

# *Green Book*

**Digdarshan of the SDF Party**



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***Digdarshan of the SDF Party***

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***Guiding Philosophy and Ideology  
of the SDF Party***

*For the Party Workers*

**“Advocacy about the truth of the  
people is politics”**

**– *Pawan Chamling***

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**Preface:**

The Green Book – *Digdarshan* of the SDF Party – is a seminal piece of work. It is based on the truths and experience of working for and with the people of Sikkim over a lifetime of sacrifice and purpose.

The author, Pawan Chamling, leader, poet and political activist and practioner, captures it brilliantly.

The book narrates the essence of the core philosophy, ideology, the principles and the behaviour of the Sikkim Democratic Front Party, its party workers and as a political institution. It gives reasons and direction for proper behaviour to all Party workers and leaders.

It seeks to ensure that the work of the Party is sustainable and explains at length what work needs to be carried on for the people of Sikkim and more importantly how. When in doubt about what is right or wrong this book will clarify the position instantly and if still in doubt then it shows you where to look for an answer. That direction is simply 'go and learn from the people'.

This is essential reading for every student of politics and every political worker of the Party, especially the youth.

This book is dedicated to the people of Sikkim.

## **Table of Contents**

- Chapter 1 : Direction to Party workers and utility of the educational process through the literature of the Party – Page 1
- Chapter 2 : Educational literature of Party – Page 16
- Chapter 3 : Philosophy, principles, Politics and political organisation – Page 29
- Chapter 4 : Principles, Strategy, Tactics and Slogans – Page 37
- Chapter 5 : Let us introspect deeply; Let us right the wrongs; Let us learn from the people and then let us move ahead – Page 47

## **Chapter 1: Direction to Party workers and utility of the educational process through the literature of the Party**

The Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF) is a common Party platform for all sections of the people of Sikkim. This Party is for all classes of people, the poor, laborers, farmers, workers, students, businessmen, women, teachers and intellectuals.

This, however, excludes a handful of people who have always wanted to exploit the people of Sikkim, impoverishing them, making Sikkim a chaotic place and enslaving them.

Just to form a Government by seducing the people with flowery promises is never the goal. The main objective of the SDF Party is to ensure full democratic rights to the people of Sikkim, clean and good governance, ensure well being, equality and peace. In today's situation the main objective of our Party cannot be fulfilled by small forces and effort. In this direction there is a need that our Party has to adopt a completely different approach in which it has to be different from those which have ruled in the past or those new parties which are being formed.

Our Party will be completely selfless in form.

The essence of any Party are its principles. Firstly, the principle should be good, appropriate and correct. Principle is the light which shows the path to forward.

Without this it is not possible to move forward. The main reason why other parties have not been able to stand up against our Party is because of our principled centred nature with programs based on principles. Other parties have been centred around doing as they like, monopolising power and corruption and various other anti-social thinking. The Sikkim Sangram Parishad Party which ruled Sikkim for many years in the past and having lots of money fell off like a pack of cards because they lacked principles and national farsightedness. On the other hand the national parties having their Party branches in Sikkim are stagnant due to the lack of proper ideologies and appropriate plans and programs for Sikkim.

Our Party is built around principles and ideology. We are centred around the principle of working for people of Sikkim. Democracy, equality and prosperity of all sections of our people are the main principles of our Party. Now, the people of Sikkim can proudly say that they have a Party centred on democratic principles. Selfishness, nepotism and favouritism are not inculcated in our Party. Our Party does not allow any kind of corruption to any elected persons such as MLAs, Chairpersons or Ministers.

No one has the right and power to make the people of Sikkim their slaves. We are in a revolution mode to make our sons and daughters self sufficient and independent. The name of this revolution is the Sikkim Democratic Front.

We have the democratic principles but how to use these principles in a practical way? Even if we have the best principles but fail to follow it in practice or actually do the exact opposite of it, we cannot build the Sikkim which we dream of. Sikkim cannot become great. To put principles into action is the duty of Party leaders, Party workers and

Party supporters. For this the leaders, members of our Party and committees should be most concerned and thoughtful about this most important issue, so that these democratic principles are made actionable.

People who are happy when given money and portfolios and unhappy when the same is withdrawn will not be tolerated by the SDF Party.

Friends, portfolios and responsibility is that which is given by the people when you work for them. When you work ardently for the people they will love you, trust you and give you the respectable position in the society. But if you try to suppress them they will snatch back that given position and status and punish you. Whether now or in the future, those who do not work with a pro people approach and spread rumours will be punished. Those who work for the people will be well respected.

Basically, we would like to spread this awareness among the youth of Sikkim. "The desire to forcefully become a leader is like trying to catch one's own shadow". Every individual's shadow can now be seen because the sun of democracy has risen in Sikkim. By working for the people of Sikkim and their upliftment will ensure that the shadow will accompany you. This means that the prestigious position in society will remain with us. Remember if the Party workers are not good and are selfish the Party will not achieve its goal. People will not follow such a Party. If Sikkim grows and develops everyone will be benefit. Medical colleges, engineering colleges and universities have been opened which has given an opportunity to our people for higher education within our own state with which we can produce our own productive manpower and human capital.

If you want to become rich then our humble request is do not join politics. In order to get better portfolios do not join politics. Sikkim Democratic Front does not have space for such people.

Come one come all, we welcome you to join the SDF Party if you care for a better future of Sikkim and for the people. Let us make a Sikkim filled with prosperity, equity, equality and peace. In this revolution we heartily welcome one and all.

In this revolution of sustained democracy and democratic ideals all the Sikkim Democratic Front workers, under the direction of Party leader and other Party related organizations, from the the grass root level to the Central level, should follow the following points and apply them in their daily lives:

- Every member should spend a few hours of every day to study and thoroughly understand international politics, principles of economy, global happenings, geography, history, science, arts and literature et al. They should encourage others to read as well and make it a daily habit.
- Give up gambling. Initially we were under monarchy and later also we were under the dictatorship. Noblemen and Courtiers exploited the innocent people of Sikkim and forced them into the habit of gambling which became the unethical source of entertainment and time pass. Everyone should give up this bad habit. We should use utilize our free time by reading books, newspapers and engaging in discussion and debate.
- Let us open up public libraries in our own towns, villages and blocks.

- We should develop the habit of going and meeting the grassroots people rather than going to town for luxuries. We should take a closer look to the problems of the people and bring it to the notice of the Party Committees so that the decisions can be made in favor of the people.
- We should never forget that we gain power and knowledge from the people.
- We should give up the idea of acknowledging women as playthings and second class citizens. Even the women should consider themselves as equal to men and move ahead. Every individual should respect women. Previous political parties had created such situations where female Party workers were defamed and disrespected. The Sikkim Democratic Party has always stood by and will stand by upholding the prestige and self respect of our womenfolk.
- Proper accounts of income and expenditure should always be maintained by the Party. One should not misuse the Party funds. Meetings should be held and the responsibility should be taken for income and expenditure.
- To say 'I am the candidate of this place' is a wrong notion. Party ticket will be given to the person who will be chosen unanimously by the public.
- One should be intelligent and humble rather than being stupid and proud.
- Party supporters should not disclose their dissatisfaction and differences in public places which will have a negative impact to the Party as well as to the individual. Problems regarding Party should be resolved through Party channels only. Only those individuals who are

not satisfied with the Party principles express their views openly.

- Most importantly our youth must realize that we have come together from different places to be under one Party flag. Though we differ in our food habits, lifestyle, languages, dresses and traditions yet we are the soldiers with the same motivation. The differences which we have in between us is nothing when we compare the principles and ideologies that bind us together. Even though our languages are different our voice and slogans are the same. Even though our costumes may differ our flag is the same.
- One should interact and be close with the people so as to create awareness among them rather than looking just hanging around the leader.
- Today's leaders were yesterday's Party workers, likewise today's Party workers are tomorrow's leaders. Our work is to serve the people, to fight for their rights rather than just being leaders. It is the people that make us their leaders.
- Every member should follow the Party manifesto, principles, programs and decisions taken by the central committee. If we fail to follow these diligently then how will others trust our Party? Hence it is imperative that we follow our Party principles all the time.
- Workers of Sikkim Democratic Front should set an example of following the rule of law and discipline. This should not be an independent version but rather follow Party directives.
- Only after the people know the Party principles that they trust and support the Party. The primary work of

Party workers is to effectively communicate to the people about the Party's core ethical principles. Party workers should be clear about the leadership principles. If the leadership is not clear or if we fail to establish these leadership qualities the Party will only weaken. Party like ours which is revolutionary in our DNA does not support only one person's upliftment. It does not support biases but it gives immense importance to leadership which has good habits and manners. Our main intention and goal is to make it a successful Party which follows its principles and give maximum importance to follow the principles which has been set. It is a common goal and duty for every Party member.

### **Collective leadership, party workers and environmentalism**

We believe in collective and cooperative leadership principles but this does not mean that we want to establish several centres of power. If we all try to make ourselves as the center of the Party we will become like stagnant water and our Party's boat will capsize in it.

SDF Party has declared and has made programs to take Sikkim into 21st century. This is in keeping with the need of the times and modernity. In view of the fact that we have got the mandate based on this we need to align our work with the aspirations of the people and respect that. Hence there is a huge responsibility and work in front of us and we need to take an oath to make it happen.

Friends, today we are practicing democratic principles and processes. As this process is appropriate and for the well being of our people we have accepted it. We need to resolve all our problems, eradicate anti-social issues, like caste and creed based injustices, exploitation etc, through

the democratic principle and processes.

This work is not the preserve of one person or a committee. It cannot be. Principles of democracy means that it is a partnership and collective effort with the people. Hence everyone must take equal responsibility for the betterment of society in the democratic system. Since our Party believes in principles and ideologies of progressive democracy, our Party workers should work and put effort towards the betterment and cause of the common people.

To run away from any responsibility is not considered as a good habit. There are people in our Party who do politics in favor of the people as our Party does politics for the upliftment of the people and will always work for it. Once, you start working religiously for the people and consider politics as a religion, one should also spread this message and awareness amongst the general masses.

People who only dream of having luxuries like palaces and swanky cars would not be able to understand or empathize and listen to the problems and sufferings of the common people. A feeling of self centeredness does not allow a human being to become humane. Our Party workers can understand this human feeling and work towards from being a mere human being to 'being human'. That's why our Party workers should unite and work towards this common goal. A habit or nature of passing away the responsibility of upliftment of citizens to others should be stopped. It is important that everyone should take on the task and responsibility of coming forward and completing the work which will uplift our poor and the people of Sikkim in general.

Party's decision is a collective decision. These decisions should be considered as 'my own decision' and we need

to own it and then transform it into action. There have been instances where these collective decisions have made some people sad and unhappy. Instead of clarifying it and making the public understand the importance of these decisions they start to criticize and influence the people in a negative way. This kind of attitude and habit needs to be stopped. Party decisions should be discussed in a proper forum and if decisions are to be changed we should consider it. Once the good and fruitful decisions are made there are people who boast around saying ' I did that', 'I told so' and there are others who say ' I don't know what they are doing', ' this is going to ruin us' etc and try to remain aloof and pull themselves from the radar of being a wrong decision makers. We should overcome and evade these kinds of happenings and sayings and Party workers should abide by the collective decisions made in a disciplined way.

Every Party worker should take a personal responsibility of fulfilling Party decisions and Party programs. This is the reason why our decisions are collective but responsibilities are personal. This means that the main decisions made by the Party and the responsibilities are given to each Party member and workers so that the decisions are carried out in practice. Party workers should consider these Party responsibilities as their own and work towards the fulfillment of it.

The workers of a Party should try to resolve all the problems of the society. For example, today we faced with a huge problem of unemployment of our youth in our society. These kinds of problems can be solved only with the help of the people. Our Party workers should spread awareness amongst the people and the educated unemployed youth of the different types of measures and decisions the Party

and Government has taken to resolve this issue. Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) should be encouraged towards this end as well. People who are agriculturists or of similar occupation should be made aware of different modern ways and technologies and help them to avail these facilities. They should be made aware of the opportunities under organic farming. Our Party workers must therefore spread this kind of awareness amongst the people to help resolve this issue.

Our Government is working towards establishing model villages in fulfilling the vision of creating all

kinds of amenities available in houses which are conventionally built in our villages. Even in the most traditional homes of the villages modern amenities' will be there. Electricity, roads, water, public toilets, ICDS, hospitals, schools etc, etc are being made available in the villages. These facilities would make the life of each Sikkimese a comfortable one and would attract tourists to stating this especially these villages in large numbers adding to the economic opportunities. I am especially stating this because we are making all material amenities available to our people but we need to also ensure that there is spiritual satisfaction as well. Hence all our Party workers must be alerted to this vision of making Sikkim overall prosperous, both materially and spiritually, and must work hand in hand with the people to make this a reality.

On our shoulders is the responsibility of making the whole of Sikkim into a model State. We want to ensure prosperity and enrichment both in material and in spiritual terms. Exploitation, communalism and other anti social issues must be ended and we have our program for that. Besides this there are many other social ills as well as anti people

mindsets which need to be corrected by us. For this all our Party workers must unite and work toward this end.

Furthermore, our workers need to transform our society from bad practices and sayings to good praxis and thoughts by working and inspiring them. The new generation Party workers should or must be encouraged to learn new manners and adopt good habits and do away with the prevalent bad habits and manners of yester generation. Bad habits like drug addiction, human trafficking, alcoholism, gambling etc should be eradicated from the society. Instead art and literature, music, sports, meditation, reading, reflection and any other positive entertainment means should be encouraged. One should also be a show this path and encourage our people.

First we ourselves should be physically and mentally fit and show the right path to others. We should conduct various seminars and conferences to make public aware of scientific world and help them to think scientifically in a way that is proved by evidence. This is the beginning of a scientific bent of mind which is so important in today's world.

Only then we will be able to develop culturally and spiritually. Today due to modernization and rapid development air, water, forest, mountains etc and the entire environmental elements are being destroyed. The relation of human beings and nature is being weighed down to only by monetary profit which needs to be stopped.

If we do not heed the warnings of climate change and restore the balance of man with nature then we will have tremendous problems. In the words of George Perkins Marsh, who is considered as the first environmentalist of the USA, in his seminal work 'Man and Nature', has said

that due to the rapid misuse of the resources of the earth the first amongst equals on the planet earth, man himself would become extinct.

During the 19th and 20th centuries it was thought that due to the societal transformation and changes there would be a dawn when man and nature would find a balance through different means. As expected there were changes and revolutionary thought which brought about changes in the direction of environment protection and making human beings aware of environment degradation. However, it was very much short lived. Many environmentalists have started saying that deterioration of the environment would force and motivate people for a social revolution.

Our Party gives importance to the present and future of the human kind. We consider the issue and question of sustainable human interaction with nature as very sacred and important. In my opinion human centered vision and principles should be correlated with the nature. One cannot ignore correlation between humans and nature right from the time SDF was formed and established. Environmental revolution has been a process to unite and coordinate us. Our Party workers have to make themselves completely aware of this very important understanding and take it as their responsibility to spearhead the process of making everyone in Sikkim aware.

In view of our considered vision as aforementioned we need to make the people aware of this and hence I would like to express these in the following points:

- a. Human being is a part of nature. He should have a continuous relationship with the nature in order to survive. The human body is nature hence his life is

also related and connected with nature. SDF workers should work towards this truth and bring awareness about nature.

- b. If we do not agree with one person's right over another then in the same manner we cannot agree with man's right over the earth.
- c. The relationship between earth and labour is such that earth is mother and hard labour is our father. That's why we want to eradicate those produce which would spoil the relationship between the earth and labour. We do not agree with the the development of land and its resources which are shortsighted and unsustainable.
- d. Existence and life is not feasible or possible without respecting nature. We cannot have human life on earth without nature and this is the reality. We, therefore, have to use the natural resources in such a way that those generations who come after us must have enough to live their lives on in the future.
- e. One of the most valuable principles that the SDF Party upholds is giving utmost importance to the relationship between human beings and nature. We will do its our best to usher in and nourish a symbiotic natural relationship between human beings and nature. We must take care of nature and nourish it the same way it nourishes and cares for us.
- f. The SDF Party is working toward building a society which is independent, productive and sustainable. We want economic progress but we do not accept such progress which would harm the environment and nature and is unsustainable. This is because this kind

of progress would not be in the interest of our future generations.

- g. We have to make the people aware of the kinds of input and seeds that deplete the soil fertility. Many such items are being propagated in the name of increasing soil fertility. There are many negative inputs which actually depletes the soil fertility. There are many types of seeds and processes which we should not allow people to use. We should make our people aware of these harmful sources in Sikkim. We should try to stop those forces which are dangerous to our forests and all the activities in Sikkim and indeed the entire world.
- h. In whichever part of the world where human beings boast their victory over nature nature has hit back with extreme ferocity. Various negative results have occurred because of this. If people do not think wisely, nature will take its revenge upon us. Let us take from nature only that which we need and sustainably. These examples and awareness has to be taken to the people and we have to make them aware of it. This is the responsibility of our SDF Party members.
- i. The unequal development between the urban and rural areas is causing acute destruction to nature and the environment. Investing capital only in urban areas and making the rural areas subservient to the urban is an old way of looking at development. Our Party is committed to change this paradigm and bring in a balanced way of development which will also give the rural areas an opportunity to grow and develop equally. This is our motto. This is certainly the common and whole hearted duty of every Party member.

Friends, there are two types of life in this world, one is

material and the other is spiritual. The material world is all about our survival. The life which we are leading now is the material life and it is mortal. It will die. The things which we need to live and sustain ourselves are the things that come under this sphere but only this does not bring happiness. A man should have thinking power without which he is incomplete. This is what we call spiritual life. Modesty, wisdom, beauty, hatred, discussion, respect are all related to our thoughts and these are spiritual in nature. Spiritual life is above all lives which we are living at present. We must not ignore this. All the happenings in our society must be understood in a spiritual way. Even when we know spiritual way is the best way, we still run after money and wealth. The thoughts that everything in life is about material things and wealth is destroying us.

## **Chapter 2: Educational literature of Party**

*(Only for Party members)*

### **Introduction and background**

Old opinions and thoughts do not cast away easily nor do new opinions surface quickly. To help new opinions outgrow the old ones it takes a long time and has to go through lots of work and process. It takes time to replace old ideas and opinions with new ones, likewise old social traditions of our society that should be broken down or eradicated to make a new society will take a lot of hard work, struggle and enormous time. These new ideas and opinions are to be introduced and spread by the principles that the Party stands on. That is why principles are the basic and the prime building blocks of change. However, only principles just cannot be the reason for change or development. To break down injustice and exploitation and for new development many rules and principles have been reconstituted but to see whether these principles and rules really work it needs to be practically tested, used and performance measured.

For example consider - 'Mango is sweet'. It is just like a principle or saying. However, until we taste that mango we would never be able to confirm whether it is sweet and juicy or it is sour and tasteless. That is why to make any rule or principle work it is necessary to have full support and opinion of the people. This support of the people

actually is a political Party. When principles are set it is necessary to make a Party that really reflects those principles. It is important and necessary that these principles are practically proved. The Party needs to be disciplined with good leadership so that it works towards the achievement of the set goals that follow through from principles.

So in order to forge ahead politically, the Party, its principles and leadership are the three main ingredients.

Sometime back, too much oppression, injustice, domination and exploitation were prevalent in Sikkim. At that time Sikkim was under an autocratic party where a handful of people dominated and ruled. It was a self-centered Party and people's democratic rights were curbed. At this time a large number of people had to accept hunger, disease, unhappiness, injustice and oppression by the handful of rulers and their near and dear ones. They all belonged to an elite class and led very high profile lives. It was very necessary at that point of time to overcome such injustices and undemocratic governance and render justice to the people.

It was necessary at that point of time to snatch from these oppressors the people's right. Those few leaders who always oppressed the common people had to be shown the door. But at that time there was no such theory or a Party who could fight against such a powerful monopoly perpetrating such injustice. Nor was there any leader who could show the path. Even when people suffocated under such a rule there were none amongst them who were not able to stand against them.

At that stage, to bring changes we constituted principles which would favor common people and to practically

apply those principles, we formed a Party. To fulfill these two challenges we prepared and decided on a leadership too. In this way the Sikkim Democratic Front was born which had principles to favor and protect public opinion. Formation of this Party does not mean that all the bad and unwanted things in our society has come to an end. It will definitely take a long time to eradicate such bad habits and opinions which have been prevalent in our society from a very long time ago. Till the time such habits and opinions are not erased and stopped, it won't be possible to lay a foundation stone for a new society.

This kind of work is only possible with an established and disciplined Party which gives importance to democratic principles and integrates opinions. We need to promote these thoughts and practice first within the Party itself and it must mature within. To fulfill this need Party workers are therefore the most trusted and valuable resource. That is the reason why the Party's principles, Party's goals and programs as well as the Party's leadership should be true, trustworthy and give themselves wholeheartedly, making them revolutionary in thought and action in order to usher in a new society. This is the prime need of the hour.

### **Subject - Introduction**

Till the time people do not unite getting justice and their rights will not become a reality. This is more true for the poor and marginalised people who have been kept away from their rights and other entitlements. The poor and exploited people coming together means to form their own democratic Party. History is replete with examples wherever the poor and exploited people have come together and formed their own democratic parties they have been able to overcome injustice and freedom from exploitation and their oppressors. Our work is also proof of this fact. That

is why those who are poor, exploited and denied proper justice should free themselves from the hands of exploiters and come in the forefront. Hence the question of getting justice does not arise if the poor and downtrodden do not unite and fight for their rights.

Historically the poor people of Sikkim did not have our own Party. Hence the exploiters, in the name of people, opened different parties just to rule the people, to attain power to fulfill their own selfish motives. Especially to enrich themselves. We the poor people had no choice but to run from one Party to another, trusting them. Whichever leader came the poor were always deceived, worse oppressed. We were always exploited. At that point of time there was no democratic Party, the poor and disabled lived under a Reign of Terror. They became the victim of circumstances and had to bow their heads down to injustice and exploitation. But in the year 1993 a Party unanimously supported by people came into being which is our own Sikkim Democratic Front Party, which gave spine breaking response to those oppressors.

Today the people of Sikkim have their own Party. Not only that, it is supported and liked by all. I have told "This is the first ray of light (comfort) in the lives of the people. We would like to change this in a very sunny day". This means that the peoples democracy has not ended, it has just begun. To give justice, right and benefits to Sikkimese people and to convert that 'first ray of light' into a 'full sunny day' is our first goal. To reach this goal we need wise, alert, disciplined and united Party members. Hence we will talk about our Party members and Party workers here itself.

### **Subject - Ties and Unity**

We need to understand that fighting all alone would not

end the hardships of the people. For this a common Party for all is essential. We have come to know from our own experiences that if people are united and unidirectional to win then success follows. So now what kind should our people's political Party be? What should be there in it and what should not be there? How should it function? How should the relationship between people and Party be? What should be the contribution and responsibility of Party workers? How will the Party workers make the Party strong and fruitful? Since so many questions need to be answered, we will discuss them in the following paragraphs.

We have discussed earlier that to overcome exploitation, oppression, injustice and to safeguard political, social and economic state people form a Party. In the struggle for freedom, the Party should unite to play the role of a leader. As our Party is born to fight for the poor and downtrodden we should be able to successfully fulfill that historical role. Our Party is the one which fights for those who are ground under. We should wholeheartedly and politically be strong like an iron. In every Sikkimese people there is a hidden energy which can convert poor Sikkim into a prosperous Sikkim, under developed Sikkim into a developed Sikkim and a Sikkim which has handful of miscreants into a unified Sikkim. To bring out this energy and to use it for new development and to fight for justice is in the hands of the faithful SDF Party workers. Our Party and workers need to be enlightened, be serious and honest to work and fulfill this role and responsibility of ours.

### **What does our Party want?**

The SDF Party's main aim is to ensure equity and justice to the people of Sikkim. Until and unless we do not topple those exploiters and miscreants there is no way people

will get justice. That's why our aim is to overthrow the set of exploiters and miscreants and to hand over the Government into the hands of the people. This supports the slogan "In people's kingdom, people are the kings" and "People are the rulers in people's rule". To make "A new Sikkim and a happy and prosperous Sikkim" is our dream for which we will create such facilities and atmosphere where injustice and exploitation will never raise its ugly head. There will be a people's Government with justice, equity and equality for all. Furthermore we need to co-create an environment where this kind of justice and equality of opportunity for all our people will be sustained.

### **What are our initial requirements?**

In shouldering this awesome and pure responsibility to the people our Party's principles must be most resolute, innovative, committed and progressive. This must be a Party which is committed to the people and the ideals we talked about. Alongside all this it must be transformed in our behaviour and must be capable.

Our officials and Party workers besides being fast and alert should also be able to learn and understand. Our Party workers should have the knowledge of revolutionaries and liberation fighters of other countries and the historical perspectives therein. They should also have the knowledge of such historical situations where mass movements have fought for the liberation.

They should be able to understand the progress of those freedom struggle movements as well as the end results. Along with this our Party members and leaders should have a deep understanding of Party theory and principles and also support it from their heart. Otherwise it will become

a lame Party. Today, we are apathetic and indifferent towards this. We proudly say that we are the best in front of the people but amongst us there are Party members who don't know the Party ideology, programs, Party functions and Party literature. This situation and attitude needs to be changed. Someone who does not know and understand and learn our Party principles and programs cannot be a Party worker, leave aside being a leader.

### **Our Party emerges with a new paradigm and pathway**

We have to understand that our Party is very different and a People's Party with a new paradigm and way. Our Party is based on principles and programs and has a vision to achieve a glorious goal through the hard work and dedication of its members. Our Party should work towards the development of new and harmonious society by uniting people, taking initiative to lead them and helping them to realise their capabilities and strengths. We should never forget that just by gathering people a Party is not formed; it should have a central leadership, principles aligned working principles, solid programs and strong discipline. Just by gathering stones, mud, water, bricks, timber etc a house is not built. In the same way just by gathering people a Party is not formed, otherwise rallies and public gatherings can also be termed as a Party. The SDF Party means that which will solve the people's common problems, which has Party workers who have come into the field of politics to work unitedly. We should always keep in mind that Party's ideology (theory) and programs (behaviour) unison should never break or lost sight of.

### **Let us be Disciplined Party Workers**

To say that a Party would be born without discipline, unity and centralization is like bolt from the blue or expecting

mango fruit from a neem tree. When there is a lack of discipline in any association it will dry up and slowly fail. While discussing discipline it is necessary to know from where and how it develops. We love our people; we want their problems to be solved in relation to food, education and health. In other words we are public devotees; we give ourselves to the people. The Party has been formed to solve the problems of the people. After all, our Party is an institution to represent the people, that is why the person who loves people should also respect and love the leader who leads the Party. This love and respect will develop discipline. What kind of manner and attitude a Party worker will show has been discussed in the Party and shown by the leaders of the Party. In one word we can term it as Party ethics or morals. To maintain Party ethics and follow Party orders is to be disciplined. In reality to be disciplined means to love Party and people. We should understand that one who is not disciplined does not love and respect people. The Party's main wealth is the honest and disciplined Party workers. People love and trust that Party which is filled with disciplined Party workers. In such Party's invitation people are ready and willing to make big sacrifices. In this way when Party workers are disciplined people will love and respect them and even the common people will follow Party regulations and become disciplined. Party workers should show and be an example of discipline.

There is a deep relationship between an organisation and discipline. We should not make the mistake of separating these two from each other. The Party is a coming together of aware people as well as a power of unison. They should be able to function individually as well as collectively for the Party programs.

When you work for the same objective and same aim we need to be tied together with the strings of discipline. All members should work together as one. There should be unity in the opinions and unity in the association also. Since our Party is administered and run in a democratic way there is a freedom for each member to discuss and critique the opinions but work wise we should be united. This freedom is not given to bring differences and disunity but to make the unity strong so that our objectives are achieved smoothly. We should always keep in mind that we should never indulge in such work which would break the discipline of the Party.

In the context of discipline let it be understood that there is nothing greater than the Party and the centrality of it. Let the Party progress in the form of People's Party. Let the Party develop in the form of People's united power. We should be faithful to the Party in order to protect and guard the welfare of the people. Party workers should remain faithful towards the Party like the devotees who are faithful towards their deity because they are the ones who serve the public and raise the flag of justice. We should be faithful, disciplined and ready to sacrifice for the Party which ceaselessly asserts and fights for the people's justice, equality, rights and respect.

### **Let us make our Party the People's Party**

We always have to keep this in mind and never forget that the People's Party realises and is upheld on the power of the lay people. No revolutionary Party has been formed or will be formed without the support of the people. Our Party will remain strong and powerful till the time we have deep symbiotic trusting relationship with the people. The day the Party is isolated from the masses it will start to

weaken. We should always be prepared to do any kind of sacrifice to win the people's support and trust. It is very important to understand that trust and support from the people is our greatest asset. Party workers should leave no stone unturned to make the Party strong and to help it grow from strength to strength.

The main aim of the Party is to protect and fight for the welfare of the people. This needs to be done in practice rather than just talking about it (rhetoric). In this regard we need to remember that we are the soldiers who fight on behalf of the people for their justice. Instead of invoking casteism and communalism, we need to be pro poor, pro equality and equity and always mindful of democratic principles.

### **Let us be simple, creative and courageous**

The People have great hopes and aspirations from our Party and its leaders. That is why we need to have the best possible behaviour in all humility. We need firmly resolve to attain our political goals through proper orientation and develop political intelligence. We also need to develop the ability to remain united and enable the people to walk in those footsteps. All that is happening in this world does not happen in a haphazard way. Rather it follows a systematic path and happens in a systematic way. Whichever country or community it might be there is always a conflict between the haves and havenots, between the rich and poor and there is always a balance of power in due to these conflicts. Within this power balance dynamic we can see ups and downs and changes in society. We need to educate ourselves in a scientific way so that our society progresses in a creative way and develops its skills and talent. Our members should always be open to rectify any kind of

shortcomings they have. They should rectify their mistakes, be disciplined and be committed to the Party. We should not hesitate to be a self-critical. If our mistakes are not criticized openly, accepted with respect or rectified on time (introspection), the Party will not be able to reach its goal.

### **Let us become proactive and set examples**

We need to improve our skills and opportunities and openly develop our self-criticism through deep introspection. We should learn to love and respect the people and win their trust. It is very important to have good character to work with the people and have to accept this from the heart so that we set good examples. We all know that in history of Sikkim many governments came along with high profile people. These people lacked good character, discipline and commitment; because of this our society deteriorated. They lost the trust of the people. Along with this they were erased from the hearts of the people. From this we need to learn, in a very positive way, from their mistakes and work with full consciousness of that.

### **Female workers should not be narrow minded and weak**

Our Party's female workers should never consider themselves as weak and helpless. This feeling and principle was prevalent before and they were dominated and were made helpless. No other help was given to them. We need to free ourselves from this feeling and thought and help our female fraternity and teach them the hymns to be strong and broad-minded. And our female worker should never be considered themselves as instruments of utility or as toys for use. We should have high moral character and work against all types of injustice and exploitation. They should prove themselves equal to men. We are in that golden age where in every level of leadership, in every

class of society, in every direction of life there is women's empowerment. They have strong and powerful intervention in every field. In this auspicious time, every woman should be creative and skillful and add to our Party's strength and determination.

### **We are the friends of the common people**

While accepting Party programs and principles we should develop good habits which will always empathise and be there for the common people in their good and bad times. In our society there are various types of people and they have their own opinions and thoughts. First of all we need to understand their thoughts and opinions.

To criticize the common people with irony and making fun of their situation is never part of our set up and principles. We should not be doing such type of unwanted activities. We the Party workers should play the role of a leader as well as the ones to show the right path to the common people. After understanding their thoughts and opinions we need to teach them how to have better concepts and develop better understanding. In the course of our work we need to be a true social worker and get politically mature with every kind of work we engage in. Then only we will be able to progress as a true leader. Each one of us needs to be disciplined, follow Party directives and work unselfishly for the people. Party members should be able to take a personal responsibility of all the work that they do.

### **Let us focus on the expansion of our Party**

A philosopher who is also a leader has said "there is nothing more united than a Party." We need to understand this deeply and make our Party very strong and powerful. We need to work hard to develop deep bonds with the people

who are outside our Party. We need to create cordial relationship with them. We have to work on these relationships and try to make it better so that they become very close with our politics and principles. Alongside with respecting the beliefs of people we need to work towards the eradication of narrow concepts. The Party should move ahead with Party work and influence the people through trust and good examples.

### **Let us accept the ideology of unity and move towards the Party goals**

We have created a Party in which there is an open environment for its growth based on pro people politics and ideology. In order to enable the Party to function effectively we have one Centre, One leader, One kind of rules which need one kind of discipline with equal respect which works on the principle that the majority view will prevail over the minority. This is the democratic principle. Every Party worker should work for the Party's unity and Party's discipline. To save the high moral leadership of Party members, we need to sacrifice and surrender. This will turn that "first ray of comfort (light)" into a "sunny day" and it will not take much time for this transformation. There will be a new sun with new rays which will shine in our lives. Every level of Party workers are working towards the development of a new Sikkim. We want all Sikkimese people to be prosperous. Each one of us is moving towards a new path of development. All these are in the hands of our progressive Party workers which no force on earth can take away, instead it has become stronger and will continue to do so. Our Party is moving towards this aim and goal with full trust, excitement and satisfaction and will continue to do so.

## **Chapter 3: Philosophy, principles, Politics and political organisation**

We are under a political Party and we are administering political happenings. But we need to ask the question that what is politics for me? This ordinary question might not be clear in the minds of many. We also do not take this question seriously enough perhaps. Even if this question might be simple it is important to understand it and hence, we are discussing this question.

Society has been formed with many people coming together. Our society has different types of people who speak different languages, who follow different culture and traditions, and who have different economic status. Different types of relationship have been formed among these different types of people. Politics is that which works for the favor and support, for those different people who have different relationship with different groups of people. This is a societal relationship. Societal relationship does not mean a blood relation which we have with mother, father, brother, sisters etc, it is little different. This can be clearly understood with the help of an example.

When India was under British rule Indians were slaves and British were masters. That type of societal relationship had been developed then. In order to dominate and to loot Indians continuously many activities were carried out. That was their politics or the way to rule. On the other hand to

chase away the British and to be the master of their own country, Indians were trying out different means and fighting for it. That was the politics of Indians. This is the politics between the countries. Even inside the same country people work for themselves and for their people's benefit. Various mass organizations and associations work for their own benefit. Social workers work for the poor and exploiters work for their own benefit. In this way even in a same society there are two types of political systems which are fighting with each other and they are in confrontation.

There are therefore two types of political outlooks. In Sikkim there are some people who are in politics just to misuse state budget and other types of wealth. But we want to get involved in such political behaviour where state wealth and budget reaches the mass majority of people in our state. Our politics is 'people centered politics' and their politics is 'politics that exploits'.

Politics is a means to run or administer a state or a country but the main thing is who will lead it? Most important thing out here is who is going to lead? The chief of the group of handful of exploiters or the Party which is for the poor and laborious people. Exploiters push the people into darkness where they remain poor, illiterate and unfit. They only think about themselves and their dear and near ones and misuse the wealth of poor people to have fun and various other luxuries. This is the only reason they want to govern. We are ruling the state and would like to rule so that people of Sikkim can have comfort and each can earn their own living. They say many types of lies and spread unnecessary rumors. They want to follow such principle which would forcefully profit them by all means. This is their way of politics. On the other hand, we want the

growth and success of our people by making them aware of their rights and powers. Because of this our politics has become a politics of people or for the people.

Why do dictators not do politics which would be in favor of people? Such type of questions have arisen at many a places. The answer is – dictators follow the philosophy and principles of exploitation and anti-socialization. That is why they do not get involved in politics which favors the people. In Sikkim, we had many leaders but they never tried to make people understand about their philosophies and principles because they knew if the people become aware and conscious they would not be able to exploit and dominate. Our Party's political aim is to make people aware in a political way. To make people aware and conscious in a political way it is necessary to educate them about philosophies, principles, behaviour and empowerment.

So, let us discuss about philosophy and principles.

In lay man's language philosophy means the root. Principles are the branches and politics is the fruit of it. The branches are dependent on the root and the fruit which you get depends upon the root and its branches. If the roots and the branches are of a fig tree you cannot expect an apple from it. This is the reason why dictators and exploiters have their philosophy and principles which are against the people like their politics.

Actually philosophy and principles are difficult topics but it very essential to have a deep understanding. Those friends who want to be deeply engaged in politics need to be clear regarding the philosophy, ideology and principles. We all need to study these topics deeply. First, let us discuss about philosophy.

Philosophy came into being when we wanted to understand the world. To understand the world is to understand the entire material world and human society. How was this world made? Why is there continuous change? What are the rules that govern which makes this world move ahead? In the search for answers to these questions philosophers and philosophy came into being. Ultimately to understand the world is to understand the our existence, development and administration. It is also to know the relationship of one thing with another thing. Philosophy is the science to understand the world and the human society. This is one of the forms of social consciousness.

Philosophy differs with each human being. It is not same for everyone. We can give an example to make it clear. Say there is an earthquake. One man would think that the earth was shaken by a fish. People have this kind of reasoning where there is no education. Some say it is the elephant's shoulder that shook it, others say that it is the python which shook the earth. In one way these are the thoughts regarding the earthquake and in other way an educated and an aware person will give a scientific reason for an earthquake.

A person who has an understanding of natural happenings would know the correct reason of an earthquake. This means that a person who have a clear concept of philosophy would know the real cause behind the natural happenings of the universe and the person who does not have a clear concept about philosophy would give unrealistic results for the same happening. The same applies for all the happenings in our society.

Those who understand natural science will have the true understanding of the reasons for the earthquake.

All the happenings in the society as well as in nature happens due to reasons. All these happenings needs to be truly understood and know the real cause behind it. Natural happenings like the earthquake, flood, thunder, hail storm etc keep happening. Happenings like revolution, warfare, outbreak, uprising, change in the government etc are the ones that are prevalent in the society. Apart from these, small happenings are always prevalent in the society.

In Sikkim, previous Governments dominated people and terrorized them. This situation was understood by some as the way to establish peace and tranquility but we saw that as the people's democratic rights being seized. We have the right philosophy. We try to understand the natural and societal happenings. The exploiters' view the world and its happenings in a negative way. Since, philosophy is the one through which we look at the world, understand the society and the science for change, it is imperative to have a clear understanding of that philosophy.

From philosophy through which we explain happenings, society and things, principles come into being. When we understand the world and its existence we gain true and real knowledge. This accumulation of knowledge are the principles. This knowledge helps us to have a clear and complete picture of our society and nature. We can also say that the principles are procured from a uniform state. For instance, someone touched fire, it burns; another person touched it, it burns; everyone touched, everyone got burnt. To touch is a state, from that uniform state one principle is procured that 'fire burns'. This way a principle is obtained. Ultimately principle means the conclusion of a state of behaviour.

Once we procure one principle, it paves the way for many

principles. In the leadership of George Washington, Americans were liberated. French revolted against Louis, Russians against the Czar Kerensky and got liberation. **These revolutions in the world gave birth to a principle that if the exploited and oppressed people unite together and fight they will get liberty.** And this principle became a ray of light. In support of this principle we also believed that if the people of Sikkim unitedly struggle and strive we will be able to uproot or abolish anti-people elements, people and opinions. In this way the philosophy and principles stood us in good stead and showed us the correct path.

In this context it means that correct philosophy gives birth to correct principles.

That is why if we don't stand firmly with principles there won't be people favoring politics. And because of this we need to be rock solid and firm with our principles. Once there is a principle that 'fire burns', we should not be saying that 'fire also burns' and 'fire also does not burn'. Once it is understood that people's victory will be profitable for self and if it does not turn out that way exploiters tend to unite with the people's enemy. This will lead to the victory of the people's enemy. This is being opportunist rather than a person who sticks to the principles.

Here, again a question may arise which is the most significant- philosophy, principle or politics?

First of all philosophy of life should be appropriate and correct. Once a philosophy is correct, correct principle is to be accepted. If we can do politics based on correct principles then only there will be liberty and emancipation of the people and happiness can be brought about.

Now, let's discuss in short about our SDF Party's philosophy,

principles and politics. It is already said that our Party is based on Party philosophy and principles. Our life's philosophy is to understand the world as it is and interpret in the same way. The information of society and nature's progress is also given by the life's philosophy. We favor a philosophy based on truth. We have procured democratic principles based on that philosophy which support and help us to move ahead with our people's politics and it will support in the days to come. Our Party has philosophy based on truth, revolutionary principles and people centric politics. We have to understand that the Party is the forefront where we need to be united in order to establish economic and social upliftment.

In simple words there are people with different status in our society. This means that they have different economic and political status. There are few who have such situations where they have to eat by searching, some eat the harvest for six months and the other six months they work outside to earn a living. Some have more than enough and lavish. In some houses many children are there who cannot afford to buy medicines and wholesome food and die of diseases and hunger. Whereas in other houses even a dog lives in luxury and comfort. All these people who have different situations have different desires. In order to work for these different kinds of situations, different types of parties are formed.

Again in our society there are two types of people. One group toils hard to earn a living; the other group exploits to accumulate wealth. In general there are only two types of parties. One is like our Party which actively participates for the upliftment of the poor and oppressed and other which exploits by terrorizing and suppressing the people. It is true that poor people's life is also not even. But the

main truth is that every poor person would like to have emancipation and freedom from poverty. That is why all poor people with different kind of occupations and levels have united together to form the Sikkim Democratic Front Party.

Mass organizations are formed to bring to the forefront their problems and demands. For example farmers' association, labor association, womens' association, students' association and the like. Mass organizations bridge the gap between Party and the people. Party's politics, programmes and aims are made communicated to the people through these organizations. Say for example, students' association gives the information about the problems of the students to the Party, and Party explains the principles and programs that are made to solve such problems to the students. The relationship between the Party and the people should be life-long, active and alive. We should never forget that if the Party remains out of touch with the people the Party will not survive.

## **Chapter 4: Principles, Strategy, Tactics and Slogans**

I have been giving priority and thought at every moment for our Party's revolutionary principles. What is the reason for this? Giving emphasis to principles so that there is broad acceptance and practice of such principles. Practising diligently will ensure the fruits of our labour.

The main objective of revolution is that people who fight for the revolution is due to principles of revolution. We cannot move forward by forgetting those people who have taken on the burden of principle of revolution and may have suffered in due course. That is why I have regularly put in effort to bring in practice the principles of revolutionary conduct. To work without principles is to walk blindfolded; which is the same as to aim an arrow without the bow.

Principles help people to work in the right direction. Without principles, no revolution can happen. Without pro-poor principles one cannot take on the revolution of removal of poverty. Without the practice of the revolutionary principles, the revolution is incomplete. To bring societal change without revolutionary principles is meaningless. Principles are the reason why our revolution will become successful and the total status of the society will be transformed. Contemporary and future societal powers and what form they will remain will be completely

dependent on the principles on which they are founded.

In the past, Sikkim has seen the rule of anti-social elements and exploiters. However, they were not able to last long because revolution was brought about by the people, based upon the revolutionary principles of which we are talking about. If we forget this, then we will again reach the same situation. However, if we embrace the revolutionary principles and move ahead, then we can sustain the status of success which we have reached as of now. In fact, we will bring the people more prosperity over and above where they have presently reached.

Where there is an exploitation, there will be a revolution. I have already stated earlier that political reaction comes on account of economic and social situations. That also tells us that politics is a war without violence and war is politics of violence. We use the word revolution all the time. But in reality is it revolution? Very few people understand this. In essence we also understand that the society is constantly changing. This kind of change can be seen in two lights - one is in quantitative terms and other is in qualitative terms. The essence of change has to be understood in the context of original change in these two lights. There is a gradual heating in the process of hatching its eggs, by the hen. And the change there is in an original form and is also real.

Similarly the situation of poor people will gradually change. In society also, among backward people there will be change in their awareness level once they start benefitting from ordinary facilities. But the larger qualitative change in a society is when the people who are being exploited become empowered, free from both exploitation and the exploiters. In other words, that is real revolution. This

revolution should not be forgotten even for a second. Even when we are in a situation of the ruling Government, we must consider ourselves continuously as revolutionaries. In front of us there is present and ever long list of work which needs to be completed. The Party must take this responsibility and every member of the Party must do his/her job for this. Our principles enshrined in our Party manifesto, Party literature and other documentation must never be lost sight of. Serious introspection is the need of the hour.

To build a new, prosperous and happy Sikkim is our goal. What kind of work do we need to do to realize this goal? This question needs to be answered. And in order to do this we have already stated that it has to start at the root with the principles. But the road is not a straightforward or an easy one. If it is so difficult to make one family a happy one , imagine how difficult the task of making everyone in Sikkim happy and prosperous is. Even to start our revolution the number of obstacles that have been put in our path by the anti-people forces is huge. The anti-people forces divide the people on the basis of community and caste, and they try to break our unity . They are selfish and enrich themselves by exploiting the people by taking away their rights. This has happened in the past and does continue to be present even today. Along with the difficulties brought by these anti-social elements and the prevalent illiteracy, dogmatism has to be overcome in order to fulfill the goal of building a new and prosperous Sikkim. Majority of people who toil will be victorious with certainty. But to be victorious it things cannot be done in a hurry. The agitation has to be done in such a way that there is a greater benefit rather than loss and for this we need to find ways and means. We need to be totally

mindful of the methodology that we adopt.

The working class of people have to be made aware and be united to fight for the rights and that victory is guaranteed. Trust can only be gained if we work with the aforementioned principle. The enemies of our society, in other words - the exploiters and anti-social elements, will continue to find new ways and means to deny rights to people. We will be able to overcome them when we uphold the principles of our revolution. There is no two ways about it. If we are able to think and reflect on the principles on which we stand, then only will we be able to understand and practice it. The Party has published plenty of books, leaders evocations of the principles and these need to be used to understand the principles of our politics.

With patience, hard work and complete reflection on these matters, it will become clear who is friend of the people and who is people's enemy. The vision and the principles will form the basis of our work. The priorities will also become clear and indeed the plans and programs thereafter. The work, the plans and strategy all come together under the banner of policy which is based upon our principles. This kind of policy are of two kinds - one is called tactics and the other strategy. Homelessness, exploitation, inequality, begging, nepotism, corruption etc are the reality of people's problems.

This kind of situation is what the exploiters of the people want to maintain. We would like to awaken the people so that they can arise against these kind of exploitation. One of the thoughts on how to fight against these kinds of oppression comes under the policy guideline called strategy. And in order to ensure that this kind of strategy works, we have other rules and attributes which we call

them as tactics. The strategies that have been created need not necessarily be differentiated over time. During our time and our uprising, with the help of the workers, farmers and other poorer people (formed the most important step in the strategy) is in itself a form of strategy.

The direction given to the people in the form of revolutionary mindset and programs is in itself also a part of the overall strategy. In the context of Sikkim, we had kept in focus the demolition of the anti-people thoughts and their paraphernalia. We created that one phase during which we got rid of those kind of thoughts and their paraphernalia. Our strategy was to eliminate those kind of thoughts and deeds and to establish our thoughts and deeds. In this we did not budge, however, after the establishment of our Government, the start of another phase of our fight and revolution has begun. And hence, the strategy for this phase of our fight and revolution has changed.

After removal of the establishment of the exploiters and their Government, they became wrathful and sought revenge on the people. They were willing to go to any extent to get back to power and position with which they had all fallen in love. In order to breakup the people, they used the means of poison called communalism which they started spreading. The consequence of their long stay in power has resulted in corruption, nepotism, laziness and complete lack of responsibility. In fact all of these negative attributes were institutionalized. In order to remove all these evils from our establishment and our society we had to start another revolution, which entailed the institutionalization of democratic principles. Hence, in that spirit this new strategy had to be taken up boldly, as we started it.

Let me also elaborate and throw a little bit of light on tactics. During struggle and uprising water is available through different forms including wines etc. These wines and other elements allow us to reach our goal quickly and in an easier fashion. Use of these elements can be termed as tactics. For an example, let me elaborate the way in which the people rose up in protest at *Ahaleytar* that can be construed as a tactic in the overall context of our strategy. Demonstration, processions, speeches etc are all forms of the tactics that we employ. Strategy within an uprising will not change but tactics may change within hours. In the case of strategy we need to be clear and sustained about. But in the case of tactics we need to be more flexible. Tactics will have to change when we find the enemy has also changed tactics and this can happen within hours. For instance, if we have called a demonstration for a particular purpose, but after few hours we find that the enemy has taken another step, (by which) then we understand that our demonstration is going to be profitable to him whilst causing us some embarrassment; in such a situation, we have to immediately stop that particular demonstration and take another step at that point.

If looked at in an ordinary way then we are just the stewards of the people's rule. Looking at the situation then democracy is the ability of intellectuals in our society to voice their opinions and research based on their beliefs. For workers, democracy is the ability to find work and food and shelter. For the farmer, it is the ability to find the best prices for their produce as well as to get the benefits of better farming practices from Government and other sources. For the young school going children, democracy is the access to be able to go to schools and educate themselves to prepare for higher learning and work. For

women, democracy would mean getting equal status and rights as their male counterparts. For those without any land or home, finding one is their definition of democracy. And when all the people of Sikkim find themselves as true owners of their land, Sikkim, then it will be their true democratic right and its full manifestation.

Our politics is based upon our ideology and principles. Hence we have effective plans for today as well as for the future. For example, we had an agitational slogan for the workers called '*Aadha Numberi*'. But after we came to power we have changed the same to a slogan of action. Giving students uniform, land to the landless, benefits to the farmers, freedom to the press, etc were all agitational slogans. But in today's context they have all been transformed into slogans of action.

During the agitational period we had slogans like '*barefooted, rubber chappaled unite*'. Those have now become part of our program of work. It is true that many farmers due to work do not wear shoes. But there are many who do not wear footwear due to lack of resources. Similarly the idiom of rubber *chappaled* is true for the vast majority of workers. These are symbols which we have used to unite the oppressed people against the exploiters who formed the Government of that day. In reality there is little hope of any form of real uprising without the united front of workers and farmers. In order to build a new and happy Sikkim the unity of the entire populace who are oppressed is a necessary condition. Hence the shared and simple vision of creating a New and Prosperous (happy) Sikkim was created in a slogan form to forge unity. This slogan is part of our strategic vision and will continue to be relevant for a long period of time.

The question of forging unity of all the workers and farmers is the most important and a valuable one. Hence the barefooted idiom will continue to be a forceful part of our strategic framework. Today it has become a central part of our working plan and hence it will continue to be of significance in the area of building our agitational and developmental platform in the future.

Sikkim democratic front has always given priority to one of our slogans. The slogan is the building of a new, prosperous and happy Sikkim. The straightforward meaning of this that we will work very hard towards the building of a new, prosperous and happy Sikkim. Even though we have repeated this slogan many a time, we have given little attention to its real meaning. Our organizations different levels and fronts and people who have responsibility in them should need to understand the meaning of this slogan.

We are saying we want to create a new sikkim. First, let us get some clarity on this itself. In other words, what are we saying about the old Sikkim? After we find clarity in the difference between old and new sikkim, can we move forward to understand the real meaning of this particular slogan.

We consider the 'Old Sikkim' as those who oppressed the people by appropriating all the powers of the State in the hands of one person and his coterie. The budget earmarked for the people was distributed between the head of the State and his coterie to squander it on themselves, thereby enriching themselves and that is what we consider the old Sikkim. These enemies of the erstwhile kingdom not only merged Sikkim into India but also for a long time managed to retain the powers of government - we consider this situation as the old Sikkim. In the sphere of politics,

economics, culture and societal issues people had no say, no voice and no freedom to voice their concerns. This situation definitely is not one which we can call democratic. Till the time the real people's Party came and formed the government the status was as aforementioned. That was the old Sikkim.

This kind of status and situation in which Sikkim was, we consider that as the 'old Sikkim'. The wrongdoings of the Government, the instances of atrocities, the attacks on the press and media including the destruction of press premises and machines - this we call the 'old Sikkim'. Not only that much but those who opposed the political regime of that time, young Sikkimese boys and girls who were paraded naked in Gangtok town; all those happenings everyone is aware of. Only we know how much of such violence was resorted to. This way the people were subjected to political violence which is only present in the jungle and this is what we consider the situation as 'old Sikkim'. With the force of status and money, women's honour was routinely attacked and this created social and societal degradation. This we consider as the 'old Sikkim'.

This anti-people Government was overthrown overnight and the beginnings of a new Sikkim was started. But building a new Sikkim is not the only aim. We want to create new Sikkim which is both happy and prosperous. Our goal is to create an equal society which is sustainable and is full of respect for itself. We want a Sikkim in which one man will not be able to do injustice to another nor dehumanise another. This is our final goal. We have before us some immediate work on agenda and we call this a minimum program which will be done in the interim. Those without a roof will be given houses. Workers will be given minimum wages. Farmers will be provided with

different kinds of inputs, technical and price support for their produce. Students will be provided with the amenities to learn, woman's honour and respect will be protected and in all aspects of life they will be able to contribute even in the highest posts, government servants will be provided all incentives and other amenities, intellectuals and thinkers will be given support and inspiration, those citizens who are without help or support, will be provided with the necessary help immediately.

We have been doing all these. With this kind of understanding the State had become free from any form of fear or psychosis. We have been able to usher in a freedom in a democratic environment. This has been the first phase of our success of work. With all this kind of pro people deeds our goal will be fulfilled if we are able to do the societal revolution. This will enable our society to move forward and progress with harmony in the fields of education, culture and in the different schemes of our society. Whether we remain in the government or opposition our efforts will be always be considered in this manner. When we are in the Government we are the people from the villages and we remain in the villages, we will continue to fight for reaching the darbar. Our victory will ultimately happen because of our awareness and unity amongst the people and such a people led revolution has never failed in the history of mankind.

## **Chapter 5: Let us introspect deeply; Let us right the wrongs; Let us learn from the people and then let us move ahead**

*(This is meant for the Party members from the Centre to the village level)*

In the deep study of the history of development of societies and its principles it becomes evident that at some point in time there is an ascendancy of the King and kingdom. Again in the same vein it is seen that this feudal system will tend to start functioning in a dictatorial manner, oppressing the very people who made this possible. This will be the end of the system and it is seen in the pages of history that this end is inevitable. Sikkim is an example of such a Kingdom which began and which ended in similar fashion. But the paradox is that even when it ended the feudalism and oppression of the people continued in the new regime which was supposed to end it. On the contrary the oppression increased and the people had to bear a new and strange system.

Recent history of Sikkim suggests that the people's power and movement to overthrow the King began in 1973 and we may consider the advent of democracy in Sikkim in 1975, after the merger with India. But from 1973 to 1979 the democratic forces who gave leadership became inward looking and hungry for power and enrichment. These very weaknesses were exploited by the next set of people to get

onto the Government. These were the anti people and anti democratic forces in the name of people came into power. Their rule was extended in this manner, through use of force and anti people slogans, making people cower and unleashing a reign of terror till 1994. During this period the rule was endemic in people oppression, corruption of a few and undemocratic with silencing of all forms of voices and protest.

Hence at this time, when we compare our Party and its unity, its face and its principles, with other political outfits, then we can feel happy and comforted that we are a pro people Party. We have managed to bring in democratic reforms as well as give voice to the voiceless. Yet in doing so, we need to work that much more harder to be able to stay relevant. We need to continuously assess our Party's work and see whether we are failing in our execution of our pro poor and pro people ideology. We have to make our commitment to our pro people agenda and agitation that much more sharply focussed.

To bring a sea change in a society is impossible without a unified Party around democratic principles led by a set of revolutionaries who are totally committed to the cause. We have revolutionary thoughts and ideals but in order to totally bring that into practice we have some way to go and a lot of hard work to do. The revolutionary Party and framework is ready. However, to make the ideology central to this framework needs many more hours and days of continuous effort from the constituents of the Party. The work of strengthening the Party is the job of the workers. The workers from the level of the grassroots to the central office have to take full responsibility on their shoulders and work toward understanding the revolutionary principles and how they ought to be brought into practice.

Let us take this thought forward and make it much more doable and energetic.

From time to time we need to reflect on our principle and work, we need to clean up our act and to be able to read and reflect on the Party literature and take this message and work forward. If we do not reflect on our weaknesses and do not correct them, then we will only weaken the Party and bring losses to our people. It is not only in the context of governance but all the work related to the Party that needs the attention of Party workers so that it is energised and works toward our larger purpose. So in this context I would like to opine on the necessity of looking at our Party's weaknesses and how to overcome them in the larger interest of the people. Whatever I put forward I would insist that the Party workers take it seriously, think about it, reflect on it and change their behaviour especially toward the grassroots people, getting closer to them and understanding their issues. This way the Party will become that much more stronger and our aims and objects will be achieved quicker.

### **The question of principles, ideology and thoughts**

I keep on emphasising the issue of principle led life and behavior is the answer to many of the societal beliefs. In order to make this understanding easier I would say that many ways of life have been experimented upon by different people and societies. These experiments have proved this knowledge that principle centered life is the way forward for progressive societies. The revolutionary principles which have been found by people led movements is the principle of revolution to attain democratic freedoms. This then becomes the weapons of power which can be used by the people to transform their lives. These are the weapons which empower the army of

the people. Hence these ideas are the ones that are the most powerful in the world. Parties which do not embrace these thoughts and ideals are like people who flock to a flea market, directionless.

My dear friends. We have made and created principles for everything from politics, ideology, economy, language, arts and literature, communities and castes, empowerment of women etc and all other major questions. In our literature you will find answers and principles to view and empower the people positively in all kinds of spheres and contexts. On the question of principles there is no other Party which will come close compared to this. Our literature if read properly, understood in full and then transformed it into positive action based on the principles will make our cadres strong. Those who follow this relentlessly will in time become the leaders of the future. After learning and reflecting on these principles outlined in our Party literature each and every question that arises in societal science will be answered. One can find ready answers and arguments to buttress any question that arises out of social and societal problems.

### **Leading simple lives, talking with humility – the behavioural aspects**

If one student is not a good one then many students may risk destroying their lives. If there is an arrogant and incompetent doctor then many lives are at risk of getting lost. If one officer is incompetent and does not serve the people then many people will find it problematic. However, if the politicians who are careless and unprincipled reach the helm of power then the chances of the entire society getting destroyed are great. This simple truth should never be lost sight of by us political elements. Political leaders

must be very careful in all aspects of life as this is one great responsibility of giving the leadership to our society.

We are all the time in the midst of innocent people. They are looking toward us for leadership and will take the opportunity to learn from us. This focussed attention on us is to the extent of what we eat, how we behave with others and how we live. In reality our lives are very limited due to this constant vigilance by the people. We have therefore no private life. Hence our lives must be such that it is understood by ordinary people. It must be simple to understand.

In this context the earlier rulers wanted to create for themselves and their families a european lifestyle to show to the world hiding the poverty afflicted people of Sikkim. This was the main reason that the people of Sikkim overthrew them. In comparison to this ours and our friends lifestyle is quite simple. However, we have to be cautious, because of the power we have we are at risk to misuse it for personal benefit in order to enrich ourselves and our families. This is a behaviour which can be easily understood by the people and will weaken the foundations of the Party. Therefore we need to be ever vigilant. Therefore in the midst of the people we should not show off our good food, imported watches and glasses. Rather we should be talking about the revolutionary principles that have brought us thus far. Simple living and life will gain us the love and affection of the people. This is a principle and reality which has be proved every time and again.

Beyond behaviour, we also must be careful of how we talk and communicate with the people. We never should talk in an arrogant manner which is 'talking down' to

people. Ordinary people have brought us to where we are. They are the strength and they will continue to be the pivot of power for us. We must never forget this simple truth. Exploiters of people who are very nice to the authorities but show hideous behaviour before lay people are not to be condoned by our Party. This kind of behaviour is done by other parties and hence we ought to be very careful in this regard. We will not tolerate this kind of people and will stand up to them. However, in front of the lay people, who are our real strength, we have to be totally humble and bow our heads to them. If we are in any way resorting to the authoritative behaviour then we must quickly resort to rectifying it at the earliest.

Communicating through our language with people is the starting point of our relationship with the people. Hence, how we say it and what we say is the real communication. This must be humble and we must have no words which are other than honorific. We have to imbibe this in us if our Party has to move forward.

### **People centric way of work**

Our style of work and behaviour has to be different from those of other people and parties. We do not subscribe to the behaviour of other people which are of the kind like conspiratorial, dirty, telling tales and lies of others, buttering etc. All this kind of behaviour are in the realm of reactionary forces. Our issues will lie within the Party fold, within the fold of the people and will be transparent. We will give emphasis to openness and explanation to our behaviour in the court of the people. Any form of disagreements within the Party workers should not be resolved in hotels marketplace but within the committees of the SDF Party. All such discussions must be done dispassionately. Any of

the weaknesses of our Party cadres should not become the rumour mills of the market place but must be discussed only in the committee rooms of the Party. To take stock of our Party weaknesses and to remove them have to be done within the Party fold. This is the suitable principle led behaviour of our Party and Party cadres.

### **Taking from the people and giving back to the people**

The Party leadership has always insisted and given direction to all the cadres and Party workers that everyone has to go and work with the people at large. To go to the people and work with them raises the question of what it entails and how to do it. We need to be very clear in this regard. Our slogan of going to the villages can be explained in spirit of a poem penned by the Chinese poet and philosopher Lao Tzu whose immortal lines will enlighten us:

*Go to the people*

*Live with the people*

*Learn from the people*

*And love the people*

*What is known has started from amongst them*

*What is there has been created from amongst them*

*They are the great leaders*

*When work is accomplished then let the people say*

*That this mission was accomplished by us!*

The poem, penned by an internationally renowned philosopher and who lived several hundred years before Christ, still gives inspiration and direction to the forces which are aligned with the people. Many of us think that people do not know anything or they are to be led. This is

definitely a wrong notion. People have been responsible for the evolution of the principles for proper behaviour in a society. The evaluation of these principles are also done within the context of people. Hence when we go to the people, we need to go with a mindset that we have come to learn and not to teach. This kind of learning will then come to the Party in full force and get co-opted.

Hence our Party workers must learn from the people, bring and discuss it in the Party forums, get it co-opted and then take it back to the people to share it again. The people have this great treasure trove of knowledge and hence our Party workers must always keep this in mind, drink deeply from this fountain of knowledge and always be ready to learn from the people.

### **Let us go ahead and give the leadership to people**

The political parties have to be the pathfinders in the midst of the societal progress and development. The Sikkim Democratic Front Party is with Sikkim, with the downtrodden and exploited people of Sikkim. In so doing SDF is in the forefront of building awareness and unity amongst the poor and the helpless people, fighting and opposing the oppressors and oppressing class and helping overcome and ensuring victory for the people - in all of this the SDF Party has played a leading role. That is why the Party workers must help in lifting the leadership that they give to another level by being completely immersed in the Party principles and spirit of service to the people.

In view of the long reign of an oppressive and exploitative regime the people have imbibed a culture of that time.

Even in the cities and our small towns the western capitalist culture is prevalent. In order to free the people from this form of cultural slavery, the Party cadres must imbibe the culture and mindset which is people centric and which develops the people at the grassroots first. Living and working with the people does not mean that our workers exploit their weaknesses. In many of our workers, we find this wrong notion of taking advantage. It is better to learn from the people as how to become a better leader and Party functionary. It however does not mean that if the people in the villages gamble that one ought to join them in this bad habit. Similarly if they are indulging in alcoholism it does not mean that one becomes an alcoholic. On the contrary it is expected that one goes and teaches good habits and make the people to leave those and understand the meaning of real progress.

One of the most important issues which we must never lose sight of is that the exploiters and oppressors believe in their strength to overcome the weaker sections of our society. They start gaining strength from such sources. In the midst of this, we find the use of money power and capitalist culture. Therefore there is a need to quickly oppose this form of culture which can overpower the poorer and unaware people who can be influenced by these high flying people. They bring the new capital and money driven system which can be difficult to overcome.

In any kind of uprising, forging unity just to overcome one issue will not work. If one keeps it limited to one or the other issue only then it will not become a political objective

but rather remain issue based uprising. Another important point to note is that when our cadres are forging leadership amongst the people then we have to give our personal example. During oppressive and difficult times we need to be in the front and when there is good times the people need to be given priority. Those cadres who follow this are our real Party workers.

### **Party Discipline**

Our pro people Party has discipline. Our Party is one with discipline and stands firm in that belief. People love the Party and hence they live and follow the Party instructions. When the call of the Party comes in times of need, people give their lives for the cause of the Party. This is the love the people have for the Party and one can say this is the fruit of that love. The people love the Party and hence the appeals of the Party are taken very seriously by the people and the workers love the people and continue to sustain this discipline within the Party. It is significant that our Party are the pioneers and pathfinders of the poor and the oppressed people and hence discipline is very important. In so doing we will continue to be in the forefront of the people and giving the leadership to the people.

In the Party discipline and framework all the lower level committees will report to the central committee and will follow the directives given by the central committee; in similar fashion minority will have to listen to the majority; similarly the Central Committee will be reporting and getting the directives from the General Body of the Party. Our Party in the sense of overall organisation will be like

the net of the fisherman. In the net example if one rope of the net is pulled then the entire net will come together in one place. This kind of leadership will have to be developed.

### **Collective decisions, individual responsibility**

Before taking a decision on any issue or situation the Party workers and cadres will be allowed an opportunity to debate, reflect, place their views, as far as is possible. Hence in this collective decisions are taken in a fashion that will entail every worker in their individual capacity will take responsibility for action and implementation. For example if a district committee takes a collective decision every member will have to take individual responsibility for that decision and its implementation. Otherwise that decision will remain within the confines of the minutes book only. In the area of responsibility, protection of the Party, details and purification, therefore, every worker of the Party will have to think and act like the Party President. This kind of feeling and mindset will have to be cultivated by the Party functionary.

### **People's endorsement of our decisions**

The SDF Party has indeed changed and transformed the thinking and consciousness level of the people of Sikkim. What is democracy? This great value and principle - how it is to be used and brought into positive practice? These have been understood. The present lot of young people I find are aligned with me. In their eyes I see the light and spirit of democracy burning bright.

I am waiting for a time when it will be feasible to take every major decision by going to the people immediately for their decision through a voting system.

Afore mentioned are many thoughts in brief and I urge you all to take it seriously and bring it into practice in a most responsible way. We may be in different levels of Party responsibility but we can be together in these thoughts and ideals which need your most urgent attention.

Toward this end, I humbly and gratefully, appeal to all my colleagues in this great Party of ours.

*Jai Sikkim, Jai SDF*

“A leader and Party worker are only differentiated by the work they do. It is the duty of the Party President and the workers to follow the directions and the guidelines of the Party. Under the Party all the leaders are also considered as workers.”

– Pawan Chamling