similarities in culture, frequent contacts, and a certain community of interest (Hasnian).”

According to G.W.B. Huntingford, “A tribe is a group united by a common name in which the members take a pride by a common language, by a common territory, and

⁵ It is the world’s only organization dedicated to indigenous rights formed in 1969. Survival International is a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) which has a consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

by a feeling that all who do not share this name are outsiders, 'enemies' in fact (Hasnian).”

According to I.M. Lewis,

“Ideally, tribal societies are small in scale, are restricted in the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal, and political relations, and possess a morality, a religion, and world-wide of corresponding dimensions. Characteristically too, tribal languages are unwritten, and hence, the extent of communication both in time and space is inevitably narrow. At the same time, tribal societies exhibit a remarkable economy of design and have a compactness and self-sufficiency lacking in modern society.” (Hasnain)

The tribals are known by different names, some of the popular names are: Vanyajati (castes of forest), Vanvasi (inhabitants of forest), Pahari (hill dwellers), Adimjati (primitive people), Anusuchit Janjati (Scheduled Tribe), etc. in India, Anusuchit Janjati is a constitutional term given to Schedule Tribes covering all the above mentioned names but “Adivasi” is most commonly used term in India. India is a house of many tribal groups spread all over the country. Most of the tribal groups are also found in north eastern part of India. T. B. Subba says, the people of northeast India do not want to labeled themselves as Adivasi like the tribes of Indian plains do but they will accept the English word tribes (Subba, 2012, p 63). Because Adivasi are treated as lower class people who are undeveloped, unprivileged and the people of Sikkim did not want to level themselves as lower class as Adavasi but they are happy with the term Tribes because they will get more facilities being recognized as tribes.

Tribes in Sikkim

Sikkim, the 22nd state of Indian union, (Verma & Khanna, 2013) shares international boundaries with Nepal, Tibet (China) and Bhutan. It also shares national boundaries with the state of West Bengal. Sikkim is also house to many ethnic groups. Ethnic groups basically mean the people who identify themselves with common social and cultural experience. Heewon Chang & Timothy Dodd terms ethnicity as a “culturally derived term” rather than “biological and physical” differences like in 'race'. Francis M. Deng defines ethnicity as a "embodiment of Values, Institutions,

and patterns of behavior, a composite whole representing a people's historic experience, aspirations, and worldview" (Chang & Dodd, 2001). There are many ethnic groups in Sikkim, some of them are Limboo, Bhutia, Lepcha, Tamang, Rai, Gurung, Chettri, etc. among these ethnic groups, four ethnic groups are recognized as Schedule Tribes over the period of time. The Bhutia and Lepcha communities were recognized as Scheduled Tribes by the SC/ST (Sikkim) Order Act of 1978 (Chettri, 2013, p. 13) and the Limboo and Tamang communities were recognized as tribal groups by the SC/ST Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002.

Socio Political History

If one look into the history, it is believed that Limboo and Lepcha communities were the original inhabitants of Sikkim but no documentary evidence are found today except oral traditions of Limboo and Lepcha which indicate existence of rudimentary monarchy. S. K. Gurung says, all those evidences has been destroyed by Tibetan lamas when they migrated to Sikkim (Gurung, 2011). From 7th -8th century onwards Lepcha Panu⁶ were ruling over Sikkim and during 9th century *Srijunga Hang*⁷ developed and toughed "Srijunga script"⁸ reading and writing in western parts of Sikkim (Subba, 2008). Historical evidences prove that Limboos were inhabited in Limbuwan⁹ and some parts of Sikkim even before the formation of Sikkim. As Dr. R. K. Sprigg says "Limboos were living in Sikkim before there was Sikkim for them to live in!" (Subba, 1999).

The Bhutia or Bhotia¹⁰ original inhabitants of "Bhot" (Tibet) and migrated to Sikkim over the period of time (Subba, 2008). Subba believes the Bhutia's are known by their place of habitations such as the Drukpas are the people from Drukul of Bhutan; the

⁶ Panu are known as king by lepchas who is expected to be polite humble and sociable person who would remain bachelor and posses no property. See Gurung, Suresh Kumar. (2011). Sikkim Ethnicity and Political Dynamics: A Traidic Perspective. New Delhi: Kunal Books. P, 31.

⁷ Srijunga Hang was a Limboo King ruling over the territory of Limbuwan during 9th century.

⁸ The script used by Limboo community today is known as srijunga script.

⁹ Limbuwan is known for the land of limboos which was a part of greater Sikkim but now it's a part of Nepal.

¹⁰ It is sometimes spelt and pronounced as Bhotia because it is derived from their original habitat "Bhot" (Tibet).

Chumbipas, people from Dhoptha, South Tibet; the Tromopas or Do-Mu-Pas, inhabitants of Do-mu; the Lachenpas, inhabitants of Lachung Valley; are all Bhutias. Later they became the Chogyal of Sikkim and they ruled Sikkim for over 333 years. The modern History of Sikkim basically starts with the establishment of Namgyal Dynasty during 1640s with the consecration of first king Phuntsog Namgyal in 1642. Phuntsog Namgyal, despite being dominant power in Sikkim, suffered a rebel from Limboo and Lepcha in 1649 as a result Geyzing (the place of Victory) got its name (Gurung, 2011). The ruling bhutia community started dominating over Limboo and Lepcha community and their hopes and aspirations were ignored. This led them to enter into an agreement which is historically known as *Lho-Men-Tsong Sum*¹¹, according to which Bhutia, Lepcha and Limboo are supposed to be the member of same family. The Bhutia was considered to be father, Lepcha a mother and Limboo a son (Gurung, 2011). Saul Mullard has said

The creation of the state was primarily a political event born out of the political desire of Phungtsok Namgyal to extend his personal power and wealth. If one understands the state in part as a legitimate power structure; then the creation of Sikkim was only ‘completed’ with the signing of LMT (Lho Men Tsong Sum) when the leaders of the various Sikkimese Proto-states agreed to accept the leadership of the Namgyal rulers (Mullard, 2011).

But the agreement was never implemented practically; there is not even a single record of Limboo Dzungpons¹². S. K. Gurung has said “the state policy towards the Tsongs was ambiguous and accordingly sometimes they were considered as original inhabitants and sometimes discriminated against because of cultural-linguistic reasons/differences” (Gurung, 2011). They were sometimes clubbed into Bhutias and

¹¹ Here Lho means “south” refers to southern Tibetans who settled in Sikkim and Bhutan, Mon means “foothills” refers to lepchas inhabiting the lower slopes of Eastern Himalayas and Tsong refers to Limboo, because they were engaged in commerce. See Subba, J. R. (1999). *The Limboos of Eastern Himalayas: With Special Reference to Sikkim*. Sikkim: Sikkim Yakthung Mundhum Saplopa. P,vi.

¹² In Tibetan language “Dzung” means fort and Dzungpons means governors or administrators of forts. See Sinha, A. C. (2008). *Sikkim: Feudal and Democratic*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company. P, 7. And Gurung, Suresh Kumar. (2011). *Sikkim Ethnicity and Political Dynamics: A Traidic Perspective*. New Delhi: Kunal Books. P, 34.

Lepchas as in Sikkim Subject regulation of 1961 and sometimes they had to pay higher rate of land revenue along with the Nepalese.

The marriage alliance was also there between Limboo and Bhutia Lepcha communities. Tensung Namgyal (1644-1700) who succeeded his father Phuntsog Namgyal in 1670 married three times. One of his wives was prince's limbuni, a daughter of a Limboo king Yong Yang Hang (mostly known as Yo Yo Hang) whose jurisdiction was to the west near Arun River. Seven Limbuni maidens had also come with princes' limbuni who were all married into the leading Sikkim families (Risley, 1989). It is also believed that the name Sikkim was given by the princess Thungwamukma when she entered the new palace she named it as "song khim" which in limboo language "song" means "new" and "khim" means "palace or house" and later it became Sukhim, Sikhim and now Sikkim (Subba, 1999). According to A. C. Sinha there was marital alliance just to win over limboos because dzongpenship was not given to limboo and Mangars who were important tribes and they were strong enough to challenge and also for religious conversion (Sinha, 2008). After the arrival of two communities of the Bhutias and Nepalese in Sikkim the Limboos were subjected to the influence of two powerful religions first by Buddhism and later by Hinduism. Under this influence their tradition and culture suffered a lot and their very identity tended to get lost (Limboo, 2003). Limboo communities often claim that they are neither Nepali by their ethnicity nor Hindu by their religion. They have their own culture, traditions, religion, language, script and they share close affinity with the Lepchas and Bhutias of Sikkim as such they are separate ethnic community with distinct identity. Despite Limboos being one of the indigenous inhabitants of the state they were deprived of political rights and economic benefits as such they were not associated with the government of the state as a result they continued to be backward and always been under suppression of one kind or the other (Khamdhak).

In the other hand the Bhutias, being the ruling community did not have political organization before 1947, S. K. Gurung says, it is because their interests were protected and represented by the "Chogyal"¹³ from time to time through various proclamations (Gurung S. K., 2011). Sikkim National Party was the first political

¹³ Chogyals is a term given to Kings of Sikkim.

organization of Bhutia community formed in 1948. Before the formation of political organization, "Kazis"¹⁴ and "Lamas"¹⁵ were acting as pressure groups in Sikkim and they were influential in the political decisions of the Chogyal.

The State Council was established in 1953 by the Chogyal. Originally it had 18 members, of which 12 were elected and six (including the President) appointed by the Chogyal. Of the 12 elected members, six were for the Nepali community and six for the Lepcha and the Bhutia communities. The number of seats were increased to 20 for the 1958 elections. One seat for the Sangha was added, together with an additional appointed member. In the same year Barnadhoj Limboo contested the council election from Pemayongtse constituency but he was not elected despite securing 61 votes more than his opponent because of complicated and communal system (Gurung, 2011). It was only during 1966 the Tsongs or Limboos were protected by giving reservation of seats in the state council in the governments of the king. During those period reservation of seats for different categories were as follows in the table no 1.1 below:

Table 1.1: Table showing the distribution of seats during 1996.

Name of the communities	No of Seats
Bhutia-Lepcha	7
Nepali	7
Sangha	1
Tsong (Limboo)	1
Scheduled Caste	1
General	1
Chogyals Nominations	6
Total	24

From the above table we can see Bhutia- Lepchas were given 7 seats, Nepali- 7 seats, Sangha- 1 seat, Tsong(Limboo)- 1 seat, Schedule Caste- 1 seat, General- 1 seat and Chogyals nominations- 6 seats making a total of 24 seats. These seat arrangements

¹⁴ Kazi are the Traditional Landlords of Sikkim.

¹⁵ It is the title for a teacher of the Dharma in Tibetan Buddhism. The name is similar to the Sanskrit term guru. Historically, the term was used for venerated spiritual masters or heads of monasteries.

Today the title can be used as an horrific title conferred on a monk or a nun.

were followed in the state council elections of 1967, 1970 and 1973. Some of the Limboo councilors elected during those periods were: Indra Pd. Limboo in 1967, Harka Dhoj Limboo in 1970, Padam Singh Limboo in 1970 and 1973 (Limboo, 2003). Though Indra Pd. Limboo was nominated in the council of ministers in the second council election of 1958 by Tashi Namgyal (Subba, 2008) but without reservation. In 1968 royal permission was also granted for teaching Limboo language in government schools. But unfortunately it did not continue for long, after three elections the reservation for both Limboos and Scheduled Caste were abolished by the agreement of May 8, 1973 between Sikkim and Government of India and the Limboo community were clubbed with the Nepali community (Gurung, 2011). In the 5th clause of the agreement it is written that

Care being taken to ensure that no single section of the population acquires a dominating position due mainly to its ethnic origin, and that the rights and interests of the Sikkimese of Bhutia Lepcha origin and of the Sikkimese of Nepali which includes Tsong and scheduled castes origin are fully protected.¹⁶

However with the merger of Sikkim with India as 22nd state (Verma & Khanna, 2013) the reservation of seats for SC was restored by the SC/ST (Sikkim) Order Act of 1978 and Bhutia and Lepcha were recognized as Schedule Tribes but though Limboo communities were taken as son by the treaty of Lho Men Tsong Sum but they were not recognized as tribes and were included into the Nepali community.

The Limboo communities started demanding their tribal status soon after the merger with Indian Union or May 8, 1973 Agreement, which abolishes Tsong seats and clubbed them with Nepali communities without taking the consent or without consulting the Limboos. They formed association and started highlighting the treaty of *Lho Men Tsong Sum* (Gurung, 2011). The first association formed to put forth their demands is The Akhil Sikkim Kirat Limbu (Limboo) Chumlung¹⁷ established on May 23, 1973 at Tharpu, West Sikkim. It was only after the three decades of continuous struggle and with the coming of Sikkim Democratic Front government in Sikkim, Limboo communities were recognized as Schedule tribes with the SC/ST Orders (Second Amendment) Bill, 2002 (Bill No. 62 of 2002). The bill was

¹⁶ For further details refer to May 8, 1973 Agreement in Appendix II.

¹⁷ The literal meaning of chumlung is meeting but in this case The Akhil Sikkim Kirat Limbu (Limboo) Chumlung is the name given to the first Limboo Non Governmental Organisations.

introduced in Lok Sabha on 2nd August 2002¹⁸, it was passed by Rajya Sabha on 18th December 2002 and Lok Sabha on 19th December 2002. Finally the bill received Presidents assent on 7th January 2003 and the Limboos and Tamangs were included in the Schedule Tribes lists of Sikkim.

Scope

A Comparative Study of the Limboo and Bhutia Tribes in Sikkim, 1974-2014 has been chosen to understand the tribal society of Sikkim and their political rights. It also tries to understand how the social status influences the political rights. The period of 1974 is very important here because with the Constitutional Amendment Act of 1974 Sikkim was clubbed into Indian Union and with the formation of democratic government various developmental initiatives were taken by the government. This study has made an attempt to analyze the governmental initiatives especially towards tribal groups in Sikkim. Another reason behind choosing this area is none of the scholars have made an attempt to do a comparative study between these two communities. Though some studies are done before, in general, but the in depth and detail analysis of comparative study is nowhere found.

This study has certain limitations, like it is confined only to the boundaries of Sikkim and the different villages of all four districts of Sikkim as the target area for the field work. Though, Lepcha communities along with Bhutia communities and Tamang communities along with Limboo communities were also included in the Tribal groups but this study only focuses on Limboo and Bhutia Tribal groups in Sikkim. The Bhutia communities were recognized as tribals in the year 1978 where as the Limboo communities were recognized as Tribals only in 2002. So the study has mostly focused on the post merger period, immediately after the Sikkim's merger with Indian Union in general and especially after 2002 in particular for better understanding of the social status influencing political rights among the Limboo and Bhutia Tribal groups. But at the same time, historical backgrounds are also discussed for the proper understanding of the current statement of problem.

¹⁸ Bill introduced on Lok Sabha on The SC/ST Orders (Second Amendment) Bill, 2002, dated 02/08/2002.

Objectives

The primary objectives of the research work are:

- To understand the political history of Limboo and Bhutia Tribal Groups.
- To understand the context on which the people of Sikkim perceive about tribal groups and the basis in which they were/are demanding tribal status.
- To develop a comparative analysis between Limboo and Bhutia Tribal groups in socio-political context.
- To analyze the various measures/ initiatives and policies taken by the Government for legitimizing the Tribal Groups.

Research Questions

This research work tries to answer the following research questions:

- What is the political history of Limboo and Bhutia tribal groups? Do they share any commonalities?
- Which community, either Limboo or Bhutia, is doing better in the socio political context of Sikkim? Does social status influences political rights?
- Is the state government promoting equal status among tribal groups? Are government policies towards these tribal groups sufficient to ensure an inclusive growth?

Methodology

This study is based on both primary and secondary sources of information. The secondary sources like books available in the area, government publications, newspaper publications, internet articles, etc are used extensively for the competition of the study. Some of the primary sources which are used are the memorandums submitted to the government of India, letters send to the co workers of the Ministry, Agreements between government of India and Sikkim, etc.

Survey research method was applied for which Questionnaire¹⁹ was made to understand the views of the people especially about the governmental policies and

¹⁹ To see questionnaire in detail refer to Appendix I.

political rights towards tribal groups. The target population were all the ethnic groups of Sikkim, in general and the Limboo and Bhutia tribal groups, in particular from the very remote villages to the urban cities of Sikkim. The field work is done in Yuksom, Hee Gaon and Darap from the West Sikkim, Namphok and Yangang from the South Sikkim, Mangsila and Mangan from North Sikkim, Aho and Changay and in and around Gangtok from East Sikkim. The respondents were selected randomly. The questionnaire was both open ended and closed ended type. Apart from questionnaire, some interview methods like face to face interview was taken. Some important political activists, members of organizations and learned people were interviewed. The final analysis of the field work is done through tables, pie charts, graphs etc. This study adopts quantitative methodology.

Statement of Problem

The Limboos are also called as “Tsongs”, “Subba” and “Yakthungbas” and the Bhutias are called as “Lhopo” or “Lhopas”. The Limboos are the one of the indigenous inhabitants of Sikkim and the Bhutias are believed to be migrated from the “Bhot” (Tibet) (Subba, 2008). The Limboo communities are linguistically close to Bhutia community. Though Limboos are one of the indigenous tribes, if we look into the work of some scholars, they have mentioned different theory of origin of Limboo communities like Theory of Kirata Origin, Theory of Chinese Origin, Theory of Tibetan Origin, etc. and the theory of Tibetan origin are close to the Bhutia community because it is also believed that Bhutia communities were migrated from “Bhot” (Tibet) (Subba, 2008) and the Limboo communities from the “Tsang” province of Tibet (Subba, 2003, p. 58). But after coming to Sikkim the Bhutia became the ruling class and the Limboos, the ruled. Not only that, though the Bhutia, Lepcha and the Limboo communities were also the member communities in the Treaty of *Lho Men Tsong Sum*, yet only Bhutia and Lepcha communities were included into schedule tribes list in the year 1978 but the Limboo communities were left behind, they were not included in the Tribal list (Khamdhak). With the continuous struggle for about three decades the Limboo communities were finally included into schedule tribes list in the 2002 with the SC/ST Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002. But in the one end or the other, there are inequalities within the tribal groups in Sikkim. The Bhutia

communities are more successful community in Sikkim in comparison to Limboo and Lepcha tribal groups.

The Limboo communities think themselves distinct from Nepali community. But the agreement of 1978 between Sikkim and Government of India clubbed them into Nepali community. Not only that, the agreement also abolished the Tsong seat given by the Chogyal in 1968. But at the same time 13 seats have been reserved for the Bhutia and Lepcha communities including Sangha. So the Limboo community considers it as a threat to their identity. Gracy Maria Subba has said, “The onset of democracy has further marginalized them” (Subba, 2003,) because the Limboo communities lost their Tsong Seat in the legislative assembly with the establishment of democratic government in Sikkim which is not being restored yet even after the four decades of democracy and this has caused them to search for their rights. Durga P. Chhetri also said, though Limboo communities were included into Scheduled Tribes list but they are yet to be benefited from their tribal status so they are considered as ‘second class STs’ (Chettri, 2013, p. 13). Even though Limboo communities were recognised as schedule tribes they are not given share from the 13 seats reserved for the Bhutia and Lepcha communities because it is reserved on the ethnic basis. In order to meet their demands the legislative assembly has to expand its seats but the delimitation commission, on the other hand, had freezed the expansion of legislative assembly till 2026. It means the Limboo communities cannot get reservation in legislative assembly until and unless delimitation commission is not abolished but the political parties are making it the issue in election manifesto to win over the support of the citizens.

Inequalities within tribal groups are still prevailing in some areas like Land Revenue No. 1. The land of Limboo tribal groups are not protected in the Land Revenue No. 1 (Gurung, 2011) which restricts alienation of land belonging to Bhutia and Lepcha tribal groups to other non tribals. The Limboo communities are also demanding the state government to protect their land in the Land Revenue Order No. 1²⁰ but it has not been protected yet even after the 12 years of recognition. Apart from that, different

²⁰ Application to the Honorable Chief Minister of Sikkim by the President of both Limboo and Tamang Association for the demand of Land Protection Law for the Limboo-Tamang Tribal groups in Sikkim.

reservations are made in jobs of state government within tribal groups like for Bhutia & Lepcha (BL category) and Limboo & Tamang (ST category).

Thus to address the above issues the First chapter deals with the introduction of the study and tends to theories tribes and discussed the definition of tribes by different scholars and tried to contextualize the idea in general. It has also attempted to understand tribes in the context of Sikkim and has also discussed about the objectives, research questions, research methodologies, survey of literature, scope, etc of the study.

The Second Chapter deals with the political history, culture, socio economic status, literacy rate among the Limboo and Bhutia Tribal Groups and it has also discussed how it is affecting the political rights of these two tribal groups in socio political context.

The Third chapter has explained the government initiatives towards tribal groups and also tried to understand whether these policies are sufficient to ensure inclusive growth. It has also tried to understand the various pros and cons of these governmental initiatives.

The Fourth chapter is based on the field work. It has analyzed the people's perspective towards the tribal status and political rights of the tribals. The field work was done through the questionnaire and schedule from the different parts of Sikkim. Views were taken from different communities of Sikkim along with Limboo and Bhutia Tribal groups. The analysis of the data collected has been made through tables, pie chart, etc.

In the fifth chapter i.e. the conclusion, an analysis has been made that Bhutia communities are fairing much better because of the privileges given to them. The Limboo communities were always being marginalized, policies towards them were always ambiguous as said by S. K. Gurung.

Survey of Literature

Survey of few books and articles has been done while writing this dissertation which is as follows:

Buddhi L. Khamdhak (n.d) in his article "*The Sikkimese Limboo down the ages: in search of identity and status,*" has written about the history of the Limboo tribes especially during Namgyal Dynasty, and their status during that period. He has

also mentioned that with the merger with Indian union Limboo communities were clubbed with Nepali communities. ST status was also not given to them which led them to raise their voice in both state and the centre. To get tribal status was not so easy for the Limboo communities. Khamdhak has mentioned about the most of the memorandums submitted to the both central and state government and the issues concerning to it. The study mainly focuses on the struggle of Limboo community in demanding Tribal status and it has mentioned only about the Sikkim Sangram Parissad Government under the leadership of Bhandari. The struggle within the last 20 years of Sikkim Democratic Front government is not discussed in detail in his article.

Durga P. Chettri (2013) in his article "*Tribal Population and Development Policies in the Himalayan state of Sikkim: A Critical Analysis*" published in *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science invention*, has discussed about the tribal people of India in general and Sikkim in particular. Within Sikkim also he has mentioned only about the Bhutia Lepcha Schedule Tribes of Sikkim. Their status is different from mainland tribals, the Bhutia Lepcha Scheduled Tribes groups of Sikkim are highly educated, and are holders of good jobs like Chief Secretary, Secretary, Director, etc. So, the status of tribals in Sikkim is far better than the tribals of other states in general. But there are still some tribal people in the remote area who are below poverty line which he has failed to mention about. At the same time, he has not discussed about the Limboo and Tamang Tribes of Sikkim who were included in the Scheduled Tribes in 2002, rather he regard them as a second class STs.

Gracy Maria Subba (2003) in her article *Fluid Boundaries and Fluid Identities- the Study of Limboo Tribe of Sikkim* has mentioned the various theories of the origin of the limboo communities. The theory of Kirata Origin says Limboos were the decedents of the family of Kirata-asura. In the other hand, the theory of Chinese Origin explains the migration of Limboo from Sichuan Yunan province of China. Whereas the theory of Tibetan Origin says that the Limboos are the immigrants from the Tsang province of Tibet and the theory of Post-boundary migration indeed is of the recent origin and speaks of the migration of the Limboos from the region of modern Nepal to modern Sikkim. These various theories and the fluid boundaries resulted in the fluid identity of the Limboo communities. It is because of these very theories the identity of Limboo communities are in threat. Sometimes they are given

indigenous identity in Sikkim and sometimes as migrants. But at the same time she has also discussed about the greater Sikkim which shows the Limboos were residing in Sikkim in the land of Limbuwan which is divided between Sikkim and Nepal today.

History Culture and Customs of Sikkim (2008) is a book by J. R. Subba. Firstly he has given the chronological history of Sikkim from the very beginning i.e. 7-8th century till 2004. The author has started with the story of greater Sikkim and its inhabitants. The people of Sikkim and their land and livelihood how it changed over the period of time, what are the food habits of the people of Sikkim, what are their cultures, their folk culture, language, literature, festivals, art, health, etc are discussed in his books. Not only that, various ethnic communities of Sikkim like Bhutia, Lepcha, Limboo, Sherpas, sunwar, manger, gurung, tamangs, chettri, bahuns, kami, damai, jogi, newars, etc. and their culture customs, religion, language, food habits, practices, etc is also discussed in his book. Subba has said Limboos are the decedents of ancient Kiratas from the pre historically occupied areas of Limbuwan but if we look into the other theories of origin of Limboos given by G. M. Subba like the theory of Chinese Origin and the theory of Tibetan origin, it rejects the Limboos as a decedents of Kirata Origin. But at the same time she herself believes that in the one hand or the other Limboos were the people living in the land of Limbuwan.

In the chapter Thirteen a study has been made on the Bhutia communities and he has discussed about the origins, history, populations and settlements, food habits, cuisines, family pattern, economic activity, kinship and social organization, dresses and customs, language and literature, folk songs, folk dance, folk musical instruments, religion and belief system, rites, and traditional administrative system. Dzumsa of Lachen and Lachung is the Traditional administrative system.

Suresh Kumar Gurung's book *Sikkim Ethnicity and Political Dynamics: A Triadic Perspective* was published on 2011 by the Kunal Books, New Delhi, India, where he had discussed about the history of Sikkim and the major ethnic groups present in the state of Sikkim, their history, identity and state policies towards them. With the merger of the state with Indian nation and adoption of parliamentary system new modes of mobilization and ethnic policies emerged. The issues of ethnic identity emerged among different ethnic organizations which also resulted in ethnic politics.

The book has given the detail analysis of the struggle of Limboo communities in demanding the tribal status and the responses of the political parties, especially Bhandari government, in power. It has also touched upon all the political parties in power to understand the ethnic politics of Sikkim.

Sikkim Feudal and Democratic is a book by A.C. Sinha which is written in a different parts and the author has discussed about the natural and human resources of Sikkim and the rule of Namgyal dynasty over it. Sikkim was one of the British protectorate state and union with Indian nation covers in the historical parts. The author has studied the ground reality of Sikkim from the last three decades and discussed about the socio-political change and political development in Sikkim.

The Culture and Religion of Limbus is basically the result of project by Chaitnaya Subba, unlike J. R. subba he has also discussed about the religious life of an individual. He said *mundhums* are the source of inspirations, information, and enlightenment for the way of life, customs and rites-de-passage are guided by it.” He has discussed the practice of the limboo community from the very beginning of the life i.e. from the mother’s womb where they practice *Sapok Chomen* which means ceremonies preceding the birth and after taking birth in the world *Yangdang Phongma* is done which means naming of a child. Ther after *Mangena* which means warding off evil influences is done by the *fedangbas* (Limboo Priests). When the child reaches adulthood and when he/she get married, the priests performs the wedding ceremony. *Nahangma* which means anointing the family head is also practiced by these communities according to author. Finally after the death of an individual death rites are also performed by the priests who believe in supernatural power and spirituality. They perform *Tongsing* where they link with ancestors and present and give the soul of the dead persons to their forefathers. He has also discussed about the changing heritage of the Limboo community, how they adopted new systems over the period of time.

L. P. Vidyarthi & Binay Kumar Rai’s *Tribal Culture in India* was published on 1976 by concept publishing company New Delhi. This book has been divided into four sections. The first section is basically the introductory part and it has begun with the history of anthropology in India and its development and also about the tribal groups of India. The second section is about the economic, political, social, religious

life of the tribal people. In the third section, the marital life of the tribal people has been discussed and it is also said that polygamy is very few in these groups. The fourth section also deals with the approaches. Some of the approaches discussed by them are Political approach, Administrative approach, Religious, Voluntary Organization approach and some other planning and development programmes. The lives of the tribal people are guided by different spheres of their life. They are not constant, they are continuously facing changes. Traditional process like hindunisation and sanskritisation and modern forces like Christianity, urbanization, industrialization, etc. are most important factor responsible for this change.

Karuna Agarwal in her book *Indian Tribals* is published by Tanmay Books, Allahabad in the year 2010. In the book, Karuna Agarwal has written about the lifestyle, eating habits, customs and lifestyles of various tribals residing in various parts of India like in the states of Sikkim, Kerala, Orissa, Jharkhand, Gujarat, Haryana, Meghalaya, Tripura, etc. apart from that she has also discussed about the education of the tribal population. The education among tribal population is very low because of which these groups are given constitutional status. Various Articles, amendments and special provisions or governmental initiatives for tribal people are also discussed in the second chapter. Unlike Durga P. Chettri, she has also said the education and status of Bhutia communities of Sikkim are far better among various other communities.

Tribal Development in India: A Critical Appraisal is a book by two writers, Prof. Vijay Shankar Upadhyay & Dr. Gaya Pandey, published in the year 2003 by Crown Publications, Ranchi. This book has been started with the concept of Tribal development in India and tribal development from the very beginning during British rule. Various changing approaches, models, constitutions provisions and safeguards for Schedule Tribes are also discussed about. Not only that, various positive and negative impacts of Urbanization and industrialization on Tribal people and their problems are also dealt with in the 5th & 6th chapter. Upadhya & Pandey has also discussed about the medicinal plants used by Tribal people and various movements against plantation, dams and projects, etc. Tribal development programmes and their implement in the various fields in the country are also explained in detail and finally future trends in development, policies and Models are also discussed.

Assertive Identities, Indigeneity, and the Politics of Recognition as a Tribe: The Bhutias, the Lepchas and the Limbus of Sikkim, by Vibha Arora (2007) was published in Indian Sociological Society. This article mostly discusses about the 'politics of identity' and identity politics of being and becoming tribal in India. She has also discussed about how cultural revival took place among some communities to reclaim ethno nationalist belonging of indignity. It has not just revived their cultural identity but also it brought political consciousness among the Lepchas, the Bhutias and the Limboos. She says the demand for recognition as a Schedule Tribes is not a sign of oppression but of political consciousness but on the other hand she also says that the Limboos are politically marginalized in Sikkim and could not bargain effectively.

Chapter 2

THE LIMBOO AND BHUTIA TRIBES IN SIKKIM

This chapter in particular is dealing with the political history, culture, socio economic status, literacy rate among the Limboo and Bhutia Tribal Groups and how it is affecting the political rights of these two tribal groups in socio political context. To understand any problem of study we need to understand the history. So this chapter deals not only with the history but to a political history to understand the issues of Limboo and Bhutia Tribes of Sikkim in a socio political context. Apart from political history it also discusses about the culture of both the Limboo and Bhutia Tribes of sikkim. Their socio economic status literacy rate is also important to understand their social and economic aspects of lives of these communities.

Administrative Division of Sikkim

The state of Sikkim covering an area of 7096 sq km of Indian Union is administratively divided into four districts, namely East, West, North and South. As per the latest Census publication of 2011, the district wise, sex wise, rural and urban breakup of the population of Sikkim is as follows.

Table 2.1: Table Showing District wise, Sex wise, Rural and Urban Breakup of the Population of Sikkim

District	Total Population	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
East	2,83,583	1,51,432	1,32,151	1,61,096	1,22,487
West	1,36,435	70,238	66,197	1,31,187	5,248
North	43,709	24,730	18,979	39,065	4,644
South	1,46,850	76,670	70,180	1,25,651	21,199
Total/State	6,10,577	3,23,070	2,87,507	4,56,999	1,53,578

Source: Census, 2011, Government of India

The total population of Sikkim is 610577, according to 2011 census from which 3,23,070 are males and 2,87,507 are females. East district is most populated district of

Sikkim followed by South and West district and North District is the least populated district of Sikkim. People of Sikkim are mostly settled in rural areas as the number of urban areas in Sikkim is very less.

This study is mostly based on Tribes, so the populations, Literacy Rate, Sex Ratio of Schedule Tribes are given in the table below.

Table 2.2: Table showing Schedule Tribes Population in Sikkim

Year	No HH	Population	Male	Female	Literacy	Sex Ratio
2006	41,200	217,416	111,618	105,798	79.3%	947
2011	44,299	206,360	105,261	101,099	79.4%	960

Source: Socio economic census 2006, Govt. of Sikkim & Scheduled Tribe Population - Census 2011, Govt. of India

From the above table we can see the number of household (HH) has been increased by 3099 households but at the same time population has decreased by 11056 of the total population out of which 6357 are males and 4690 females. Literacy rate has increased only by 0.1% within 5 years but sex ratio has increased from 947 to 960.

Political History

The history of Sikkim before the 17th century is not well documented or in other words, sufficient sources are not available before 17th century. Occidents thinks Sikkim was not politically consolidated until 1642. There were Lepcha, Limboo and Manger Chieftains ruling over the Greater Sikkim²¹ (Subba, 2008). Some lamas²² from Tibet came to Sikkim with the mission to establish Buddhism in Sikkim. It is believed that Guru Rinpoche, a 9th- century Buddhist saint had foretold that a

²¹ Greater Sikkim is a term given to a Sikkim during 1642 to 1733 AD when its territory were till Arun River in the West, Har Chu valley in the east and ...in the south. For further details see Appendix

²² It is the title for a teacher of the Dharma in Tibetan Buddhism. The name is similar to the Sanskrit term guru. Historically, the term was used for venerated spiritual masters or heads of monasteries.

Today the title can be used as an horrific title conferred on a monk or a nun.

Phuntsog from the east would be the next "Chogyal" of Sikkim. In 1642, three lamas went in search for the chosen person and they found a man churning milk near present day Gangtok. He offered them some refreshments and gave them shelter. So the lamas were impressed by his deeds and they realized that he was a chosen one and immediately crowned him king in Yuksom and they established Buddhist monarchy in Sikkim (Rai, 2013). According to Chopel's history, the Bhutanese district of Haa and Samtsee, the four easternmost Limboo principalities of Taplejung, Panchthar, Ilam and Jhapa formed a part of Kingdoms family²³. this is also called as the Greater Sikkim. The Lepcha and Limboo communities accepted the Supremacy of Namgyal Dynaty so they signed the Treaty of Lho Men Tsong Sum (Subba, 2008). After that series of political issues took place in the history of Sikkim.

Phuntsog Namgyal- The rule of monarchy in Sikkim began only after consecration of Phuntsog Namgyal as the first chogyal (monarch) of Sikkim in the year 1642. Phuntsog moved his capital to Yuksam and instituted the first centralised administration. The kingdom was divided into twelve Dzongs, or districts under a Lepcha Dzongpon (governor). Later in the 1670 he was succeeded by his son, Tensung Namgyal.

Tensung Namgyal- Tensung Namgyal succeeded his father Phuntsog Namgyal in 1670 and became second chogyal (monarch) of Sikkim. Sangacholling monastery started by Lha-Tsun was completed during his reign and Pemayongtse monastery was constructed. He also shifted the capital from Yuksom to Rabdentse near Geyzing. He had three wives, the palace was built in the name of his third wife Thungwamukma. She was a daughter of Limboo king Yoyo Hang. The name Sikkim has its roots in this palace, when Thungamukma entered the palace she said "kusong heem" or "Songkheem" which later with the multilingual influence became Sikkim. She had one son and one daughter but it is nowhere in the history mentioned about them (Subba, 2008) (Gurung, 2011). Tensung Namgyal was succeeded by his son Chakdor Namgyal, borne by his second wife in 1700. Dhanraj Rai says, the last son with his third wife "though he is not well known his grandson becomes a king of a small kingdom inside his father's rule" (Rai, 2013). But as Dhanraj says it is not much known about him.

²³ Retrieved from www.darjeeling-unlimited.com/kingdom.html#, 31/10/2015, 6.23 am, Saturday.

Chagdor Namgyal- Chagdor Namgyal was the third Chogyal (king) of Sikkim after succeeding his father Tensung Namgyal in 1700. He was born in 1686 from the second Sikkimese wife of Tensung Namgyal. he was very young when he was put up on the throne. His half-sister Pendi ongmu tried to dethrone Chagdor. The Bhutanese King Dev Zidarr invaded Sikkim and Took possession of East Sikkim. Chagdor Namgyal fled to Lhasa via Ilam after handing over Sikkim Darbar to his Chief Minister Yukthing Arup. The Sikkimese army were not well prepared to encounter external enemy. Later when the Chagdore Namgyal became young man, he presented the case before the Dalai Lama and pleaded him for his assistance. As a result, Dalai Lama wrote a letter to the Bhutanese King requesting him to withdrew Bhutanese force from Sikkim. So the King withdrew the Bhutanese solders from Sikkim. As soon as the Bhutanese withdrew he came back to Sikkim and took charge of his kingdom. Later he developed Lepcha script called "Rong Chhyo", composed religious Dance Rong-Chham in honor of "Thakpo" (warlike demons). His contribution did not end there; he completely devoted himself in religion. He funded the Pemayanchi monastery for the pure lamas. The establishment was consist of 108 monks, he himself was the head of the monks. He also made a rule to depute second son of every Bhutia family for Buddhist learning (Lama) and also wrote a book on monastic discipline called "Chaga-Yig". He succeeded himself by Gyurmed Namgyal in 1717 (Subba, 2008).

Gyurmed Namgyal- Gyurmed Namgyal was the fourth Chogyal (king) of Sikkim, he succeeded Chagdor Namgyal at the age of ten in 1717. He married Mingyur Paldon from Tibet, ""Mindoling" in 1721. Their marriage could not be a happy marriage because of the coldness of their feelings towards each other. Later she returned back to Tibet " Mindoling" (Subba, 2008). He ruled over 17 years and was succeeded himself by Phuntsog Namgyal II in 1733. During his reign Sikkim was attacked by Nepal and lost its territory Limbuwan permanently to Nepal (Rai, 2013).

Phuntsog Namgyal II- Phuntsog Namgyal II was the fifth Chogyal (king) of Sikkim. He succeeded Gyurmed Namgyal in 1733 and was succeeded himself by Tenzing Namgyal in 1780. During his reign, he introduced annual taxation in Sikkim and fixed revenue system on forest produce (Bahpa,Zolung) and custom or income tax (Tshong-Skyed). Changzod Temding of the Tsechudar family refuse to acknowledge the

legitimacy of Phuntsog Namgyal, he declared himself the Gyalpo²⁴ and sat on the Throne.

In 1741 A.D., a learned Limboo man Known as "Sirijunga Tyeongsi" of the Yangwarok district of North Limbuwan revived "Sirijunga" Script and started teaching Limboo language to all the people of Limbuwan, and different parts of West Sikkim. But the Tibetan Lamas stood against his activity and put him under arrest. They bounded him to a tree and Shoot him cruelly to death (Subba, 2008). As a result, the Limboos of Northern Limbuwan rose against the Sikkimese Chogyal. Changzod Karwang Barphong, a Lepcha minister also raised the Lepcha solders against the Temding Gyalpo since they were not happy with the King. So with the help of each other, the Limboo and the Lepcha declared war against Bhutia ruler. Though Tamding Gyalpo's forces were strong but could not stand before the combined force and had to fled away towards Tibet. So Changzod Karwang Barphong placed Phuntsog Namgyal on the throne.

Again Tsong uprising took place during 1752 but were suppressed by giving them royal proclamation:

"The Tsongs or Subba or Limboo Chiefs are hereby authorized to rule their district under the title of " Subhas " with all the facilities of enjoying their Tribal rites in social and religious functions by beating the royal band called Nagara²⁵" (Subba, 2008)

The reign of Phuntsog Namgyal saw many threats, there were frequent war. The people were sometime subject of Gorkhas, sometime of Bhutan and sometime subject of the Chogyal of Sikkim. So they migrated from one place to another and settled with their convenience.

Tenzing Namgyal- The sixth Chogyal of Sikkim was Tenzing Namgyal. He was born on 1769 from the third Queen ok King Phuntsog and succeeded his father in 1780. During his reign, Nepal's kingdom (Shah Dynasty) attacked Sikkim. This ended by the signing of peace-treaty between China and Nepal in 1791. Thereafter, the number

²⁴ King from Bhutia Language is called Gyalpo.

²⁵ Nagera is a traditional drum made out of copper and Cattle Skin with single hand played out with the playing instrument made out of wood.

of Nepalese increased significantly in Sikkim (Mukherjee, n.d.). Tenzing Namgyal fled to Tibet and died in Lhasa in 1793 and was succeeded himself by Tsugphud Namgyal in the same year.

Tshudpud Namgyal- He was king of Sikkim from 1793–1863. He moved the capital from Rapdantse to Tumlong in 1814 because of its close proximity to Nepal, he was harassed with the frequent attacks. His reign also witnessed the penetration of British power (Subba, 2008). The Anglo Gorkha War in the beginning of nineteenth century turned a new phase in the history of Sikkim and thereby the signing of the treaty Treaty of Sugauli²⁶ between Nepal and East India Company in 1815. It was followed by another treaty called Treaty of Titaliya²⁷ in 1816 between Sikkim and East India Company. Thus the year 1816 also landmarked the year of relationship between British and Sikkim or otherwise the British influence in Sikkim (Mukherjee, n.d.). Later Chogyal Tshudpud Namgyal died in the year 1863.

Sidkeong Namgyal- Sidkeong Namgyal was king of Sikkim from 1863 to 1874. He was son of Tsudphud Namgyal and was succeeded by his half-brother Thutob Namgyal. During his reign, he resolved the growing dispute between Sikkim and Tibet and also resolved two minor disputes with Bhutan. He died on 1874 (Subba, 2008).

Thutob Namgyal- After succeeding his half brother Sidkeong Namgyal he was the ruling Chogyal till 1914. Britishers started intervening especially issues related to the differences between Nepalese settlers and indigenous population. Claude White was appointed as political officer in 1889 and the Chogyal was put under his supervision. He shifted the capital from Tumlong to Gangtok in 1894. He died in 1914 and was succeeded by his son, Sidkeong Tulku Namgyal. The Sir Thutob Namgyal Memorial (STNM) Hospital in Gangtok was built in memory of him in 1917(Mukherjee, n.d.).

²⁶ This treaty is famously known as the treaty for establishing boundary line of Nepal signed on 2nd December 1815. Until the treaty was signed, the territory of Nepal also included Darjeeling to the south-east, whole of Sikkim to the East, whole of Mithila to South, Nainital to the south-west and Kumaon Kingdom, Gadhwal Kingdom and Bashahar to the west. Retrieved from en.wikipedia.org/.../Treaty_of_Saugali on 15/1/16.

²⁷ The treaty guaranteed the security of Sikkim By the British and returned Sikkimese land annexed by the Nepalese over the centuries. Retrieved from en.wikipedia.org/.../Treaty_of_Titalia on 15/1/16.

Sidkeong Tulku Namgyal- Sidkeong Tulku Namgyal was the Tenth king of Sikkim. But he could rule only for the ten months from February to December 1914. He was succeeded by his half brother Tashi Namgyal when he died from heart failure in the same year 1914 (Risley, 1989).

Tashi Namgyal- Tashi Namgyal ruled Sikkim for about 50 years from 1914 to 1963. He was the son of Thutob Namgyal. Tashi Namgyal was the 11th ruler of the Namgyal dynasty of Sikkim, succeeding his half-brother Sidkeong Tulku Namgyal. He has a closer link with India. His eldest son died in plane crash so his second son Palden Thondup Namgyal became the king of Sikkim. Land reforms and free elections in Sikkim was done during his kingship (Rai, 2013). It is also said that he favored close relationship between British India, Sikkim and Tibet. His reign saw many social and economic reforms in Sikkim. Chief Court was setup in 1916 and full time judge appointed, later he established high court in 1955. Separation of higher judiciary from executive was also done. The judicial and magisterial functions of Landlords were completely abolished by 1948. He also took measures to eradicate social evils like, he made public gambling illegal in 1921 and the use of unpaid labor was prohibited in the year 1924 (Subba, 2008). The use of "Jharlangi"²⁸ was curtailed in 1945 and the landlords were forbidden the use of "jharlangi" from peasants in 1946. In 1947, another form of obliged labor known as "Kuruwa" was also abolished. He also started Sikkim Nationalized Transport. His reign saw all round development in all the fields like economic, social, political and cultural. After his death son Palden Thondup Namgyal became the last Chyogal of Sikkim. Prime Minister Lendup Dorji appealed to India to change the status of Sikkim from protectorate to statehood (Risley, 1989).

Palden Thondup Namgyal- He was the 12th and last Chogyal (king) of Sikkim. Namgyal served as adviser for internal affairs for his father and the negotiating team which established Sikkim's relationship to India after independence in 1949. He married twice, after the death of the first Tibetan wife he married Hope Crooke from California. Shortly after their marriage his father died and he was crowned the new Chogyal in 1965 (Rai, 2013). During his reign, 3 hospitals, 12 dispensaries and many schools were established in Sikkim. A dispute aroused between the people and the

²⁸ A form of paid conscripted labor for government work.

Chogyal administration on Council's election of 1973, the people were demanding "one man one vote". The Chogyal sought a help of Indian government, as a result, Government of India through constitutional Amendment of 1974 provided "Associate Status" to Sikkim. In 1975, Sikkim became a 22nd state of India and finally the monarchy abolished (Subba, 2008). Later Palden Thondup Namgyal died of cancer in New York City, in the United States on January 29, 1982. Wangchuk Namgyal, born from his first marriage, was named the 13th Chogyal, but the position no longer confers any official authority (Rai, 2013).

Culture

Sikkim is a multicultural state where different ethnic groups practice their own cultures, customs, traditions, etc. since long generation back. The multicultural character of the state has made them unique in all the aspects. Different communities have managed to preserve their rich and distinct culture, Limboo and Bhutia tribes are one among those. Both the tribal groups have their distinct culture which are being practiced since time immemorial.

Limboo

By faith, by belief and by religion Limboos are different from all other communities. They are animist²⁹ by faith and religion, they have their mythology, they believes on theological gods and goddesses and the philosophy and teaching based on "Mundhum"³⁰ (Khamdhak). According to Chyatna Subba, "*mundhums* are the source of inspirations, information, and enlightenment for the way of life, customs and rites-de-passage are guided by it" (Subba, 1995). The life of an individual starts from the

²⁹ Animism is used as a religion for the believe system of some indigenou tribal people, especially prior to the development of organized religion. Although, each culture has its own mythologies and rituals, animism is said to describe the most common foundational thread of indigenou peoples' spiritual or supernatural perspective.

³⁰ Mundhum evolves tremendous exercise of memory power, command of Language and the use of poetic and classical devices like phrases, rhythm and rhymes an important source of information of the prehistoric era. Khamdhak B. L. (n.d.). Tribal Limboos of Sikkim and their Culture. Retrieved August 23, 2015 from buddhilkhamdhak.blogspot.com: <http://www.buddhilkhamdhak.blogspot.com>

mother's womb where they practice "*Sapok Chomen*" which means ceremonies preceding the birth, it is done when women are more than 5 months pregnant. After taking birth in the world "*Yangdang Phongma*" basically means naming of a child is done when they give name to a child. There after "*Mangena*" which means warding off evil influences is done by the *fedangbas* (Limboo Priests). There are many systems or rituals to be performed in between but when the child reaches adulthood and when he/she get married, the priests performs the wedding ceremony. "*Nahangma*" which means anointing the family head is also practiced by the Limboo Tribes. Finally after the death of an individual death rites are also performed by the priests who believe in supernatural power and spirituality. They perform "*Tongsing*" where they link with ancestors and present and give the soul of the dead persons to their forefathers.

Limboos are very rich in oral literature but as far as written language is concerned, it is very new. They are also very rich in customs, traditions and festivals. The rites and rituals govern the life of Limboos and the customs govern the social relationships. There are various customs of limboos, some of those are: "*Chokphung thim*"- it is a ritual of adopting some members of another nationality or tribe or clan into one's group or clan. "*Samyuk Lung*"- it is a ritual of solemn promise and confession. "*Sobu*" (*bond friendship*) - it is a special relationship between the two member of different ethnic group. "*Phudong and Henamepma*"- Limboo have special way of extending hospitality to the guests, if guests are close relatives they are provided with Phudong, offering a ceremoniously slaughtered animal. The custom of Henamepma is similar to a toast proposal or a kind of thanks giving. There are various festivals celebrated by limboos mostly based on the season like "*Chesok- Thisok*" (offering of food grains when it gets ripe), "*Kokphetla Teyan*" (1st day of the month of Kokphetla i.e. mid January), "*Sisekla Teyyen*" (1st of the month of Sisekla i.e. mid of the july), etc.

Subba believes that the process of Hundunisation took place and even Buddhism was trying to influence the Limboo Culture but it could affect very little because of huge number of population (Subba, 1998).

Costumes

Limboos male wear "paga" as a head gear, "*Sardokpa*" (upper body dress), muffler, coat, shirt, west coat, waist belt, "Sumba" (lower body dress), stockings, hand gloves,

shoes, etc. The Limboo female wear "*Sumjangwa*" (sleeveless dress commonly used today as Limboo dress covering till toe), "*Sunghamba*" (Blouse), "*Mekhlee*" (upper body dress), "*Hembaree*" (Breast Shawl), "*Phaoee*" (Patuki), "*Poothang*" (Shawl), "*Thakumey*" (Common shawl), "*Chungloghek*" (Blouse), "*Sim*" (Saree), stockings, shoes, hand gloves, etc. In ornaments, the Limboo male wear gold or silver earring, chain, finger ring, golden teeth, etc. The Limboo females wear, "*Nessey*" (Golden Cheptey sun), "*Nekhofung*" (golden ear ring), "*Thungri*" (Nose dhungri), "*Mundri*" (Golden bulaki), golden teeth, "*samyangphung*" (gold sirbaandi), "*Namloyee*" (Silver Chandrahara), "*Yangyichhi*" (Silver coin Raizee), "*Sikri*" (gold chain), "*Hukpangi*" (Silver chura), "*Langbangi*" (Silver kalli), "*swagep*" (ring), etc (Subba, 2008).

Food

The Limboos are non vegetarians, they mostly eat pork followed by buff, chicken, mutton depending on "*thar*" (Clan). Some thars are prohibited to eat some meats like, "Khewa thars" doesn't eat chicken, "Nembang thars" doesn't eat mutton, "Mangyung thars" doesn't eat buff, etc. Rice is their staple food, they use mustard oil and pig fats for cooking. They also prepare fermented beer and wine. They also consume various kinds of roots such as sweet potato, cassava, greater yam, etc. also various kinds of seasonal fruits and vegetables. "*Chyakhla ko bhat*"³¹, "*Dhiro*"³², "*Poponda*"³³, "*Lungdhakcha*"³⁴, "*Sigolya or penagolya*"³⁵, "*Kangba*"³⁶, "*Pena Manda*"³⁷, "*Khareng*"³⁸ are the food items used by Limboo communities. There are different curry items like, fermented soybean popularly known as "*Kinima*", "*Yangben*"³⁹, pork sousses, nettle curry, mushroom curry, fern curry, bamboo shoot, etc. Some of the "achar" items are "achar" of "Philingey", "achar" of perila seed, "achar" of soybean, "achar" of pumpkin seed, fermented bamboo shoot, etc (Subba, 2008).

³¹ Food cooked out of crushed maize grains are called Chyakhla ko bhat.

³² Food cooked out of Maize or Finger Millet flour are called Dhero.

³³ Bread of finger millet, maize or wheat flour cooked under burning fire are called poponda.

³⁴ Food prepared from freshly harvested maize flour wrapped in maize husk is called Lunghakcha.

³⁵ Food prepared out of Barely or finger millet flour, made into lumps and cooked are called Sigolya or penagolya.

³⁶ Wheat barely lumps put into rice and cooked are called Kangba.

³⁷ Food prepared like soup out of finger millet flour is called pena manda.

³⁸ Roti out of finger millet, barely or maize flour prepared on tawa is called khareng.

³⁹ Curry prepared out of Lichen collected from the trees id called yangben.

Languages

Limboo language is one of the section of Tibeto-Burman language groups. The Limboo language is written in a Limboo script or "Sirijunga" script. It is believed that King Sirijunga developed the script from mount Kanchenjunga. After 800 years Tyeongsi Sirijunga started teaching Limboo language but was assassinated. It was only in 1968 the Chogyal of Sikkim gave permission to teach Limboo language up to class II. Slowly and gradually Limboo language started developing. It is also recognized as one of the official language of the State of Sikkim in 1981. Today students can read and write Limboo language till graduation level in Sikkim (Subba, 2008).

Bhutia

The Bhutias are Buddhist by religion. Similar to the Limboo communities the Bhutia communities has their own way of rituals or rites of life cycle. During pregnancy there is no restrictions on women. After the birth of a baby, the mother and the baby are cleaned and kept in a separate room and after three days purification of mother and the child is done by the priest or lama. This ceremony is also known by the ceremony of the naming of a child which is called "*Phangsang*" or "*Phyakay*" in Bhutia language (Subba, 2008). When the child reach adulthood and when he is capable of marriage, the uncle of bridegroom accompanied by few villagers visits the girls house to seek her hand. And thereafter there will be a system called "khachang" when the daughter is handed over by her parents. The grooms family have to fulfill all the demands made by the bride's family. finally after many ceremonies there will be the final weeding ceremony which is called as "Ngen-Chang Thung". When a person dies, for Bhutia communities it is not the end but the step for reincarnation so they perform prayers in such a way that transformation happens in most favorable way. The prayer is performed by the lamas. It is believed that between death and rebirth, there is intermediate state and that could last till 49 days, the period is known by "Bardo Thol" in Buddhism. On the 49th day the ritual of "Bardo Thol" is performed by the lamas (Mukherjee, n.d.).

Costumes

The Bhutias wear "*Kho*", a long sleeved coat with a belt locally called "*Bokhu*" for male and females wear sleeveless "*Kho*" with the *Hanju*⁴⁰. The male also wear shirt underneath "*bokhu*" along woolen caps. At the lower part of the body they wear pants with boots. The females also wear cap and scarf to cover head, muffler on the neck, jackets and shoes (Subba, 2008). Jewellery are the value adding to the beauty of women and every woman love jewellery. Bhutia women mostly use Tibetan type ornaments like necklace studded with costly stones. "*Dhow*" and "*Zi*" us one of the most precious and sacred stone. They use earrings, bracelets, necklaces of various designs (Mukherjee, n.d.).

Food

The traditional food of Bhutia include "*tsampa*", "*thukpa*", "*dezi*" and "*momo*". Most of the Bhutia are non vegetarian, they eat beef, pork, chicken, mutton, buff, fish, egg, yak meat etc. Their stable diet is rice with meat but also take seasonal fruits and vegetables. Dried meat is mostly loved by the people. Apart from this, they also make snacks like "*Khabse*" and homemade wine popularly known in Sikkim as "*raksi*" or "*chang*" are taken both by adults and children. For mid day refreshment they also take fried maize, flat rice and flat maize, "*murai*", etc.

Language

The Bhutia speak their own language among themselves, it is one of the oldest spoken language. Tibetan language was the official language used during Namgyal dynasty but with the merger with the Indian Union, the State Assembly adopted the Sikkim Language Act where Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali were recognized as state language in 1977, they felt the need of writing. The Text Book unit of the Department of Education, Government of Sikkim took the charge of writing books. Gradually with the immense contribution of various writers, they had prepared text books till graduation. The students can pursue Bachelors degree in their own language.

⁴⁰ Hanju is a blouse with long sleeves worn by females with bokhu.

Socio Economic Status

The socio economic status of a particular community plays a vital role in the development and in bringing awareness to a community. But the community wise socio economic census in Sikkim was published for the first time in 2006. In 1891, for the first time, a rough population census data was prepared according to which the population of Limboo and Bhutia communities were as follows.

Table 2.3: Population of Limboo & Bhutia Communities, 1891.

Community	Male	Female	Children	Total
Limboo	1,255	1,159	942	3,356
Bhutia	1,966	1,960	968	4,894

Source: H. H. Risley: The Gazetteer of Sikkim, 1989.

The Table No. 2.3 above shows the population of Limboo and Bhutia communities of 1891. This was the first census done on community basis during Namgyal dynasty. According to the table, there were only 1,255 male, 1,159 female and 942 children altogether 3,356 only total Limboo population. The Bhutia population were 1,966 males, 1,960 females and 968 children altogether 4,894 people in 1891 in Sikkim. But census on community basis was not done till 2006.

If we look into the socio economic status of Limboo and Bhutia communities, according to 2006 socio economic census report, there is a vast difference between the two. The table below describes the socio economic status in detail.

Table 2.4: Socio Economic Status of Limboo and Bhutia Communities, 2006.

Community	Population			Sex	Household		
	Total	Male	Female	Ratio	Total	APL	BPL
Limboo	56650	29343	27307	931	10672	7598	3074
Bhutia	76070	38891	37179	956	14769	12672	2097

Source: State Socio-Economic Census, 2006, Government of Sikkim.

The above table shows population, sex ratio and household of the Limboo and Bhutia communities. The population of Limboo communities is increased to 56650 out of which 29343 are males and 27303 are female. The Bhutia population has also increased to 76070 out of which 38891 are males and 37179 are females. If we look into the Sex ratio, the ratio of Limboo tribal groups are low in comparison to Bhutia tribal groups. The sex ratio of Bhutia tribal groups are 956/1000 whereas in comparison to Bhutia Tribal groups limbo communities have just 931/1000. Apart from this, household of Limboo Tribal groups who are Above Poverty Line are very less in comparison to Bhutia Tribal groups and the Below Poverty Line household of Limboo tribal groups are high. This, however, shows the low socio economic profile of Limboo tribal groups in comparison to Bhutia tribal groups.

Even if we look into the profile of Limboo household and their total income or the people engaged in employment, the percentage is very less.

Table 2.5: Limboo Households by Economic Categories, 1994-95

Households income per annum	Limboo Households (Absolute)	Percentage of Limboo household categories	Total Household (Absolute)	Percentage
Below Rs. 4000/-	2592	37.80	18,655	29.20
Below Rs. 6000/-	3662	53.52	28,933	45.20
Below Rs. 8500/-	4775	69.79	38,869	60.84
Below Rs. 11,000/-	5496	80.32	46,581	72.92
Below Rs. 20,000/-	6260	91.94	55,258	86.51
Below Rs. 50,000/-	6801	99.40	62,747	98.22
Above Rs. 50,000/-	41	0.06	1,131	1.77
Total	6842	-	63,878	-

Source⁴¹ - (Gurung S. K., 2011, p. 131).

Table 2.6: Employment Survey of Limboos in Sikkim Government 1994-95

Employment Class	Limboos	Others	Total	Limboo Employees (%)	Others (%)
Class I Officer	7	352	359	0.03	1.95
Class II Officer	33	750	783	0.18	4.14
Class III Employee	524	9,183	9,707	2.89	50.74
Class IV Employee	450	6,797	7,247	2.48	37.56
Total	1014	17,082	18,096	5.60	94.40

Source- (Subba J. R., The Limboos of the Eastern Himalayas: With Special Reference to Sikkim, 1999, p. 179)⁴²

⁴¹ Original Source- Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Sikkim, 1994-95, Gangtok.

⁴² Original Source- Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Sikkim, 1994-95, Gangtok.

From the above table 2.5 and table 2.6 we can see the low economic background as compared to the state as a whole. The household income above 50,000 per annum is very less, only 41 absolute household whereas the household with annual income with less than 50,000 is very high. The same is the situation of grade of employees too, the employee who are in 3rd and 4th grade job are very high whereas first class and second class employees are very less within the Limboo communities.

If we look into the bureaucrats of Sikkim on ethnic background, the Table 2.7 below shows the report of 1999 and 2005 respectively.

Table 2.7: Ethnic Background of bureaucrats in Sikkim- 1999 & 2005

Ethnic Communities	Number of Cadres and Percentage							
	1999				2005			
	IAS	IPS	IFS	TOTAL	IAS	IPS	IFS	TOTAL
Lepchas	-	-	-	-	01 (2.1)	-	-	01
Bhutias	12 (44.5)	04 (17.4)	05 (21.7)	21	13 (28.3)	03 (12.0)	05 (17.8)	21
Nepalis	06 (22.2)	05 (21.7)	06 (26.1)	17	9 (19.6)	4 (16.0)	6 (21.4)	19
Sherpas	-	-	-	-	01 (2.1)	-	-	01
Others	09 (33.3)	14 (60.9)	12 (52.2)	35	22 (47.8)	18 (72.0)	17 (60.7)	57
Total	27	23	23	73	46	25	28	99

Source: (Gurung, 2011, p. 111)⁴³

From the above Table No. 2.7 we can see the no of cadres in Sikkim. Bhutia communities has good number of cadres. But if we look into Nepali community as a

⁴³ Original Source- Department of Personal & Administrative Reform & Training, Govt. of Sikkim, December 1999 & August 2005.

whole there were only 17 and 19 cadres in the year 1999 and 2005 respectively. So the comparison with Limboo communities is almost like null.

Education

Education plays vital role in the development of community, state or a nation. The Oxford dictionary defines education as "the process of teaching and learning, the training in the particular subject" (Hawker, 2010). Encyclopedia defines education as "the process of changing one's attitude and code of conduct..."

In Sikkim modern education began only with the entry of missionaries in the year 1830 onwards. they established number of schools all over Sikkim. Later, with the merger with Indian Union in 1975, the department of education took number of steps for the improvement of education. In fact, the year 1975 may be considered as a landmark for the educational development in Sikkim. The formal educational institutions have also increased now. In 1975 there were only 264 institutions which increased to 501 in 1980 and 999 in 1986. By 1996-7 the number has increased to 1559.

Table 2.8: Literacy Rate of Limboo and Bhutia Tibes in Sikkim.

Si. No.	Community	Literacy Rate		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Limboo	83.19	69.32	76.52
2	Bhutia	86.88	75.03	81.09
3	State	86.04	74.76	80.66

Source: State Socio Economic Census, 2006, Government of Sikkim.

From the above Table No. 2.8 we can see the literacy rate of both the communities. Bhutia tribes have somehow maintained the equilibrium with the State whereas

Limboo Tribes are still behind. More than that, female literacy rate is not in par with male in the state like Sikkim where women are given 50% reservation in all the fields.

Limboo community being the minority community was dominated by the ruling class from the very beginning of the history. Though the treaty of *Lho Men Tsong Sum* represent them equally but has been discussed earlier they were never appointed as "Dzongpons" in the whole 333 years of kingship. Whenever they were imposed high tax, equal with Nepali community, they paid without any hesitation. They sold their land when they were not in a position to pay tax rather than voicing against it. It was only in the year 1958, I. P. Limboo was nominated as councilor and later in 1968 one Tsong (Limboo) seat was given to them. But after the establishment of democratic government and merging with India, the Limboo community was clubbed with Nepali community. Many scholars think that with the merger of Sikkim with India, they lose their aboriginal status. It is somehow correct when we look from narrow view but in broader aspect, within 333 years of Namgyal Dynasty there is not even single evidence which can prove they demanded equal status on the basis of treaty of *Lho Men Tsong Sum*. After the merger with Indian Union Bhutia and Lepchas were included into tribal list in 1978 and the Limboo and Tamangs in 2002. Both the Central Government and State Government have made various provisions and taken various initiatives for the uplift men of the tribal people. The next chapter discuss about the governmental initiatives towards tribes in India in general and Sikkim in particular.

Chapter 3

GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES TOWARDS TRIBES IN SIKKIM

This chapter seeks to understand the government initiatives towards tribal groups of Sikkim. All the governmental initiatives towards tribes in Sikkim will be analyzed in the chapter 4 according to the responses of the people of Sikkim. It also tries to understand whether these policies are sufficient to ensure inclusive growth. At the same time, various pros and cons of these governmental initiatives are discussed in this chapter.

Measures for Tribal Development

Special economic development of the Scheduled Tribes and protection against their exploitation has been an important agenda of the Government. To ensure this government of India has made many constitutional mandates and translated into various policies and programmes and put into effective action, high priority for the welfare and development of Scheduled Tribes had been made right from the beginning of the First Five Year Plan⁴⁴ 1951-56 (Ministry of Tribal Affairs).

Constitutional provisions and Safeguards for Scheduled Tribes

The Constitution of India refers to the Indian tribal people as the Scheduled Tribes (STs). The Constitution, adopted and enacted in 1950, is based on the principles of equality and guarantees equality before law and equal protection to all its citizens which definitely includes Schedule Tribes as well. It not only guarantees fundamental rights and freedoms, but also prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth. Recognizing the special needs of various weaker sections including STs, the Constitution also enjoins upon the State to make special provisions of affirmative discrimination for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes. These constitutional provisions have replaced the British policy of isolation and non-interference by a policy of inclusion and

⁴⁴ The First Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru presented the five year plan to the parliament of India. It was launched in 1951 which mainly focused on the development of a primary sector. The total planned budget was Rs. 2096 crore among which 27.2% was for the agriculture and community development.

integration through development (Chettri, 2013). The framers of the Constitution of India have incorporated several provisions which are meant for the welfare and development of the tribal groups in India. Some of the important constitutional provisions for STs are as follows (Basu, 2009):

Article 15 (4): The State to make special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

The constitution of India gives special provision to the socially and educationally backward classes like SCs and STs for their advancement and all-round development of the community. No one shall be discriminated on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 16 (1): Equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

Article 16 of Indian Constitution gives equality of opportunity to all the citizens of India in an appointment to any office under the state or public employment irrespective of Caste, Sex, religion, etc.

Article 16 (4): The State to make provisions for reservation in appointment, posts in favour of any backward class citizens, which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

The state can make provisions of reservation in appointment of any posts of any backward class citizens of the state.

Article 16 (4A): The State to make provisions in matters of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 46: The State, to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of

the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and protects them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

The Article 46 of Indian Constitution gives promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation

Article 164 (1): In the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes or any other work.

The chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister, and the Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor: Provided that in the State of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and backward classes or any other work.

Article 243 D: Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every Panchayat.

Panchayat means an institution of self government constituted for the rural areas. The SCs and STs are given reservation in every panchayat so that they can be par with all other communities.

Article 243 (T): Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every Municipality.

(1) Seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every Municipality and the number of seats so reserved shall bear the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Municipality as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the Municipal area or of the Scheduled Tribes in the Municipal area bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.

(2) Not less than one third of the total number of seats reserved under clause (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes or, as the case may be, the Scheduled Tribes.

(3) Not less than one third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality.

(4) The offices of Chairpersons in the Municipalities shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.

(5) The reservation of seats under clauses (1) and (2) and the reservation of offices of Chairpersons (other than the reservation for women) under clause (4) shall cease to have effect on the expiration of the period specified in article 334.

(6) Nothing in this Part shall prevent the Legislature of a State from making any provision for reservation of seats in any Municipality or offices of Chairpersons in the Municipalities in favour of backward class of citizens.

Article 244 (1): Provisions as to the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any state other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram (Fifth Schedule).

The provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the States of Assam Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

Article 244 (2): Provisions as to the administration of Tribal Areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram (Sixth Schedule).

If there are different Scheduled Tribes in an autonomous district, the Governor may, by public notification, divide the area or areas inhabited by them into autonomous regions.

Article 275 (1): Provision for payment of grants-in-aid to enable the States to meet the cost of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the States with the approval of the Government of India for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in that State or raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas therein to that of the administration of the rest of the areas of that State.

Parliament may by law provide shall be charged on the Consolidated Fund of India in each year as grants in aid of the revenues of such States as Parliament may determine to be in need of assistance, and different sums may be fixed for different States. Provided that there shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India as grants in aid of the revenues of a State such capital and recurring sums as may be necessary to enable that State to meet the costs of such schemes of development as may be undertaken by the State with the approval of the Scheduled Tribes in that State.

Article 330: Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People (Lok Sabha).

The Article 330 of Constitution of India gives reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People (Lok Sabha) except the Scheduled Tribes in the autonomous districts of Assam.

Article 332: Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

The Article 332 of the Constitution of India gives reservation of seats for STs and SCs in Legislative Assemblies of states. The various sub clauses of the Article are given below:

(1) Seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, except the Scheduled Tribes in the tribal areas of Assam, in Nagaland and in Meghalaya, in the Legislative Assembly of every State.

(2) Seats shall be reserved also for the autonomous districts in the Legislative Assembly of the State of Assam.

(3) The number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of

seats in the Assembly as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State or part of the State, as the case may be, in respect of which seats are so reserved bears to the total population of the State.

(4) The number of seats reserved for an autonomous district in the legislative Assembly of the State of Assam shall bear to the total number of seats in that Assembly a proportion not less than the population of the district bears to the total population of the State.

(5) The constituencies for the seats reserved for any autonomous district of Assam shall not comprise any area outside that district.

(6) No person who is not a member of a Scheduled Tribe of any autonomous district of the State of Assam shall be eligible for election to the Legislative Assembly of the State from any constituency of that district.

Article 335: The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State to be taken into consideration consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration.

The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.

Article 338 A: A National Commission for Scheduled Tribes to investigate, monitor and evaluate all matters relating to the Constitutional safeguards provided for the Scheduled Tribes.

There shall be a Special Officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under this Constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament.

Article 339: Control of the Union over the administration of Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

The executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to a State as to the drawing up and execution of schemes specified in the direction to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the State.

Article 339 (1): Appointment of a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States.

The President may at any time and shall, at the expiration of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution by order appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of this Scheduled Tribes in the States. The order may define the composition, powers and procedure of the Commission and may contain such incidental or ancillary provisions as the President may consider necessary or desirable.

Article 340: Appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations to remove such difficulties and to improve their conditions.

The President may by order appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition and as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any State the conditions subject to which such grants should be made, and the order appointing such Commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission. A Commission so appointed shall investigate the matters referred to them and present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper. The President shall cause a copy of the report so presented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken thereon to be laid before each House of Parliament.

Article 342: To specify the tribes or tribal communities to be Scheduled Tribes. In addition to the above constitutional provisions, there are numbers of laws both Central and State, which provide protection and safeguards for the interest of the Scheduled Tribes.

The President may with respect to any State or Union territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union territory. Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes or any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community.

On the basis of these constitutional provisions various programmes and policies have been framed by the government for the development of tribal population of the country. The chief measures regarding tribal development initiated by the Central Government are as follows (Ministry of Tribal Affairs):

1. Representation in Legislatures and Panchayats

The Constitution of India prescribes protection and safeguards for Scheduled Tribes with the object of promoting their educational and economic interests. Under Article 330 and 332 of the Indian Constitution, seats have been reserved for Scheduled Tribes in Lok Sabha and state Vidhan Sabhas. With the introduction of Panchayati Raj system in India, suitable safeguards have been provided for proper representation of the members of the Scheduled Tribes by reserving seats for them in the Gram Panchayats, Block Panchayats, and District Panchayats etc.

2. Reservation in the Services

Government has made provisions for their adequate representation in the services. To facilitate their adequate representation certain concessions have been provided, such as:

- (i) Exemption in age limits,
- (ii) Relaxation in the standard of suitability

- (iii) Inclusion at least in the lower category for purpose of promotion is otherwise through qualifying examinations.

3. Administration of Scheduled and Tribal Areas

The Fifth Schedule of the Constitution provides for the setting up a Tribes' Advisory Council in each of the States having Scheduled Areas. According to this provision, Tribes' Advisory Councils have been set up so far in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The duty of these Councils is to advise the Government on such matters concerning the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and development of Scheduled Areas. Advisory Boards for the Scheduled Tribes have been set up in Assam, Kerala and Mysore to advise the State Governments. Tribes' Advisory Committees have also been formed in the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Island, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura.

4. Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes

Under Article 338 of Indian Constitution a Commissioner has been appointed by the President of India. The main duty of the Commissioner is (i) to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution and (ii) to report the President on working of these safeguards.

5. Welfare Department in the States

Under Article 164 (i) of the Constitution there is a provision of Welfare Department in the States of Indian Union. In Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, Welfare Departments in the charge of a Minister have been set up. Welfare Departments have been set up in these States as well as in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Kerala; Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and Sikkim.

6. Educational Facilities

Measures to provide educational facilities have been taken by the Government. Emphasis is being laid on vocational and technical training. According to these

measures, concessions, stipends, scholarships, books, stationery and other equipments are provided. Residential schools have been set up for the tribal people.

7. Scholarships

The Central Government awards scholarships to deserving students for higher studies in foreign countries. Seventeen and half per cent of the merit scholarships are granted by the Centre, to deserving students of lower income groups.

8. Economic Opportunities

A large number of tribal people practice shifting cultivation. This problem is in critical form in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Manipur and Tripura. A scheme to control shifting cultivation has been started.

Besides this, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh have launched schemes to improve irrigation facilities to reclaim waste land and to distribute it among members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. In addition, facilities for the purchase of livestock, fertilizer, agricultural equipment, better seeds are also provided to them. Cattle breeding and poultry farming are also being encouraged among these people.

The Governments of different States are encouraging the development of cottage industries by providing loans and subsidies through various schemes. Multipurpose co-operative societies which provide credit in cash and kind to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been established in various States such as Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Orissa etc.

9. Tribal Research Institute

Tribal and Harijan Research Institutes, which undertake intensive studies of tribal arts, culture and customs have been set up in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The Indian Constitution has made important provisions for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. The Central Government and State Governments have made incessant effort in the direction of tribal welfare. Special programmes for

their welfare and development have been undertaken in the successive Five Year Plans.

Tribal Development Programmes in Sikkim

Sikkim is a multi ethnic state comprising of more than 20 different groups among which Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali are predominant groups (Northeast rural Livelihood Project, 2011). Bhutia and Lepcha were recognized as Schedule Tribes by the SC/ST (Sikkim) Order Act of 1978 Limboo and Tamang were recognized as ST only by the SC/ST Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002 (Gurung, 2011). Accordingly, there are four Tribal groups in Sikkim. There are many tribal development programmes for the tribal population in Sikkim. Some of the Tribal development programmes implemented in Sikkim are as follows:

1) Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) & Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCSP)

The Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) was launched in the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) for direct benefits of STs in India. The Tribal Sub-Plan for the Scheduled Tribes was designed to channelize the flow of outlays and benefits from the general sectors in the plans of the States and Union Territories (UTs) and Central Ministries in proportion to their population both in physical and financial terms. It is an umbrella under which all schemes implemented by the States and Central Governments are dovetailed for addressing different needs of the Scheduled Tribes (Lal, n.d.).

In Sikkim, TSP was implemented by Welfare Department it is implemented in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85). The basic objective of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) is to channelize the flow of outlays and benefits from the general sectors of the State Plan for the development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at least in proportion to their population, both in physical and financial terms with the ultimate goal of bridging the gap in socio-economic development of the SCs and STs within a period of ten years.

The broad objectives of SCSP and TSP are as under:

- i. Substantial reduction in poverty and unemployment.

- ii. Creation of productive assets in favour of SCs and STs to sustain the growth likely to accrue through developmental efforts.
- iii. Human resource development of SCs and STs by providing adequate educational and health services.
- iv. Provision of physical and financial security against all types of exploitation and oppression.

As per the guidelines issued by the Planning Commission the Tribal Sub Plan & Schedule Caste Sub Plan funds are to be non-divertible and non-lapsable. The guidelines also provide that the Social Justice Empowerment & Welfare Department (SWE&WD) of the State shall be the nodal Department for the formulation and implementation of Tribal Sub Plan & Schedule Caste Sub Plan schemes in the State (Social Welfare Division).

Twenty three line Departments are involved in implementing Tribal Sub Plan & Schedule Caste Sub Plan schemes in Sikkim. The allocation for implementing schemes under Tribal Sub Plan & Schedule Caste Sub Plan is provided in the budget of Social Justice Empowerment & Welfare Department. The line Departments formulates schemes under Tribal Sub Plan & Schedule Caste Sub Plan in consultation with Social Justice Empowerment & Welfare Department. After obtaining the approval and sanction of the Government the fund are placed at the disposal of the concerned line Department for implementation.

2) Scholarship

One of the main objectives of the department, by giving scholarships, is to improve the literacy level of SC, ST population. In order to encourage the students from these communities to complete their education the department provides various scholarships to students belonging to ST, SC, Most Backward Classes (MBC), and minority communities.

The Department is implementing State and Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Pre-Metric and Post-Metric Scholarship to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribe, and MBC & Minority Students to provide financial assistance to students belonging to these communities to enable them to complete their education (Social Welfare Division).

3) Representation in Legislatures and Panchayats

Article 243 D of Indian constitution gives Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every "Panchayat"⁴⁵ and the Article 332 of the Constitution of India gives reservation of seats for STs and SCs in Legislative Assemblies of states. The clause (3) of Article 332 says "the number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats in the Assembly as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State or part of the State, as the case may be, in respect of which seats are so reserved bears to the total population of the State".

But in Sikkim no such reservation is done for the Schedule Tribes of Sikkim. The Government of Sikkim has reserved 12 seats out of 32 for the Bhutia Lepcha Tribal groups in Sikkim Legislative Assembly (SLA) on community basis. But it has not been able to reserve seat for Limboo and Tamang Tribal groups who were included in Schedule Tribes list with the SC/ST Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002. Limboo tribal groups are demanding for reservation in Sikkim Legislative Assembly from the very beginning of the formation of democratic government in Sikkim because their seats were reserved during Chogyal's rule which was abolished when they were clubbed into Nepali community after or during the merger with Indian union. Though Limboo and Tamang could not get reservation in Sikkim Legislative Assembly because of Delimitation Commission Act 2002 which frizzed the expansion of Legislative assemblies (Gurung, 2011), yet the state government has given 33 per cent reservation to the two communities in the "panchayati" system.

⁴⁵ Panchayat means an institution of self government constituted for the rural areas. The Panchayat raj is a South Asian political system found mainly in the nations of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. It is the oldest system of local government in the Indian subcontinent. The word *raj* means "rule" and *panchayat* means "assembly" (*ayat*) of five (*panch*). Traditionally panchayats consisted of wise and respected elders chosen and accepted by the local community. However, there were varying forms of such assemblies. Traditionally, these assemblies settled disputes between individuals and between villages.

4) Reservation in Services

The provision of reservation is also extended to public employment. Article 16 of Indian Constitution gives equality of opportunity to all the citizens of India in an appointment to any office under the state or public employment irrespective of Caste, Sex, religion, etc. In Sikkim, the Bhutia and Lepcha tribal groups are given 21 per cent reservation and the Limboo and Tamang tribal groups are given 14 per cent reservation of seats in all government jobs and in professional courses. Besides, five years relaxation in age is given to all ST Candidates. As a result of this policy, the participation of Bhutia and Lepcha in public employment is very high as compared to Limboo and Tamang tribal groups.

5) Land Revenue Order No.1

Land Revenue Order No. 1 is a governmental notice, which was initiated by the Chogyal of Sikkim On 2nd January, 1897. The notice was given to all the "*Kazis*"⁴⁶, "*Thikadars*"⁴⁷ and "*Mandals*"⁴⁸ in Sikkim, that no Bhutias and Lepchas are to be allowed to sell, mortgage or sublet any of their lands to any person other than a Bhutia or Lepcha without the express sanction of the Durbar. They also made a strict statement saying "if anyone disobeys this order will be severely punished" (Land Revenue Order No. 1)⁴⁹.

The state government has been strictly implementing the Land Revenue Order 1 in Sikkim even after the merger with Indian Union. According to this Order no Bhutias and Lepchas are allowed to sell, mortgage or sub-let any of their land to any person

⁴⁶ Kazi is an honorific title used historically in the north Indian Kingdom of Sikkim. They were mostly the landlords of the State. They were also the rent collector and dispute mediators of erstwhile Sikkim to the Sikkimese peasantry.

⁴⁷ Thikadars were also the rent collectors of erstwhile Sikkim. Jharalangi was a forced labor imposed by the kazis and thikadars . Out of Sikkims 104 revenue estates, 61 were leased to kazis and thikadars for fixed sums.

⁴⁸The Mandals are the village heads who had a vital role in igniting the idea of resistance among the slumbered conscience of the Sikkimese peasantry. They were appointed by the *Kazis*. Their machinery role was to work as a village headman and to collect taxes from the peasants of their respective villages.

⁴⁹ For further details see Appendix III.

other than a Bhutia or a Lepcha. This old laws in Sikkim therefore restricts alienation of land belonging to Bhutias and Lepchas to the non-tribals (Chettri, 2013).

Limboo and Tamang tribal groups are also demanding for the land protection law because they have enough land in the land record history of 1952 but slowly and gradually they are becoming landless in their own area. According to State Socio Economic Census of 2006, out of 10,672 Limboo households only 3981 households and of the 7,718 Tamang household only 1859 household have availability of land for the construction of dwelling house.

6) SC, ST and OBC Development Corporation (SABCCO)

The Government of Sikkim in 1996 created Sikkim SC, ST and OBC Development Corporation (SABCCO) with an authorized share capital of Rs. 10 crores for providing financial assistance to all the backward section of people. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India and Government of Sikkim hold 49 per cent and 51 per cent of share capital respectively. The focus of SABCCO is on special development and financial needs (loan) of the ST/SC/OBCs. It provides financial assistance at concessional rates for income generating activities and training in skill development. The Corporation extends financial assistance to start following activities (Social Welfare Division):

- Agriculture and allied activities such as purchase of agriculture machinery and implements, goatary, poultry, dairy, piggery, cardamom and ginger cultivation tec.
- Artisan and traditional occupation such as handicrafts, carpet weaving, tailoring, black smithy, beauty parlour, gold smithy, etc.
- Technical trade's self-employment such as iron fabrications, Xerox machines, dry cleaning, photo-studio etc.
- Small business such as general provision store, grocery shop readymade garments.
- Transport services such as commander Jeeps, Tata Trucks, Maruti Vans, etc.
- Conversion of building into Guest-House and restaurants (Social Welfare Division).

It is thus evident that the government of Sikkim has initiated and implemented many schemes for the welfare of the tribal people. But what is the people's perspective towards the Tribal Development programmes or the schemes of the government? So the next chapter is going to deal with the people's perspective towards tribes in Sikkim, which is basically an analysis of a field work.

Chapter 4

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE TOWARDS TRIBAL STATUS: AN ANALYSIS OF FIELD WORK

This chapter is an analysis of a field work where people's perspective and governmental initiatives towards tribes has been analyzed. The main objective for doing this field work was to understand whether tribal development programmes in Sikkim are sufficient for the inclusive growth and what the people of Sikkim perceive towards tribes of Sikkim? There is also an attempt to understand the various pros and cons of tribal development programmes in Sikkim.

This report has been collected from the survey done from all the four districts of Sikkim. The survey was done through random sampling where the respondents were chosen randomly from both the urban and rural areas. The total numbers of respondents were 80, 20 each from all the four districts which marks 25% each from every district. There were 23% of respondents from urban area and 77% from rural area since the number of rural area is much more than the number of urban areas. 81% of respondents were from the age group of 18-60years and 19% of respondents were above the age of 60 but there were no respondents below the age of 18 years. Most of the respondents were male with 62% and 32% of the respondents were female. The occupations of the respondents are categorized only in two parts i.e. employed and unemployed. Here employed signifies those respondents who are engaged in government jobs and unemployed signifies those who are not engaged in government jobs but are self employed. The percentages of employed and unemployed respondents are 42% and 58% respectively. The data has been shown in the Table No. 4.1 below:

Table 4.1 Table Showing the Gender wise respondents in percentage

Gender	Respondents in %
Male	62
Female	38
Total	100

Fig. 4.1- Figure showing Gender wise respondents in percentage

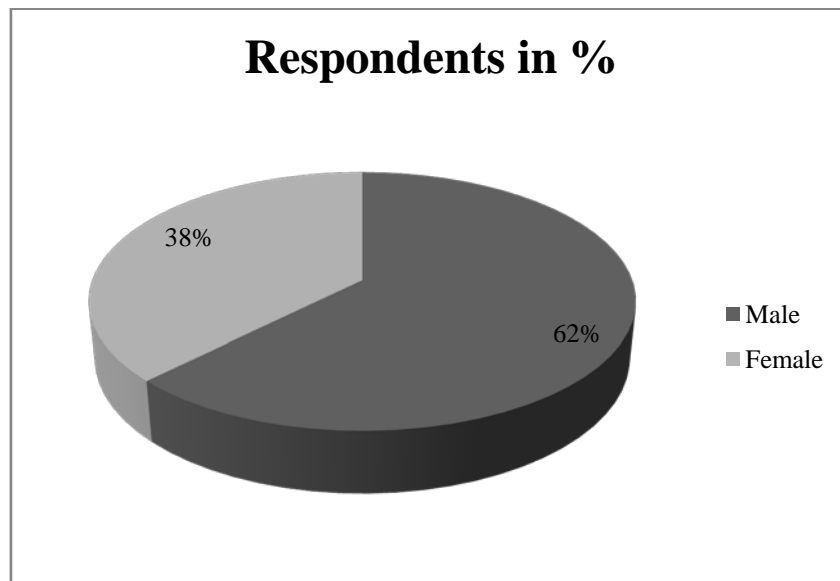


Table No. 4.1 and figure No. 4.1 above shows the percentage of respondents. Out of 100% 62% were male and remaining 38% of the respondents were female.

Table 4.2 showing the Block wise respondents in percentage

Block	Respondents in %
Rural	77
Urban	23
Total	100

Table No. 4.2 above and figure No. 4.2 below is showing the block wise percentage of respondents. The respondents were chosen randomly. 77% of the respondents were from rural areas and remaining 23% of respondents were from urban areas.

Fig. 4.2 showing the Block wise respondents in percentage

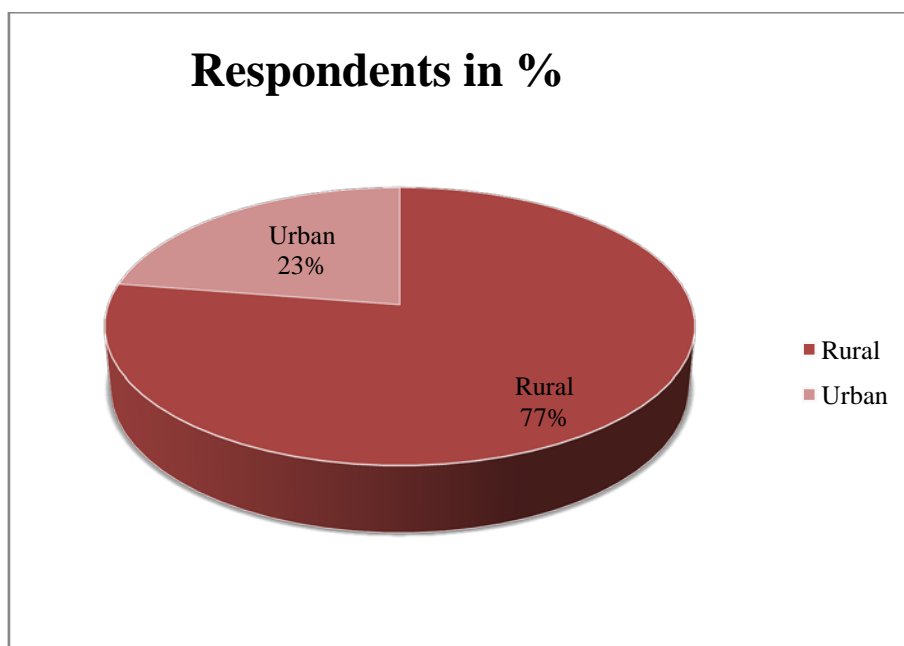


Table 4.3 Table showing District wise Percentage of Respondents.

District	% of Respondents
East	25
West	25
North	25
South	25
Total	100

From the above Table No. 4.3 we can see the equal distribution of respondents. The questionnaire was divided 25% each for all the districts, so the respondents were also 25% each from all the four districts of Sikkim. The Figure No. 4.3 below is showing the percentage of respondents in pie chat.

Fig. 4.3 Figure showing District wise Percentage of Respondents.

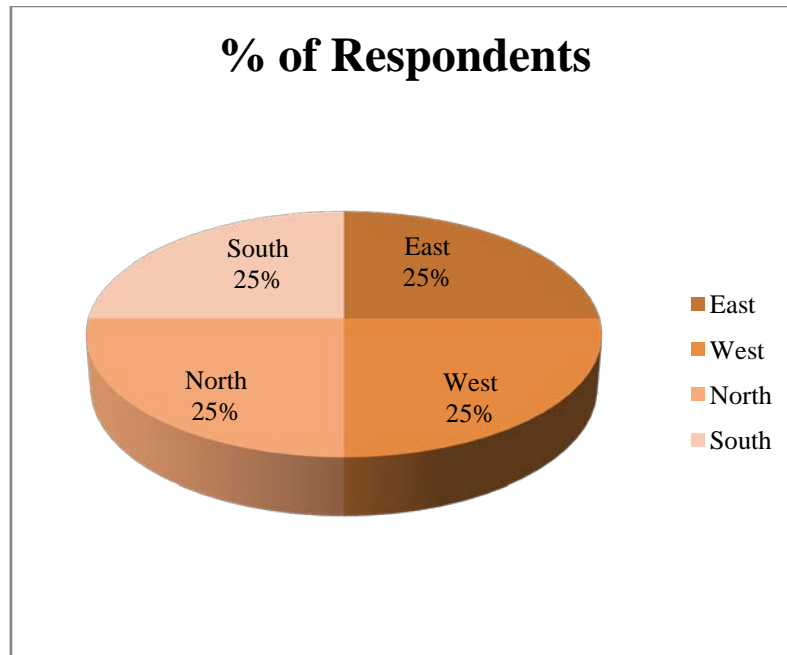


Table 4.4 Table showing Occupation wise Percentage of Respondents.

Occupation	% of respondents
Employed	42
Unemployed	58
Total	100

Table No. 4.4 above is showing occupation wise percentage of Respondents. As we have discussed above 42% of the respondents were employed to government sector and the remaining 58% of the respondents were unemployed or self employed. It is further explained in the figure No. 4.4 below.

Fig. 4.4 Figure showing Occupation wise Percentage of Respondents.

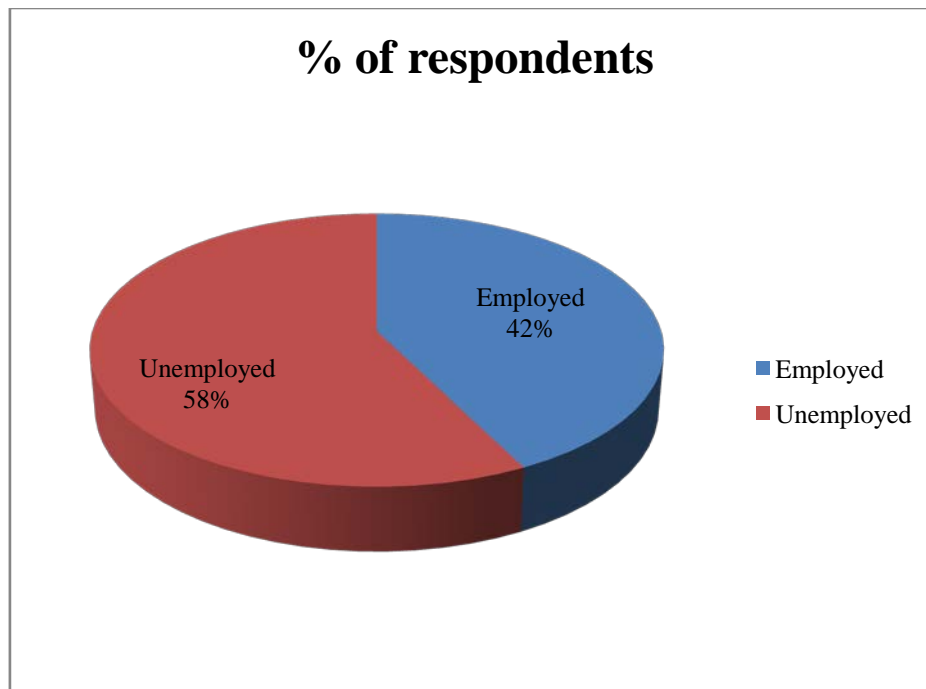


Table No. 4.5 and Figure No. 4.5 below is showing the percentage of respondents from different communities. Of the 100% respondents 40% of the respondents were from Limboo communities, 7% from Tamang, 24% from Bhutia, 6% were Lepchas, 9% were Sharma and Rai 14% respectively.

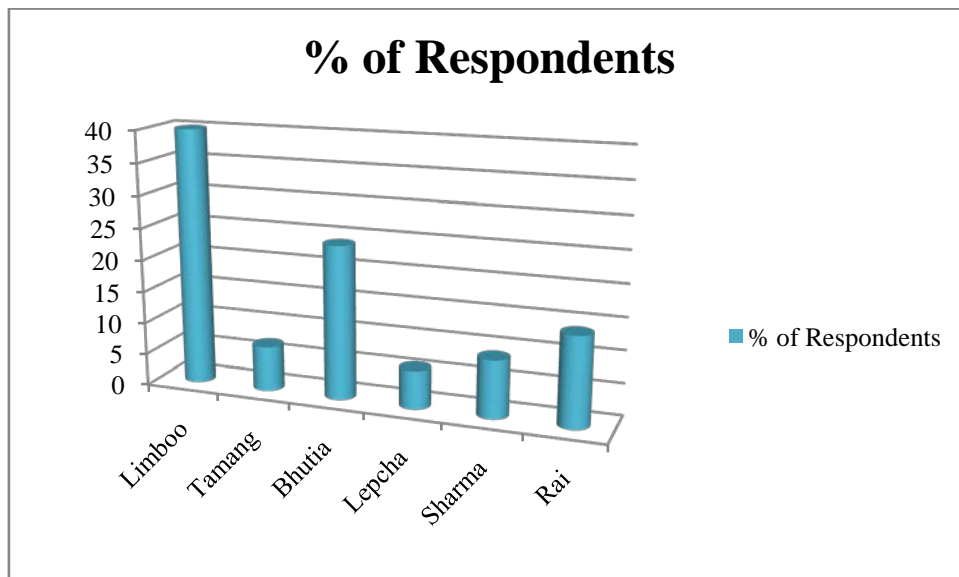
Table 4.5- Table showing the community of respondents

Community	% of Respondents
Limboo	40
Tamang	7
Bhutia	24
Lepcha	6
Sharma	9
Rai	14
Total	100

The respondents belonging to different communities have different views and different perspective towards the tribal groups of Sikkim. Most of the non tribal

people want themselves to be included in the tribal category, so that they get more facilities and reservations in different fields. But, at the same time, there are also some tribal people who want to do away with the reservation policies because they think through these policies they overlook quality. They feel reservation is like being spoon feed. One of the respondents gave a simple example for this, a child who is always under the care/shed of his/her parents is always proved to be week and dependent, but a child who lives a free and open life learns to survive and he/she proves to be very strong and competent. It has been further explained in the bar graph in the figure No. 4.5 below.

Fig.4.5- Figure showing the percentage of responses from different communities.



The table No. 4.6 below is showing the percentage of respondents who are aware of Tribal development programme but the sad thing is, even after implementing many developmental programmes both by the Central government and the State government, more than 60% of the respondents are not aware of the tribal development programmes. If we look into the Table 2, 75% of respondents are Schedule Tribes of Sikkim but out of which only 37% are aware of Tribal development Programmes. 34% of respondents are not aware of it and 24% of

respondents are not sure about the development programmes being taken by the government.

Table 4.6- Table showing the respondents in % aware of Tribal Development Programme (TDP)

Aware of TDP	Respondents in %
Yes	37
No	34
Not Sure	24
No response	5
Total	100

It is also evident that since 77% of respondents are from rural areas, most of the people of rural areas are not aware of the development programmes of the government. Though pre-metric and post-metric scholarships to Schedule Tribes are provided to them but it is not encouraging them for further studies since the amount is very less.

Fig.4.6- Figure showing % of respondents aware of developmental programmes

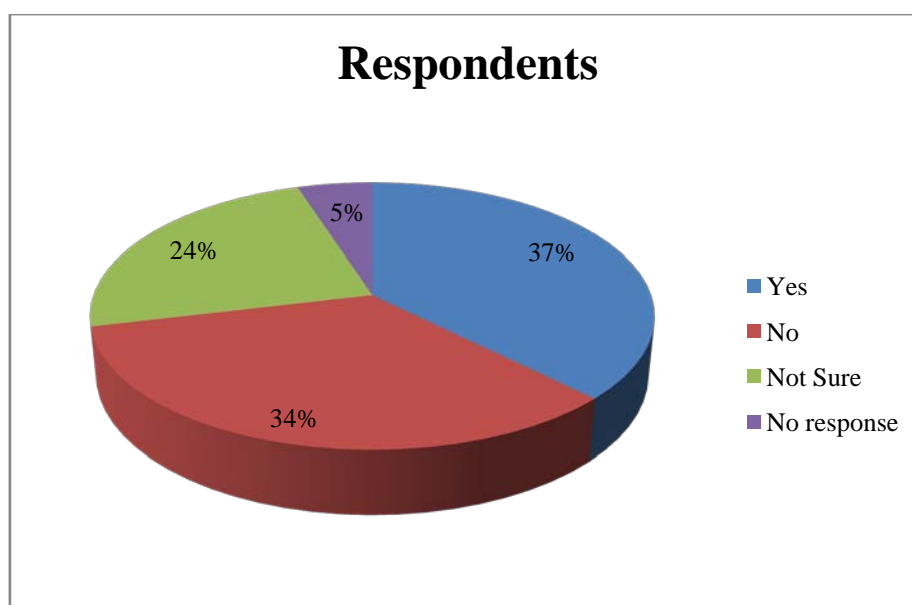


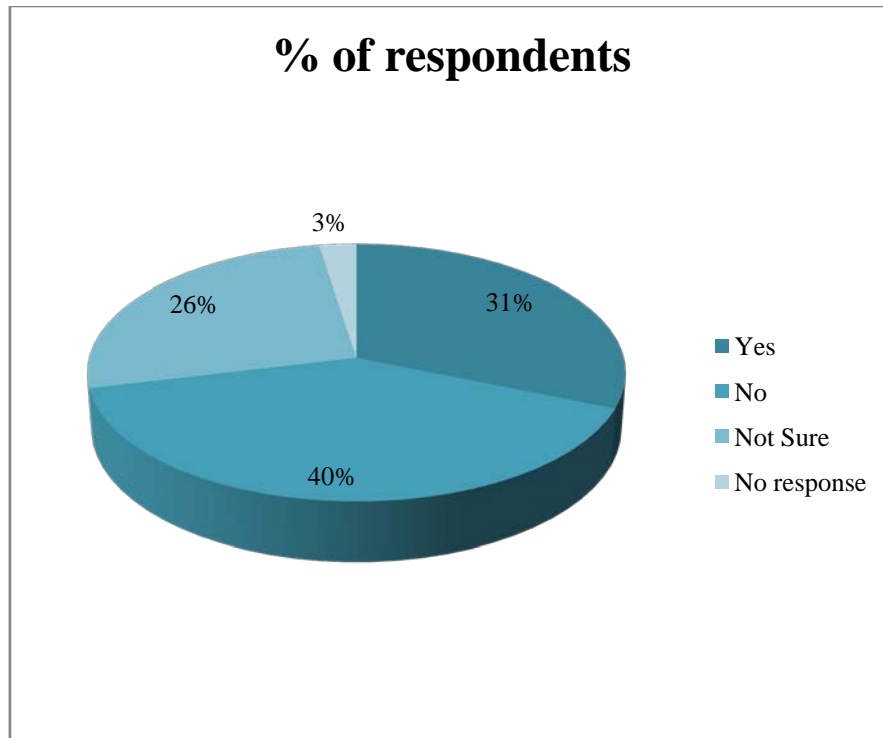
Table No. 4.7 and Fig.4.7 below is showing the response of the respondents, as to whether Tribal Development programme is sufficient or not. 40% of the respondents said no and only 31% of the respondents were of the opinion that it is sufficient. But looking into the case of Table No. 4.6, 75% of respondents are not aware of the Tribal development programmes of the government which means they are unaware of the initiatives of the government.

Table 4.7- Table showing Tribal development programme sufficient or not

Tribal Development Programme Sufficient?	% of respondents
Yes	31
No	40
Not Sure	26
No response	3
Total	100

When asked, since Tribal Development Programme is not sufficient, what else should the government do? Most of the respondents were of the opinion to give more facilities to different fields like education, preservation of culture, more reservation being backward and unprivileged. While some respondents' wants more facilities in general and Zero reservation to the SCs and STs.

Fig. 4.7- Figure showing the % of respondents



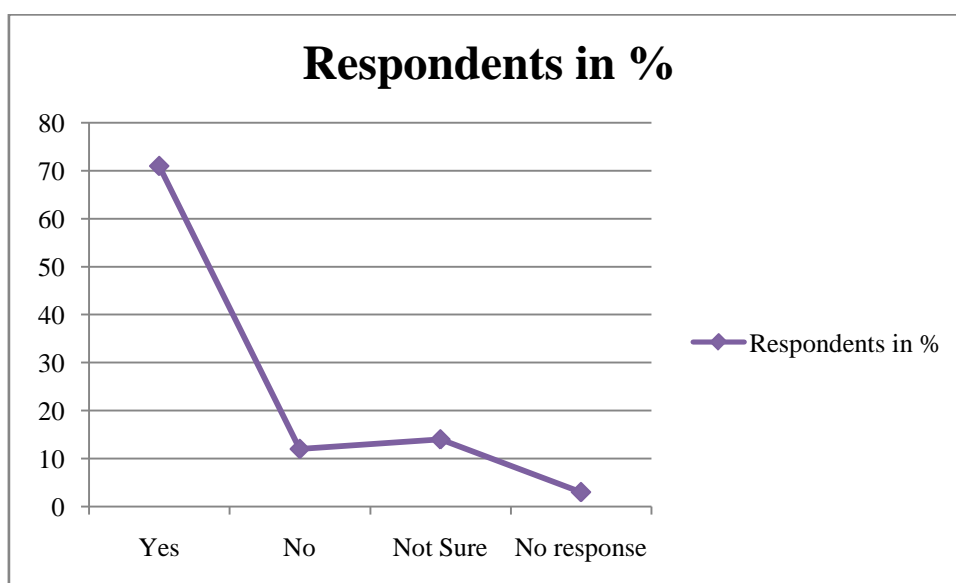
As it has been discussed in the previous chapters, Article 330 and 332 of the Indian Constitution has reserved seats for the Scheduled Tribes in Lok Sabha and state Vidhan Sabhas. But in Sikkim there is no such reservation for Schedule Tribes in Sikkim Legislative Assembly. Only Bhutia and Lepcha are provided with the reserved seats on community basis. Since they already have reserved seats, though on community basis, the respondents were asked shall Limboo and Tamang also be given reserved seats in Sikkim Legislative Assembly. The responses of the respondents are given below in Table No. 4.8 and figure No. 4.8.

Table 4.8- Table Showing respondents view on reservation for Limboo and Tamang (LT) in Sikkim Legislative Assembly.

Should LT be given Reserved Seat?	Respondents in %
Yes	71
No	12
Not Sure	14
No response	3
Total	100

71% of the respondents are of the opinion that Limboo and Tamang Should be given reserved seats in assembly like any other tribal communities because they are recognized as tribes of Sikkim and it is their political right given by the constitution. But 12% of the respondents said no, they should not be given any reservation, 14% were not sure about it and 3% of the respondents did not have any response. Most of the responses like "No", "Not Sure" and "No Response" came from the 16% Bhutia and 6% Lepcha communities and few others among the respondents. It shows that everyone is concerned about their own rights and mostly Bhutia and Lepcha communities are afraid of losing their rights. Among those few respondents said no because they wanted to do away with the reservation system.

Fig. 4.8- Figure Showing the % of respondents



On the basis of the response of the respondents people responsible for not getting reserved seats in Sikkim Legislative Assembly even after more than a decade of inclusion in tribal list are given in Table No. 4.9 below.

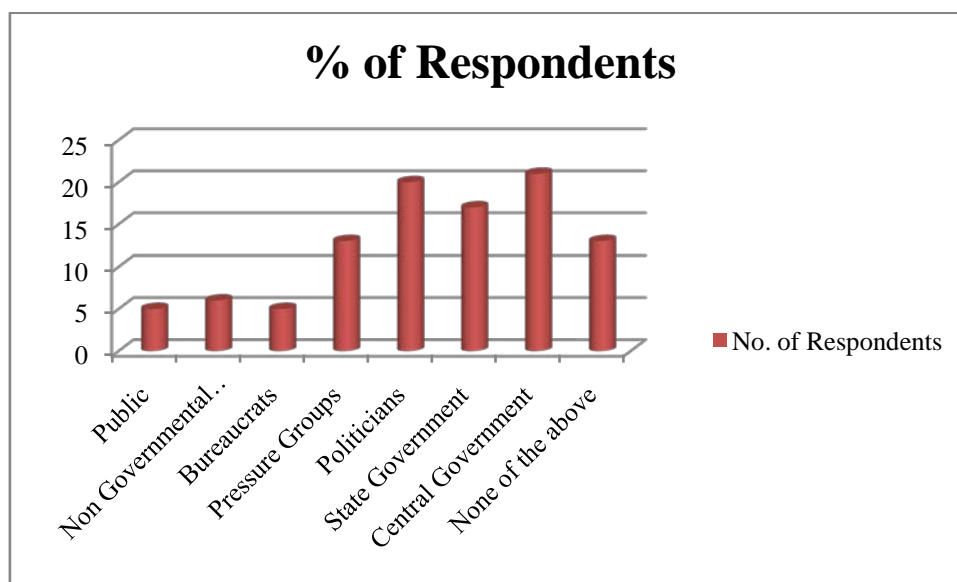
Table 4.9- Table showing people held responsible for not getting reserved seats in Sikkim Legislative Assembly.

Responsible	% of Respondents
Public	5
Non Governmental Organizations	6
Bureaucrats	5
Pressure Groups	13
Politicians	20
State Government	17
Central Government	21
None of the above	13

Most of the respondents thinks Central government, State government and Politicians are responsible for not getting any reserved seats till date while some of the

respondents think its Pressure Groups, Non Governmental Organizations and Public. But 13% respondents said none of the above and among those 13% most of them were employee of the government. It is also explained in the figure No. 4.9 below.

Fig. 4.9- Figure showing number of respondents



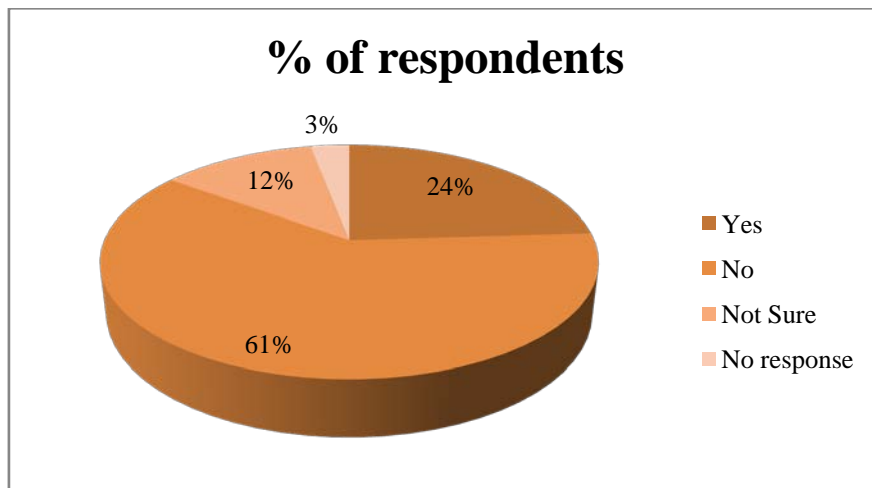
Burman commission has proposed for the extension of the seats of Sikkim Legislative Assembly to provide facilities to all but it is not passed yet because of the delimitation committee of 2002. If the government expands its seats in the future will Bhutia and Lepcha be given reserved seats as STs apart from their seats reserved on community basis is the big question? So the views of the respondents are in the table below.

Table 4.10- Table showing % of respondents for more seats to Bhutia and Lepcha (BL)

Shall BL be given more seats	% of respondents
Yes	24
No	61
Not Sure	12
No response	3
Total	100

24% respondents said Yes, they should be given reservation because they think their identity is vanishing gradually and among those 24% most of the respondents were from Bhutia, Lepcha and Sherpa tribes. But 61% of respondents said "No", they should not be given and it include not just Limboo and Tamang but many other communities like Sharma Rai, etc. They think BL already have enough number of seats reserved for them and the seats have to be proportionate to population. Then only there will be equality among people.12% of the respondents were not sure about the reservation because they think Bhutia Lepcha will demand. Figure No. 4.10 below shows the percentage of respondents in pie chart.

Fig. 4.10- Figure showing % of respondents



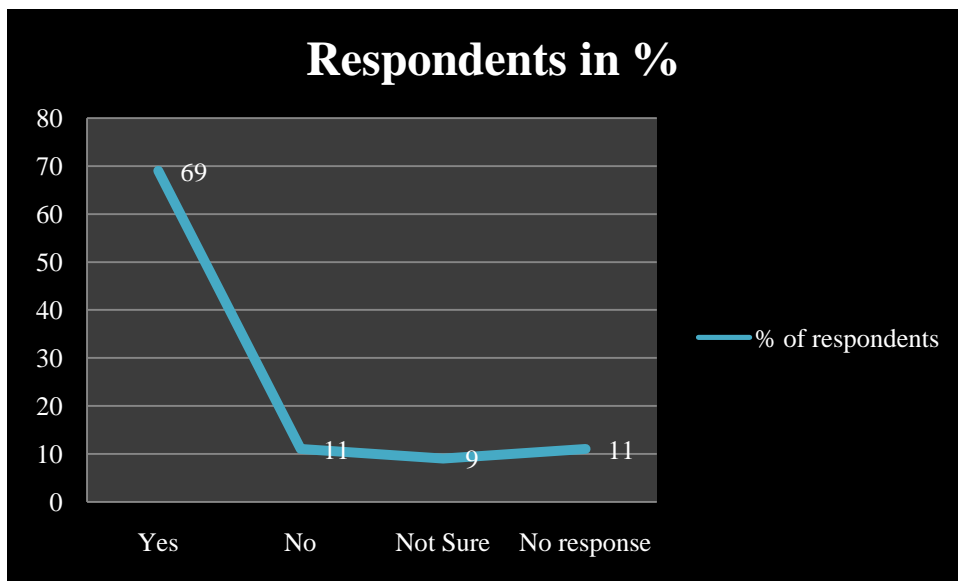
If we look into the provision of reservation in public employment, Bhutia and Lepcha tribes are given 21% reservation and Limboo and Tamang tribes are given 14% reservation. If we look into the population, according to Socio Economic Census 2006, the total population of Bhutia and Lepcha ia 1,21,309 and the total population of Limboo and Tamang is 96,107. The ratio of Bhutia and Lepcha tribes in public employment is 5777:1 whereas the ratio of Limboo and Tamang in public employment 6865:1, so the ratio of Bhutia tribes is less in comparison to Limboo tribes and the difference is more than one thousand population. So the question arises here, is this widening the gap between tribes of Sikkim? The responses of the respondents are as follows.

Table 4.11- Table showing widening gap

Widening Gap?	% of respondents
Yes	69
No	11
Not Sure	9
No response	11
Total	100

From the above Table No. 4.11 we can see 69% of respondents are saying Yes it is widening gap between the two because they think here persist inequalities within tribes. 11% of respondents think there is no gap as such, 9% of respondents are not sure about it and 11% of respondents did not have any response.

Fig 4.11- Figure showing the % of respondents



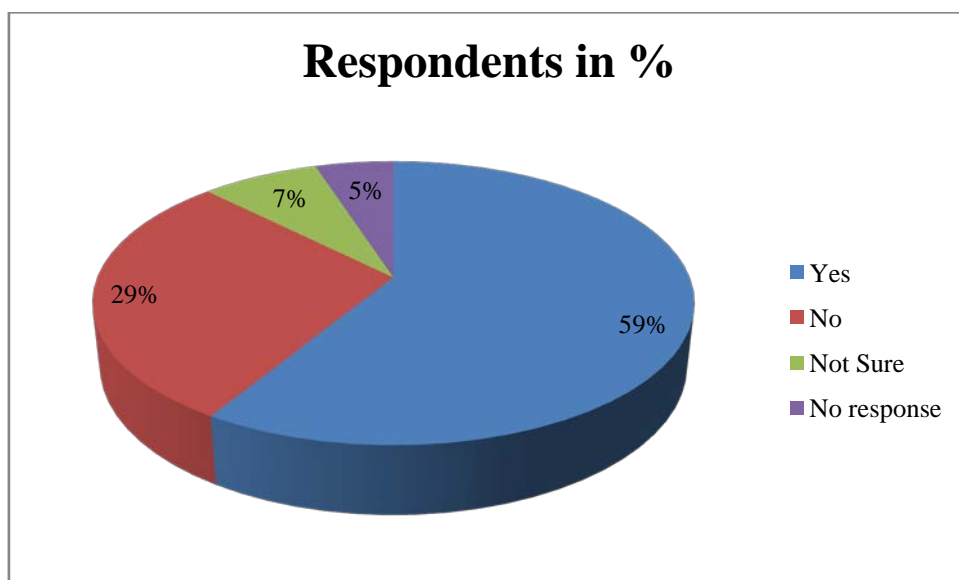
Since 69% of the respondent said it is widening gap in the public employment they were asked shall they be given equal reservation in public employment too. The responses of the respondents are given in the table below.

Table 4.12- Table showing equal reservation

Equal Reservation	Respondents in %
Yes	59
No	29
Not Sure	7
No response	5
Total	100

Out of 69% of Table 4.12, 59% of respondents said they shall be given equal reservation because they are included in the tribal list and Article 16(1) of constitution of India gives equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State. The reservation has to be done on the basis of population. But 7% of respondents were not sure about it. 29% of respondents said "No", they shall not be given equal reservation in public employment and 5% did not have any response. This is further demonstrated in the figure No. 4.12 below.

Fig. 4.12- Figure showing respondents in %



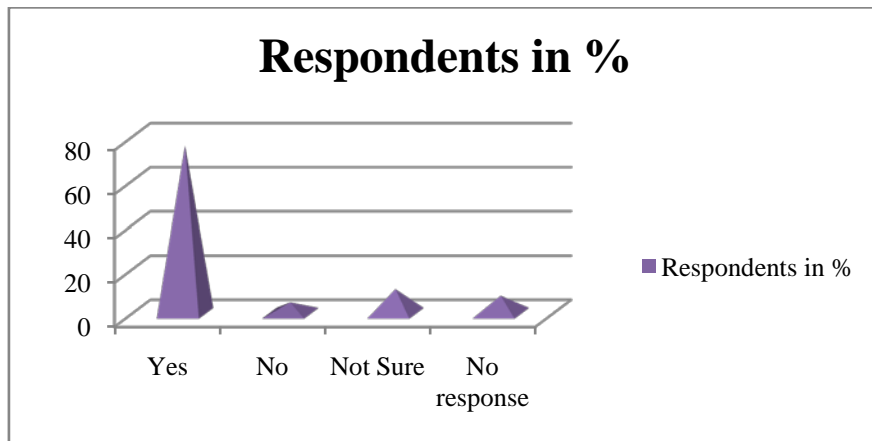
Another initiative by the state of Sikkim for the Tribes is "Land Revenue Order 1". As has been discussed in chapter 3, the state government has been strictly implementing the "Land Revenue Order 1" in Sikkim. According to this Order no Bhutias and Lepchas are allowed to sell, mortgage or sub-let any of their land to any person other than a Bhutia or a Lepcha. This old law in Sikkim therefore restricts alienation of land belonging to Bhutias and Lepchas who are tribals to non-tribals. So the respondents were asked whether this initiative of the government is benefitting Bhutia and Lepcha Tribes. The responses are given in the table below.

Table 4.13- Table showing is whether Bhutia and Lepcha (BL) communities are benefitting by Land Revenue Order 1 (LRO 1)

BL benefiting by LRO 1	Respondents in %
Yes	76
No	5
Not Sure	11
No response	8
Total	100

76% of respondents said "Yes" they have been benefitting because they have not turned out landless because of this initiative of the government. 5% of respondents said "No" and all the respondents were from BL community because they were not being able to sell their land even when they are in need or emergency. The value of the land will be very less even if they get any buyers. 11% of respondents were not sure about it and 8% did not have any responses. It is further explained in the Figure No. 4.13 below.

Fig. 4.13- Figure showing respondents in %



Limboo and Tamang communities have also been demanding protection of their land in Land Revenue Order 1 because they are turning landless day by day. So the respondents were asked, shall their lands be protected? The responses of the respondents are as follows.

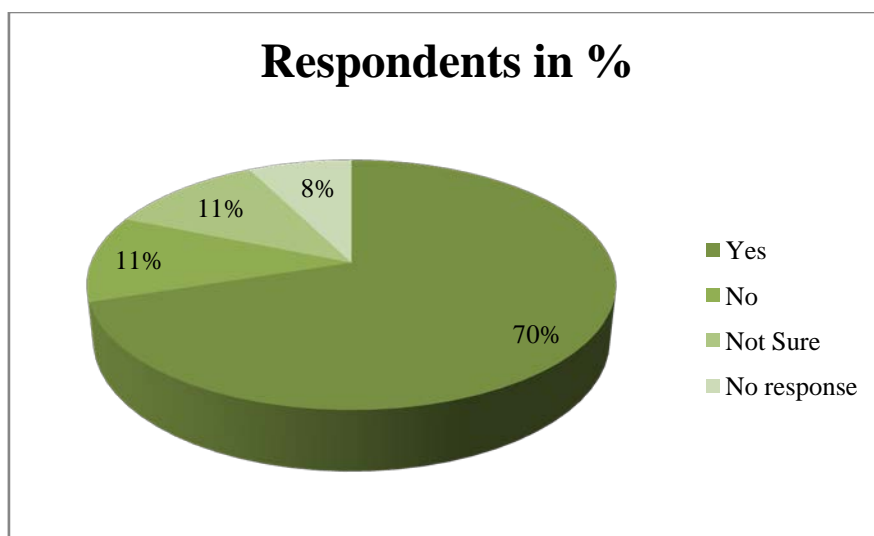
Table 4.14- Table showing shall Limboo and Tamangs Land be Protected

Shall LT's Land be Protected	Respondents in %
Yes	70
No	11
Not Sure	11
No response	8
Total	100

70% of the respondents said their land must be protected because they were losing lands gradually and turning landless day by day. One of the respondent said out of 100% land registration in a year from Dentam Constituency⁵⁰, 80% sellers were from Limboo and Tamang communities. Only 20% sellers were from other communities. If situation remains same, no doubt Limboo and Tamang communities will be landless in future.

⁵⁰ Dentam constituency is located in west district of Sikkim.

Fig. 4.14- Figure showing respondents in %



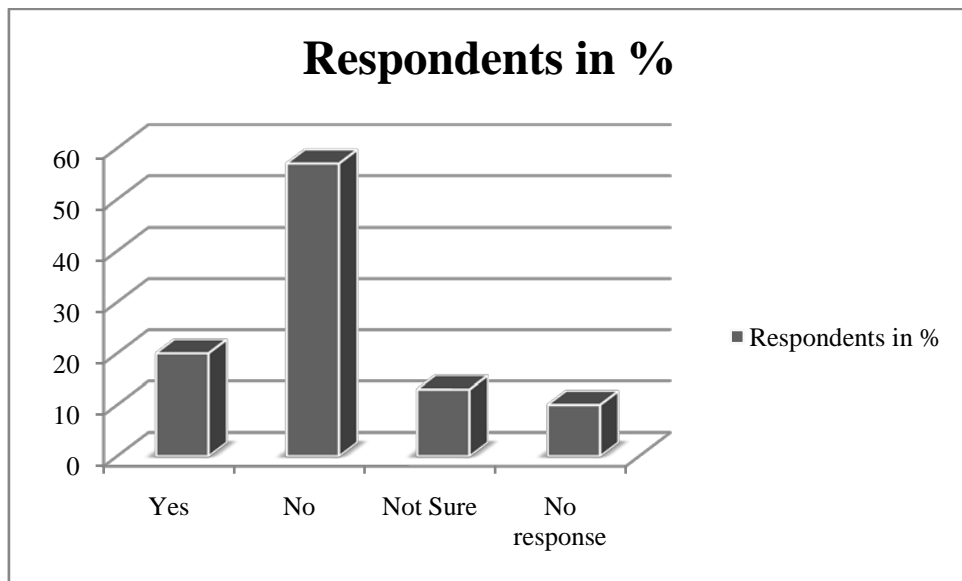
Further, the figure No. 4.14 above shows, 11% of respondents said "No", who were mostly from Bhutia Lepcha communities because they think landowner can use their land on whatever way they want. 11% respondents were not sure about it and remaining 8% respondents do not have any response.

Table 4.15- Table showing equal opportunity

Equal Opportunity	Respondents in %
Yes	20
No	57
Not Sure	13
No response	10
Total	100

When asked whether the government is giving equal opportunities to all the tribes of Sikkim, only 20% of the respondents were of the opinion that Yes they are doing, 57% of the population said No. 13% were not sure about it remaining 10% have no response. It has been shown in the Table 4.15 above and the figure 4.15 below.

Fig 4.15- Figure showing respondents in %



Essential Findings

The Government of Sikkim has initiated and implemented various policies for the welfare of the tribal people and the study reveals that most of the tribes are benefited by the tribal development programme in Sikkim. Though some people are not aware of these programmes, yet they are taking advantage of it. There are many Tribal Development Programmes but the people are only aware of Post Metric Scholarship for education and they even don't know who is providing them with these benefits. The main perspective of Limboo Tribal group is that they think they are not treated equally as par with Bhutia and Lepcha tribal Groups and they have been discriminated because they are not given reservation in Sikkim Legislative Assembly, their lands are not protected like the lands of Bhutia and Lepcha communities, reservation in job in comparison to Bhutia Lepcha tribal group is less, etc. Whereas the perspective of Bhutia tribes is that they are losing their status with the increase of population of other communities. The inclusion of Limboo and Tamang into tribal list has resulted in more fear of losing their reserved rights too. They want more initiatives and rules for development and protection of the status of their communities.

From the above responses or from this field work it is found that the people of Sikkim has become more analytical and more concerned of their rights these days. Before including Limboo and Tamang into Tribal lists the masses were unaware of the demands made by handful of people, rather politically aware people, but today most of the people are aware of their rights and are vocalizing their views openly. Every community is concerned about their own rights, Limboo and Tamang communities are demanding their constitutional rights since they are lagging behind of their rights and Bhutia Lepcha Tribes are afraid of losing their identity or facilities being given to them. While other communities of the state want equal distribution of rights and facilities for all the communities within the state.

Though most of the respondents were concerned about their own rights, there were few who wanted to do away with reservation system in all fields so that best candidates get the seats either in public employment, Legislative Assembly or educational Scholarships.

The respondents have made various suggestions to the government for the benefits of Tribes in Sikkim. Some of the important suggestions are as follows:

Most of the respondents wants equal opportunity for all, establishment of tribal colleges, Sports colleges for tribes, so that they can get more educational facilities. In terms of political rights also the respondents want equal privilege on the basis of population so that no community will discriminate. Government should also setup museums for the preservation of tribal culture. They also want proper implementation of Tribal Development Programme since most of the respondents were not aware of it.

Some of the respondents want that first the meaning and definition of the tribes must be clarified and must also be checked which are the community who really fall under the category of so called tribes? They are of the believe that communities who are recognized as tribes in Sikkim were once the rulers, kings, with their own way of administration with their own laws. As of today also they are aware of the modern day education technologies, system, law, regulations, etc. so the question arises how can they be categorized as tribes? There is no provision from the government saying ruling communities will recognized as tribes. It is not specially for tribes but in general the government should reap the benefit in the long run.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Governmental policies towards tribes have always been exceptional; they are always given more facilities for being tribes, marginalized, uneducated, economically disadvantaged and excluded groups, etc. But, the case of Sikkim is quite different than other states. As Dr. Chettri says "in Sikkim, the tribal people are very affluent, highly educated and have good number in white-collar jobs". But, this is only in the case of Bhutia and Lepcha Tribes of Sikkim, State Socio-Economic Census, 2006, Government of Sikkim shows Limboo and Tamang tribes are still lagging behind in comparison to other tribes of Sikkim. Late recognition by the Central Government as Tribes is the one reason but even after being included in Tribal list, there is no such equality of facilities among Tribals. Many scholars think that with the merger of Sikkim with India, the Limboo communities have lost their aboriginal status. It is somehow correct when we look from narrow view but in broader aspect, it is not. To understand this, we need to look back to the history.

A comparative study of the so called 'First class' and 'Second class' tribes was the need of time since such studies were never done before. After doing a thorough comparison of the Limboo and Bhutia communities the study has come to an conclusion that the Limboo communities were always marginalized both by Chogyal of Sikkim before and later by the state government. As S. K. Gurung said "the state policy towards the Tsongs was ambiguous and accordingly sometimes they were considered as original inhabitants and sometimes discriminated against because of cultural-linguistic reasons/differences". They were sometimes clubbed into Bhutias and Lepchas as in Sikkim Subject regulation of 1961 and sometimes they were treated as migrants and had to pay higher rate of land revenue along with the Nepalese. Sometimes their customs and traditions were given due recognition, material alliance was established and sometimes their leader were assassinated in the verge of preserving their own religion. Even after the merger with Indian Union the government could not maintain their aboriginal status. Their identity itself was put into danger after clubbing them into Nepali communities. They still don't regard themselves as Nepali; they think themselves distinct from all other communities. Whereas the Bhutia communities were protected by recognizing them as the

important ethnic communities of Sikkim. Thirteen seats including "Sangha" in Sikkim Legislative Assembly was reserved for them on community basis. Not only that, though they were the ruling class and most of the "Dzongpens", "Kazis", "Thekedars", "Mandals" were from the ruling communities, they were recognized as Schedule Tribes of Sikkim and they enjoyed and still are enjoying the facilities as deprived class or backward communities. In 2002 Limboo communities were also included in the tribal list and were given the facilities mentioned in the Constitution of India but the reservation in Sikkim Legislative Assembly is yet to be done.

For the people of Sikkim Tribes basically means the groups who are backward economically, whose cultures need to be preserved and the government should give them facilities, initiate policies for them so that they can be in par with other communities. Most of the people want to be tribes as they are given more facilities in comparison to other communities in all sectors like public employment, education, etc. So it can be said that the people of Sikkim are more attracted to the welfare schemes of the government rather than just being recognized as tribes. At the same time, there are some people who are confused with the term tribes. If tribes are economically, educationally backward, uncivilized, etc then how can a ruling community be categorized as a tribal group. As it has been discussed earlier Dr. Chettri has also made an statement saying case of Sikkim is different in comparison to other states. So the government should make it clear as to which are the categories that fall under tribal groups.

As has been discussed in previous chapters, the Government of India has initiated many policies for the development of tribes. The Government of Sikkim has also initiated and implemented many policies for the welfare and development of tribal people. Mostly, the students are taking advantage of these schemes. They are provided with higher educational scholarships but still some people think that the scholarship is not encouraging many people since the amount per annum is very less. If the government could provide the scholarship in monthly basis, it could have encouraged the students for higher studies. The Bhutia tribes are enjoying additional advantage in comparison to Limboo tribes being minority community of the state. SABCO is also providing loans to the SCs, STs and backward classes of the state so that they can establish their own small scale industries or business for their livelihood but most of the tribal communities are not aware of these facilities of the government,

while some aware citizens are not in a position to take loans because they are engaged in some other activities.

As has been discussed earlier twenty three line Departments are involved in implementing Tribal Sub Plan & Schedule Caste Sub Plan schemes in Sikkim, yet low fund is the main challenge. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs states that the 'availability of funds is not the real constraint in achieving the intended targets. Instead, effective monitoring, accountability and management thereof appear to be the issues of concern'. So, areas of concern under the Tribal Sub-Plan need to be addressed with extreme urgency in order to ensure that tribal people get full benefits from the funds allocated for them, so that they can improve their living standards.

The reservation in service and reservation in "Panchayats" to the schedule tribes may be considered as the best policies for the upliftment of the tribal communities but the negative aspects of these system is that the most deserving and qualitative candidates will not get selected because of reservation policies. If we look from the general perspective, the government should do away with such policies but while taking the perspective of tribal communities and understanding their socio economic status they should be given reservation so as to bring them at par with other communities. The demand of seats in Sikkim Legislative Assembly by Limboo communities is also justifiable because it is their given by the Indian constitution in Article 332. Depriving them with their rights will be the violation of the constitution of India. As far as the issue of Land Revenue Order No. 1 is concerned Bhutia communities are benefiting a lot because they haven't turned landless till date. They still hold good number of land though some of them want to do away with these systems because they could not sell their land even in the time of need, even if they get buyers, they will not get the desired amount.

While comparing other aspects of Limboo and Bhutia communities like their culture, customs, language, etc. It is found that linguistically Limboo communities are very close with Bhutia communities. They use many words common to each other like "*lam*", for both communities "*lam*" means path. If we compare the costumes of these two communities, Bhutia women's dress is also somehow similar to the women's dress of Limboo communities but the dress of Limboo women is 90% similar to the dress of Lepcha women. The customs of both these communities are similar but have

given different names like the ritual of naming of a new born child in Limboo language is called "*Yangdang Phongma*" whereas in Bhutia Language it is called "*Phangsang*" or "*Phyakay*". There are many such similarities between two, but the difference is in their religion. The Bhutias are Buddhist by religion and the Limboos are animist.

While analyzing the people's perspective towards tribal development programmes of the government, most of the people of Sikkim are aware of their rights, though they do not know the governmental initiatives. Most of the people want equality among all the communities of Sikkim in general and tribal communities in particular. The difference of governmental initiatives within tribal communities is widening gap between them. So the government must do away with such policies. The understanding capacity of the people of Sikkim has increased which may result in protests and may take illegal actions in future. The Supreme Court of India through their issuance of order has shown a new hope of light to the Limboo communities. On 4th January, 2016 the Supreme Court has ordered the Union Home Ministry to resolve issues of seat reservation of Limboo communities in Sikkim Legislative Assembly within four months. If the issue is resolved within the said date the Schedule Tribes of Sikkim will get their deprived constitutional rights.

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Appendix I

QUESTIONNAIRE/SCHEDULE

**A Comparative Study of Limboo and Bhutia Tribes in
Sikkim, 1974-2014.**

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Field Work, November, 2015

This study has been done for the partial fulfillment of requirements for the dissertation of M. Phil in political science under the supervision of *Dr. Amit Kumar Gupta*. My topic for this dissertation is “**A Comparative Study of Limboo and Bhutia Tribes in Sikkim, 1974-2014**”. The main objective for doing this field work is to understand whether tribal development programmes in Sikkim are sufficient for the inclusive growth. It also tries to understand the pros and cons of tribal development programmes in Sikkim.

The following information request is OPTIONAL, the returned questionnaires will be treated with utmost confidence and no identities will be included within the final paper.

(Signature)

Age:..... Sex:..... Nationality:..... Name of Village:.....
 Block:..... Rural: or Urban area:
 District:..... Religion:.....
 Educational Qualification:.....Occupation:.....
 Income (if students, give parents income):.....
 Community..... Present Address:.....

Q. 1. Do you belong to a Schedule Tribes?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Q. 2. (if No) Do you like to be Schedule Tribes?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Give
 reason.....

Q. 3. Do you have any idea who are the Schedule Tribes of Sikkim?

If yes give the names.....

Q.4. Are you aware of the Tribal Development Programme in Sikkim?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Respons

If yes, name them.....

Q. 5. Is the Tribal Development Programme sufficient for the inclusive growth of Sikkimese Tribals?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Q. 6. What more do you suggest to be done for Sikkimese Tribes?

Give
 Reason.....

Q. 7. Do you think giving reservation to Tribal are necessary?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response



Q. 8. Are you aware of the residential schools for tribal in Sikkim?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

If yes, name them.....

Q. 9. Is educational facilities provided to tribes of Sikkim sufficient?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Q. 10. Do you think tribes of remote area is taking advantage of these facilities?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

if no, give reason.....

Q. 11. Do you think the pre-metric and post-metric scholarship to tribal students are encouraging them to opt for higher studies?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Q. 12. Should Limboo and Tamang tribes also be given reserved seats in Legislature like other tribes of Sikkim?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Give reason.....

Q. 13. Who do you think is responsible for not getting reserved seats in Assembly?

- a) Public b) Non Governmental Organizations c) Bureaucrats d) Pressure Groups
e) Politicians f) State Government g) Central Government h) None of the above

Q. 14. If the seats in legislative assembly is increased in future, shall Bhutia and Lepcha Tribes be given more seats?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Give reason.....

Read the lines below and answer Q. 15 & Q. 16.

If we look into the provision of reservation in public employment, Bhutia and Lepcha tribes are given 21% reservation whereas Limboo and Tamang tribes are given only 14% reservation.

Q. 15. Do you think this is widening gap between tribes of Sikkim?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Give reason.....

Q. 16. Shall they be given equal reservation?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Give reason.....

Read the lines below and answer Q. 117 & Q. 18.

The state government has been strictly implementing the Land Revenue Order 1 in Sikkim. According to this Order no Bhutias and Lepchas are allowed to sell, mortgage or sub-let any of their land to any person other than a Bhutia or a Lepcha. This old laws in Sikkim therefore restricts alienation of land belonging to Bhutias and Lepchas who are tribals to non-tribals.

Q. 17. Do you think Bhutia and Lepcha tribes are benefiting from these Land Revenue Order 1?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Give reason.....

Q. 18. Limboo and Tamang tribes are also demanding for protection of their land, Shall they be given protection like other tribes by government?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

Give reason.....

Questions from Q. 19- Q.21 for TRIBES only

Q. 19. Have your family ever received any educational scholarship?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

If yes, what is your relationship with the recipient.....

Q. 20. Name the scholarship and on which course you have received:

.....

Q. 21. Is your family benefited by the scholarship?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response

If yes, explain how?.....

If no, explain why?.....

Q. 22. Do you think that the government initiative to develop Tribals in Sikkim is sufficient?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response



Q. 23. If no, what else should the government do?.....

.....

Q. 24. Do you think government is giving equal opportunity to the Tribes in Sikkim?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response



Q. 25. Do you think Limboo and Tamang communities are getting more facilities after being recognized as ST?

- a) Yes b) No c) Not Sure d) No Response



Q. 26. What more do you think government should do for the Tribal groups of the Sikkim?

(Give your view).....
.....
.....

Thank You so much for your valuable responses and kind cooperation.

Appendix II

May 8 Tripartite Agreement of 1973

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 whole call for;

(i) The establishment of a fully responsible Government in Sikkim with a more democratic and greater legislative and executive power 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 the principle of one man one vote;

(iii) The strengthening of Indo-Sikkim co-operation and inter-relationship; and whereas the Chogyal as well as representatives of the people and requested the Government of India:

(i) To take responsibility for the establishment of law and order and good administration in Sikkim following the breakdowns of all three;

(ii) To ensure the further development of a 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 to safeguard all; the above needs and objectives.

Basic Rights:

And whereas the Government of India has agreed to discharge the responsibilities hereby renewed to them;

Now, whereas the Government of India, the Chogyal of Sikkim and the leaders of the political parties of Sikkim, have agreed as follows:-

1. The three parties hereby recognized 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 principle of one man one vote.

2. There shall be an assembly in Sikkim. The assembly shall be elected every four years. Elections 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. (i) In accordance with this agreement, the assembly shall have the power to purpose laws and adopt resolution for the welfare of the 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) bazaars (vii) forest (viii) public works (ix) agriculture (x) food supplies; and (xi) economic and social planning, including state enterprises (xii) home and establishment (xiii) finance and (xiv) land revenue.

(ii) The assembly shall not discuss or ask question on the following:

(a) The Chogyal and the members of the ruling family (b) Any matter pending before the Court of law (c) The appointment of the Chief Executive and members of the judiciary and (d) Any matter which concerns the responsibilities of the Government of India under this agreement or any other agreement between India and Sikkim.

Executive Council

4. There shall be an Executive Council consisting of elected members of the assembly who shall be appointed to the Executive Council by the Chogyal on the advice of the Chief Executive. The Chief Executive will preside over the meeting of the Executive Council.

5. The system of elections shall be organized as to make the assembly adequately representative of the various sections 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 with care being taken to ensure that no single section of the population acquires a dominating position due mainly to its ethnic origin and the rights and interests of the Sikkimese of Bhutia Lepcha origin and of the Sikkimese Nepali, which includes Tsong and Schedule Castes origin, are fully protected.

6. The Chogyal shall perform the functions of his high office in accordance with the Constitution of Sikkim as set out in this agreement.

7. To head the administration in Sikkim there shall be a Chief Executive, who shall be appointed by the Chogyal on the nomination of the Government of India.

8. The Chief Executive shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his functions and responsibilities; and exercise his powers in the following manner:

(i) With respect to matters allocated to a manner of the Executive Council, he shall act in consultation with the members to whom administrative function in this regards have been allocated.

(ii) He shall submit all important matters to the Chogyal for his information and for his approval of the action proposed to be taken, except where immediate action is required. In the later case, he shall obtain the Chogyals approval as soon after the action has been taken as possible.

(iii) He shall have special responsibilities to ensure the proper implementation of the constitutional and administrative changes in Sikkim, the smooth and efficient running of its administration, the continued enjoyment of basic rights and fundamental freedom by all sections of the population of Sikkim, and the optimum utilization for the benefits 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 sections of the population of Sikkim, on the development of democratic Government and efficient administration in Sikkim, any difference of opinion between him and Chogyal shall be referred to the Political Officer in Sikkim, who shall obtain the advice of the Government of India, which shall be binding.

9. There shall be equality before the law in Sikkim. The judiciary shall remain independent.

10. The Palace establishment and the Sikkim Guards shall remain directly under the Chogyal.

11. 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 regulations of the external relations of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial, reaffirm 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 reaffirmed that they shall have the necessary powers for carrying out these responsibilities.

Done in triplicate at Gangtok on this the eight day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy three A.D.

Kewal Singh

Palden Thondup Namgyal

Foreign Secretary

The Chogyal of Sikkim

Government of India

Leaders of the Political parties representing the people of Sikkim.

For the

For the

For the

Sikkim Janata Congress

Sikkim National Congress

Sikkim National Party

K.C. Pradhan

K. Lhendup Dorji

Netuk Tshering

B.B. Gurung

C.S. Rai

Man Bahadur Basnet

S.K. Rai

C.B. Chettri

Man Bahadur

B.P. Dahal

N.K. Subedi

Tasa Thengay

B.P. Kharel

D.N. Tiwari

Padam Kharel

K. Wangdi

Appendix III

Revenue Order No 1

With reference to the order dated the 2nd January, 1897 it is hereby again notified to all Kazis, Thikadars and Mandals in Sikkim, that no Bhutias and Lepchas are to be allowed to sell, mortgage or sublet any of their lands to any person other than a Bhutia or Lepcha without the express sanction of the Durbar, or officers empowered by the Durbar in this behalf, whose order will be obtained by the landlord concerned. If any one disobeys this orders will be severely punished.

In this order the term 'mortgage' means the mortgaging the whole or part of a holding on the Biyaz or Masikata system and the term sublet means the sub-letting the whole or part of holding on the Pakuria system.

Definition

1. 'Biyaz' means mortgaging land to another person who enjoys the produce of the land as interest, so long as the principle loan remains unpaid.
2. 'Masikata' means, mortgaging of fields to a creditor who enjoys the produce of the field as annual instalment towards the loan.
3. 'Pakuria' means sub letting, where a rayot allows another new rayot to settle upon a portion of his own holding, generally receiving from him some rent in cash and some assistance in cultivating his own fields.

Gangtok C.A. Bell,

the 17th May, 1917 Superintending, Sikkim Estate