

# FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL SINCE 1997

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## DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis titled, "**FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL SINCE 1997**" embodies the work carried out by **Parmjit Kaur** herself under my supervision and that it is worthy of consideration for the award of Ph.D. degree.

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# *Chapter I*

## *Introduction*

# **CHAPTER-I**

## **INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Political parties exist in all democratic societies whether developed, developing or under developed. Joseph A Schlesinger has observed that the term political parties emerged in the nineteenth century with the development of representative institutions and with the introduction of voting right to the people in Europe and the United States.

Robert B. Brown<sup>1</sup> aptly defines a political party in the following words, “A political party is a group of individuals, usually bound together by some guiding theme or cause, who are attempting by various means to gain government control.”

Factionalism in political parties is a well known phenomenon. It can be said that virtually no political party is free from internal fissures and factional conflicts. Factionalism is an intra group phenomenon. In the context of political parties, factionalism emanates from the feeling of conflict and competition between two or several groups with a desire to dominate and control the party organization. Normally, the aim of such conflicts is greater power and prestige.

The Shiromani Akali Dal a politico-religious organization is one of the major political parties of Punjab. It was set up, on 14 December, 1920 with its headquarters at Amritsar. It was meant to be the sole representative body of the Sikhs and the guardian of the interests of the Sikh community.

Shiromani Akali Dal being an important regional party of Punjab has played a significant role both as an opposition and a ruling party. The Shiromani Akali Dal has its own distinct programme and ideology which is distinct from other political parties.

Factionalism has been an important dimension of the party politics in Punjab. The Akali Dal was also prone to factional fights even before independence. The modern Akali Dal is made up of several break-away factions that were once part of one intellectual movement - a proper unified Akali Dal of the times of Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh. Akali Dal's history is full of divisions and factionalism. Presently, there are seven groups claiming to be the real Akali Dal.

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Political parties are known to play a central and pivotal role in the adoption of modern institutions of representative government in traditional societies. In this sense they can be said to be the agents of modernization and change. Political parties are an indispensable link between the society and the institutions of government in the context of modern polity.

Since political parties project the society in miniature, it is crucial to have a good and proper understanding of the working of the entire political system.

In an alternative definition focusing on yet another dimension of political parties, a political party may well be defined as a social group having a system known to be meaningful and having a patterned activity within the larger society.

The study of factionalism in Akali Dal (Badal) is important because of the fact that the Shiromani Akali Dal is one of the two main political parties of the Punjab State. Its main rival party is the

Congress party. It is also important to consider the fact that the Akali Dal ruled over the state of Punjab for a longer period than any other political party. As stated above the Shiromani Akali Dal has emerged as interest articulator of the Punjab in general and the Sikhs in particular.

Factionalism has existed in the party since its inception in the pre-independence days. With the passage of time and with the evolution of the party into a one of the biggest and the most important political parties in the state, factionalism has only increased rather than subsided even though the party was out of power for a considerable period of time. Many groups associated with the likes of Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Simranjit Singh Maan, Manpreet Singh Badal parted ways due to factionalism in the party.

The present study aims to examine the causes of factionalism and its impact on the policies of the Akali Dal as well on its electoral and governmental performance.

### **SCOPE OF THE STUDY AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The present study aims at exploring and focusing on the phenomenon of factionalism within Akali Dal (Badal), though there are other Akali parties that somehow drifted away from each other and above all from the main organization and now lay their claim to be the real Akali Dal.

There are number of factions of the original Akali Dal which parted their way from it at different times like Akali Dal (Badal), Akali Dal (Maan), Akali Dal (Baba), Akali Dal (Longowal), Akali Dal (Talwandi). However the present study delimits itself to the study of factionalism in Akali Dal (Badal) which emerged as the most popular and politically significant political party in the wake of the continual and prolonged disintegration of the original Akali Dal into smaller

groups. Hence the present study retains its focus on the factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) only. In the interest of achieving clear and precise theoretical results, the period of study has also been delimited to the years since 1997.

### **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

A lot of work has been done on various aspects of Punjab including its history, reorganization, elections and role of different political parties in the politics of the state.

The main among them are:-

Baldev Raj Nayar<sup>2</sup> in his book, *Minority Politics in the Punjab* seeks to understand the basis and dynamics of the politics of the Sikh minority in the Punjab with particular reference to one specific demand of the formation of a new state on the basis of Sikh identity out of the territories of Punjab in the North-West India. The study examines the nature of the demand for Punjabi Suba, its origin and the strategies employed by the Akali Dal to secure it after following the tactics of agitation and infiltration into the ruling congress Party. The author also explores the implications of social diversity in India for national unity and democracy. This study, however, fails to relate Akali Dal's ideology to the socio historical milieu.

Khushwant Singh<sup>3</sup> in his book, *A History of the Sikhs. (Vol-II)* published in 1966 and revised in 1974 describes the genesis and development of the Sikh politics in modern times. He has dealt with the ideal of a Sovereign Sikh State. This ideal in the minds of the Sikh masses, it seems, has relevance under certain situations and cannot be treated as self-evident in all types of situations.

K. C. Gulati's<sup>4</sup> *Akalis Past and Present* is a useful study of the Punjab Suba Movement. The work carries useful information about the evolution of Akali Dal and the Sikh politics from the days of

Gurudwara Reform Movement. In addition to this he has attempted to write a history of Akali Dal since its inception. However, he has put more emphasis upon the Punjabi Suba Movement. Incidentally, the work has its focus on religious and political ideology. The study is of a historical nature and lacks the analysis on political scientific lines.

*The Politics of Faith*, by Rajiv Kapoor<sup>5</sup> is another useful study. His analysis of the census records of the period between 1881 and 1921 is very useful in understanding the background of the Sikh identity and consciousness which in turn helps a lot in grasping the present situation. He has very efficiently made up for the paucity of such records in India. The major weakness with the author is that he lacks a Sikh perspective.

Bailey<sup>6</sup> in this study explains factionalism as a conflict group made up of two relationships or three roles, namely leader, follower and dependent. Follower and dependent differ because a follower cannot change sides but a dependent can. He refers to the collectivity of followers as a core and collectivity of dependents as merely a support. According to his thesis, the process of conflict consists of confrontations and encounters.

Since politics works on the notion of competition for the pursuit of certain valued ends, factionalism in Bisipara involves agnatic kinship allegiances in political competition.

Bailey discusses two other conflicts in the village, i.e., caste-climbing and caste-conflict. In caste-climbing the same competition is seen to operate under the given normative and pragmatic rules but in caste-conflict, while there is normative agreement about the goals, there is no agreement about permissible tactics.

B.S. Baviskar<sup>7</sup> has based his study on an analysis of factional politics in Kopergaon Taluk of rural Maharashtra, which has two



factions prevailing for the past 35 years and which have become factions of the Congress Party.

He puts the following questions:

- (a) How and why factions emerge?
- (b) Whether they arise due to struggle to control local co-operatives and Panchayat Raj Institutions?
- (c) or due to the Maratha dominance in the region ?

He feels that factions are organised by rival local leaders who have a good support and a sizeable following in the villages and patrons at the state level. They function very much like political parties.

Factions like political parties very often use the party symbols. Factions are seen to perform the functions of political recruitment and conflict management too.

His study observes that factions are comparable to local units of political parties known as gats and each of these gats uses the name of its leader/leaders. Unlike the political parties, these gats do not have a formal organisation, constitution or office-bearers. They are loosely structured, functioning mainly as contenders for power.

Baviskar concludes that factionalism is inherent given the dominant position of Congress in the district and the state as a whole. As opposition parties were weak, the contenders for power were content with exploiting the divisions within the Congress by supporting one of its factions.

Satya M. Rai<sup>8</sup>, in her work, *Punjab Since Partition*, argues that Akali Party's quest for power led them to adopt all means, including opportunistic alliances to remain in the saddle. Once out of power, they would direct their attention to the religious issues. Giving a brief account of the army action in the Golden Temple in June, 1984, and

its impact and a reference to Mrs. Gandhi's assassination, anti-Sikh riots and increasing communalization of the political system in Punjab, the author offers a deep and convincing analysis of the Accord, popularly known as the Rajiv Longowal Accord. The historical background given by the author, which forms the original body of the book, is very helpful in understanding the present Punjab politics.

Mahendra Prasad Singh<sup>9</sup> in his study deals with the factionalism that the Indian National Congress had to face in 1969. He sees through two analytical perspectives.

At the macro analysis, factors involved in factionalism were

- (i) Social mobilization in the larger society
- (ii) Intra-party elite conflicts
- (iii) The nature of the party system and of the party concerned

The conflicts over power and personal differences among the post-Nehru Congress elites came to display elements of ideological and generational differences. Such conflicts among the party elites got linked up with regionalism, caste and communal identities and populism. At the micro level, the personal background variables of the members of Parliament and their constituencies or district characteristics were also involved in the factionalism in the Congress Party.

A few studies<sup>10</sup> have made a thorough analysis of the factionalism faced by the congress party in November 1969. These studies are of the view that primarily struggle for power among personalities under the garb of ideological differences were the reasons that led to factionalism in the Congress Party. These authors in their studies observe that the generation gap, differences over economic policies, money, the Presidential election, conflict between private and

public sector and reshuffling of the cabinet were the immediate reasons for factionalism.

Moreover, the Communist Party of India (CPI), Samyukt Socialist Party (SSP), Praja Socialist Party (PSP), Dravida Munnetra Kazgam (DMK), Muslim League and the Akali Party were also involved in this factionalism as they extended their support to Indira Gandhi's candidate for the election of the President.

Subhash C. Kashyap<sup>11</sup> describes in his study, the efforts put in for unity by the 'syndicate', Congress Working Committee (CWC) and Indira Gandhi's group before factionalism formally took the final shape. The efforts for unity were initiated by the defeated group i.e., the 'syndicate' in the Presidential election. The victory of Indira Gandhi's candidate for Presidentship created a tremor in the syndicate camp as a result of which some of its' members viz. Chavan, the then Cabinet Minister, Mohan Lal Sukhadia, the then Chief Minister of Rajasthan and the Maharashtra Chief Minister, Naik, who supported Sanjiva Reddy ( the syndicate candidate) in the Presidential election joined Indira Gandhi's camp.

Dr. Dalip Singh<sup>12</sup> focuses on some of the key variables around which factionalism operates in a given society. The factors mentioned below throw immense light on the origin and existence of factions within a political party;

- a) Sociological differences such as, religion, caste, language and community differences.
- b) Personal or group loyalties of leaders and workers
- c) Desire for obtaining material, gains and other benefits.

Although, ideologically a political party is supposed to have a common vision, yet differences do occur among its members and that too on minor issues. This gives rise not only to factionalism within a

party, but also leads to infighting. At times this results in the formation of the two rival political parties or factions.

Govinder Singh's<sup>13</sup> work is also an important study where he attempts to establish that Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee is not confined to religious matters alone. He maintains that the committee has a deep impact on the Punjab politics. The main focus of the study is the working of the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee and his attempt at defining religion is highly relevant and useful.

Parmod Kumar<sup>14</sup> et al. undertake an examination of socio-economic causes and historical factors which led to the Punjab crisis. Its major focus is on the emergence of communalism and its socio-economic roots. The study though, is not directly related to the Akali Party.

On the basis of the works cited above one major deduction that can be drawn is that it is in the one party dominant system where generally factionalism seems to grow and flourish. The dominating party always tries to engineer factional conflicts in the weak as well as regional parties.

The members of a smaller political party would tend not to be bound by strong ties of unity and they would therefore be inclined to indulge in mutual infightings due to the political gimmicks of the dominant party.

It can also be said that factionalism affects the stability and the institutionalization of parties and party systems. It can have an impact on the efficiency, working and legitimacy of political parties and political systems.

Moreover, factionalism has often led to intra-party decisions that are not based on merit and ability of the people involved but are

arrived at merely on account of their affiliation to a particular faction. Such faction-based dissent damages a party's ability to recruit new members and to fight effective campaigns. Faction-based intra-party conflict also leads to contradictory positions of a party rendering the voters' decisions more difficult. Factionalism also blocks intra-party discussions. In some cases, factionalism leads to greater scope for corruption to breed within a political party or even within the political system. Factional loyalties are a link between parochial units of society namely family, village and caste and the political parties.

Mohinder Singh's<sup>15</sup> *The Akali Struggle*, is a very useful study for forming an understanding of Akali politics. The study has been a very authentic one as the author has been able to lay his hands on the private papers of those British authorities which were directly concerned with the Akali Movement. He also discusses the strategies employed by the Britishers to weaken the movement and the kinds of defences which the Akali leadership erected against these strategies and the overall impact of the Akali Movement on Punjab politics in the years to come.

*Political Dynamics and Crisis in Punjab*, Paul Wallace and Surendra Chopra is a compilation of papers written by eminent scholars such as Paul Wallace, H.K. Puri, M.S. Dhama, Surendra Chopra, Satya M. Rai and others. In a brief introduction, the editors have traced the political developments in Punjab. The contributors have attempted to analyse and discuss a variety of themes with a focus on the changing patterns and trends of politics in Punjab. The study, however, includes no paper on the organisation, ideology and strategy of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

Paul R. Brass<sup>16</sup> in his book, *Factional Politics in an Indian State*, analyses of the transition of the Congress organisation in Indian

States, from a mass movement to an effective political party. It is a study of the processes of disintegration and integration in a modern political organisation operating in a traditional society. It is an examination of the problem of the adjustment and adaptation of a modern political party to the traditional order of India.

In his work *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*<sup>17</sup>, Paul R. Brass focuses on the conditions which were helpful in the quest of the Akali Dal for a Punjabi speaking state. In his study, the author examines the Akali Dal's demand and its opposition to certain basic social cleavages such as the one based on the religion. What needs to be examined is the idea projected by Brass that the Sikh political organizations were instrumental in building Sikh identity and nationality in Punjab.

The most fascinating and important study of the history of the Punjabi Suba struggle can be found in Ajit Singh Sarhadi's<sup>18</sup> 'Punjabi Suba – The Story of the Struggle'. The study starts with the emergence of Gurdwara reforms as well as the emergence of the Shiromani Akali Dal but somehow ends up with the Congress forming the ministry in 1977.

Harinder Kaur Sodhi<sup>19</sup> is highly supportive of the view that in Punjab, factionalism did not diminish in spite of the Congress Party being out of power. She is of the view that factionalism at the local level survives due to the active support and patronage of state or national level leaders.

Sandeep Sandhu<sup>20</sup> in her M. Phil dissertation states that clash of interests and personalities seemed to be the root cause of factionalism in the district level Akali Dal. According to her factionalism at this level is tacitly supported and patronized by high rung Akali leaders.

Dalip Singh's<sup>21</sup> *Dynamics of Punjab Politics* presents a study of various trends and patterns in Punjab politics. It offers an elaborate account of the politics of defections and coalitions, Lok Sabha and Assembly Elections held in Punjab along with other important aspects of politics in Punjab. This work is yet another source of very useful information about political activities in Punjab.

In his book *Akali Politics in Punjab (1964-85)* Devinder Singh<sup>22</sup> has discussed, in detail the election scenario of Punjab in addition to the Akali Dal's performance, its relations with its allies and the role of the Akali Dal in Punjab.

Lakhwinder Singh Sidhu's<sup>23</sup>, *Party Politics in Punjab 1994* presents a good and informative study of various parties, their origin, organisation, support base and their electoral history and politics in Punjab.

J.S. Grewal<sup>24</sup> in his book *The New Cambridge History of India, The Sikhs of Punjab* has written on the Akali unity in 1968, 1982, 1985 and the split which it faced in 1980 and 1986. The author observes their emotional attitude which excited popular mood and played a significant role in the split in Akali Dal in 1986.

Giovanni Sartori<sup>25</sup> highlights in her book *Parties and Party System: A Frame Work for Analysis* Vol. I, that factionalism is grounded in the centrality of personalities. The principles and ideology are a camouflage that gives an acceptable veneer to personality based experiences and interests. A façade of ideology can be a very effective camouflage both in the sense that it legitimizes a power-seeking group in the perception of its actors and also in the sense that it cannot be easily uncovered by the observers. The author believes that faction may be clientele based. The presence or absence of a clientele structure might depend on whether a group is in or out of power. It

also relates to broad cultural styles. Another, less significant factor by which the factions owe their existence is creed.

B.K. Nagla<sup>26</sup> writes in his book *Factionalism, Politics and Social Structure* that factions are not independent and isolated phenomenon but there are structural linkages between divergent groups at various levels. He points out the role of caste, leadership, land-owners and political parties in generating factionalism. The author, maintains that social-structural base of factions has undergone a remarkable change. Previously, it was rather socio-cultural, accommodating and primordial. Now it is rather politico-economic in nature, based upon rational and legal principles. The nature of factionalism is determined by various factors such as regionalism, homogeneity, diversity and interest configurations.

J.K. Mohapatra<sup>27</sup> in his book *Factional Politics in India*, has studied the role of the institution of the High Command in faction-building. He has tried to establish that the faction that enjoys the support of the High Command generally dominates the state politics. Mohapatra, believes that absence of external threat in Orissa politics led to the rise of factionalism. Besides this he asserts that formation and configuration of factions veers round factors like power, prestige, money and ideology.

The author, further, establishes that in the last two decades, the central government has become increasingly intrusive with regard to both states and local politics, to the point of establishing direct linkages between the national leadership in Delhi and influential leaders in district politics. He is of the opinion that since 1967 there have been dramatic changes in the quality and character of central intervention in state politics.



Ranbir Sharma<sup>28</sup> in *Party Politics in Himalaya State*, has described factionalism as an instrument for gaining power, sometimes merely for personal ends, at other times for implementing programmes and policies. Factionalism is presented as a pejorative term; a phenomenon implemented to run down political adversaries. Factionalism excites the curiosity of the people because it leads to the rise or fall of a prominent political leader, whom the masses either glorify or dislike. The author, maintains that personality clash remains quite important in the formation of factions whereas ideology the least important.

In addition to this, the external relations of the party and the frequent interventions of the Central High Command often lead to factionalism in the State. Another significant factor is the differences over the methodology of implementation of various schemes and projects.

R. Sission<sup>29</sup> in his study *The Congress Party in Rajasthan 1972*, attempts to trace the causes of factional conflict in political parties with special reference to the Congress Party in Rajasthan. Session after interviewing party leaders and public officials at the state and district levels in Rajasthan observes that "Political Parties are also a system of Conflict" and that "Party is essentially a conflict oriented institution". This study is an analysis of the institutionalization of the Congress Party in the State of Rajasthan. By Institutionalization he means the existence and persistence of valued rules, procedures and patterns of behaviour which enable successful accommodation of new political claimants in an organisation. Another analytical focus in the study of institutions is the adaptation of organizations to their "internal environment."

Jamshid Ali Khan<sup>30</sup> in his *Politics of Coalition Governments in Punjab* discusses the working of coalition governments formed in the state of Punjab from 1967 to 2002. In this book the factional dynamics of Akali Dal has also been discussed.

Kuldeep Kaur<sup>31</sup> in her book *Akali Dal in Punjab Politics – Splits and Mergers* deals with the phenomenon of Akali splits and mergers over a long period of time, so as to develop a holistic view of the nature of Akali politics. This book covers the framework of Akali politics as well as the split of Shiromani Akali Dal over the dominance of non-Jat Sikhs. The study is of great interest for forming an understanding and for analysing the dynamics of the Punjab Politics, especially the splits and unity efforts put in by the Shiromani Akali Dal.

B.P. Singh<sup>32</sup> in his book *Indian National Congress and Cultural Renaissance* renders a detailed account of the cultural milieu in which the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and goes on to describe the manner in which it combined the freedom struggle with cultural renaissance. He also attempts to study the ways in which the congress has been an instrument of social and economic reconstruction after 1947. There is also an outline of cultural challenges that confronted the congress in the century of its existence.

B.S. Bhargava and V.N. Torgal<sup>33</sup>, in their study analyse the role of factions in a panchayat in Karnataka. They emphasize that factions in the village panchayat of Mallampalli are conflict groups, political groups, and corporate groups. Leaders display different principles in the process of recruiting faction members.

As per the findings of their exhaustive study, Mallampalli village panchayat factions are primordial, machine type and have personal followings, both functional and dysfunctional in the village. They are functional because they serve as a source of checks and balances in

the administration of the panchayat and dysfunctional as they act as hurdles in the functioning of the panchayat. Units are fragmented causing tensions among the Panchayat members. In this sense factional politics have minimised the consensus decisions hindering the development of the village.

A.B.Hiramani<sup>34</sup>, in his study has examined factions in Golatgaon, a village in Aurangabad of Maharashtra. His study lists out:

- a) The factors that led to growth of factions.
- b) Leadership and membership of factions
- c) The affiliations of factions with outside political parties and
- d) The effect of factionalism on the village.

The findings are as such:

- (i) The sprouting up and growth of factions are linked to either sexual relations with a woman or disputes between two landlords in the village. At times the economic interests too promote factions. Issue and distribution of loans by the elected person as well as its misappropriation also lead to factionalism.

In a particular case a land dispute over the boundary line involving a faction leader widened the factional cleavage. Violent outbursts and acrimonious relations led to leveling of criminal charges against each other.

- (ii) Landlords are the faction leaders and as such the membership and loyalty to a faction solely rests on the economic power of the faction leaders. To ensure the continued support of the backward groups, these landlords provide them jobs on farmlands.
- (iii) Factionalism that lifted its' head due to local reasons often struck affiliations with outside political parties. If one faction

leader joined Congress, then the other was bound to join the then Jan Singh party. Thus a situation arises where external political forces move in to guide the village leadership.

- (iv) The social, cultural and political life of a village is also liable to get affected by factionalism due to disruptions of different social functions by factions.

Mariam Sharma<sup>35</sup>, in her study observes that the key to village political activity lies in the hands of key leaders who in their capacity as leaders of factions control the resources and their distribution. The faction politics in the village are centered on the dominant caste politics. The faction leaders are seen to exploit the resources. Power in the village gets divided due to the presence of many leaders of all castes. Village factions are essentially a composition of coalitions of village big men which are temporary goal-oriented alliances. In the backdrop of village conflicts, faction leaders actively participate as down to the earth entrepreneurs engrossed in political competition with the sole purpose of gaining power.

Factions take due care of the members' benefits. The study suggests that factionalism enhances competition for material gains. The study further observes that the best and most effective method to organise political activity and ensure effective decision making is factionalism, despite the fact that it leads to the escalation of conflicts.

Alan R. Beals<sup>36</sup> in his study uses the term factionalism to describe a conflict within an organisation. He studies the case of Namahalli dealing with three varieties of factionalism viz., disruptive, schismatic and pervasive. As per his study, disruptive factionalism relates to internal conflicts that disrupt normal or traditional activities of the faction. In disruptive factionalism the conflict is mainly between well-organised sub-groups whereas in the schismatic and pervasive

factionalism the conflict is between the sub-groups of the organisation. The result of disruptive factionalism is that organisation goals are abandoned.

R.S. Khara<sup>37</sup> studies factionalism in a North-Indian village of Gopalpur and reaches conclusions that account for the formation of political groups and factions in the village over a certain period of time.

R.S. Khara investigates different organisational forms and functions in a village such as factions, pressure groups, political parties, and their relation to each other. He states that in the pre-Independence period i.e., 1935-1947, all the factional fights in the village were led and decided by the so-called zamindars or by some of their influential kin.

In Post-Independence period (1958-60), the Kurmi-Kayasta power-pyramids alliance had a larger say against the erstwhile Zamindari group.

The year 1962 saw two different factions come under the influence of party politics. During 1960-63, there were three changes in the organization of factions.

- (a) High caste groups i.e., the Kayastha and Brahmins changed affiliations with other castes in the village.
- (b) Extra-village contacts were struck by all the factions.
- (c) The untouchable caste groups reorganized themselves.

The main motive behind this move was to capture power in the village. The study observes that factions are created due to complexity of democratic politics.

Myron Weiner<sup>38</sup> in his study notes how factional relationship shapes the outcome of an election. In his study of Ponnur Constituency in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh he studies the

pattern of voting for 1962 Assembly and Parliamentary elections. In these elections, the Congress candidate contested the Assembly seat and the Communist candidate contested the Parliament seat. Communists did not put up a candidate for Assembly elections, giving rise to speculations that both the parties were in tacit support of each other.

The study observes that the communist candidate secured less votes in villages having a sizeable strength of agricultural labourers. In the villages where owner cultivators were more, the *swatantra* or Independent candidate secured many votes.

Thus class factor does not explain the voting behaviour in these elections. In his findings, he examines voting pattern through factions in six villages.

- (i) Factional loyalties within Congress proved to be more intense than party loyalties in the elections.
- (ii) Party's associations with each faction is determined by kinship ties, personal interaction and caste affinities.
- (iii) Assembly candidates approached the villagers for votes through multi-caste village factions.
- (iv) Village factions availed the opportunity of general elections to consolidate their followers and forge affiliations with party bosses with a view to get more wells, roads, fertilizers, seeds, loans and other amenities from the Government.
- (v) For voting in the village, party-affiliations of the panchayat president or his association with the leader of the Congress faction in the district is an important factor
- (vi) Party politicians and village factions play the game of politics with an eye on improving their own power position within the

village and maintaining easy access to sources of power outside the village.

The social and economic aspects of factions can be understood quite well with the help of a thorough study done by Baljit Singh's<sup>39</sup>. He states that the outgrowth of individual land rights and claims over land ownership leads to the emergence of factions. The creation of factions in a society is due to the selfish individual and personal interests.

Piloo Mody<sup>40</sup> explains party factionalism, a common occurrence in India, in scientific terms, 'The productive process of Indian politics is very much similar to that of amoeba. The original Amoeba, the Congress Party, which is almost hundred years old split into factions a hundred times and is in danger of splitting further a dozen times.'

The Oxford English Dictionary<sup>41</sup> explains the verb 'split' as :

- (i) To break-up into factions or similar division.
- (ii) To break-up into separate groups or parties.
- (iii) To separate through disagreement or differences of opinion.

International Webster's New Encyclopedia Dictionary<sup>42</sup> defines 'split' as:

- (i) To break-up or separate through disagreement.
- (ii) To divide persons into different groups, factions or parties by discord.
- (iii) A break or rupture in a party or between persons; a faction or party formed by a rupture or schism.

Philip Babcock Gove<sup>43</sup> states that factionalism means 'a break or separation in an organized or normally cohesive group or between partners or friends.'

B.D. Graham<sup>44</sup> analyses factional structures and factional competition within the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh from 1937-66.

The study holds that factions within the party have both primary followers and secondary followers. The factional systems are of various types such as bi-factional, dominant factional and multi-factional system.

Leadership roles in faction conflict are of four categories:

1) Command 2) Arbitration, 3) Mediation and 4) Management. An authoritative leader is seen to exercise command when he issues decree without ever consulting the factions concerned that a certain role must be observed. A leader is said to engage in arbitration when he issues decree after hearing the faction leaders stating their case. A leader is said to mediate by persuading faction leaders to find a common ground to reach a mutually satisfactory decisions after deliberate negotiations.

In political parties, some or all of these leadership roles may be allotted to separate persons depending on the seriousness of the disputes within the group. According to B.D. Graham, lack of threat by opposition parties led to factionalism in Uttar Pradesh Congress Party from 1937-66. Before 1957, the dominant faction system was in force. During this period i.e., from 1948-1957, organizational elections took place which were marked by scenes of intense factional fights and that too to such an extent that there was an attempt by radical factions to form left-wing opposition.

David K. French<sup>45</sup> makes a thorough study and focuses on factionalism as a form of conflict and on the problems which are involved in the area of such conflicts. He conducts his analysis by using the data on American Indian population. His argument rests on points mentioned below:

(a) The position of participants are not relevant to each other



- (b) There is relationship between factionalism and ambiguity in behavioral pattern among participants
- (c) Factional contenders frequently charge each other with having illegitimate means.

French maintains that there are differences in observing this phenomenon in terms of ideological and non-ideological behavior.

He refers to factionalism as those forms of conflict which occur very much within a system i.e., group and which cannot be settled by traditional means.

Madhu Limaye<sup>46</sup> remarks that the factionalism cannot be termed as defections. He further justifies his views by saying that the right of dissent is an absolute necessity in order to fight the bossism that prevails in political parties. He goes on to remark that it ensures that they do not break upon just small issues but that dissent may be essential for a section of the members on grounds of conscience.

Rajni Kothari<sup>47</sup> opines that 'when the party factions, instead of providing a basis for accommodation and flexibility, become irreconcilable', the party breaks up.

R.P.Rao<sup>48</sup> analyses and unravels the basic factors responsible for the factionalism in the congress party in 1969. He lists the factors as clash of personalities, differences of ideology and the generation gap. The said split or factionalism was also a result of factors such as caste, creed, relationship, influence, power and permits. However, the immediate split was a result of differences over economic policy (devaluation, nationalism etc.) the election for the office of President and the then cabinet reshuffle.

P.N. Rastogis<sup>49</sup> on the other hand, comments on the factionalism in the congress party in 1969 by stating that mainly it was the struggle for power that led to factionalism.

D.C. Pavate<sup>50</sup> offers a similar view that it was a personality clash that had been the basis of defections and factionalism.

Mohan Ram<sup>51</sup> cites the example of the communist party of India that faced factionalism due to fundamental issues and programmes strategy and tactics of the Indian communist movement. The author further states that what added to the crisis were the Sino-Soviet differences that were superimposed on the existing patterns of differences in the CPI. This led to a crisis within the party and ultimately factionalism surfaced and split was imminent.

R.L. Hardgrave<sup>52</sup> analyses in one of his other editions the split in D.M.K. in the year 1972 resulting in the birth of all India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazham (A.I.A.D.M.K.). He writes that it was mainly due to personality clash among the leaders.

S. Swaminathan<sup>53</sup> pens down his analysis of the split into D.K., D.M.K. and A.I.A.D.M.K. His study reveals that it was neither conviction nor principles but mere political expediency that led to the split in D.K. leading to the existence of D.M.K.

Amrita Bazaar Patrika<sup>54</sup>, a daily published from Calcutta, published an article that reported the incidence of factionalism in communist party of India (Marxist). The factionalism finally led to a split due to numerous factors namely:

- a) Dissatisfied communists with an aim to wage mass revolution formed the CPI (ML)
- b) Communist party wanting to resize political power to solve the problem of poverty.
- c) CPI (ML) having lost faith in the revolutionary path.

The Amrita Bazaar Patrika further reports that CPI (ML) also fragmented into independent groups known as Naxalites in the year 1969. The coming into existence of the CPI (ML) without moving or

taking some groups and individuals with it was seen as a premature birth that itself was the solid reason for its division.

The reason behind the conflict among the communists was ideology. The Chinese aggression in 1962 was condemned by the right wing of communists where as the left wing was pro-Beijing in their approach. As such, the intra-party conflict on this issue resulted in a split. Chandrika Singh<sup>55</sup> explains the above issue quite well in his book.

The above mentioned works clearly show that though much work has been produced on various aspects of factionalism in different parties at state and national level, but, no specific, notable and comprehensive work has been done on the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), particularly relating to the period of 1997 onwards. As such the present study has been undertaken with the aim to analyse and explore the factors associated with factionalism in arguably the most important political entity in Punjab. The present work aims to be a sincere theoretical attempt to fill a conspicuous gap in the existing body of knowledge on the subject of factionalism.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The main and specific objectives of the study are:

1. To discuss the phenomenon of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal till 1997.
2. To discuss the incidence of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) since 1997.
3. To identify the socio-economic factors responsible for factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).
4. To find out the causes of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).

5. To examine the impact of factionalism on the policies of the party and its electoral and governmental performance.

### **METHODOLOGY**

The study has been conducted mainly with the help of historical analytical approach. Extensive and exhaustive study of various documents related to political parties, publications, government publication and personal accounts of the leaders have been conducted. The material for the study has been collected from books, journals, newspapers and other printed sources. In addition to the printed material on the topic, information has also be compiled through interviews with the important leaders of the party.

### **TENTATIVE SCHEME OF CHAPTERISATION**

The study is tentatively divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is introductory. It deals with the significance of the study, statement of the problem and scope of the study, review of the literature, objectives of study and methodology to be adopted. The second chapter discusses the theoretical perspective of factionalism. The third chapter describes the profile of Shiromani Akali Dal and the phenomenon of the factionalism in the party upto 1997. The fourth chapter examines the factionalism in the party since 1997. The fifth chapter tries to explore the causes of factionalism in Akali Dal. The impact of factionalism on the policies of Akali Dal, its electoral and governmental performance is analysed in chapter six of the study. The seventh chapter contains summary and conclusion of the study.

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## *Chapter-II*

# *Theoretical Perspective of Factionalism*

## **CHAPTER-II**

### **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OF FACTIONALISM**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

India's political scenario today revolves around the axis of power. We are today past that phase of politics when the sole nationalist purpose and aim of Indian politicians was to fight and achieve freedom for India. Freedom fighters like Bhagat Singh sacrificed their lives for the noble cause of freedom. However, contemporary politics in India has abandoned the idealism of the pioneers. Although, Democratic form of Government was established in India as a direct consequence of political independence; politics of today has been reduced and limited to struggle for power only. Political parties compete, struggle and oppose one another only with the aim of capturing, retain and increasing their power. The lust, greed and longing for power have also led to internal factionalism within every political party. Therefore, it can be said that today it is theoretically imperative as well as essential to undertake a critical study of internal factionalism within political parties. Only through such an exercise can an objective idea about the functioning of political system as a whole and parties in particular can be understood.

Factions are an inseparable and integral part of political systems in almost all the countries of the world. The functioning of a sub-system, namely a political party, generally assumes the existence of factions. As such, we may say that factions constitute a central and very important dynamic principle of socio-political relations.

Factionalism can be explained as struggles over leadership and programmes that go on among sub-groups within political parties. It is

like chain of links that vertically connects certain individuals at the level of state, local area and village. Moreover, a split in a party at state level does not remain confined to the head quarters only rather it is bound to permeate into the grass roots.

Factionalism can be described as an intra-group phenomenon. The basis of factionalism in political parties materializes around a perception of conflict between rival groups with the sole purpose of having a sway and a dominating position in the party organization.

Factionalism may run from the top to the bottom or sometimes even vice versa. A conflict in a political party at the state level could very well have its effects on the lower units namely district units, block units and village units. Religion, casteism and regionalism become effective tools for state level leaders to exploit and then mobilize support. Since factionalism generally has no political ideology or clear cut policies or programmes; re-admission to political party is easy.

### **MEANING AND DEFINITION OF FACTIONALISM**

It will be proper and in line with the theoretical objectives if first of all the meaning and definition of the term 'faction' is examined. The term faction is commonly used to denote any constituent group of a larger unit which works for the advancement of particular persons or policies - the faction arises in the struggle for power. According to Paul R. Brass<sup>1</sup>, faction refers to a segment or segments of alignments within the same political system.

Lasswell<sup>2</sup> defines factions as “any constituent group of a larger unit which works for the advancement of a particular person or particular policies”.

Pocock<sup>3</sup> observes that “factions are not permanent groups but are relative to particular circumstances”.

According to Seigal and Beals<sup>4</sup> a conflict may be divided into two kinds. Firstly, there may be conflicts between cohesive sub-groups within the larger groups. Such conflicts have been described through the term Schismatic Factionalism. The second type may involve the groups, the composition of which changes rapidly and radically. This kind of factionalism has been termed Pervasive Factionalism.

Rajni Kothari opines that 'when the party factions, instead of providing a basis for accommodation and flexibility, become irreconcilable', the party breaks up.<sup>5</sup>

Prof. Dube<sup>6</sup> and Orenstain found the role of the individual to be more pronounced than factions in the village politics. Dube argues that "the rival factions of a caste in a village are often alligned to the rival political leader or rival political factions of the region". Economic and political determiners are responsible for the development and operation of factions.

The definition of the term faction given by Lasswell, Horald D.<sup>7</sup> arrives at certain conclusions which are mentioned below.

- (i) A faction means a smaller group within a larger group. The word 'within' indicates that a faction does not claim its independent existence in the larger group, the reason is that a faction exists within the party itself, works within the party itself, and even when it opposes the larger group on certain matters, it does this while remaining within the peripheries of the party. If a faction revolts against and moves out of the party and forms its own independent party, then it ceases to be a faction within the party itself. Therefore, one certain characteristic of a faction is that it exists as a smaller group within the party and even when it opposes the larger group within the party, the smaller group can be rightly called a faction within the party.

- (ii) Secondly, the basis of a faction within a party may be either the advancement of a particular person or persons or the advancement of particular policies. In advancement of the person, the leader of the faction is the most important factor. Faction is centered around the interests of the leader of the faction. Against this, when basis of a faction is the advancement of particular policies, principles turn out to be the most important fact and the guiding force.
- (iii) Thirdly, whatever may be the basis of the formation of a faction within a party, one thing is certain that the struggle to capture political power is always central to their existence. Its ultimate aim of capturing political power may get limited to a gain for the leader of the faction and his supporters only. This can be highly unfortunate because it reduces factional politics to the level of a particular type of business only, for the reason that ordinary and sole aim of a businessman is also to make money and corner profits for his person. On the other hand, if the ultimate aim of capturing political power is to implement certain policies for the good of the general public or for a larger section of general public, such factional politics may be called just and can even be hailed as commendable.

Max Weber<sup>8</sup> exposes true nature of politics and factionalism within a political party when he says that politics is a struggle for power and political parties make use of various means to capture or retain political power. These means can range from naked violence to canvassing for votes.

Weber opines that all the activities of political parties are aimed and directed at the sole purpose of acquisition and retention of power. Max Weber further says that parties live in house of power. Their

action is oriented towards the acquisition of political power through the initiation of social action with a crass disregard to what its contents may be. The remarks of Max Weber throw immense light on the actual working of political parties in a pragmatic sense. Almost all political parties have been known to make unrealistic promises at the time of elections. They do so inspite of the awareness that it may not be possible for these political parties to fulfill all the promises that are incorporated in their manifestoes. Even if it may be practical for the parties to fulfill some of these promises, the will to fulfill them is not reflected in the working of the parties. The reason is obvious. If not the sole purpose, at least the main purpose of all political parties is primarily to capture power and retain it as long as it is possible. It is again the struggle and ruthless pursuit for power that leads to the engineering of factionalism. It has been commonly seen that even when a political party comes to power with a very comfortable majority, sometimes it ceases to act as a united party. A vertical split becomes inevitable in the party. It is reduced to a divided and a broken house. The only reason is that sharp differences arise among top leaders of the political party over division and distribution of available resources. The result is that a dissatisfied top ranking leader constitutes his own group within the party and in this way factionalism gets promoted.

As per D. F. Millers<sup>9</sup> definition, “Factionalism surfaces when two or more divisions compete against each other by remaining within the defined limits or framework of an organization”.He further states that factionalism in Indian political parties occurs when modernity is superimposed on a tradition bound society. In India, political class seems to be becoming increasingly undifferentiated.

B.K. Nagla<sup>10</sup> says that " A society without factions would be an ideal or utopian society". But this will remain only a dream. Today, as reality stares at us, political parties are not seen as well-knit units. Rather they are loose confederations of two or more than two factions. Small groups working within a political party may be called sub-units or sub-parts or sub-parties. Irrespective of the name, term or label put on them, actually and factually factions are known to work for the advancement of their own interests within political party.

Different countries have different ways of describing factions and factionalism. Americans have described these sub-units as "factions", Italians have called them "currents" and Germans explain the phenomenon as "wing and tendency". We can say that political parties and factions in political systems go together. They are two sides of one and the same coin. They are infact inseparable from each other. It holds true to all political systems in almost all the countries of the world.

One may be correct in saying that democracy is well-established and deeply entrenched in India. But at the same time, it will be equally correct to say that democracy is still not and probably will never evolve to the highest standards and idealistic conceptions. It is true that the issues of the common man have still not been addressed well. As a general rule it is the political classes that have failed the high ideals of democracy. With a few or rather rare exceptions, leaders of political parties are power hungry. This unbridled hunger and the lust for power has also generated unhealthy and sometimes avoidable factionalism in almost every political party.

In the interest of greater conceptual clarity some more definitions of the term faction are being considered here. In his pioneering study titled 'Party politics in India' (1957), Myron Weiner<sup>11</sup>



has presented a systematic analysis of factionalism. He has defined a 'faction' as a group with an articulated set of goals, operating within a larger organisation but not created by or with the approval of the parent body. The faction may range in size from several dozen members to several hundreds. It is generally characterized by a uniformity of goals and basic values and usually has sufficient permanence to allow members to develop a sense of identification with the faction except in the formative stages. It does not generally recruit members openly.

As per the opinion of Maurice Duverger<sup>12</sup>, numerous complex factors contribute to the formation of a political system such as tradition and history, social and economic structure, religious beliefs, racial composition, national rivalries and social conflicts.

Maurice Duverger also lists out three main factors commonly visible in all the nations that lead to the development of political parties i.e. socio-economic, ideological and technical. Political parties nominate candidates having aligned political thoughts and place such candidates in political office with a clear motive of having either influence or full control on government policies. Sometimes, as political parties grow old they become large and cumbersome and the leaders are unable to take care of the interest of all their party members. This creates resentment and becomes a breeding ground for the birth of factions. According to this logic the old, large and well established parties are more prone to factionalism than fledgling political outfits.

Even a cursory survey of the theories of the term faction reveals that the term has been defined differently by different scholars and there is no agreement on its precise meaning. Politics in different countries basically revolves around the infrastructure of political

parties and is based invariably on conflicting ideologies. As has been noted above, the political parties are mainly concerned with the grabbing of power.

Leaders of political parties invariably try to capture power both by fair and foul means. They apply different techniques in order to keep themselves in power. This lust for power divides the members of a political party into different factions. A political party should be looked upon as a system consisting of parts. These parts are the sub-units which have been defined as faction by some major American writers.

Commenting of the universality of the phenomenon of factionalism, Giovanni Sartori<sup>13</sup> observes that almost all parties in former times have been little more than factions and this implies that they may well also get further disintegrated into something resembling a faction. In this sense, factionalism is the ever present temptation of a party system and its ever possible and continual cycle of degeneration and disintegration.

Numerous dimensions of the study of factionalism have been highly helpful in the quest of understanding the phenomenon of factionalism. From among such dimensions, P.N. Rastogi<sup>14</sup> comments on the factionalism in the congress party in 1969 are significant. Rastogi categorically states that it was the struggle for power that led to factionalism.

Another important dimension of the phenomenon of factionalism is that it generally tends to flourish and get patronized in a single party dominant system. The dominant party effectively tries to create rifts in the weak as well as the regional parties.

It has been observed above that factionalism is usually centered on a personality with the key or main roles or responsibilities

bestowed on a handful or selected individuals who primarily lead the activities of the faction and voice the views or ideas related to the objectives of the faction. Such individuals have somehow derived names referred to as 'powerbrokers' or 'factional chiefs'.

Some of the key variables around which factionalism revolves have been noted by Dalip Singh<sup>15</sup>

1. As per its ideology, a political party is expected to work with a common vision, but somehow minor issues do crop up and give birth to factionalism within a party leading to infightings.
2. Religion, caste, language, community differences are some factors that contribute to factionalism.
3. The lust for special benefits is another important factor behind their emergence.
4. Group loyalties towards leaders also lead to the cohesiveness of factions.

J.S.Yadav<sup>16</sup> after conducting a thorough study of factionalism in Kultana, a village in Haryana, observes and discusses (a) the operation and emergence of factions over a period of about 25 years; (b) the cause of the sprouting of factions and (c) the nature, scope and functions of these factions. His findings are as such:

- (i) Factions are groups interacting with each other, becoming active only in situations of conflict. The person in the centre of the conflict is the leader of the faction.
- (ii) The faction leaders are seen to appoint members cutting across the boundaries of kin and caste groups and such factions more than often pose a challenge to the established and institutionalized structure.
- (iii) With the view of opposing other factions, faction leaders enter into alliances with other factions having similar interests.

- (iv) Faction lasts as long as the immediate goal of the members is achieved. The faction emerges and crystallizes only when an advantage is to be gained.
- (v) Faction operates at the political level as well as other levels. It emerges due to lack of efficiency to resolve conflicts arising out of cultural and social change in a village society.

A.K.Lal<sup>17</sup> in his study of the dynamics of village factionalism sums up his findings and analysis of the pattern of factional politics in Mohanpur, a village in Bihar and concludes as such:

- (i) Introduction of democratic and socialistic measures like abolition of the zamindari system by the Government had upset the old established rural elite and led to the building up of social tensions in the villages which in turn led to skirmishes and clashes between the traditional leadership and new groups resulting into bitter factional fights in the villages.
- (ii) Factions, in all likelihood, evolve into federation of small factions with an increase in the social inclusiveness and tend to assume a new form. In the process, there is a chance of the leadership slipping into the hands of individuals who are out to exploit the power and resources giving rise to a new breed of leaders.
- (iii) Recruitment of membership to factions is made through various routes and channels. Initially existing social lineages in the village work as the boundaries of warring factions and this conflict takes the form of acute kinship and craze for power with personal animosity becoming the basis of recruitment of members to different factions.
- (iv) Changes in the village-leadership pattern show that it is not necessary that leadership of a faction has to be in the hands of

an individual, but rather a group of leaders having a following of their own.

The study also brings out the fact that in spite of the structural changes the upper castes are still in an advantageous position due to the role essayed by upper caste people. This is also due to the fact that they still possess more land and influence as compared to others along with an army of supporters owing traditional allegiance from the lower or inferior castes. Due to a weaker financial status, lower castes sometimes become a tool in the hands of the upper castes.

Nityananda Patnaik and Lakshmi Narayana<sup>18</sup> have carried out a comparative study of factionalism in six villages - three each in Mysore and Orissa. As per their study, factionalism is a kind of political activity, which refers to an organised conflict over public power. Throwing light on an important factor they state that factional groups become political parties when they start fielding candidates in elections.

The study also reveals that as the factional politics has its roots in villages, the ties between leaders and followers tend to be personal. The recruitment of followers is based on diversity and kinship groups, friendships, patron-client, master-servant, borrower-lender relationships. Faction leaders compete with the opposite faction leaders to bag resources and support from the people in the villages.

Joyce Pettigrew<sup>19</sup> while focusing on the factionalism in Jat society, states that factionalism in Punjab is based on village residence, caste and class.

Mary C. Carras<sup>20</sup> studied party factionalism of Congress in Akola in Maharashtra and traced the linkages of the factions to the state level. The study focuses on the members of two groups. Two groups within the Congress Party were formed due to the differences over the

nomination of party candidates for the posts of President and Vice-President of Zila Parishad in the elections of 1962. The two groups were labeled as 'Loyalist' and 'Rebels'. Loyalists supported the nominations of Congress Party officially and the others simply opposed them.

The study strongly elaborates on the fact that ideological preferences do play a certain role in political behaviour, together with personal considerations.

Satya M. Rai<sup>21</sup> in trying to explore the reasons for the factionalism in Punjab Congress links it to the partial attitude of the Congress High Command towards the Punjab State. Power struggle was the background factor. Apart from this it was the absence of mature leadership and weak leftist parties that led the rise of communal forces and the emergence of factionalism in Punjab.

Paul R. Brass<sup>22</sup> in his three studies tries to assess the reasons for factionalism in Congress Party. He opines that the factions in the Congress Party of Uttar Pradesh were based on economic reasons, patron-client relationships, control over the local institutions of self-government and access to state government patronage or community support.

Other three factors listed out by him were (i) absence of an external threat, (ii) presence of an internal consensus upon ideological issues and (iii) absence of authoritative leadership. He lays stress on the fact that power and prestige were the motivating factors that fuelled groupism in political parties. He focuses on three general themes namely (i) the so-called identified groups alter themselves according to the circumstances (ii) The basis of group identity rests on the symbols adopted by party bosses (iii) rather than reflecting communal demands, the political parties shape a group in their quest

to achieve power for their groups. At times the outcome of factionalism reaches a stage where it becomes impossible for a faction to remain with the party.

In his study related to West Bengal, Prasanta Sen Gupta<sup>23</sup> observes that factionalism is attached to power acquisition only and rules out the view of differences over ideology or public policy matters. As per his study, defeat or victory on a particular issue takes the front seat and the core issue is somehow overlooked. The study thus sheds immense light on the basis and theory of faction-building.

Hamza Alvi<sup>24</sup>, in his study, analyses political activity at levels of local peasant community. As per his study, faction is the most pervasive form of peasant political interactions in peasant societies. Factional alignments cut across class alignments.

Wherever rival factions belong to similar social groups, the factional model describes a segmental rather than class conflict. Such conflict is void of ideological expressions since the rival factions and their leaders are seen to fight for control over resources, power and status as available within the existing framework of society. They seldom speak for changes in the social structure.

Through factional model one can identify actual political alignments in peasant societies. He is of the view that factional model is specific to certain societies being inherent in the culture or social structure. The principle of diversity of factional recruitment guides the factional mode of politics which is based on certain structural factors.

Numerous studies define factions to be groups within parties. There are nearly as many descriptions and definitions of such intra-party groups as there are studies with repeated attempts to think on the topic in a more systematic manner. In particular, typologies of factions focus on different kinds of factional structures and functions.

## **CHARACTERISTICS OF FACTIONALISM**

The theoretical explanations and different definitions reveal the following characteristics of the term 'faction'. (i) A faction is a smaller group within larger parent party. (ii) A faction comes into existence without the approval of the parent body. (iii) The number of members of a faction may be anything between minimum to the maximum. If the numerical strength is large, the faction will be more effective. If it is too less, it will be less effective or almost ineffective. Therefore, effectiveness of a faction depends largely upon the number of its members, but not its existence. However, a faction cannot go to the extent of recruiting members openly. The reason is that it will mean parting with the parent body. (iv) A faction has its own basic and uniform policy which is distinct from that of the parent body. This contributes in giving a separate identity to the faction from that of its parent body.

Ralph Nicholas<sup>25</sup> after comparing reported instances of five different kinds of societies and social institutions suggests two approaches (i) focus on the analysis of political conflict and (ii) focus on the analysis of political organisations. Furtheron he elaborates on the characteristics of factions in the form of five propositions.

- (a) Factions are conflict groups. It is during social conflict that factions emerge out of a sociologically undefined background to give the observer a view of their members.
- (b) Factions are political groups. Factions organize conflicts in certain kinds of society and institutions.
- (c) Though factions are impermanent, they are not corporate groups, but may persist for a long period of time.
- (d) Faction members are recruited by a leader. It is the activity of a leader through which a member can be connected to a faction. It



is so because the unit has no corporate existence or clear single principle of recruitment. The leader who is responsible for organizing the members or a faction is ordinarily a man having more political power as compared to any of his followers. Leadership may be provided not only by a politically powerful individual, but also a 'clique' based on an influential family.

- (e) Diverse principles are brought into use to recruit faction members. A faction leader ordinarily has different kinds of connections with his followers, and makes use of all possibilities to draw supporters into his faction.

Yogender Singh<sup>26</sup> compiled a study of six villages in the east of U.P. and analysed some ninety-seven factions. He noted the following characteristics of factions.

- (i) Factions constitute a group of households within a caste or sub-caste rallying together for rites, rituals, ceremonies, community activities and who stand together in times of social conflicts.
- (ii) Although factions are not political groups they play an important role in the power structure of the village.
- (iii) Each faction is represented by one or more than one leader. The role of the faction leader acquires prominence only at the time of inter-factional tensions. The faction leadership otherwise is relatively less visible.

The broad characteristics of the faction leader are defined as such:

- (i) He enjoys a better economic status in comparison with other member households of his faction.
- (ii) The image of a faction-leader in each faction group is that of an honest person with character, age and experience in social,

economic and political spheres. Age is an important factor for becoming and sustaining one's status as a factional leader.

- (iii) Though factional group and its formation are done on the basis of quarrels, feuds and social tensions, factions are embedded in the rural social system. Factions operate not only in relation to conflict but also to work in unison for the benefit of the group.

Nicholas<sup>27</sup> regards a faction as a kind of political process. In his comparative analysis of five case studies of factions, he identifies five characteristics of a faction which are enumerated below.

1. Factions are conflict groups.
2. Factions are political groups.
3. Factions are not corporate groups.
4. Faction members are recruited by a leader.
5. Faction members are recruited on diverse principles.

Richard<sup>28</sup> states that the term faction refers to a 'segment' or segments of alignment within the same political system. A faction aims at maximum furtherance of interests of its own members within the given power system. A society has several general characteristics. Factionalism is one of the most universal of these. A perennial feature of human history and civilization has been the unequal distribution of power and resources which always results in a clash of interests. Conflict is a recurrent phenomenon and factionalism is a characteristic form of "conflict manifestation and conflict resolution". If we analyze this definition of the term faction, we can arrive at the following characteristics of a faction:

- (i) It is an alignment of persons within the parent political party. This group is identified, recognised and called a faction as long as it remains within its parent political party. As soon as it parts

ways from its parental political party and forms itself into an independent party, it ceases to be a faction within its parent political party.

- (ii) The second characteristic on which writers have agreed in offering definitions of the term faction is that a faction works for achieving the maximum interests of the members. Here it may even enter into a conflict with its parent political party.
- (iii) A faction arises and its members unite under the label of a separate faction because they feel aggrieved that injustice has been done to them by the parent political party in the matter of distribution of political power.

### **Factionalism : Micro and Macro levels**

In theoretical terms factionalism can be understood and analyzed as existing as micro level phenomenon and macro level phenomenon. A clear and precise distinction is needed between Micro-factionalism and Macro-factionalism.

James Walch<sup>29</sup> states that Micro-factionalism is a competition between factions which are tightly knit groups of leaders and followers. Macro-factionalism is a competition between intra-party groups. It can be related to specific socio-economic interests. Unlike micro-factionalism which is relatively closed, macro-factionalism often carries recruitment drives on its own. This is done to strengthen its position and stronghold in internal party affairs. It is important to bear in mind that Macro-factions may appear in a party which is trying to integrate various interests or divisions in the party.

From the above analysis, it is quite clear that factionalism at the local level is not entirely limited or subjected to what has been termed as Micro-factionalism. Micro-factionalism is highly personalized, non-ideological patronage politics.

## **COMPONENTS OF FACTIONALISM**

Leaslie Lipson<sup>30</sup> lists the following as essential components for constituting a faction.

- (i) A definite person who can be identified and recognized as the leader of the faction even if the boundaries of membership of a faction are not definite and clear. Even if the boundaries are blurred, this fact will not affect the existence of a faction.
- (ii) Organization of the faction should at least exist to the extent that it could provide rudiments of a structure.
- (iii) A common interest which brings the members of the faction together at least initially.
- (iv) There should be common objectives before the faction which may keep the members of the faction together for some, at least, minimum reasonable time.
- (v) There should be awareness among the members of the faction, as well as to the others outside of the existence of the faction and the status of the persons who are members of the faction.
- (vi) This faction should be treated as a rival and a competitor by its opponent faction.

## **TYPES OF FACTIONALISM**

Paul R.Brass<sup>31</sup> makes the following observations on different type of factions. He has divided factionalism into three types.

### **1. One Dominant Faction System**

In a political party there can be more than one faction at a certain time, but of all the factions one possesses the status of the dominant faction. This dominant faction controls the political party at the state and also at local level. The other factions are too small to offer any resistance or pose a challenge to the dominant faction. These small

factions do exist but their existence is peripheral and of little significance.

## **2. Amorphous Factional System**

In a political party there are more than one factions. However, none of these factions can claim the position of a dominant faction. No faction can claim to control the party exclusively at state and local level. The strength of factions keeps changing from time to time. The increase and decrease in the strength of a faction is a question of degree only. Therefore, under this amorphous factional system no faction is in a position to claim that it is the superior most faction. The result of such a situation is that all factions share power. The relatively greater or lesser hold on power is a difference of degree only.

## **3. Bi-factional System :**

In this type of factional system, there are, mainly speaking, two factions in the party. Neither of the two factions can claim the position of a dominant faction. Power is shared by both factions in the party. The form of sharing power may change from time to time. The degree of sharing power may also change from time to time. There may be some sort of co-operation between the two factions on some occasion or for some time. But rivalry, in some or the other form, always continues between two factions. It is essential for their existence and continuity.

Kuldeep Kaur<sup>32</sup> has a different theoretical opinion on types of factionalism that exist within political parties. She mentions two main types of factionalisms namely (i) Latent and (ii) Manifest

- (i) Latent factionalism is based on differences on certain issues within the party organization. Latent factionalism exists in almost all the political parties. These so called factions maintain their identity and remain within the parameters of the existing party organizations. Important leaders of the party head such

factions which exist and function on mutual understanding in the quest for power. The intensity of the factional fight sometimes leads the head of the factions to leave the party to either join other party or form a separate political party.

(ii) Manifest factionalism: Manifest factionalism is described as the following:

a) Vertical factionalism: in this case a section of the political party or party leadership parts away from the parent body to form a new political party.

b) Horizontal factionalism: In such a case the ministerial wing and organizational wing form factions due to differences between its leadership and the members.

Thus, there is no denying the fact that in one form or the other factionalism exists in almost all political parties. However, it is important to account for the reasons for the emergence of factions within a political party. The following factors or reasons may be held responsible for emergence of factions within a political party.

1. The single most important reason for the emergence of factionalism is lust for power and lust to capture political power gives birth to factions in a political party. The political classes are power hungry. They want power at any cost and by any means. In such a situation leaders organize and establish distinct factions in the party with the aim of dominating the party and using the party to capture political power. They organise and constitute a group with the help of their supporters. It is very common an M.L.A in the State Assembly or an M.P. in the Parliament to try to enlist the support of other M.L.As and M.Ps respectively and try to forge a group in order to exert pressure on the leadership with the objective of procuring a ministry. Once the target of procuring a minintry is achieved this group is kept

floating as a faction in order to retain and increase political power vested in the group. On this issue Brass says, "Factional politics in traditional societies is personal politics and status politics"<sup>33</sup>. This also implies that leaders work for power and status of their own person in politics. They are power hungry and have lust for status or influential positions within the party or in the government. This is the most important reason responsible for the creation of factions within a political party. Brass has also expressed the view that in addition to lust for power lust for prestige is also an important reason for the creation of factions in a political party. There may be some leaders, who unlike majority of leaders may give more importance to status than capturing political power. They may like that old social esteem may continue to flow towards them undisturbed, to the extent possible<sup>34</sup>. What Brass has said, is true. This desire for continued respect and social status is particularly evident in the ex-rulers who join politics for the sole objective of retaining leadership roles and to be looked up to. It is quite clear that the case of ex-rulers who like a commoner have taken a plunge in politics with the object of achieving things, power as well as prestige for their own person in politics.

2. There is no denying the fact that it is not only assumed but also taken as an essential attribute that a political party, which is based on a common vision, has one ideology. However pragmatically speaking sometimes the situation may be different. Differences may arise over some issues among the leaders within a faction. These differences may remain unresolved. It may lead to infighting also. Its natural end would be that leaders would try to corner support of other members of their party to the maximum extent possible.

3. Sociological differences based on religion, caste, class, language, community also play an important role in the formation of faction. For

example, Master Tara Singh who dominated Akali politics for a long period was a Khatri by caste. There have been times in the history of Akali Dal when certain Sikh Jat leaders worked together as a faction to throw away the leadership of Master Tara Singh mainly on the ground that Master Tara Singh was a non-jat leader whereas the majority in Akali Dal is of Jat Sikhs.

4. Sometimes pressure exerted from outside may be responsible for creating factions in a political party. This outside pressure may come from different quarters. It may be channelled through big industrialists and landlords. These industrialists and landlords have to project and advance their interests. Very often huge amounts of money exchange hands in the guise of donations. The M.Ps in turn safeguard and promote the interests of these industrialists and landlords in the Parliament whenever an occasion arises. Industrialists and landlords act as “Money Banks” of such M.Ps. They often form some sort of a loose faction to act as watch dogs to protect the interests of these industrialists and landlords. Sometimes these monetary gratifications may come from outside the country through some agencies. Such outside forces may lure M.Ps through free foreign trips, huge sums of money under some innocent label and may use some other methods and modes to fill the pockets of such M.Ps. The implication is certainly not that all the elected representatives are prone to such outside pressure. A large number of M.Ps are men of integrity. However, the truth also is that the foreign interventions are on the rise.

5. Personality clash is one of the important factors responsible for the creation, existence and continuity of factions within a political party. There may be two, three, or even more leaders, who are ambitious to capture the organizational wing of the party with the ultimate aim of capturing political power. The presence of such



ambitious leaders at one time within a political party is more than sufficient in itself to create factionalism within the party. In such a situation there is little chance of adjustment or of working in unity with the spirit of give and take and co-operation. Their ambition will not allow them to do so. But it shall lead them to the blind alley of infighting. There can be no return from it. Under these circumstances, these ambitious leaders start enlisting supporters on their side and try to form a sub group of their supporters within the party. These leaders make promises with their supporters that they will be rewarded at the proper and right time for their group loyalty.

In his Research ' Factionalism in an Indian State ' Paul, R. Brass has said, "Personal enmity is the primary organizing principle of factional conflict in Uttar Pradesh Congress"<sup>35</sup>. What Paul R. Brass has said about factionalism being a manifestation of personality clash in Uttar Pradesh Congress, is generally true of the congress party in other states of India also. The personality clash among state level ambitious leaders of the congress party has become the primary cause for weakening the congress party to the extent that it has lost political power in Punjab also and may not find it easy to form its own government independent of other parties in the state in the future. There were times when differences in ideology constituted the basis of emergence of factions within a political party. However, in contemporary times a change is apparent. Personal and family gains are replacing ideological orientations. Leaders of factions always think in terms of personal and family gains. A good number of leaders have brought their sons in politics in their life time and are trying to ensure that their sons could replace them smoothly when they are no more in this world. What is true of leaders, is equally true of the supporters of these leaders. Their supporters are ever ready to shift loyalties for the

sake of personal gain. Leaders of factions justify their lust for personal and family gains with the logic that if a doctor wishes that his son should become a doctor, an engineer wishes that his son should become an engineer, what sin does a politician commit if he wishes that his son may step into his shoes. Supporters of the leaders of these factions justify their action of defection and counter-defection with the argument that when their leaders are making tons of money, what is the harm if their supporters also get a bit out of that.

An important question that arises is whether emergence, existence and continuity of factions within a political party are healthy or an unhealthy development? Much can be said in favor of factionalism as well as against factionalism within a political party. But one thing is clear, certain and definite. Our answer in a practical situation will always depend on the character of persons constituting a faction, the aims for which they have come together under the label of a faction and the means which they adopt to achieve their means. If persons forming a faction are corrupt, their aims are personal and family gains and they are ready to do anything and everything to achieve their aims, then our answer is that such factionalism is negation of every such thing which can be called good. Such factionalism is always destructive for the society and is against the healthy spirit of ideological contestations in politics. The present law of the land, as long as major and sufficient changes are not made in it, may not hold the members of such factions as guilty of moral breach of conduct. From social point of view, members of such factions may be condemned as criminals on the charge of achieving personal and family gains through corrupt means. On the other hand, if the members constituting a faction have come together on the basis of a clear, certain and definite ideology, if their aims are for the welfare of

the general society and if they generally adopt right and proper means to achieve their aims then such faction deserve praise and ought to be commended. The members of such faction are candidates of admiration because they are fighting for the welfare of the society.

A faction may also serve another good purpose. In the words of Paul R Brass,<sup>36</sup> "Function of a faction may be ..... to channel conflict and hostility within the party without endangering the stability". The argument of Paul can be developed in the way that just as doors, windows and ventilators allow passage of air, existence of a faction and allowing its working within a party means following free expression of opinions even when they take the shape of sharp differences over crucial matters. The members of a faction feel satisfied because they can express their differences within their party and sometimes can even mould the decision of the party. This ensures continuity and stability of the party.

## **What makes the factions to stay and work in the same political Party.**

There are three main reasons which make the factions stay and work together in the same political party, i.e. :-

1. There may be some leader tall enough who can exercise unifying influence on all factions within the party. Such a leader dominates the party. He is not attached with any particular factions within the party. The most important factor in the case of such a leader is that he is detached from all factions within the party. The status of a such leader and his detachment from all factions within the party enables him to exercise unifying influence over all the factions in the party.
2. One can cite the example of Mahatma Gandhi. All factions within the Congress party looked towards Mahatma Gandhi. None of the factions dared to challenge his unifying influence. One can also cite the name of Jawahar Lal Nehru. Jawahar Lal Nehru was one of the tallest leaders of the congress party. He was never a leader of a particular faction only. Even when India became free and Jawahar Lal Nehru became the Prime Minister of India, he continued to enjoy the position of a leader of the congress party. This enabled Jawahar Lal Nehru to exercise his influence over all factions in the congress party.
3. The second reason for keeping all the factions together and work together in the same party is the tolerance which factions show towards each other. Such tolerance varies from party to party. It also depends on a number of factors, which may further vary from party to party. For example when Akali Dal is out of power, factions in Akali Dal are more tolerant towards each other. Rather, during such period factions in Akali Dal is more united,

raise one common slogan of the *Panth* being in danger. At such times factions do not find faults with each other.

## **CONCLUSION**

It can be concluded that factions are a universal phenomenon in politics which can not be conceived as something homogeneous and monolithic. They are characterized by dynamism and their nature is generally determined by the peculiarities of realpolitik. However, it is almost universally applicable that factionalism attempts to justify itself through ideological justifications whereas actually it may be a manifestation of struggle for power having its basis in personality cults. Thus, whereas acquisition and retention of power is central to the emergence of factions; intra-party conflicts and questions of leadership are important sub themes connected with the issue. There may also be important differences in the distribution of factions within a party as they may get distributed as one faction dominance, bipolar factionalism or multi-polar factionalism.

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## *Chapter – III*

# *Profile of Shiromani Akali Dal and the Phenomenon of the Factionalism in the Party up to 1997*

**CHAPTER-III**  
**PROFILE OF SHIROMANI AKALI DAL**  
**AND THE PHENOMENON OF THE FACTIONALISM IN THE**  
**PARTY UP TO 1997**

It is not only pertinent but also of great theoretical importance to trace the origin of Shiromani Akali Dal and to account for the reasons for its coming into existence. It is equally necessary to study the political party in a wider perspective so as to identify the circumstances that led to the formation of this regional political party.

Shiromani Akali Dal is one of the oldest regional parties of India which had been forming governments in Punjab alternatively with other parties. This is the first time that it has broken the trend of past years by forming the government for the second time consecutively.

Though Shiromani Akali Dal is a very powerful party in Punjab it has been famous for its factional politics right from the time of its inception. This factionalism within the party was responsible for the premature fall of its many governments in the past. However at the present juncture the factionalism in the party is not very intense primarily due to predominance of Parkash Singh Badal as the leading figure in the party.

However, keeping in view the historical background of the presence of factionalism in the party, it is very essential to explore the context in which this phenomenon arose within the party.

**ORIGIN OF SHIROMANI AKALI DAL**

Shiromani Akali Dal, mainly based in the Punjab, is made up of several break away factions that were once a part of the same intellectual movement which began in the times Master Tara Singh

and Sant Fateh Singh. Then either for political or non-political reasons, some of the members of this movement chose to break away and establish their own Akali Dal and thus factionalism in Akali Dal came into existence.

Akali Dal was formed on 14 December 1920 after the formation of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), a religious body formed to secure Sikh Gurdwaras from corrupt priests. Akali Dal considers itself to be a religio-political party and the principle representative of the Sikhs. Sardar Sarmukh Singh Chubbal was the first president of a unified Akali Dal, but it was under Master Tara Singh that Akali Dal became a force to reckon with.

Akali Dal can be defined as a religion oriented party mainly having a Sikh following. Before independence this party put forth the demand for a separate political entity for the Sikhs in Punjab before the British rulers. However, before independence period these demands were not met for different socio-political reasons. Soon after independence the Akali Dal began demanding special status for the Sikh identity, culture and the Punjabi language. They led a struggle for a Punjabi state with a Sikh majority within the Indian Union and recognition for Punjabi as a distinct language. As a part of this crusade, they succeeded in ensuring the establishment of the state of Punjab on linguistic lines in 1966. However, this new state had a very thin majority of the Sikhs. Akali Dal also succeeded in obtaining the recognition for Punjabi as a distinct language and not as a dialect of Hindi. Later on, Akali Dal broke up into factions. Some of the militant factions of the Akali Dal demanded an independent Sikh state which was to be called Khalistan. The most dominant Akali Dal faction in Punjab, however, has remained in favour of retaining the status of Punjab as a part of the Indian Union.

The origin of the Akali Dal can be traced back to the days of the Gurudwara reform movement in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Akali Dal, which is the main political force in the state of Punjab in the contemporary political scenario, started its career as a reform movement aimed at dispossessing the Mahants of the 'Udasis order' of their control over gurudwaras. It was a common perception that these Mahants had made the places of religious importance into personal fiefdoms and managed these gurudwaras in complete disregard of the Sikh traditions. Commenting on the origin of Akali Dal K.C. Gulati writes, "It emerged as a full fledged political party in Punjab during the 1936-37 elections held under the Government of India Act of 1935".<sup>1</sup>

The gurudwaras and the attached properties were controlled by the 'mahants' who desecrated the holy places of the Sikhs by resorting to practices and rituals that were against the tenets of Sikhism. As Pradeep Kumar puts it "The Shiromani Akali Dal emerged as a movement of the Sikhs in Punjab to liberate the Gurudwaras from the Mahants who had a corrupting influence on the Sikh holy shrines." <sup>2</sup>

Since the Akali Dal originated during the days of Gurudwara Reform movement it appears to be necessary to study how the movement originated by means of the discontentment among the Sikh laity against the malpractices of the Mahants, the hereditary heads of the gurudwaras. The obstacles in the introduction of reforms led the frustrated people to seize gurudwaras by direct action and there arose a conflict that assumed proportions of a movement and lent a new direction and dimension to the character of the Akalis.

Sohan Singh Josh<sup>3</sup> states that issues that occupy an important place in the history of the Sikhs in particular and Punjab in general, in a broader sense, emanated from the dynamics of the relations and orientation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhik Committee towards the following entities and issues:

- (i) With the British Government upto 1947,
- (ii) With the Indian National Congress (INC) and some other political parties
- (iii) Its role in the freedom struggle
- (iv) Its role and contribution during the time of partition
- (v) Its relations with the Shiromani Akali Dal
- (vi) Its role in the creation of Punjabi Suba in 1966
- (vii) Its relations with the Punjab Government and also the government at the centre
- (viii) Its approach towards the politico-economic issues concerning the Sikhs till 1984.

The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhik Committee had a realization that their struggle for the liberation of Gurudwaras and participation in the freedom struggle were not antagonistic to each other. These could be waged simultaneously.

### **GURUDWARAS – THEIR INCOME AND MANAGEMENT**

The problem of gaining control of gurudwaras has always remained an important issue among the different sections of the Sikhs because the gurudwaras are repositories of large amount of wealth. In the beginning the activities of gurudwaras were very limited. But in the course of time the gurudwaras assumed the role of community centres where marriages, baptism, Guru ka langar, school for the children and other social and religious ceremonies were organized.

These functions and ceremonies were performed at the smallest

village as well as by the biggest gurudwaras like “Harimandir Sahib” in Amritsar. The village gurudwaras were run on the contributions made by the local peasants whereas the bigger shrines received large amounts in offerings particularly during religious festivals when the langars were organized to feed large number of pilgrims in one single day.<sup>4</sup> In order to help these gurudwaras discharge the burden of their social and religious obligations, sardars of major misls and Maharaja Ranjit Singh during his regime donated large estates to their favourite shrines.

Some bigger gurudwaras like Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar and Panja Sahib at Nanakana Sahib had large jagirs attached to them. According to Khushwant Singh, “with the introduction of canal-irrigation, the income derived from land of the gurudwaras assumed princely proportions”<sup>5</sup>. So far as the management of these shrines was concerned, there were no fixed rules.

### **GURUDWARAS PASS INTO THE HANDS OF THE MAHANTS**

In the early eighteenth century, after the arrest of Banda Singh Bahadur and up to the rise of the Sikh Misdars there occurred large scale persecution of the Sikhs at the hands of successive Mughal Emperors. Large numbers of Sikhs were forced into exile. It was also a time when the Sikh shrines passed into the hands of the Udasis. The Udasis who acted as the incharges rendered good service to the Sikh religion. They were regarded as men of high character.

The Udasis were not attached to any particular shrine or to its wealth or property. Instead they moved from place to place. Some of them established institutions and became heads of deras and were known as Mahants.

These Mahants were treated with respect by the sangat of the area. They enjoyed the confidence of the sangat. These Mahants

nominated their successors to the gaddis. However, with the passage of time the practice of good conduct and integrity in the performance of religious duty seem to have been abandoned. This could have been a result of the manifold and unprecedented increase in their income derived from revenue-free jagirs bestowed on most of the historic shrines by the Sikh misaldars. With the increase of the income in the gurudwaras, the Mahants became corrupt and started to convert the income into their personal possessions. The Sikh masses now wanted to liberate the Sikh shrines from the clutches of the Mahants, who began to lead a life of luxury.

### **STRUGGLE FOR REFORM IN SIKH SHRINES**

Leaders of the Singh Sabha were the first to protest against the exclusion of Sikhs of untouchable castes and performance of idolatrous ritual in the bigger shrines.

As a result of the pressure exerted by the Singh Sabha, Hindu Idols were removed from the precincts of the “Harmandir” in 1905. However, they could not go beyond this as they believed only in making soft representations to the authorities. By now, the misuse of gurudwaras had reached scandalous proportions and required immediate intervention.

After the Singh Sabha the matter was taken up by the Chief Khalsa Dewan, primarily a social and educational organization of the Sikhs, and by the so-called natural leaders of the Sikhs, composed of Sikh aristocracy and other title holders. In 1906 under the pressure from Singh Sabhas and the Sikh press, the Chief Khalsa Dewan passed a resolution asking the Government that the rules governing the Management of the Golden Temple be so amended as to allow the Panth the right to appoint its manager and other officials.<sup>8</sup> However, nothing came out of this.

Realizing that mere passing of resolutions would not serve the purpose, some Sikhs of advanced political opinion advocated the adoption of other methods. These methods included, boycotting of the temples, exerting great public pressure on the mahants and even litigation. All these methods also proved abortive. The method of boycotting the gurudwaras could not be successful because mahants of most of the gurudwaras, in which reforms were sought, received an enormous income from the tax-free jagirs attached to almost all the historic shrines yielding yearly income of lakhs of rupees and, therefore, were able to withstand the stoppage of the offerings of devotees in case of boycott. The methods of exerting great public pressure on the mahants proved an equal failure as the mahants would readily promise to improve their ways when confronted with strong public pressure, but would revert to their old ways as soon as the pressure of public criticism subsided.

The method of litigation also failed because it required huge amount of money which the ordinary people could not afford and was a time consuming process. The mahants on the other hand were very wealthy and thus could afford litigation.

After having failed to introduce reforms by constitutional and legal means, the frustrated people decided to seize gurudwaras through direct action. With this aim they began to organize themselves in the form of local Akali Jathas.<sup>9</sup> This can be understood as the first step towards the formation of the Akali Dal.

The matter came to a head in 1912 when the government required some land attached to Gurdwara Rakab Ganj for a road in the new capital in Delhi. The mahant of the Gurudwara readily gave his consent for the acquisition and accepted compensation in lieu of the acquired land. The government did not realize the inflammatory



possibilities of the situation and in accordance with the settlement made with the mahant, took over the land acquired and demolished the boundary wall of Gurudwara Rakab Ganj on 14 January 1914. This caused much resentment in the Sikh community. The leaders of the community considered it an insult to their religion and were thinking of launching a “morcha” when the First Great War broke out in August 1914. Keeping in view the outbreak of the war, that was a danger to national security, the Akalis for the time being decided to postpone their confrontation with the Government. This shelved the Rakab Ganj issue and the matter remained in suspended during the war.

In 1918, the war came to an end but the wall of gurudwara was still found to be in a demolished state. Realising that the work of restoration would not be done without sacrifices, the newly formed Central Sikh League<sup>10</sup> at its meeting in Lahore in October 1919 gave a public call for hundred shaheeds (martyrs) to proceed to Delhi and reconstruct the wall at all costs”.<sup>11</sup> Hundreds of Sikhs responded to the appeal and offered their heads for the “Shahidi Jatha” (Band of Martyrs). However, through the intervention of the late Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, who was helped by Sir Edward Maolagan, the then Governor of Punjab, a settlement of the problem was brought about. The demolished wall was rebuilt and the land acquired restored to a committee of the representatives of the Sikhs who had taken over the management of the shrine. According to G.C.Narang, “this was the first victory of the Sikhs over the Government”.<sup>12</sup>

The sense of triumph, which came with success, filled the Sikh leaders with a crusading enthusiasm and they started occupying gurudwaras all over India. The Akalis jumped in spontaneously as volunteers to seize gurudwaras and to oust the Mahants. They came

from all over the province in jathas (bands), organized district-wise. Their battle cry was “Aa gai fauj Akali, dere kar do khali” (the Akali army has come, evacuate gurudwaras).<sup>13</sup> Some of the mahants offered no resistance and agreed to serve as paid “Granthis” (priests), while others surrendered after some resistance. After taking over the control of a large number of gurudwaras from the mahants, the Akali workers succeeded in getting the control of the Akal Takht at Amritsar and two other important gurudwaras from the control of the Government in October 1920. The movement also termed as the Akali movement was of the opinion that the mahants had to be thrown out and control of the gurudwaras wrested by hook or by crook. Numerous skirmishes, fights and small battles led to a time when the gurudwaras were finally liberated and Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee came into being in 1920.

### **FORMATION OF SHIROMANI AKALI DAL**

With the establishment of Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee in November 1920, a need arose for developing a system to co-ordinate the work of regional jathas to free the gurudwaras from the clutches of the corrupt mahants and the Britishers. There were at least ten such jathas espousing gurudwara reforms in different regions of Punjab. Initially the Akali Dal functioned as a task force for the SGPC, mobilizing and providing volunteers when required. According to a contemporary press report, Master Mota Singh was the first to suggest the formation of a Gurudwara Sevak Dal of 500 Sikh volunteers, including 100 full time paid members, all ready for action at the call of Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee. At about the same time, Jathedar Kartar Singh Jhabbar, who had liberated Gurudwara Panja Sahib, Hasan Abdul, on 18 November 1920, had suggested in a report from there that a jatha of 200 Sikhs be raised to

be dispatched wherever action was needed. It was at this time that the Shiromani Akali Dal took it unto itself to do the job hence functioning under the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee. Moreover, the panthic newspapers, 'The Akali', and 'Akali Te Pardesi', also emphasized the need for such a central body.

These proposals were discussed at a meeting of leading activists in front of the Akal Takht on December 14, 1920. It was decided to form a Central Akali Dal of which Sarmukh Singh Jhabal was designated the first jathedar (President). This date is generally accepted to be the date of the formation of the Shiromani Akali Dal, although the title Shiromani was added only through a resolution passed by the Dal on 29 March 1922. Akali Dal was formed as a religio-political party and as the principle representative of Sikhs after a gurmata on 14 December 1920. The first election of the party was held on 23-24 January 1921. A confidential memorandum of the Punjab Police dealing with the activities of the Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee during 1920-22 refers to it, as the 'Central Akali Dal' to stress its linking role for the various confederated jathas. According to this report "the present strength of the Akali Dal, including the figures for the native states, is at least 25,000 and may be greatly in excess of that estimate". In some contemporary government documents the Dal is also referred to as Akali Fauj (Army).

### **GROWTH OF SHIROMANI AKALI DAL: 1920-1935**

During this period the main aim of the Sikh political and religious outfits was to liberate the remaining gurudwaras from the control of the mahants. Since the Government supported the mahants in this struggle, the Akali Dal had also come into clash with the Government. In a short spell of three years (1920-23) it took over the

management of several important Gurudwaras including the Golden Temple and the Akal Takht. This naturally increased the popularity of the Akali Dal and the S.G.P.C. and disturbed the authorities both in India and in England. Reports were already being sent by the C.I.D. officials that movement had acquired political aims and that the Akalis were working for the restoration of the Sikh Raj under the cover of religious movement. The S.G.P.C.'s decision to take up the question of the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha was quoted by these officials as a clear case which substantiated their argument.

Shiromani Akali Dal was thus the political outgrowth of the Akali movement for the reform of Sikh places of worship during the early 1920s. As has been discussed above, at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Sikh Shrines continued to remain under the control of hereditary officials known as mahants. While practices contrary to the Sikh religious structure had developed over the years, some disturbing factors became evident after the fall of the Sikh kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Neglecting their religious office, the mahants began to divert assets, especially land attached to the shrines for their own enrichment. Following the decline of the Sikhs, the Harmandir Sahib in Amritsar better known as the Golden Temple, was placed under the commissioner of the city who managed the affairs through a Sikh appointee. These hereditary custodians even invited Sir Michal O' Dwyer the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab from 1912 to 1919 who supported General Dyer's actions, and honoured him with a Siropa in the shrine after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

An interesting fact is that the rank and file of the Shiromani Akali Dal swelled when the Akali leaders fanned out in the villages and exhorted the village folks to join the Akali Dal to make it more strong and powerful so as to be able to preserve the gurudwaras. People in

large numbers came forward and got baptized and joined the Shiromani Akali Dal. The agitations or morchas by the Akalis finally bore fruit with the passing of the Sikh Gurudwara Act in 1925 that enabled the Sikhs to have all rights to look after the Sikh shrines and the attached properties.

One by one the gurudwaras were freed. The Akalis used the methods of request, offers of pensions and even arm-twisting to achieve their goal of liberating the Sikh holy shrines.

Gurudwara Babe di Ber of Sialkot was chosen as the starting point to launch the Gurudwara reforms followed by the Harmandir Sahib which was directly brought under the control of Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1920.

The movement that was basically of a peaceful nature was not approved of by a section of the Akalis who were of the opinion that resorting to the path of violence was imperative to meet the objectives. The bloodshed that followed the liberation of Nankana Sahib put the British Government on the back-foot and subsequently they agreed to hand over the Gurudwara to the Akalis on 3 March 1921.

Bolstered by their success, the Akalis launched agitation after agitation to go ahead with their movement and thus the Jaitu and Bhai Pheru morchas were given a final go ahead in 1923 to bring Gurudwara Gangsar under control. In a parallel development the Bhai Pheru Gurudwara was liberated though in the face of tough opposition from the Punjab Government which used force to quell the agitations.

After the Gurudwara Act 1925 came into being, the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee became the sole controller of the historical gurudwaras and with this the Akali movement came to an end. As discussed above, the Shiromani Akali dal was the supplier of

manpower to the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee in this movement and once the dream and objective was fulfilled, the Shiromani Akali Dal took steps in the direction of establishing itself as an independent political party following electoral process and thus came to be known as the oldest regional democratic party. In addition to this, there arose a need to have a central body as a number of Akali jathas had come into being after the gurudwaras were brought under Sikh control. In Sohan Singh Josh's words 'The Panthic newspapers "The Akali" and "The Akali Te Pardesi" advocated the need of such a central body".<sup>14</sup>

Thus a meeting was convened on December 14, at Amritsar, to bring all the different jathas under one umbrella and as a direct result of this Shiromani Akali Dal was born with Sardar Surmukh Singh Jhabal elected as its first President. Very soon after this the Shiromani Akali Dal declared its objectives:

- (a) To have Panthic control over all sikh religious places
- (b) To get rid of the permanent position of the corrupt mahants
- (c) To utilize the property as well as the income for the betterment of these shrines
- (d) To practice and propogate the Sikh tenets as preached by the Sikh Gurus.

Finally, after its formation, the Shiromani Akali Dal was able to take over the managements of the Harmandir Sahib and the Akal Takht, Gurudwara Guru ka Bagh, Sacha Sauda and Panja Sahib of Hassan Abdal though only after making a lot of sacrifices.

K.L.Tuteja<sup>15</sup> states that once the disputes related to the Gurudwaras were settled, the Shiromani Akali Dal took to representing the Sikh community in legislative bodies. The Shiromani

Akali Dal participated actively in the Independence movement and also participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Shiromani Akali Dal was now in a position to stress upon their demand for the rights of the Sikh community. A memorandum in this regard was presented wherein the Sikhs wanted equal rights at par with the Muslims in the other provinces.

The Gurudwara Elections held in 1939 brought the Shiromani Akali Dal as a major political party having defeated major political figures like Jaswant Singh Jhabal, Partap Singh Kairon and Udham Singh. The Chief Khalsa Diwan till then had a great influence in Sikh circles with Sunder Singh Majithia at the helm of affairs. With his demise in 1942 came an end to the clout that Chief Khalsa Diwan wielded and with this the Shiromani Akali Dal emerged as the only representative of the Sikhs.

Another incidence which further strengthened Shiromani Akali Dal can be cited here. The Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact of 1942 was significant to the Akali politics as it gave an opportunity for the Akalis to actively participate in the government. <sup>16</sup>

With an assurance that the Sikhs' minority rights would be protected, the Shiromani Akali Dal sided with the Indian National Congress. On March 17, 1948, the working committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal passed the resolution directing its representatives at the Provincial as well as the Central levels to join the Indian National Congress.

At this time there also arose the need to start an agitation for carving out a region that would help in the progress and development of the Punjabi language and culture. Master Tara Singh spearheaded the agitation by inspiring the Akalis to press for their demand and thus the movement came to be called the Punjabi Suba Movement.

The State Re-organisation Commission that was appointed by the Centre Government to look into the possibilities of solving the language issue rejected Shiromani Akali Dal's demand of re-organising the states on the basis of language. This was taken as a setback by the Akalis and they were in favour of launching an agitation termed as the Punjabi Suba Movement.

Terming the Regional Formula as not properly implemented, master Tara Singh revived the Punjabi Suba Movement at a Shiromani Akali Dal convened meeting at Amritsar on 12 October, 1958. Master Tara Singh sat on a fast unto death to press for the demand of Punjabi Suba. His deteriorating health compelled him to call off the fast. This had serious repercussions on the Akali politics as Master Tara Singh's influence dwindled. As a result of this another Akali leader Sant Fateh Singh emerged on the scene. Sant Fateh Singh was of the opinion that the demand of Punjabi Suba should be based on principles that were in line with the nations' doctrine of secularism and democracy. Language had always remained an important issue for the Akalis. After independence the Sikhs had been pressing hard for replacing Urdu with their mother tongue Punjabi in all official use.

Due to differences among Akali leaders with regard to the implementation of the Gurudwara Act, some ideological conflicts erupted within the party. After gaining supremacy in the first elections of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee in 1926, the Akali Dal was in a very strong position in Punjab. However, the party had gained prominence and even crossed the borders to actively participate and contribute at the national level towards interests concerning the nation as a whole.

The appointment of the Simon Commission was announced on November 8, 1927 by Lord Irwin. It was done to review the political



situation in India. The Congress at its Annual Session in Madras in December, 1927 decided to boycott the Commission “at every stage and in every form”.<sup>17</sup> The Sikh opinion was divided on the issue of co-operation with the Commission, while the followers of the Chief Khalsa Dewan and other pro-government elements were in favour of co-operation with the Commission, the Akalis, on the other hand, stood for the boycott of the Commission.

The SGPC always supported the national leaders and their programmes and actively participated in the freedom movement. It strongly opposed and protested against commissions appointed at different times merely to appease the Indians. By this time the anti-government character of the Gurudwara Reform Movement had brought the Sikhs close to the National Struggle though the Sikhs were divided on the question whether the Simon Commission should be sided with or not. Nationalist leaders like Amar Singh Jhabhal, Baba Kharak Singh, Mangal Singh, Sardul Singh Kaveeshar (SGPC officials) were all for boycotting the Simon Commission.<sup>18</sup>

Sardar Ujjal Singh stated that by appointing an all-white Commission the British had over-dependended on the Principles of communalism and disunity.<sup>19</sup>

On 16<sup>th</sup> January 1928 the Working Committee of the Akali Dal passed a resolution to the effect that they opposed the Simon Commission. In collaboration with other political parties it decided to completely boycott the Commission, when the Commission was scheduled to land in Bombay. The Commission failed to do what it was expected to. An All Sikh Parties Conference was convened at Amritsar on January 29, 1928 to consider the Sikh opinion on the Simon Commission and it was attended by about 150 prominent Sikhs from various factions such as the Shromani Akali Dal,

Central Akali Dal and Central Sikh League including Baba Kharak Singh, President of SGPC, S.B. Mehtab Singh, Sardar Mangal Singh, Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh, Harbaksh Singh, Sardar Amar Singh Jhabal, Master Tara Singh, Gyani Sher Singh, and Sardar Buta Singh. The decision to boycott the Simon Commission was confirmed.<sup>20</sup>

The Commission first visited Lahore on March 10, 1928. Hostile demonstrations marked its visit and various political parties demonstrated against it at the Lahore railway station. The Congress and the Akalis were prominent among the 30,000 demonstrators on this occasion. Baba Kharak Singh, Amar Singh Jhabal and Sardul Singh Kaveeshar of the SGPC were in the forefront. Baba Kharak Singh led the demonstrators.<sup>21</sup> When the Commission visited Lahore for the second time in October, 1928 the process of demonstrations against it was repeated.<sup>22</sup> The Nehru Report came out in August, 1928. It purported to provide a framework of a Swaraj Constitution and recommended that there would be no communal representation in Punjab and Bengal.

The communal problem was the most important problem during the years 1928-34. The major problem for the leaders was of Hindu-Muslim and Sikh representations in the legislatures under the new constitution. The Indian leaders decided to convene an All Parties Conference in Delhi in February and March 1928. The Akali Dal wanted to gain maximum representation for the Sikhs.

An All Sikh Parties Conference was held at Amritsar on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1928. Seven delegates were elected to represent the Sikh views. One third share in the administration of Punjab and due representation was decided on.

In 1926, the Shiromani Akali Dal was faced with the issue of communal representation which was an issue of vital importance in the politics of pre Independence India. The Akalis took the issue very seriously as is evident from the fact that they joined the Indian National Congress and celebrated the 'Independence Day' on 26<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1930 as a mark of protest as well as to give voice to nationalist aspirations. This proved that complete independence was the political goal of the Akalis as that of the Congress.

The communal problem was still to be solved as no fruitful results had been achieved in the Delhi conference; even though a committee was formed to solve this problem. Moti Lal Nehru was the Chairman of the committee and Mangal Singh represented the Sikh community. Again the Sikhs were not given due concessions as the Hindus and Muslims.

Again at the conference held in Lucknow, the Akalis demanded 30 percent seats in Punjab and did not agree to the Nehru report.

As the Nehru committee again could not solve the problem, the Sikhs once again returned empty handed from Calcutta and decided to boycott the Congress. This also led to factionalism amongst Akalis. The faction led by Mangal Singh and Baba Kharak Singh, stood for unconditional co-operation with the Congress. The second faction led by Baba Kharak Singh, stood for non-cooperation with the Congress. The third faction led by Giani Sher Singh, stood for 33 percent reservation for the Sikhs. Since the major demands of the Akalis had been conceded, it decided to withdraw the boycott of the Congress.

"First Round Table" Conference was held in London for consultations on the new constitution. As the Akali Dal and Congress had launched the civil Disobedience Movement, they resolved not to attend the Conference. However, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in

March 1931. All the political prisoners were released. The Congress agreed to attend the conference. The Akali Dal also decided to attend the conference and announced the name of Master Tara Singh as its delegate to the conference. In the meantime Giani Sher Singh issued a statement against the conference. Responding to this, the British Government announced the name of Sardar Ujjal Singh and Sardar Sampuran Singh in place of Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs in the "Second Round Table" Conference. In response to this, the working committee of the Akali Dal declared that Sikh representatives at the conference were not nominees of the Central Sikh League and therefore the decision of the conference could not be binding on the Sikhs.<sup>23</sup>

Due to factionalism in Akali Dal and lack of Congress's support, it failed to convince the government to make any change in the Communal Award. The British Parliament ratified the Award by enacting the Government of India Act 1935.

It can be said that the Sikh Gurudwaras Act was a great achievement of the Akalis. It was basically different from the Bill of 1921 and the Act of 1922. It had succeeded in creating a 'Central Board' which was the primary concern of the SGPC and the Shiromani Akali Dal. The primary function of the board was the better administration of over 160 Gurudwaras listed in the Act as Notified Sikh Gurudwaras. According to the conditions laid down in it, a *patit* Sikh could not be a member of the board and a non-Sikh could not be a voter. The Sikh Gurudwaras Act had been a joint achievement of the SGPC and Shiromani Akali Dal.<sup>24</sup>

In the year of 1925-26 factionalism in Akali Dal came to the fore on the question of accepting the draft of Gurudwara Reform Act. Mehtab Singh and Giani Sher Singh were satisfied with the draft of

the bill and were ready to work under the Gurudwara Act. As they were ready to cooperate with the government on the issue of Gurudwara Act they were released from jail along with twenty other Akali leaders. But Baba Kharak Singh and Master Tara Singh refused to give any understanding to the government and did not come out of the jail.<sup>25</sup> However, this rift between the two factions on the issue of Gurudwara Act, did not continue for long time. The differences between the two factions were resolved with the efforts of an 'Arbitration Board' appointed on May 16, 1926 by Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee. The result was that unity between two factions gave new strength to the Akali Dal.

Baba Kharak Singh committed another mistake when his association with Maharaja of Patiala became closer. The Maharaja of Patiala tried to use Baba Kharak Singh for his personal interests.

This caused a great set back to the position of Baba Kharak Singh. The influence of Baba Kharak Singh started dwindling among the Sikhs. Master Tara Singh became the unquestioned leader of the Akali Dal. His support base increased among the Sikh masses and he began to dominate Sikh politics in Punjab.

With the lapse of the Nehru Report and the assurance given by the Congress the agitated Sikh community was pacified. An All Parties Sikh meeting passed a resolution appreciating Gandhi's efforts and those of the Congress to meet the Sikh demands.<sup>26</sup> The gulf had thus been bridged and on 26 January 1930, a large number of Sikhs participated in the Independence Day celebrations.<sup>27</sup> Master Tara Singh appealed to the Sikh councilors to resign their seats in defence to the Congress programme. On 6 March 1930, Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Sikh Congress leaders Sardul Singh

Kaveeshar, Amar Singh Jhabbal and others welcomed it. Jaswant Singh led a Jatha of the Sikhs to break the salt law.<sup>28</sup>

However, there was a difference of opinion between Master Tara Singh and Baba Kharak Singh of the SGPC over the question of participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Baba Kharak Singh complained that despite Gandhi's assurance of including the saffron colour of the Sikhs in the National Flag, it had not been done so far. Therefore, he refused to participate in the Movement till the "Sikh Saffron" colour was included in the flag.<sup>29</sup>

In this connection a resolution had earlier been passed in which it had been pleaded that the Sikh saffron colour should be included in the National Flag. But Master Tara Singh did not want to boycott the Civil Disobedience Movement, as he was conscious that it would be suicidal for the Sikh community to dissociate itself from the National Movement.<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, under his guidance, Shiromani Akali Dal resolved to support the Civil Disobedience Movement. They placed at the disposal of Gandhi the immediate services of 5000 Sikhs.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, the Central Sikh League also decided to participate in the Movement. Master Tara Singh was taken as a member of the "War Council" formed by the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee to Coordinate the Civil Disobedience Movement in Punjab.<sup>32</sup> On Kitchlew's arrest, Master Tara Singh was appointed "dictator" of this body. While leading a Sikh Jatha to help the Pathan Satyagrahis at Peshawar, he was also arrested.<sup>33</sup> A large number of Sikhs participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Out of 7000 satyagrahis 3000 were Sikhs who were convicted in Punjab.<sup>34</sup> Duni Chand, a Congress leader from Punjab, conceded that the "Sikh community has perhaps sent proportionately the largest number to

jails and has made glorious sacrifices.”<sup>35</sup> The main cause of the participation of the Sikh peasantry was the depression in prices of agricultural goods and the rapidly deteriorating agriculture conditions in the province.<sup>36</sup> But, it was the news of firing at the Sisganj Gurdwara, Delhi, by the police which acted as a catalyst in Sikhs’ participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement.<sup>37</sup>

The SGPC, the supreme religious body of the Sikhs, immediately launched a campaign of boycott and picketing of foreign cloth shops in protest against firing at Sisganj Gurdwara.<sup>38</sup> Although, Baba Kharak Singh, President of the SGPC, made tenacious efforts to maintain the distinct identity of Sisganj agitation, the agitation nevertheless lent strength to the Civil Disobedience Movement by sharing some common ground with it.<sup>39</sup> It cannot, however, be doubted that the Sikh participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement was limited as well as cautious. It is important to note that the Sikhs as per the instructions of the SGPC did not indulge in violence at all. On the other hand, the loyalist Sikhs formed new bodies like Aman Sabha and Sikh Sudhar Committee to hamper the spread of Civil Disobedience Movement in the Sikh community.

In a marked attempt at not allowing the Sikh resentment over the Sisganj issue get completely subsumed under the Civil Disobedience Movement Baba Kharak Singh and his allies used a different flag as an insignia of their movement.<sup>40</sup> With time the Sisganj firing which had once blazed the sky gradually lost force and failed to generate much opposition amongst the Sikh community as whole.<sup>41</sup> Another reason why the Sikhs accepted the Civil Disobedience Movement in low key could be found in their continued obsession with the question of communal representation.

**1936-1947:-** Although the Shiromani Akali Dal had its formal inception in 1920, it emerged as a political party during the Punjab Assembly elections in 1937. The Shiromani Akali Dal fought the first elections, under the Government of India Act of 1935 which was based on the Communal Award. These elections were fought in collaboration with the Indian National Congress. Out of the 29 Sikh seats, the Akali Dal carried 10 seats of the 14 contested and the Congress won 5. Opposing them was the Khalsa National Party aligned with the Chief Khalsa Diwan and The Unionist Party. While a total of 175 seats formed the ministry, the Akalis joined hands with the Congress to form the opposition. With the outbreak of Second World War a rift occurred between the Congress and the Akalis. Although they agreed with the Congress in their demand for the declaration of war aims and the way these aims were to be applied to India, the Sikhs were also concerned about impressing the government about the need for the protection of their minority interests. Their representative, Baldev Singh, joined the Unionist Minority in Punjab. As a result of a pact was made with the premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. Although known in history as the Sikandar-Singh Pact signed on 15 June, 1942, it essentially marked reapproachment between the Unionist leader and the Shiromani Akali Dal which had spearheaded a very active campaign against this government in Punjab.

Another occasion arose when factionalism came to the fore in Akali Dal on the question of co-operation with the British Government and on the issue of support to the British in their war efforts. Giani Kartar Singh was of the view that Sikh community could gain through co-operation with the British Government and that it was the primary duty of Akali Dal to



advance the interests of Sikh community. The other group led by Udham Singh Nagoke had ensured active participation of the Akalis in liberation movement of the Congress.<sup>42</sup> As direct result of this Akali leaders found themselves divided over the issue of Quit India Movement.<sup>43</sup>

Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh did not participate in the Quit India Movement. On the other hand, they co-operated with the British government on in the process of recruitment in the army. Against this the leaders of the other group, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Partap Singh Kairon, Darshan Singh Pheruman and Udham Singh Nagoke participated in the Quit India Movement and went to jail.

In March 1940, the Muslim League in its session at Lahore made a declaration “Muslims-a Separate Nation” and demanded their own country Pakistan comprising the Muslim majority areas. The Sikh leaders opposed it in strong terms.

The Shiromani Akali Dal, under the prevailing circumstances cast its lot with the Indian National Congress, trusting to it the protection of Sikhs’ minority rights. In a public statement made on 4 April 1946, Jawahar Lal Nehru said, “redistribution of Lahore provincial boundaries was essential and inevitable. I stand for semi-autonomous units as well and should like them (the Sikhs) to have a semi-autonomous unit within the province so that they may experience the glow of freedom”.

The Akali Dal contested the 1945-46 elections to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on a separate programme and captured 23 out of total 33 seats reserved for the Sikhs, the remaining 10 were grabbed by the congress Sikh candidates.<sup>44</sup> The Akali Dal was directly concerned over the partition of the country and even demanded the formation of a

Sikh State. But later on at the time of partition of the country, Master Tara Singh, the top ranking leader of the Akali Dal, threw the fate of the Sikhs with the Congress Party and proved to be a true nationalist.

The New Punjab State of India came into existence in Aug, 1947. The Congress and Akali Party, who were partners in the Unionist Party, decided to stay together after the independence too. As a result on 15 August 1947 the Congress-Akali Dal coalition Government came into existence under the leadership of Gopi Chand Bhargav. But very soon the MLA's of Akali Dal entered in the Congress Party.<sup>45</sup>

**1947-1966:-** The cracks started appearing in the old Akali-Congress friendship soon after India got its freedom. Akali anxiety to capture Punjab, where the Sikhs had come to constitute a majority after the partition and Congress's inability to accommodate the Akali claims resulted in an increasing sense of frustration among the Akali leaders.<sup>46</sup> The Akalis, who were still groping for their place in the politics of free India, were not a cohesive body. They had not got evolved a clear policy and it appeared that they were still playing the game of opportunism. This was clear from the fact that only after a few weeks of Master Tara.Singh's denial in February 1948 of having anything in common with Congress, the Akali leaders directed their representatives in the Punjab Legislature to resign from the Akali Dal and join the Congress. Thereafter, the Akali leadership decided to confine the activities of the Akali Dal only to the religious, cultural and educational affairs of the Sikhs.

The Akalis who were working within the Congress as a separate group were as divided as the Congress itself. At this time, Akali factions were led by Giani Kartar Singh and Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke. Besides, there were a number of groups working within each faction of the Akali Dal. The inevitable result of this was the frequent

changes of ministers in Punjab Cabinet. During a short period of less than four years there were three changes in the Chief Ministership and many more changes in the composition of ministers headed by the same Chief Minister.<sup>47</sup>

In 1950, the Akali Dal officially resolved its alliance with the Congress and directed its members in the legislature to resign from the Akali Dal. But their call was not heeded and only one of the 22 Akali legislators responded and resigned from the Congress Legislature Party on July 30, 1950.<sup>48</sup>

Master Tara Singh, who had fallen out with the Congress leadership in Independent India, made no secret of his emotions that he wanted a new state where Sikhs should be in a dominant position. He demand a Punjabi Suba.<sup>49</sup> In 1952, the Akali Dal contested the first general elections separately on the issue of “Punjabi speaking state within the Union of India”, but did not fare well. It could secure only 13 seats out of a total of 129 seats in the house. In 1953, the Akali Dal presented its case for a Punjabi-speaking State to the States Re-organization Commission, but in vain.

On 16 October, 1955, the Akalis held a convention of all Sikh parties and organizations, which underlined the democratic and secular nature of the demand. As a part of the understanding between the Akali and the Congress leaders, the Working Committee of the Akali Dal resolved on 30 September 1956, that the Dal would not have a separate political programme of its own.

In the elections of 1957 the Congress won 120 out of 154 seats under the leadership of Partap Singh Kairon. Among the elected members were over a score of Akalis. Master Tara Singh was not satisfied with the way in which Kairon had finalized the list of candidates. He wanted larger representation of the Akalis for the

Punjabi region.

The Akali Dal resumed its political activities in a big way in 1959. Its general body met at Patiala on 2 February 1959 and resolved to contest the coming general elections as a separate political party. It also demanded the formation of a Punjabi speaking state. Thereafter, the Akali Dal thus immersed itself in the struggle for the separate Punjabi Suba.

Immediately after partition Punjab was faced with innumerable problems. As far as the political matters were concerned, the SGPC alongwith the Akali Dal extended its whole-hearted support to the Congress. Master Tara Singh rebuffed the Pakistan propaganda that there was a demand for a separate Sikh state.

He stated that the bogey of the Sikh state in the East Punjab, was being conjured up by the Pakistan propaganda machine in order to create ill-will and dissensions between the Hindus and the Sikhs. He further affirmed that the Hindus and the Sikhs would rise and fall together. Their fates were inextricably linked.<sup>50</sup>

However, the demand for a Punjabi speaking state was made in February 1948. Denouncing the Government of India's policy of not referring the question of demarcation of boundaries of Punjab to a Commission, Master Tara Singh changed his earlier stance and observed, "Our culture is Gurmukhi culture and our literature too is in the Gurmukhi script. We want to have a province where we can safeguard our culture and our traditions."<sup>51</sup>

The Tribune in its issue of November 12, 1949, wrote, "Why the Sikhs should show such a dread of the so-called Hindu majority in Punjab, when they are ready to accept the Hindu majority at the Centre which has a far greater power than the provinces, we don't know? The logic of the communal fanatic defies rational understanding. He is so desperately keen on promoting his own claims and he forgets that other interests and claims are to be reckoned with." It was then and thereafter that the Congress openly started opposing a linguistic state in Punjab.

With the reorganization of Punjab, the Akali Dal was in a position to play a bigger role in Punjab policies, for the creation of Punjabi Suba made the Sikhs a majority community in the new Punjab.

At the Punjabi Suba Conference held in Chandigarh, Master Tara Singh made his intention of launching a mass movement on a large scale public. As such, a silent procession was to be taken out in Delhi on March 5, 1959. On getting information, the government acted swiftly and took him into custody. But the procession did take place as scheduled and planned with Sikhs participating from across the country and also from all sections of the community. The procession ended in a religious 'Diwan' at Gurdwara Rakab Ganj. Within a week, Master Tara Singh was released from Jail and he declared his intention of contesting the SGPC's President Election of 1960.

To launch a morcha for the Punjabi Suba, it became essential for the leadership of the Sikhs to first break away from the Congress. The Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal directed its legislators to resign, but only five of them accepted this directive.

Again the Akali Dal contested the Assembly elections of 1962 on the issue of Punjabi speaking state. But again it could not gain success in it. The Akali Dal could gain only 11.9% votes on 19 seats out of 154 Punjab Assembly seats.<sup>52</sup> Despite a reign of terror created throughout the state the Shiromani Akali Dal stuck to its programme of sending a 'Jatha' of 11 men to Delhi without Master Tara Singh. Its volunteers planned to court arrest both in Delhi and Amritsar simultaneously and thus the movement gained momentum.

There were 21 routine court-arrests at Amritsar whereas at Delhi there were 11. Even the government admitted that 26,000 Sikhs were arrested headed by Master Tara Singh, President of the SGPC. In his absence, Sant Fateh Singh, the then Senior Vice-President of Shiromani Akali Dal took over as dictator of the 'morcha'. Though a non-entity then, he rose in power and stature in no time. Because of his advisers and his much admired techniques, he began to clear the position regarding the nature of the Punjabi Suba demand.

In May, 1965 a resolution was passed during the Conference at Ludhiana. Sant Fateh Singh declared that he would go on fast for the cause of Punjabi Province. On 9 March the Congress Working Committee recommended to the Union Government that a State with Punjabi as state language may be created out of the existing Punjab. The Punjab Reorganization Bill, providing for the creation of Haryana and the Punjab, was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 3 September, 1966 and passed on 7 September. It received the President's assent on 18 September. Some of its constitutional right been taken over by the Government of India.

The new State of Punjab with an area of about 50,255 sq.

kilometres comprising 2 divisions, 11 districts, 37 tehsils, 110 blocks and 12,000 villages came into being on November 1, 1966. To facilitate the work of divisions, President's Rule was imposed in the state in July 1966. With the creation of the two States, President's Rule came to an end and Gurmukh Singh Musafir, after resigning his seat in the Lok Sabha became the Chief Minister of Punjab. Not satisfied with the retention of the common links of a Governor and a High Court and the exclusion of Chandigarh and other areas from Punjab, the Akali leader, Sant Fateh Singh issued an ultimatum to the government to accept his demands. On December 17, 1966 the Sant started a fast unto death to be followed by self immolation after ten days if his demands were not conceded within that period. The threat however was averted as the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Haryana agreed to sever the common links and to refer their claims and counter claims over Chandigarh and Bhakra Nangal complex to the Prime Minister for arbitration. The other territorial claims were referred to a committee of experts.

**1967-1980:-**The Anandpur Sahib Resolution proved to be a mile stone in Sikh politics. The resolution was passed that the authority of the Centre should be confined to the defence of the country, foreign relations, communications, railways and currency while all the residuary subjects should be placed under the jurisdiction of a new Punjab and that the Province of Punjab should have the right to frame its own constitution for these subjects.

After the reorganization of 1966, the Sikhs had become a majority community, representing 60 percent of the total population of the Punjab. The number of sikh legislators in the assembly was always more than 60 percent but they were divided between the Congress and the Akalis. The Akalis declared in 1967 that they would

make the Punjab 'a model province', 'an object of envy' for the rest of the country. The Akali Chief Minister gave special attention to the country side. The struggle of the Akalis did not end with the creation of a Punjabi speaking state. Now they were demanding that Chandigarh hydel projects and headwork which were under central control be transferred to Punjab. The struggle of the Akali Dal continued with a number of more grievances being added to the list from time to time especially those highlighted in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution of the Working Committee of the Akali Dal in October, 1973. The party policies as enumerated in the manifestos focused equally on the economic development of Punjab.

The reorganization of Punjab into two states, i.e., Haryana and the Punjabi Suba, was a triumph for the Akali Dal and for the SGPC which was looking after the administration of the Gurdwaras.

However, the formation of the Punjabi Suba did not satisfy the Sikhs because all the Punjabi speaking areas had not been included in it. Moreover, Chandigarh was also kept outside it. It was made a joint capital of Haryana and Punjabi Suba. Darshan Singh Pheruman went on a fast unto death (August-October 1969) against these persisting problems. He sacrificed his life for the inclusion of Chandigarh into the Punjabi Suba after 74 days of fast. Realizing the gravity of the issue, in January 1970, Mrs. Indira Gandhi announced that Chandigarh would be given to Punjab and a part of Fazilka Tehsil and Abohar to Haryana. This award was to be implemented by January 1975. The decision of course remains unimplemented till day. However, this decision was also resented by the Sikhs because Fazilka and Abohar are not contiguous to Haryana. Therefore, a corridor would have to be given to Haryana in order to give them access to the areas. Thus, the second phase of the political life of the party



began after the reorganization of the state in 1967 and continued till 1980. The party had shown a consistently good performance in its working and earned a position at par with the Congress Party. But even then in terms of position it was the second party in the state.

In spite of the fact that the ruling Congress Party in Punjab was badly faction ridden, it managed to come out victorious in all the three General Elections. The Shiromani Akali Dal carried 26 seats in a house of 104 and its leader, Gurnam Singh, a retired judge of the Punjab High Court formed the ministry with the support of some other small groups, including Jana Sangh, communists and independents in March 1967. But the ministry fell soon afterwards due internal dissensions. On 26 May, 1967 two Akalis sided with the Congress during voting on a no-confidence motion against the ministry.

On 22 November 1967, Lachman Singh Gill formed the government with the support of Congress Party. However, this new ministry also subsequently fell in August 1968, when the Congress withdrew its support. The crisis led to dissolution of the State Legislature and the State was placed under Central Government rule necessitating a mid-term poll.

A very important development took place when the two Akali groups converged at Batola on September 28-29, 1968 and resolved to merge before the mid-term poll in May 1969. The Akali Dal entered into an overall poll agreement with the Jana Sangh and the two parties addressed meetings from a common platform under the slogan of Hindu-Sikh unity.

The two factions of Shiromani Akali Dal became one again and registered a resounding victory in the mid-term polls emerging as the largest single party with 43 seats against Congress 38, Jana Sangh 8 and Communists 5.

**Table 3.1 Party Position in the Mid Term Poll 1969**

<b>Party</b>	<b>Seats Contested</b>	<b>Seats Won</b>	<b>Votes polled</b>	<b>% of votes</b>
Congress	103	38	18,34,569	39.28
Akali Dal	65	43	13,81,916	29.59
Jana Sangh	29	8	4,12,623	8.84
C.P.I.	28	3	2,11,886	4.54
C.P.I. (M)	10	2	1,44,610	3.10

Gurnam Singh again formed the government in coalition with the Jana Sangh with the Communists supporting it from outside. The internal contradictions were inherent in the party. Akali Dal was further split and Gurnam Singh formed a separate group. A young dynamic Akali leader, Parkash Singh Badal, then formed the government on 27 March, 1970 supplanting Gurnam Singh as Chief Minister. This Akali government too had a short tenure.

There was again a set back for the party during the Lok Sabha elections in 1971 and Assembly elections in 1972. The Shiromani Akali Dal could win only one seat in Lok Sabha and 24 seats out of total of 117 in the Assembly election in 1972 making way for the Congress Party to form its government. This led to a process of retrospection on the part of Shiromani Akali Dal. The Working Committee of the Dal at its meeting held at Anandpur Sahib on 16-17 October 1973 adopted a statement of aims and objectives.

The Congress was badly routed in Parliamentary elections of March 1977. The acting President of India dissolved Assemblies in nine states in which Congress was in power and ordered fresh elections. The Akalis formed an alliance with the Janata Party and CPM to contest the elections in June. Together they won 91 seats

against 17 of the Congress. The Akalis alone won 58 out of 117 seats. Parkash Singh Badal led the coalition ministry. They won 9 seats out of 13 in Lok Sabha elections too. It was the best performance of the Shiromani Akali Dal till date.

The political opponents of the Akalis have always tried to create a general impression that Akalis forget their demands when they come into power. Many resolutions were passed in 1978 by the working committee of the Akali Dal. The opponents of the Akalis goaded the Nirankaris of Delhi to hold their congregation at Amritsar on the Baisakhi of 1978. Many Sikhs protested against this. In 1978, a hukamnama was issued from Akal Takht to boycott Nirankaris everywhere. The Akali government also resorted to legal action.

During the assembly elections of 1980, the Akalis faced defeat. They could win only 37 seats out of 117 seats. Apart from this they could also win only 1 seat out of 13 seats in the parliamentary elections. The main support to the Congress came from the Hindus living in urban and semi-urban areas. The Akalis got the bulk of their votes from the agriculturists. After the Parliamentary elections of 1980, the Akali coalition was dismissed and President's Rule was imposed in Punjab. The political atmosphere of Punjab began to change. In June 1980, Balbir Singh Sandhu announced the formation of Khalistan. The idea of Khalistan as a Sovereign Sikh state outside the Indian Union was never expounded by Akali leaders as it was a little too radical for their politics.

**1980-1997:-** After the Parliamentary elections of 1980, the Akali coalition was dismissed and President's Rule was imposed on Punjab political atmosphere of the Punjab began to change. Factional politics of Akali Dal took a new turn with the emergence of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawala on the scene of Sikh politics in Punjab. The result was

that the Akali Dal was divided between two factions, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal faction and Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawala faction. There were bank robberies, thefts of weapons, cutting of telegraph wires, setting fire to railway stations, attacks on policemen, bomb explosions, murders of Nirankaris, murders of public men, and attacks on ministers.

An overall atmosphere of fear and terror; instability and disturbance prevailed in Punjab under the shadow of separatism for several years. At the height of the extremist/ separatist movement, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi not ready to brook the activities of Sant Bhindrawala any more decided to teach a lesson to the extremist Sikhs. Through a strong action she wanted to issue a stern warning to other Sikhs. Military action commenced on June 5, 1984. The Akal Takht was cleared of the extremists on June 6 by the Indian Army.

The dead bodies of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawala, Bhai Amrik Singh and General Subeg Singh were fished out of Akal Takht after the operation. Sant Longowal and Gurcharan Singh Tohra were arrested and were taken to some undisclosed. The Government of India declared that the Blue Star operation was a success. However, historically speaking this was not true. Seen from a different perspective, it was a great blunder. The problem could have been solved in some other ways. The episode would remain a permanent black mark on our national character, Congress Party and Government of India. The entire Sikh community began to feel as if they had become aliens in their own country. Their very faith in the solid foundations of the Indian Constitution was shaken.

On the morning of 31 October 1984, Indira Gandhi was shot dead by two of her Sikh bodyguards. There were massacres of Sikhs in Delhi and many other places in the wake of the assassination. M.J.

Akbar complained “Sikhs were sought out and burned to death. Children were killed, shops looted, cars burned, markets destroyed, houses gutted. Trains were stopped and Sikhs were picked out and murdered. Sikhs had a great loss.” But it is unfortunate that Akali leadership has not learnt any lesson from Operation Blue Star and killings of innocent Sikhs in the riots of 1984 following the assassination of Indira Gandhi. The bitter truth is that Akalis have become even more faction ridden. They continue to think in terms of their personal power and gains for their own faction. This is their paramount consideration in their so called panthic politics.

The first major initiative to restore peace and to revive the dialogue process in the Punjab was taken up by the Central Government under the Prime Ministership of Rajiv Gandhi. The Punjab Accord known as the Rajiv-Longowal Accord was eventually signed with Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President of Akali Dal on 25 July, 1985. The signing of this Accord however turned out to be premature. Exactly a month later the militants assassinated Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, the chief signatory to the Accord.

As a result of the Punjab Accord, elections of Punjab Assembly were held in September, 1985 and surprisingly witnessed an enthusiastic and overwhelming participation. An estimated 66.5 percent of the total eligible voters turned up for voting, a rather impressive turnout despite the call for boycott given by the radical factions of Akalis and the All India Sikh Students Federation. The Akali Dal secured an impressive victory in the elections. The Akalis won 73 seats out of 117, getting 38 percent of the total votes. Surjit Singh Barnala was sworn in as the Chief Minister on 29 September after nearly two years of President’s Rule. In Parliamentary elections Akalis won 7 seats

out of 13 seats. It was one of the best electoral performances of the Akali Dal. It was for the first time in the history of Akali Dal that it formed a government in Punjab without having to align with any other party.

As Surjit Singh Barnala became the Chief Minister of Punjab, Parkash Singh Badal did not join the Akali ministry. Subsequent events showed that the Central Government was not sincere in implementing the Punjab Accord. The result was that the Punjab Accord proved to be a misfire. There were internal dissensions within the Akali Dal. This once again emboldened the Central Government to impose President's Rule in Punjab. In less than two years, the State Assembly was suspended in May 1987 and the President's Rule was imposed in state for yet another time. Finally the Assembly was dissolved in March 1988.

It was on January 12, 1991 that all the factions of Akali Dal merged and accepted Simaranjit Singh Maan as the President of the Shiromani Akali Dal. Thirteen prominent Akali leaders including Simaranjit Singh Maan, Parkash Singh Badal, Tota Singh and Kabul Singh attended the meeting.

The Punjab politics took an interesting turn as Hari Singh Zira, Senior Vice-President of Akali Dal (Kabul), Natha Singh Dalam, Tara Singh Layalpuri both former ministers, Onkar Singh Mattenangal and Karnail Singh Doad former M.L.As and Mohinder Singh Romana decided to boycott the elections citing reasons that elections were in fact organized to satisfy the 'lust for power' by some people whereas Kabul Singh of Akali Dal (Kabul) decided to participate in the elections.

A serious crisis came to the fore as Parkash Singh Badal and Kabul Singh parted ways from the Akali Dal (Maan) alleging that

Simaranjit Singh Maan was unable to unite the different groups of Akali Dal and decided to contest the Assembly and the Lok Sabha elections.

Akali Dal (Badal) had to confront a serious crisis when its senior member and Ex-chairman of the Parliamentary Board, Captain Amrinder Singh formed the Akali Dal (Panthic) to contest elections.

Akali Dal (Longowal) under the leadership of Surjeet Singh Barnala and Akali Dal (Panthic) of Amrinder Singh united to form the Shiromani Akali Dal and took a decision to contest the forthcoming elections.

The political context of the elections to the State Assembly in Punjab in 1992 was characterized by three factors. Firstly, the Central Government, which was controlled by the Congress Party, held resolutely that elections should be held even though militancy had not yet been completely reigned in. Secondly, the militants had given a call for a boycott of the elections and issued threats of violence against any person who dared to cast a vote. Thirdly, the Akali Dal, which had by that time fragmented into a number of groups, boycotted the elections.

The Congress returned to power with 87 out of 117 Assembly seats. Though it had secured only around 10 percent of the total registered votes and lacked the legitimacy to rule, the installation of an elected government had far reaching implications for the state politics during the 1990's. As a result of victory of the Congress in Assembly elections in 1992, Congress government came to power in Punjab under the Chief Ministership of Beant Singh.

During the Assembly elections of February 1997, Akali Dal contested the elections with the alignment of B.J.P. The Akali Party became victorious in these elections by winning 75 seats out of 117

with 37.6 vote percent. This was the first peaceful elections since 1980. No elections had been held to the Punjab Legislative Assembly between the years 1985-1992 because of the problem of militancy. Although the elections to the Punjab Assembly were held in 1992 but there was only 23.82 percent voting and the major regional party of the state, the Akali Dal had boycotted these elections. Therefore, these could not be termed as genuine elections. But the 1997 Assembly Elections were held in normal circumstances. In terms of electoral politics, the 1997 elections experienced record participation of the people in the post 1967 phase. Around 70 percent of the people voted against 23.69 percent in the 1992 elections. The main reason for this massive turnout was the people's assertion of their faith in the democratic mode for the redressal of their grievances and also due to the return of competitive politics in Punjab after a gap of 12 years.

The 1997 Assembly elections marked the beginning of a distinct political trend in Punjab and also offered some lessons to those who believed in the violent mode to bring about social change. The Akali Dal came out of its alliance with BSP, despite the fact that Akali Dal in alliance with BSP had performed well in the 1996 Lok Sabha elections. But several factors, like cutting each others' vote bank, class character of the leadership of both parties and BSP's soft corner towards Congress party proved to be major hurdles in the preservation of the Akali-BSP alliance.

It can be said that demonstrating an amazing perseverance and a rare courage of convictions, the Shiromani Akali has always been in a position to make its distinctive contribution to the political life of the country. In spite of differences of opinion among the Akali leaders on



different issues and emergence of splinter groups from time to time, the Shiromani Akali Dal has remained in supreme control of the religious and political concerns of the Sikhs throughout the country. As a result of this Akali party is the main party in the state of Punjab.

## **CONCLUSION**

Thus it can be concluded that the period before 1997 was witness to changing forms of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal. The relevance of Akali Dal before 1966 is greater because as the principal representative of the Sikhs it was entrusted with the responsibility of carving out a distinct social, cultural and political identity of the Sikhs. Factionalism in the party during this period arose as a result of different orientations and approaches. The politics of agitation and activism during the early years of the Gurudwara Reform Movement; the struggle for independence and the Punjabi Suba Movement saw Akali Dal function as a fairly cohesive group with nationalist credentials. The factionalism during this period had a high degree of ideological substance emanating from considered and serious differences over major national and communal issues related to the participation in nationalist politics and the nature of communal representation in independent India. The post 1996 phase of the politics of Punjab, however, saw Akali Dal enter a phase where factionalism becomes deeper, personality driven and marked by acute differences of ideology. The violence of the post 80s phase; the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi; anti-Sikh riots and Rajiv-Longowal accord of 1985 did not allow any consensus to be formed within the party. The 1980-1997 phase was a time when Akali Dal found itself in a highly challenging and politically critical situation in Punjab due to factionalism.

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# *Chapter – IV*

## *Factionalism in Akali Dal*

*Since 1997*

## **CHAPTER-IV**

### **FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL SINCE 1997**

It can be said that factionalism was at its zenith during the period after 1997 and numerous reasons could be attributed to the fact that one cause led to another and as such factionalism never seemed to die down. Shiromani Akali Dal was fast emerging as the major political force in Punjab. The voice of dissent within the party was not only getting stronger but also more and more vociferous.

With the objective of studying the phenomenon of factionalism prevailing in Shiromani Akali Dal since 1997, its causes and impact on the policies, its electoral and governmental performance, 120 Akali leaders (from top to the lower rung) have been interviewed. It becomes necessary to know about the socio-economic profile of the said leaders.

#### **THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE SAD LEADERS**

The understanding of the social life as well as their behaviour is essential to theorize the role of leaders. The socio-economic status of such leaders has a profound effect on their functioning as political representatives in the society.

#### **GENDER OF THE SAD LEADERS**

Although, theoretically speaking there is equality for both men and women in the field of politics as has been specified in the Indian Constitution the participation of women as compared to men is negligible.

The political parties in the Punjab tend to overlook women with regard to appointments or distribution of tickets. The representation of

women is thus very low. Men outnumber women in the legislative assembly and politics is considered a male-dominated field.<sup>1</sup>

The main reason behind the low participation of women in political activities can be attributed to the fact that a woman has certain predefined social restrictions as she is dependent on her male family members. As such the gender of the leaders plays a vital role and ensures advantage in favour of men.

**Table 4.1**  
**Male-Female Ratio of SAD Leaders**

GENDER	RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Male	102	85
Female	18	15
TOTAL	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The table 4.1 shows that 85 percent of the respondents interviewed are male and 15 percent are females. Thus the data above shows that participation of males member in politics is more as compared to their female counterparts.

#### **AGE OF THE SAD LEADERS**

The Indian Constitution has fixed twenty-five years as the age fixed for a person to enter the state legislative and the parliament. But more often it has been seen that parties consider the age to be the most important determining factor as age is important to take decisions in connection with policy matters. It is maturity that counts alongwith experience when the matter of handling complex issues arises.

With the given range of the age group of Akali leaders, it becomes easier to come to a conclusion as to what kind of



representation the party has in the legislative as well as the parliament. Even at the level of local bodies, the party normally chooses a person who is mature enough to take wise and responsible decisions. Though a person can contest elections without an upper age limit, it is essential that he/she is capable of meeting the expectations of the people and the party as a whole.

Age-wise, the Akali leaders can be broadly categorized into three groups namely younger age group between 25-40 years, middle age group between 41-55 years and the old age group above 56 years.

**Table 4.2**  
**Age Grouping of the SAD Leaders**

<b>AGE GROUP</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
25 to 40	17	14.16
41 to 55	37	30.83
56 to 70	42	35.00
71 to 90	24	20.00
TOTAL	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The table 4.2 shows that 14.16 percent of the interviewees are between the 25-40 age group, 30.83 percent belong to the 41-55 age group, 35 percent belong to the age group of 56-70 years whereas 20 percent are above 71 years. Thus data reveals that a majority of the respondents belong to the age category of 56-70 years in terms of participation in political activities.

### **EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE SAD LEADERS**

Socio-economic background and the educational qualification are well defined parameters to form an estimate of the members of a society. Educational qualifications have a very deep impact when it comes to formulating policies and then implementing the same.

Raising issues and debating on topics of public importance requires acumen and this is possible if a leader is educated. As such

the party appoints a spokesperson with educational caliber and impressive profile who is able to project the party's views in proper perspective.

Illiteracy is a serious impediment and restricts one's capacity to give thoughtful judgment on important issues. Education facilitates the development of progressive attitude in an individual towards social and economic problems.

But sometimes it is difficult to find ensure universal presence of educated candidates as a large number of those who enter politics is illiterate.

**Table 4.3**  
**Educational Background of SAD Leaders**

<b>QUALIFICATION</b>	<b>RESPONDENT</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Illiterate/under matric	24	20
Matric/Under Graduate	35	29.16
Graduate	43	35.83
Post Graduate	18	15
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>99.99</b>

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The table 4.3 shows that 20 percent respondents are either illiterate or under matric. 29.16 percent respondents are matric or under graduate. Majority of the respondents are found to be graduates i.e. 35.83 percent but 15 percent come under the category of post graduates.

### **OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE SAD LEADERS**

Punjab being an agrarian state, majority of the Akali leaders comprises agriculturists though all may not be rich property-owners. Rather it has been seen that most of the Akali leaders are engaged in other occupations along with agriculture as their main occupation.

Transport, legal practice, dairy and poultry farms were other sources of income in addition to agriculture.

**Table 4.4**  
**Occupation-wise classification of SAD Leaders**

<b>OCCUPATION</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Agriculture	56	46.66
Business, Industry and Trade	27	22.50
Private job, Self employed	25	20.83
Others*	12	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>99.99</b>

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

\*others include the self employed, news reporters and the unemployed people.

The data in the table 4.4 shows that majority i.e. 46.66 percent of the respondents are agriculturists as far as their occupation is concerned. 22.50 percent are from the class comprising business, industry and trade. 20.83 percent come under the category of private jobs, and self-employed whereas 10 percent of the respondents are either self employed, unemployed or press reporters.

#### **CASTE OF THE SAD LEADERS**

The caste factor is a vital and inseparable part of the Indian politics. Voting is done on caste lines and as such leaders too are selected keeping the votebank in mind. The elections get influenced as certain sections get swayed on caste lines giving leaders an edge over their opponents.

In Punjab, caste factor is very significant, despite the increasing polarization on the religious lines.<sup>2</sup>

Leaders belonging to the upper Jat caste have all along been in majority within the Akali Dal so far their representation in the legislative assembly is concerned.

**Table 4.5**

**Caste-Wise Categorization of SAD Leaders**

<b>CASTE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Jat Sikh	58	48.33
Non Jats	23	19.16
Backward classes and Scheduled Classes	39	32.50
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>99.99</b>

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The table 4.5 shows that 48.33 percent respondents belonged to the Jat Sikhs caste. The Non-Jats comprised of 19.16 percent whereas 32.50 percent are from the Backward Classes and Scheduled castes.

**RURAL-URBAN BACKGROUND OF THE SAD LEADERS**

The rural-urban background of the Akali Dal leaders helped in giving shape to the behaviour of the members of the party. Majority of the Akali leaders are from the rural Punjab and it is this factor that shapes behavior and values of the said leaders.

The process of socialization tends to be different in rural and urban settings due to diverse culture milieu. In the American context, Key found the cleavage between metropolitan residents and rural and small town dwellers as a very significant foundation for dual system of state politics.<sup>3</sup>

**Table 4.6**

**Rural-Urban Background of the SAD Leaders**

<b>BACKGROUND</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Rural	73	60.83
Urban	47	39.16
TOTAL	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The data in the table 4.6 shows that majority of the leaders i.e. 60.83 percent have rural background and 39.16 percent has urban background. Thus the data here reveals that leaders with rural background have a greater role in shaping the political activities of the party.

**PROPERTY OWNED BY SAD LEADERS**

Power as well as prestige comes with the size of the property a leader owns. The flow of income is also secured through large land holdings. It is owing to this that a leader is able to spend large amounts of money on rallies and in elections. The leader with sizeable land is considered to be dominant and hence the leader weilds a good clout on his people. Land holding ostensibly raises the economic status of the leaders and as such leaders are often judged by their income from the land they own.

**Table 4.7**

**Property Owned by SAD Leaders**

<b>PROPERTY</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Agriculture Land (1 Acre to 20 Acres)	58	48.33
Agriculture Land (more than 20 Acres)	44	36.66
Shops, Industry	18	15.00
TOTAL	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The data in the table 4.7 shows that 48.33 percent owned agriculture land ranging from 1 acre to 20 acres. 36.66 percent had more than 20 acres of agricultural land as property whereas 15 percent owned shops and industry.

### **INCOME OF THE SAD LEADERS**

The social status of a person is recognised by the income. The rich dominate the political scenario as it is the income that comes in handy during political activities. Oscar Lewis states that 'Wealth is a basic criterion for leadership'.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 4.8**

**Annual Income of SAD Leaders**

<b>INCOME</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Upto 1 Lac	6	05.00
1 Lac to 2 Lac	18	15.00
2 Lac to 3 Lac	49	40.83
3 Lac to 5 Lac	42	35.00
Can't say	5	04.16
TOTAL	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The data in the table 4.8 shows that the Akali leaders having income of 1Lac are just 5 percent and 15 percent leaders have income between 1-2 Lac. 40.83 percent of the leaders interviewed have an income ranging from 2-3 Lac and 35 percent have an income of 3-5 Lac. 4.16 percent of the leaders were unable to disclose their income.

### **RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF SAD LEADERS**

Akali politics has always been influenced by religion and impact of religion and politics go hand in hand. It is during polls that the

party gains by bringing religious issues into politics or when issues related to religion are raised.

**Table 4.9**  
**Religious Background of the SAD Leaders**

<b>RELIGION</b>	<b>RESPONDENT</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Sikh	112	93.33
Hindu	6	05.00
Muslim	2	01.66
TOTAL	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The data in the table 4.9 reveals that 93.33 percent respondents of the interviewed leaders have Sikh religion as their background and the Hindus comprise just 5 percent whereas Muslims are 1.66 percent only.

**TABLE 4.10**  
**Prevalence of Factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal**

<b>DO YOU THINK THAT SAD IS FACING FACTIONALISM</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
YES	113	94.16
NO	07	05.83
TOTAL	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

With regard to the study of prevalence of factionalism in the political party a sizable number of Akali leaders were interviewed. Table 4.1 shows that 94.16 percent of them unambiguously stated the fact that factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal is very much prevalent whereas just 5.83 disagreed with this point of view by stating that it did not exist.

With the passage of time factionalism took deep roots with factions stooping down to abysmal levels of political conduct. The resorted to levelling charges on opponents during any crisis like poor performance in elections or at times when decisions were taken by a section or coterie of leaders.

Elections to the SGPC in 1996 were won by the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) but soon the party was confronted with a crisis when senior members Kuldeep Singh Wadala and Sukhjinder Singh alleged that Badal allotted tickets to people who could afford rather than honoring those who had betrayed sacrificial spirit.<sup>5</sup> In the run-up to the 1997 Assembly elections, Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) had a tough situation as there were grievances simmering within the party.

Captain Amrinder Singh and former Member of Parliament Charanjit Singh Walia felt that Parkash Singh Badal and Jathedar Tohra behaved as dictators and were not taking into consideration the sacrifices of party activists while allotting tickets<sup>6</sup>. Moreover Captain Amrinder Singh observed that the party was limited to a unit that functioned as sons and sons-in-law outfit. Hence Amrinder Singh, Charanjit Singh Walia and seven former MLAs quit the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal. )At the same time Bhai Manjit Singh of Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) quit his party and joined the ranks of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).<sup>7</sup>

In the February 1997 Punjab State Assembly elections were held and Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) got 75 out of the 117 seats. Four prominent Akali factions within the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) were active namely Badal faction, Tohra faction, Barnala faction and Dhindsa faction. Each faction was adamant on fetching the maximum assembly seats for their members to contest.



It was felt that this would help them consolidate their say in party matters. As such seats were allotted as per the faction leaders' wishes. Barnala and Dhindsa shared the Sangrur district assembly seats, Tohra loyalist were able to get most of the seats in the Patiala, Fatehgarh and Ropar districts.

The outcome of the elections was such that due to factionalism in the party, Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) lost many seats, particularly in Sangrur. But still these factions managed to get representation with Tohra loyalists getting five ministers.

After assuming power in 1997, the Akali Dal focused on asserting its political autonomy. Though peace was maintained at all costs, the factionalism and struggle for religious-political hegemony during the 300th Birth celebrations of the Khalsa Panth came to the forefront and each and every rival Akali faction raised the banner of Sikh identity. The elections helped Badal to consolidate his position and emerge as the strongest leader in the state and the changed scenario helped Badal to raise his status within the party too.

Factionalism took a serious turn when Badal got Sukhbir Singh Badal inducted into the Central Ministry headed by NDA. As a mark of protest against this move, veteran Akali leader and MLA Prem Singh Lalpura refused to take oath as Member of Parliament and rather preferred to remain an MLA. This move of Lalpura did not go down well with the Akali high command and Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) expelled him from the party for a period of six years.<sup>8</sup>

The increasing influence of the Kairon family in party matters made matters worse for the SAD (B) and a couple of leaders from the Majha region objected to the Kairons meddling in party matters. It was in November 1998 that Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra advocated and demanded one-man-one-post for Akali Dal leaders. In his demand

Tohra stated that Badal should tender his resignation from the presidentship of the Party and appoint a senior leader as working president for the improvement of the party in the state.<sup>9</sup>

As per Tohra's words, it was Badal himself who had complained of having been burdened with the double responsibilities of Party President and that of Chief Ministership. Tohra argued that as Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) was a party which represented mainly the Sikhs, a whole time President of the Party would be able to execute his responsibilities more efficiently and present the aspirations of the community before a government.<sup>10</sup> Badal did not appreciate this demand of Tohra and the stage was thus set for Badal-Tohra feud.

The Adampur Assembly by-elections held on 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1998 was a turning factor in Akali politics. The stunning defeat in the Adampur assembly by-election at the hands of the Congress gave Tohra reasons enough to confront Parkash Singh Badal. He cited instances that there was growing dissatisfaction among Akali workers who felt ignored and isolated. However, the Badal faction leaders squarely blamed Tohra for having a secret understanding with the Congress to ensure the defeat of the Akali Dal candidate and that Tohra was fanning factionalism in the party.<sup>11</sup>

Political observers and analysts took Tohra's remark as his political assault on Badal who was at that time both the Chief Minister and Shiromani Akali Dal President.

Many of the members of the Badal faction went to the extent of insisting on a CBI investigation into the mismanagement of the SGPC funds during Tohra's tenure as President of SGPC and pressed for his removal if he himself did not resign from the post. Furthermore, all were of the opinion that if Badal himself restrained from speaking out

in public against Tohra then Tohra too should have kept restraint and rather talked to Badal before airing his views to the Press.<sup>12</sup>

As Badal still kept restraint, his faction members kept up their verbal attacks on Tohra. Being pushed to the wall, Tohra took to defensive measures. He still maintained that Badal at a meeting at the residence of Sukhbir Singh Badal had suggested and agreed to appoint Gurdev Singh Badal as the President of the party to which Tohra had also given his consent.<sup>13</sup>

The impending split was desired by the Badal faction as all the members were feeling a sense of unease due to Tohra running a parallel centre of power while being the SGPC President. All of them wanted to bring this alternative power centre down.

Another factor that was taken seriously by the Disciplinary Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) was that Tohra and his faction members had often criticized the alliance partner BJP regularly equating it with the Congress. They had also alleged that Akali-BJP government had lost its grip on the bureaucracy leading to corruption.<sup>14</sup>

It has invariably been seen that factionalism in Akali Dal raises its head whenever respective leaders of different factions tip the equilibrium and status quo by meddling into others' working creating divisions in the Sikh society and politics. As a result the emerging crisis in the present case leaders, workers, institutions, newspapers and intellectuals too began to take sides by issuing statements that were attributed to either Pro-Badal or Pro-Tohra stands.<sup>15</sup>

Taking cognizance of the fact that Tohra inspite of being SGPC head, showed political colours rather than confining himself to the functioning of the SGPC, Badal too started to push Tohra to the wall and after coming to power, Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) alongwith BJP

came out with a resolution in the State Assembly on March 6, 1997 that the 300<sup>th</sup> Birth tercentenary of the Khalsa would be celebrated in 1999 as a birth of human spirit and that these celebrations would be at the state level much to the disliking of Tohra.<sup>16</sup>

Badal, who till then had kept restraint, finally started speaking out and stated that Tohra had all along been nursing his political ambitions. Badal reminded Tohra of the fact that how he had accommodated his son-in-law in the ministry and allotted him the portfolio of his choice. Badal maintained that Tohra often broke party discipline by going to the press and public rather than discuss matters at party meetings.<sup>17</sup>

As if this was not enough to split the party on account of extreme factionalism, the Sikh High priests too got involved by airing their views with some taking a Pro-Badal stance and some a Pro-Tohra stance. Former Jathedar of Akal Takht and then Jathedar of Keshgarh Sahib, Bhai Manjit Singh raised objections to the Hukumnama issued by Bhai Ranjit Singh. On the other hand former Akal Takht Jathedar Prof. Darshan Singh took a Pro-Ranjit Singh stand and spoke in favour of Tohra's views.<sup>18</sup>

Numerous ideological questions in concern with Sikh polity were raised when Badal argued that the SGPC was a part of the Akali Dal just as the legislative wing was a part of the party.<sup>19</sup> Badal was of the view that the Akal Takht Jathedar was an individual and as such the Akal Takht was supreme and not its Jathedar.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand for Tohra the Akal Takht and its Jathedar were synonymous with each other and one subsumed the other. These conflicting views of Badal-Tohra were making the ground rife for factionalism to finally lead to a split in the party.

Many issues brought factionalism to the forefront as ideological difference brought Badal and Tohra at loggerheads. The BJP led Central Government decided to use the Article 356 to dismiss the Rabri Devi Government and impose President's rule. This was supported by the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).<sup>21</sup>

As a part of their party's principled stand, Tohra, who was a member of Rajya Sabha and Prem Singh Chandumajra, party's Chief Whip said that this move would be opposed. It was asserted that misuse of Article 356 to dismiss a democratically elected government was against the principles of the party. Tohra maintained that the demand to scrap the Article 356 was Akalis foremost on the list of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.<sup>22</sup>

But Badal faction had a majority in total of the 7 Lok Sabha members namely Surjeet Singh Barnala, Sukhbir Singh Badal, Amrik Singh Aliwaal, Satwinder Kaur, Zora Singh Maan, Chintan Singh Samaon and Tarlochan Singh Tur as against Tohra and Prem Singh Chandumajra.<sup>23</sup> Thus the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) supported the imposition of President's Rule in Bihar and Chandumajra was quick to issue a statement that Badal had lost the moral right to be the head of the party.<sup>24</sup>

Confrontation between Tohra and Badal reached its zenith regarding divergent views on the functioning of the People's Commission. The Akali Dal had in its 1997 election manifesto stated that a commission would be established to look into the human rights excesses, illegal disappearances and fake encounters of Sikh youths. But as its alliance partner, the BJP, had in the past supported police action against militants, Badal went back on his promises saying that there was no need to have a Judicial Commission as there was already the State Human Rights Commission in place to look into such

matters. The BJP was of the view that such a move would definitely revive terrorism.<sup>25</sup>

At the turn of events, Badal was feeling uncomfortable and restive too. Members loyal to Badal were time and again pressing for action against Tohra and almost immediately Badal convened an emergency meeting of district jathedars on 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1998. Majority of the SGPC executive members owing allegiance to Badal were already disgruntled at the fact that Tohra used SGPC for his own interest and ran the affairs of SGPC as a dictator though the body was created for higher objectives.<sup>26</sup>

Immediate factors that led to the showdown are attributed to the fact that Parkash Singh Badal was emerging as the supreme leader and Jathedar Tohra in turn was feeling impatient at having to act second fiddle and known for adopting his style of 'embarrass and bargain' tactics, he started to assert his supremacy in Sikh religio-political matters. Jathedar Tohra would often issue statements at regular intervals against Parkash Singh Badal and the alliance partner BJP. It was evident that all along Jathedar Tohra wanted to create a rift in the coalition that would serve his purpose and ambitions.

The 300<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration of the Khalsa Panth was an opportunity seen by Jathedar Tohra to project himself as supreme in Akali and Punjab politics. But Badal cut Jathedar Tohra to size and hinted at having enough of him. Tohra was by now even more outspoken than before and the Badal camp was now up in arms. Sensing the impending political crisis, Badal and the five-member Disciplinary Action Committee headed by Jagdev Singh Talwandi<sup>27</sup> issued a show-cause notice asking Jathedar Tohra to explain within 15 days as to why action should not be taken against him for speaking out against Badal and the coalition partner.

Jathedar Tohra put forth his statement that the Badal faction's followers were out to humiliate him and that he would not resign even if Badal asked him to do so.<sup>28</sup> Jasvir Singh Rode<sup>29</sup>, President of Akali Dal (Panthic) came out in support of Tohra. Rode described Jathedar Tohra as more panthic than Badal and that the agenda of Panthic identity would lose its sheen if the Badal government remained under the influence of the BJP and the Sangh Parivar.

In the course of this crisis the Akal Takht Jathedar Bhai Ranjit Singh<sup>30</sup> appealed to the different camps to remain calm till April 13, 1999 as that was the time of tercentenary celebrations of the Khalsa Panth. This move of Bhai Ranjit Singh was seen as buying time for Tohra to set different plans in motion and Badal was quick to see through the stratagem.

It was a time when different leaders of different factions issued statements that added more fuel to the fire that was already simmering within the party. Harminder Singh Gill, President of AISSF warned Jagdev Singh Talwandi, President of Disciplinary Action Committee of SAD and other members that they would be gheraod if they did not desist from taking action against Jathedar in a partisan manner. Harminder Singh Gill stated that the BJP and the bureaucracy had conspired to isolate and humiliate Tohra as he had criticized them on different occasions.<sup>31</sup>

As a last attempt to force Badal to change his stance, Tohra addressed a large gathering at village Chanarthal in Patiala district where he suggested that it is high time that the Akal Takht stepped in to give directions in the political affairs of the Sikhs. He said that it was not an attack on him but rather it was an attack on the Akal Takht as the actions of Parkash Singh Badal and his followers were lowering and compromising the dignity of the Akal Takht.<sup>32</sup>

Badal was clever enough to first ensure that he had the support of the majority of the legislature of the 73 member Akali Legislature Party and the 18 Bhartiya Janata Party MLAs in case of any exigency.

Known for his political instincts and acumen, Badal<sup>33</sup> took his fight to the turf of Tohra. Badal adopted a multi-pronged strategy in his run-up to weaken Tohra in his traditional belt of Patiala which comprised of Ropar, Fatehgarh Sahib and Patiala districts. It was from mid December 1998 that Badal transferred all officers who were pro-Tohra.

Badal knew that Tohra was taking the services of the Akal Takht Jathedar to nail him. Badal had inkling that he would be excommunicated from the panth and this would place him on a rather slippery turf. In his next move, Badal suspended Bhai Ranjit Singh, Jathedar of Akal Takht and appointed Bhai Puran Singh as Jathedar of Akal Takht.<sup>34</sup>

The SGPC General House meeting saw majority of the members raising a banner against the dictatorial style of Tohra's functioning and said in one voice that they had all lost faith in Tohra. Badal then had Tohra removed as SGPC chief on March 12, 1999, a few days before the commencement of tercentenary celebrations of the birth of the Khalsa at Anandpur Sahib and on 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1999 Tohra was expelled from Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) for his anti party activities for a period of six years. Thus the split in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) was formalized.

Moreover the Badal-Tohra feud resulted in a mix-up of a number of political and religious issues. Party General Secretary and Member Parliament Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa was of the view that Tohra's demand for Badal's resignation was a challenge to Badal's authority as well as it was aimed at creating rifts in the party.



After his expulsion from the Akali Dal, Tohra was then forced to form a new party named Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal. Five members of Badal's cabinet, Science and Technology Minister Mahesh Inder Singh Grewal, Higher Education Minister Manjit Singh Calcutta, Public Works Minister Harmel Singh and Ministers of State Inderjit Singh Zira and Surjit Singh Kohli quit the ruling government to join Tohra. They resigned from their ministries in protest against the expulsion. Veteran leader Surjan Singh Thekedar also joined Tohra.

Factionalism in SAD did not end at the formation of SHSAD (Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal) as there were other factions led by veteran Akali Dal leaders of the likes of Surjit Singh Barnala, Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa and Captain Kanwaljit Singh to name a few. These factions were active to the extent of wielding influence within the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).

Factional approach for personal reasons prompted another Akali leader, Ravi Inder Singh to part ways with Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal). As such Ravi Inder Singh was expelled from the party on 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1999 and thereafter he formed the Shiromani Akali Dal (Ravi Inder).

This move fueled and accelerated factional fights in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal). Baldev Singh Khiala and Ranjit Singh Chhajalwadi raised their heads in challenge to Badal's authority.<sup>35</sup> Baldev Singh Khiala Ex-MLA from Mansa, Ranjit Singh Chhajalwadi Ex-MLA from Amritsar, Bibi Daljeet Kaur Member SGPC from Nawashahar, Partap Singh Advocate Ex-Member SGPC, Jathedar Kaur Singh Khaira from Mansa Ex-Member SGPC, Kehar Singh Rathore Ex-Member SGPC from Bhatinda sided with Ravi Inder Singh and joined his party.

Tohra, on the other hand, formed an electoral alliance with Akali Dal (Maan), Akali Dal (Panthic) and Akali Dal (Democratic). The different factions fared poorly in the 1999 and 2002 as they contested the Parliamentary and Assembly elections separately. The Congress in turn was able to make electoral gains in 2002 after performing dismally in 1996, 1998 Parliamentary and 1997 Assembly elections.

Ultimately the 2004 Parliamentary elections saw changes in Akali Dal as there was a newfound unity with the merger of the Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal and Shiromani Akali Dal (Democratic) of Kuldeep Singh Wadala into the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal). This paved a way for Akali Dal (Badal) to have control on the SGPC as well as the Akal Takht.

The problems of Shiromani Akali Dal (B) did not end even after the exit of Tohra from the party. By now Badal had placed persons of his choice on all the positions in the party, SGPC, government and the Akal Takht. The implementation of the Nanakshahi calendar led to a situation that was looking tough to control.

SGPC Chief Bibi Jagir Kaur and the Akal Takht Jathedar Giani Puran Singh took diametrically opposite stands on the implementation of the Nanakshahi calendar which was prepared by Canada based Pal Singh Purewal. The calendar was prepared with the logic that the Bikrami calendar had technical mistakes as there was no uniformity on the dates of Gurburabs and other historical events related with Sikh history. But the Sikh community was faced with a situation where the Gurburab of Guru Gobind Singh fell twice in a year and did not take place the next year. However, the implementation was also put into effect as it would give the Sikh community a separate identity of its own. On the demand of a section of the Sant Samaj, Giani Puran Singh banned the Nanakshahi calendar and subsequently issued a

Hukumnama from Guna(Madhya Pardesh) to all executive members of SGPC to be present before the Akal Takht on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2000.<sup>36</sup>

The move of Jathedar Puran Singh created a rift in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and the Executive Committee of SGPC convened a meeting on 28 March, 2000 and ousted Giani Puran Singh. It appointed Joginder Singh Vedanti as the Jathedar of Akal Takht.

With a history full of divisions and factionalism, each faction staked the claim to be the actual Akali Dal. However, the Election Commission in 2003 recognised the faction of Parkash Singh Badal as the Shiromani Akali Dal, by virtue of it being the largest faction.

Other factions active during this time were Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal led by Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Shiromani Akali Dal led by Captain Amrinder Singh, Shiromani Akali Dal (Democratic) led by Kuldip Singh Wadala, Shiromani Akali Dal (Longowal), Shiromani Akali Dal (1920) and Haryana State Akali Dal. The General Elections of 2004 saw Shiromani Akali Dal win eight seats as an alliance partner of the NDA.

Prof. Prem Singh Chandumajra and Captain Kanwaljit Singh were not seeing eye to eye with each other as Prem Singh Chandumajra demanded a ticket for the Parliamentary constituency from Patiala. The party's refusal further led to differences between the two Akali stalwarts. Captain Kanwaljit Singh registered a complaint to the President of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) citing reasons that Chandumajra had worked against him in the elections. Taking a serious note of the complaint, Shiromani Akali Dal expelled Chandumajra from the party. Soon the dissident Akali Dal leader Prem Singh Chandumajra formed a separate party under the name of SAD (Longowal). Baldev Singh Maan (Ex-minister and General

Secretary of SAD), Surinder Singh Dhuri (Ex-Parliamentary Secretary), Randhir Singh Rakhra, Harwinder Singh Harpalpur, Kuldeep Singh Dhos (Ex-member SGPC), Karnail Singh Panjoli (Member SGPC), Inderjeet Singh Zira (Ex-MLA) Col.Jasmer Singh Bala and Sanmukh Singh Mokha (Member SGPC) quit the SAD(B) to join SAD(Longowal) but it took Chandumajra just three years to return back to the fold of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) well in time for the assembly elections wherein Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) in alliance with the BJP won the Punjab State assembly elections paving the way for Parkash Singh Badal to head the government as Chief Minister.

Family feud in the Badal clan became another important reason for factionalism in the Akali Dal and it all began with the succession struggle which first fractured the party with Sukhbir Singh Badal and Manpreet Singh Badal fighting it out to project themselves as the real inheritors of the Akali political space.

The ageing Parkash Singh Badal was desperately trying to propel and make things right for his son's political career to an incontestable position before bowing out himself. In the process he allowed the family to split for the love of his son and this led to factionalism in the party.

On the other hand, Manpreet Singh Badal, who was the Finance Minister in the Badal government, was seen and heard to be the heir to the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).

The electoral battle was fought fiercely between the next generations of the Badal clan. Badal had to fight it out with his younger brother Gurdas Badal - who looked after the Lambi seat of the Akali Dal patron before his son Manpreet was sacked - and his cousin Mahesh Inder Singh Badal. Gurdas contested as candidate of

his son's Punjab Peoples Party and Mahesh Inder Singh Badal contested on a Congress ticket.

Mahesh Inder had already parted ways long back and contested against Parkash Singh Badal as an independent candidate in 2002 and in 2007 on a Congress ticket.

Sources believe that the ambitions of the members of the next generation of the family led to the division in the Akali Dal Party. Going back to the origin, the seeds for the split and the subsequent factionalism were sown more than 15 years ago when Badal brought Manpreet Singh Badal, his nephew into politics in the year 1995. Manpreet Singh Badal, who studied in the UK, contested the assembly by-election from Gidderbaha constituency and won. He was re-elected in 1997, 2002 and 2007 from the same seat.

Meanwhile, Parkash Singh Badal's son Sukhbir Singh Badal completed his education in the US and returned to nurture his political ambitions. He was elected to the Lok Sabha in 1996 and 1998 and served as the Union Minister of State for Industry in the Atal Bihari Vajpayee Government in 1998-1999. Following his defeat in the 1999 Lok Sabha elections, he was given a Rajya Sabha seat.

Manpreet defended the family's honour when the Badals' palatial farmhouse in Balasar was raided by the state Vigilance Bureau during the Congress regime in 2002 after corruption charges were levelled.

Manpreet Singh Badal's ambition clashed with his cousin's increasing control over the reins of the party after it came into power in alliance with the Bhartiya Janata Party in 2007. Manpreet was unhappy at the promotion of Sukhbir Singh Badal to the post of Party President as Manpreet Singh Badal was senior to Sukhbir Singh Badal in state politics and thought himself to be the right choice for the post. His father Gurdas Singh Badal wanted an important ministry for

Manpreet Badal, either the home or the finance portfolio and Badal senior obliged.

But in January 2009, Badal anointed his son as the Deputy Chief Minister thus making it clear as to who he had chosen as his successor. Sukhbir also took charge as the party president.

Harsimrat Kaur, wife of Sukhbir Singh Badal won the Lok Sabha elections from Bathinda, defeating the Congress nominee and Captain Amarinder Singh's son, Raninder Singh. With this Sukhvir Singh had a firm grip on the party.

Sukhvir's control over Akali Dal grew even more firm and this took the form of a threat to the political career and existence of Manpreet Singh Badal. Despite being the Finance Minister, he often criticized the economic policies of the ruling SAD- BJP alliance.

In 2010, a defiant Manpreet Badal refused to toe the party line. He challenged the subsidy scheme of the state government. This was enough to invite the wrath of Parkash Singh Badal, who sacked Manpreet Badal from the party in October 2010. Manpreet started holding publicmeetings in the state and attracted huge crowds. A little later he announced the formation of the PPP (Punjab Peoples Party).

Feeling ignored and sidelined, Surjit Singh Barnala sided with the Sanjha Morcha which allotted the ticket to his son Gaganjit Singh Barnala to contest election in 2012 from Dhuri. Being at loggerheads with the Badal faction for a substantial period of time, Surjit Singh Barnala had formed a separate Akali Dal (Longowal). Due to this it was the Congress candidate Arvind Khanna who emerged the winner.

Again in the 2014 Parliamentary elections, Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) preferred to allot the ticket to Manpreet Singh Ayali from the Ludhiana constituency ignoring Akali leader Amarjit Singh Bains.

Here too the Congress candidate won the seat though with a narrow margin.

The present chapter tries to carry out an analysis of an important period that was a witness to some major developments in Punjab as well as Akali politics. Significantly, it saw the rise of the moderate Akalis as compared to the more hardline Akalis and the Congress. The electoral strength of Shiromani Akali Dal did have to face a setback due to the split caused by the Badal-Tohra feud which was there due to over-ambitiousness of both the Akali leaders.

The present chapter also focuses on facts that during this period four Akal Takht jathedars were removed due to non-religious issues. This was attributed rather to ego clashes than to any substantial religious or ideological issues. Such moves were more on account of political interests of either the individual or the party at some point of time and clearly compromised the dignity of the Akal Takht. The study also highlights how the Akal Takht jathedar and the supreme body of the Akal Takht were used as instruments for issuing statements and hukumnamas in favour of certain individuals for pure vested interests.

This period also saw the comeback of the Akalis to power after defeats in 1999 Parliamentary elections and the 2002 State Assembly elections. The factionalism and the subsequent splits in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) translated into a major gain for the Congress. As a matter of routine it has always been the Congress which gains due to the weakness of the Akali Dal as it is the only principle opponent of the Akalis in Punjab.

With the changing equations and transitions Badal and Tohra factions finally had to call off their stand-off and unite. The unity had its positive results with the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) winning the elections and assuming power.

## **CONCLUSION**

Thus it can be concluded that after 1997 factionalism in Akali Dal continued to remain an integral part of its politics. However, the nature and expression of factionalism underwent significant change. At a time when macro level problems of the community had been more or less resolved, factionalism occurred in the form of acrimonious struggle for power having its basis in personality cults. Moreover, factionalism during this period has its basis in socio-economic factors. It can be argued that factionalism in the post 1997 phase gets manifested as the competitive politics of important leaders. These leaders led sub-groups like Badal faction, Tohra faction, Barnala faction and Dhindsa faction. Of particular importance was the long drawn and acrimonious contest between the Badal and the Tohra faction. The same pattern of struggle got replicated in the struggle between Sukhbir Singh Badal and Manpreet Badal. It can be said that the fissures and divisions were more a result of rivalries between the leading figures of the party in a general atmosphere of peace. The socio-economic basis of factionalism which corroborates the statements above can be traced to the fact that the Akali Dal in the post 1997 phase is dominated by the feudal/patrician Jat-Sikh class and is clearly male dominated. It is noteworthy that some regional Jat-Sikh stalwarts having local loyalties brought a regional color to the existing factionalism.



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*Chapter – V*

*Causes of Factionalism in  
Akali Dal*

## **CHAPTER-V**

### **CAUSES OF FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL**

Numerous reasons and causes can be attributed to the phenomenon of factionalism in any political party. Shiromani Akali Dal is only one such political party which has been affected by this universal phenomenon of factionalism within the party causing crises and subsequent splits. As has been said, the phenomenon of factionalism is universal and Shiromani Akali Dal is no exception to it and it is beyond doubt that it has done immense harm to the party.

Being the most progressive state, Punjab is known for its people who are energetic and proud having a dash and drive in all walks of life. As such the state politics is bound to be unstable because of factionalism that primarily stems out of such basic characteristics of the people who happen to inhabit the political arena.

Factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal, like any other political party, exists in the ministerial as well as the organizational wings. Shifting of loyalties boosts factionalism as leaders exhibit opportunism which in turn has serious effects on the functioning of the government and its agencies. To meet their political concessions and sometimes personal interests, faction leaders criticize the policies and working of their own governments.

It is quite common that when Assembly elections in the state are to be conducted, factional leaders of the Shiromani Akali Dal exert pressure for allotment of tickets to candidates of their choice. It lends

credence to the thought that such leaders take such steps to gain a hold in party affairs and policies. Moreover, the continued and sustained rivalry between the legislative and the organizational wings over the issue of supremacy can very well be identified as one of the important factors that create factionalism in the party.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to identify the socio-economic factors that are responsible for factionalism in Akali Dal and also to find out the causes of factionalism in Akali Dal. For the purpose of the study 120 Akali leaders (MPs, MLAs, Sarpanches, and Jathedars, Chairmen of the Zila Prishad, Chairmen of the Market Committees and Chairmen of the Block Samitis) have been interviewed.

### **THE ROLE OF SOCIO- ECONOMIC FACTORS**

The socio-economic conditions influence and determine to a large extent an individual's dealings and approach in social life. It is on the basis of this the concerned individual is in a position to exploit conditions to the maximum so as to benefit him or his group.

Geraint Perry is of the view that it is a widespread assumption of political sociology that social background and upbringing of a decision-maker will influence his attitudes and policies<sup>1</sup>.

There are certain factors that have been taken into account for the study such as Caste, Religion, Region, Occupation, Education and Income Disparity. There is a realization that these factors can be of immense help to understand the reasons behind factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal. After a detailed analyses and study , one may be able to find support for the hypothesis that the leader who enjoys a strong socio-economic, political and educational background and enjoys the benefits of belonging to the more influential caste and region is in a better position to influence the common masses.

Considering the above factors numerous individuals were personally interviewed in order to reach important and valid conclusions about the occurrence and growth of factors leading to factionalism in the party. The study thus makes an endeavour to form a proper insight into the facts that have contributed to factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal.

## **CASTE**

The caste factor has always influenced Indian politics. Rather it has been an inseparable part that has played a vital role in giving Indian politics its vivid colours. Over the years, political leaders have played the caste factor card in a way that has benefited them and their party. The leaders keep in mind the caste factor while selecting party candidates and contesting elections as this earns them a sizeable vote bank. It has been seen that certain castes vote blindly along caste lines.

G.P. Goyal mentions that 'Generally low caste people vote on the basis of caste as compared to the middle class'.<sup>2</sup>

To a large extent even the factions within a political party are based on caste consideration.<sup>3</sup>

The scenario in Punjab is no different as it can be noted that Jat-Sikh legislators usually had an upper hand in legislative assemblies. This section does have a sizeable strength and hence it is always in a position to have their say in all matters.

Caste has given an altogether different meaning and shape to Punjab Politics. Moreover, it is the caste factor that has worked in creating factionalism in the party.

Factionalism gets the much needed fuel when certain leaders belonging to a particular caste feel ignored and hence get disgruntled. Such leaders form their own factions to keep their aspirations alive.

'The politics is important to caste but caste is more important to politics than before'.<sup>4</sup>

**TABLE 5.1**  
**ROLE OF CASTE IN CREATING FACTIONALISM IN**  
**AKALI DAL**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Considerable	75	62.50
Sufficient	19	15.83
Negligible	17	14.16
Insufficient	9	07.50
Total	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The data in the table 5.1 points to the fact that caste has played an effective role in creating factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal. Of all the persons interviewed, 62.50 percent responded stated that caste as a factor is immensely responsible for giving rise to factionalism in the party. 15.83 percent of the respondents state the caste factor to be sufficient. 14.16 percent of the respondents were of the view that the caste factor has almost negligible effect whereas 07.50 percent respondents were of the opinion that it is insufficient so far as factionalism in the party is concerned.

### **RELIGION**

Just as the caste factor, the religion factor too influences politics in India and Punjab is no exception given the fact that religion is an inseparable part of the political agenda of Shiromani Akali Dal.

'Religion counts in giving a particular shape to the ideas and determining the political behaviour'.<sup>5</sup>



The Shiromani Akali Dal emerged on the political scene by launching agitations that were directly concerned with the religious aspect of the socio-political life in Punjab. As such, the Sikh masses played decisive role in making the Shiromani Akali Dal a party to reckon with. Leaders from different sections from within the Sikhs came into the fold of the Shiromani Akali Dal and commanded and wielded a good clout and hence exploited this factor which seemed to suit them the best. Historically speaking, Shiromani Akali Dal emerged as the sole representative of Sikh interests that aimed to stand for the preservation and promotion of Sikh religion and Punjabi language.<sup>6</sup>

**TABLE 5.2**  
**ROLE OF RELIGION IN CREATING FACTIONALISM**  
**IN AKALI DAL**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Considerable	14	11.66
Sufficient	28	23.33
Negligible	20	16.66
Insufficient	58	48.33
Total	120	99.98

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

The data as mentioned in the table 5.2 clearly brings out that religion is also considered to be a factor responsible for factionalism though not to a very large extent. It shows that this factor is relevant only to a limited extent. 11.66 percent respondents supported the fact that religion is an important factor while 23.33 respondents were of the opinion that it has sufficient effect as a reason for factionalism. 16.66 percent respondents were of the view it's role is almost

negligible. Whereas 48.33 percent were of the view that religion has no role to play in factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal.

**REGION**

Region too has a decisive role in so far factionalism in a politics party is concerned. People of a particular region are always close to the leader representing their area. A political party does rule things the wrong way when it selects a candidate during elections to represent a constituency that is alien to him or her. More often it has been seen that during elections people vote for the person belonging to their region but look the other way when an outsider though from the same political party is forced upon them. Such a leader finds it different to garner support. In such circumstances the disgruntled leader and the people vent their grievances by fanning factionalism. The region factor is visible at the grass-root level where the leader or the representative tends to divert funds towards his or her own area thus leading to bickerings within the party and finally giving factionalism a chance to raise its head.

**TABLE 5.3  
ROLE OF REGIONAL FACTOR RESPONSIBLE FOR FACTIONALISM  
IN AKALI DAL**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Considerable	61	50.83
Sufficient	19	15.83
Negligible	33	27.50
Insufficient	07	05.83
Total	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

Table 5.3 shows that majority of the respondents i.e. 50.83 percent laid stress on the fact that region is a major factor for

factionalism. 15.83 percent of the respondents were of the view that this factor was sufficient for creating factionalism whereas 27.50 percent said it to be negligible and just 05.83 percent respondents considered it to be insufficient.

### **OCCUPATION**

Occupational structure is a dynamic factor. It lays down the area of personal choice aggregation of group interest and further spheres of activities of a person.<sup>7</sup>

The Occupational background of person or a leader in the political party can be said to be a reason for factionalism. Particular leaders from diverse occupations willingly or unwillingly tend to promote their own interests or interests of their own people. As such people from other occupations get a raw deal and when they raise their voice against the discrimination meted out, the result of such instances directly leads to rise in the chances of factionalism.

**TABLE 5.4**

**ROLE OF OCCUPATION IN CREATING FACTIONALISM IN AKALI  
DAL**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Considerable	69	57.00
Sufficient	22	18.33
Negligible	13	10.83
Insufficient	16	13.33
Total	120	99.49

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

Table 5.4, clearly brings out that out of the total respondents interviewed, 57 percent responded by stating that occupation did have an impact on factionalism, 18.33 percent said that it was sufficient and 10.83 percent respondents were of the opinion that it was just

negligible whereas 13.33 percent were of the opinion that occupation had nothing to do with factionalism in a political party.

**EDUCATION**

The educational background of the representatives of a political party is another factor of some significance when it comes to analysing factionalism. The educated class finds it difficult to come to terms on issues when there is a clash of ideas, thoughts or ideologies between the educated and less educated. People of a certain section tend to follow the leaders based on their educational background. Subsequently it results in factionalism though at a lesser magnitude.

**TABLE 5.5  
ROLE OF EDUCATION IN CREATING FACTIONALISM IN AKALI  
DAL**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Considerable	17	14.16
Sufficient	22	18.33
Negligible	34	28.33
Insufficient	47	39.16
Total	120	99.98

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

The data shown in table 5.5 indicates that 14.16 percent of the respondents considered education to be a factor responsible for factionalism. 18.33 respondents considered it to be sufficient but 28.33 percent and 39.16 percent of the respondents considered this factor to be negligible and insufficient respectively.

## **INCOME DISPARITY**

Oscar Lewis in his book states that 'Wealth is a basic criterion for leadership. Although leaders are found among all the three socio-economic classes they clearly come from the upper levels of each'.<sup>8</sup>

The income of a representative of the party can play an important role in factionalism. The more the income of the leader, the more are the chances of him or her bagging plum posts at the party level or in organisational structure. Political parties survive on funds generated by the representation thus the larger the amount of fund, the higher will be the prospects in the race of either getting party tickets during election or getting the supporters nominated to favoured postings. Even at the village level the economic status often leads to factionalism when certain sections of a society have higher expectations to meet their financial needs.

**TABLE 5.6**

### **ROLE OF INCOME DISPARITY IN CREATING FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Considerable	46	38.33
Sufficient	22	18.33
Negligible	38	31.66
Insufficient	14	11.66
Total	120	99.98

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

Table 5.6 clearly shows that 38.33 percent respondents were of the view that the income factor does give rise to factionalism. 18.33 percent of the respondents were of the view that it was sufficient to build up factionalism. 31.66 percent of the respondents interviewed said that the income factor is negligible though 11.66 percent were of the view that it had nothing to do with factionalism in the party.

## CAUSES OF FACTIONALISM

Since its inception, the Shiromani Akali Dal had to contend with factionalism due to numerous reasons. After thorough research more reasons came to light that were possible and plausible causes of factionalism.

Apart from the common factors or causes such as lust for power and prestige, ideological reasons, personality clash, outside pressure and personal enmity, there are some more causes that have been studied. 120 Akali leaders ranging from the grass-root to top level were interviewed and based on the responses an attempt has been made to formalize the results which have been compiled in the form of the table below:

**TABLE 5.7**  
**CAUSES OF FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL**

	<b>CAUSES</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
1	Lust for power and prestige	28	23.33
2	Ideological Factor	17	14.16
3	Personality Clash	12	10
4	Promoting dynastic rule	15	12.5
5	Social Factors	4	3.33
6	Outside Pressure	4	3.33
7	Personal Enmity	7	5.83
8	Ignoring Seniority	12	10
9	Vindictiveness	5	4.16
10	Outsider tag	9	7.5
11	Generation Gap	5	4.16
12	Other reasons	2	1.66
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>99.96</b>

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

### **LUST FOR POWER AND PRESTIGE**

The data in the table 5.7 shows that 23.33 percent of all the people interviewed were of the view that lust for power and prestige is one of the main reasons that lead to the factionalism in the party. It proves that this reason the main cause of giving birth to factionalism. Leaders often display their lust for power as they are power hungry and they seek power at all costs and by all means. In such situations the leaders of the political party primarily concentrate at organizing and establishing their own factions which in periods of crucial competition are helpful to them to show their dominance in the party. These factional leaders get constant support from their faction members by virtue of which they are in a position to first dominate and then dictate terms in the party.

Paul R. Brass<sup>9</sup> maintains in his study that even after a factional leader secures a high position in the party, he still keeps this group as a faction with the intention of retaining political power and keeping the pressure intact to serve his purpose and very often this group is used by the faction leader to calm or pacify the rival faction members within the party. He further holds that causes of factionalism in a political party are linked to acquisition and retention of power.

An example of such a scenario is the factionalism caused in the Shiromani Akali Dal in 1998. Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra raised an issue of one-man-one-post and made his views clear to the party. Tohra cited the instance of the Adampur Assembly by-election held on 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1998 where-in Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) lost the Assembly seat in support of his position.<sup>10</sup> Tohra maintained that most of the Akali workers felt that they were ignored and isolated. Parkash Singh on the other hand felt that Tohra was fanning factionalism in a race of upmanship in the party and hence was

raising a demand of this kind. Interfering and meddling in the working of other ministries was seen by Badal faction as Tohra's lust for power.

Lust for power and struggle for supremacy in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) has invariably centred around leaders who were engaged in personality clash and hence were eager to gain power within the party, factionalism was rather promoted by these leaders.

Satinderpal Singh Kapur <sup>11</sup> states that no one can deny that a clash of giant egos was a major factor in the split. However, had Parkash Singh Badal heeded the demand of Tohra to hand over the party to a trusted Akali leader, and paid more attention to governance, the results might have been different. On the contrary, Badal took the demands and suggestions of Tohra to save the party as an attack on his leadership. He further elaborates by expressing his view that Jathedar Tohra attempted to turn this clash into an ideological one by seeking the help of Sant Samaj President Baba Sarbjot Singh Bedi but to no avail.

In spite of relentless efforts by the BJP leaders and many well-meaning persons to bring about unity among the two stalwarts, the egos clashes of Tohra and Badal failed to get reconciled. Brass further states that along with the lust for power, the lust for prestige is also the cause for factionalism in a party. Brass opines that apart from some leaders who raise their factions for lust of power, there are leaders who have been seen to foment factionalism for their lust for prestige too.



## **IDEOLOGICAL REASON**

The data in table 5.7 shows that 14.16 percent respondents were of the opinion that ideological reasons were important causes of factionalism where different and conflicting ideologies came in the way of unity in party ranks. Any political party has its genesis and origin in the vision of an ideology that helps to strengthen the foundations of the political party. When such party ideology is compromised, it becomes imperative for clashes to occur within the setup of the party concerned. Opinions differ among leaders over certain ideological issues and such differences very often lead to skirmishes and infighting. Faction leaders then use their respective faction members to garner support for their viewpoints. This leads to mistrust among the party ranks.

It is a known fact that when the power to anoint the candidates with the party ticket is left in the hands of a single person rather than the parliamentary board then every ticket seeker cannot be satisfied and there is bound to be resentment among them. Ticket seekers are more likely to bow before the collective will of a parliamentary board than of a single person.

The Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) parliamentary board authorized its president to distribute the party tickets. Seniority, party allegiance, social and political work and commitment to party principles took a backseat and were replaced by money power, winnability and allegiance to the party chief. It resulted in resentment among some influential candidates, who decided to contest elections as independents thus damaging the party prospects.

Conflicting ideological orientations and views of Badal and Jathedar Tohra came out in the open as both had their own projection of the SGPC- Akali Dal relationship. Badal maintained that SGPC and

Akali Dal are a part of each other. <sup>12</sup> With regard to the Akal Takht, Badal had his own ideology which maintained that the Akal Takht Jathedar was only an individual whereas the Akal Takht was supreme. Tohra's ideology on the same matter was rather different. He stated that Akal Takht and its Jathedar are synonymous with each other. <sup>13</sup>

Major Akali Dal factions had ideological differences among themselves on the controversial act of POTA (Prevention of Terrorist Act). While Parkash Singh Badal supported the anti-democratic act, many members of other factions were of the view that Akali Dal had always supported the protection of human rights of minorities in the country.<sup>14</sup>

Manjit Singh Calcutta, a former Education Minister in the Shiromani Akali Dal government, openly spoke out against Badal's supporting the draconian law and said that Badal had brought disgrace to the Akali's past. Thus different positions on this issue also brought out the differences among the leadership.

Moreover, as has been mentioned above, the Bhartiya Janata Party, in power at the Centre, wanted to dismiss the Rabri Devi government in Bihar and for this motive, it wanted to use the Article 356 and subsequently impose President Rule. <sup>15</sup>

Tohra and the party's Chief Whip in the parliament, Prem Singh Chandumajra maintained that they would oppose this move tooth and nail as it was against the ideology of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Shiromani Akali Dal in its Anandpur Sahib Resolution had included the scrapping of the Article 356 in the list of resolutions as successive governments were seen to misuse it against democratically elected governments. <sup>16</sup>

The ideological differences thus never seemed to get exhausted and this was severely affecting the unity of the Shiromani Akali Dal

(Badal). The Shiromani Akali Dal in its manifesto of 1997 had promised to appoint a commission to probe the human rights excesses but took a U-turn and went back on its promises much to the disliking of Tohra. He maintained that Badal had done so to please the BJP as it had an alliance with it. Badal supported his stand saying that there was already a State Human Rights Commission in place to probe excesses. <sup>17</sup>

Ideological differences got exacerbated to an extent that it seriously curtailed further chances of unity between different factions of Akali Dal. Later, the BJP government at the Centre decided to include Udham Singh Nagar district in Uttranchal and this move shocked the Akali Dal leaders.<sup>18</sup>

It is pertinent to note here that in the given situation if Badal had to save his leadership, he would have had to follow the resolution that was passed by the Political Affairs Committee in November 1998 wherein it was mentioned that the Akali Dal would vote against the resolution if Udham Singh Nagar district was included in the proposed hill state. Second, the Akali Dal would withdraw its support to the Vajpayee government. Third, it would extend only issue-based support from time to time.

The resolution to withdraw support against the move to include Udham Singh Nagar district in Uttranchal was passed when the Shiromani Akali Dal had eight Lok Sabha members. But the Bhartiya Janata Party was unperturbed by the Shiromani Akali Dal's stand as the Akali Dal had just two Lok Sabha members left. Moreover, Badal depended heavily on the Bhartiya Janata Party owing to the split in its ranks.

Jathedar Tohra attacked the Bhartiya Janata Party saying that it had harmed the Akali Dal and that Shiromani Akali Dal had lent

support to the BJP at a time when all other political parties were deserting it. Tohra was championing the wishes of the people of Udham Singh Nagar. His attack on the BJP was threatening to jeopardize the Akali-BJP alliance in Punjab Assembly. At such a juncture Badal was faced with a choice between either forging unity with Tohra or listening to the dictates of the BJP.

Mr Prem Singh Chandumajra, General Secretary of the party, said that the BJP had taken a good advantage of the divided house of the Shiromani Akali Dal as Badal did not take a tough stand on the Udham Singh Nagar district issue.

Former Punjab Minister and SAD legislator Mahesh Inder Singh Grewal too attacked the Shiromani Akali Dal president Parkash Singh Badal over inclusion of Udham Singh Nagar in Uttaranchal and demanded that the party withdraw support to the NDA coalition government in the Centre.

Though Simranjit Singh Maan, President of Shiromani Akali Dal(Amritsar) differed with Gurcharan Singh Tohra of Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal on ideology, both announced to join hands in cornering Badal in the monsoon session of the Punjab Assembly by moving a resolution on autonomy.

Ministers of the Shiromani Akali Dal on different occasions have also first threatened and later resigned due to ideological reasons. On April 30, 1986, security forces had entered the Golden Temple complex at 4.50 pm to flush out terrorists, on the orders of Chief Minister Surjit Singh Barnala. It had divided the Shiromani Akali Dal into two hostile factions consisting of dissidents and loyalists. Captain Amrinder Singh and Sukhjinder Singh, both Cabinet Ministers, resigned in protest against the police action. Amrinder Singh<sup>19</sup> went to the extent of saying it was obvious from this action that Surjit Singh

Barnala not only lacked confidence in his Ministers but also that he did not think it fit to take a senior Cabinet colleague into confidence.

Mr Parkash Singh Badal and Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra had also resigned from the party's working committee for the same reason. Another reason, besides the entry of the police into the complex, given by Capt. Amarinder Singh in his letter of resignation was that Surjit Singh Barnala, in his April 30 Cabinet meeting (at 3.15 pm) had not taken his colleagues into confidence even though the entry of the paramilitary forces commenced an hour and a half later at 4.50 pm.

The Sikhs, all over the world, who looked upto the Akali Dal as a party that championed the Sikh causes, were shocked. There was a crisis in the Akali Dal as there was resentment over the State Government's action. Perturbed that even a Panthic Government could send forces in the Golden Temple complex, as many as 27 ruling party Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs) resigned from the Akali Dal to form a new Akali party of their own leaving the Barnala Government in a minority. A significant aftermath of the operation was that the militants stepped-up violence and the ministry was sacked after about 13 months.

Unity among Akali Dal (Badal) and Akali Dal (Amritsar) factions could not be achieved due to ideological differences over the Amritsar Declaration in spite of it being brokered by the Sikh clergy.<sup>20</sup> A series of meetings by a seven-member apex committee-formed by Akal Takht Jathedar Manjit Singh failed in narrowing down political and ideological differences between the two groups.

The controversial Amritsar declaration was rejected by Parkash Singh Badal dubbing it as a document with seditious overtones. Differences were bound to crop up among leaders of the Akali Dal

(Amritsar) faction too. While moderates pressurised Gurcharan Singh Tohra to tone down the declaration, the hawks-led by Simranjit Singh Mann were totally against diluting it.

Later, differences surfaced with Manpreet Singh Badal, Finance Minister in the Akali-BJP government. Manpreet Singh Badal came out openly with statements over subsidies and the reported conditional debt waiver offer from the Central Government taken by the state during its fight against militancy. Manpreet stuck to his views on phasing out the subsidies in return for debt waiver. Such ideological differences among Akali leaders had serious repercussions on the party and led to the rise of factionalism.

### **Personality clash**

In table 5.7 it is shown that 10 percent respondents cited personality clash to be a reason for generating factionalism. Though not to a very high degree but this is considered to be one reason that became a major issue at different times. There are many examples when the personality clash became the reason for factionalism in the party.

Personality clashes of egoistic leaders were seen when in the race of opportunism, Surjit Singh Barnala and Balwant Singh outmanoeuvred Badal and Tohra and took Sant Harchand Singh Longowal along with them to Delhi to conclude an agreement known as the Memorandum of Punjab settlement also known as Rajiv-Longowal accord signed by him and the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on July 24, 1985.<sup>21</sup> The Punjab Accord termed as the 'Rajiv-Longowal Accord' was not accepted by certain sections of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

Surjit Singh Barnala became the Chief Minister on September 29, 1985. Balwant Singh got the finance portfolio. Badal and Tohra were to some extent sullen about having been left behind. They had

neither the inclination nor the initiative and capacity to lead the community and the youth by giving it a new and cohesive policy.

Having no other option, both eventually lent support to the Accord and in the process Tohra got his men, Major Singh Uboke, Harbhajan Singh Sandhu, Prem Singh Chandumajra and Basant Singh Khalsa included in the Barnala cabinet. Badal too would have joined but he was reluctant to accept a junior berth in the cabinet. The police action in the Darbar Sahib led to a lot of uproar in the Sikh circles and caused a split in the Akali Dal.

Only those leaders who have a numerically stronger faction which helps them to successfully control the organizational as well as the ministerial wing can overcome personality clashes. The competition to gain favorable positions for themselves and their faction members have often led to skirmishes between different factions. Latent ambitions to capture power or to obtain and achieve material gains have often given rise to personality clashes and this in turn has polluted public life and resulted in wastage of time and energy. There is no denying the fact that factionalism is created and patronized by top ranked leaders of the party to further their personal interests. Moreover the study reveals that the factional fights within Shiromani Akali Dal due to personality clash widened the gap among the rank and file of the party and also adversely affected its functioning.

The appointment and removal of the Akal Takht Jathedar time and again brought factionalism to the fore and was mainly due to the personality clash that can be traced back to the personal interests of Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Parkash Singh Badal. The appointment and removal of the Jathedar of the highest temporal seat of the Sikhs led to differences among the two stalwarts of the Shiromani Akali Dal. The Pro-Badal executives of the SGPC removed Bhai Ranjit Singh as

he was seen as more pro-Tohra and anti-Badal. The SGPC executive cited misuse of office as the reason to remove Bhai Ranjit Singh and replaced him with Bhai Puran Singh who was considered to be close to the Badal faction. This was thought to be done to belittle Tohra and his position.

Not having a good say in party matters compromised the personality of leaders. In order to build a high degree of credibility in the party, the top leaders often assumed a stance of first raising a banner of revolt in the party and then resorting to a split when matters went beyond their control. One such example is of Ravi Inder Singh, who for personal reasons parted ways and formed his own Shiromani Akali Dal (Ravi Inder).

### **PROMOTING DYNASTIC RULE**

The table 5.7 indicates that 12.5 percent respondents identified dynastic rule to be a cause of factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal. The individuals interviewed stated that in promoting their family members, leaders tend to overlook deserving candidates leading to infighting.

The leaders in order to retain power aspire for their sons replacing them in the party fold with important positions in the ministries. This is wished and done for personal and family gains.<sup>22</sup>

Manpreet Singh Badal, who was eyeing a political space in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), felt disgruntled when Prakash Singh Badal promoted his son Sukhbir Singh Badal to the post of Party President. Manpreet Badal considered himself to be the deserving and most eligible candidate for the post. This gave rise to factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal). The further anointing of Sukhbir Singh Badal to the post of Deputy Chief Minister made Manpreet Badal restive. Probably as a direct consequence of this he began



criticizing the economic policies of the Akali-BJP alliance. The antagonism of Manpreet Badal was the main factor for giving factionalism a fresh base that ultimately led to split and formation of a separate political party by the name Punjab Peoples Party led by Manpreet Singh Badal.

### **SOCIAL FACTORS**

The table 5.7 reveals that 3.33 percent of all the respondents interviewed were of the opinion that social factors too are cause of factionalism but as per statistics this reason can not be considered a major cause of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal.

Going by the Socio-economic profile of leaders in the legislative as well as the organizational wings it becomes clear that leadership is dominated by affluent sections of the society. Allotting of party tickets on the eve of elections is often based on the demographic composition of the state. Majority of the leaders are from the so-called upper castes as the Akali politics is highly influenced by these upper castes. Thus the leadership is confined to such leaders only.

Master Tara Singh, being a Khatri by caste, was seen as an eyesore by certain jat-Sikh Akali leaders who teamed up to throw out Tara Singh on the pretext that he was a non-jat leader and that majority of the Akali leaders were jat-Sikhs.

### **OUTSIDE PRESSURE**

Table 5.7 reveals that 03.33 percent respondents are of the opinion that outside pressure also becomes a reason for factionalism in the party. Sometimes outside pressure exerted by industrialists and big landlords plays an important role in creating factionalism in a political party. This pressure is exerted in accordance with interests that suit their business and trade. These industrialists and landlords often donate large amounts of money in the form of donations

particularly during elections. This funding is done with a motive to serve their own purpose and hence to get back returns. These so-called 'money banks'<sup>23</sup> look upto their favored M.P.'s or M.L.A.'s who act as caretakers of their interests when formulating policies that may be favorable to them. During such times factionalism comes to the forefront when certain members of the legislative assembly or the parliament press for implementation of schemes selectively and other members within the party object to these acts of undue favouring.

Such methods which are unapologetically adopted to support some industrialists or landlords by members of a party often lead to corruption and earn a bad name for the party as a whole. Corruption issues in turn become a mode of attack by other political parties forcing the party concerned go on the back foot. In such cases members of the affected party start a campaign wherein statements are issued against party members and this causes a division among the ranks. Money comes as donation and with donation comes pressure from outside and this pressure causes rifts that lead to factionalism. In the whole process the faction leaders go all out to garner support from the members of their respective factions.

### **PERSONAL ENMITY**

Based on the interview of a section of Akali leaders, table 5.7 shows that 5.8 percent of them are of the opinion that on certain occasions personal enmity becomes a hindrance in the unity within the Shiromani Akali Dal. Personal enmity between leaders kept them from coming together on different issues thus creating rifts. Numerous examples can be noted when personal enmity became the reason for factionalism in the party. Paul R. Brass<sup>24</sup> in his study states that personal enmity is primary organizing principle of factional conflicts in a party.

The turn of events in the party affairs in the late 1180s showed that some sort of personal enmity existed between Surjit Singh Barnala faction and Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa.<sup>25</sup> Surjit Singh Barnala alleged that Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa and his son Parminder Singh Dhindsa had opposed him in the Lok Sabha elections. Hence, Surjit Singh Barnala in apparent bid to teach a lesson, decided that his faction would launch an election campaign in favour of Prof Prem Singh Chandumajra, 'sanjha morcha' candidate in the villages of Sunam Assembly constituency where by-election was held on September 29, 2000. It also showed that many were unhappy with the Badal government and its policies.

Personal enmity is a major factor that leads for creation, existence and flourishing of factions within a political party. The ambition among leaders to be at the helm of affairs in organizational wings of the party leads to personality clashes among top leaders who at some point of time have promised their supporters of rewards at the appropriate time. Issues are needlessly debated and to have more say in party matters these leaders become egoistic and start criticizing each other at the most frivolous pretexts. The fact that Gurcharan Singh Tohra of Shiromani Akali Dal had joined hands with Jagdev Singh Talwandi to keep Parkash Singh Badal out of the race for SAD Presidentship had not gone down well with Badal. Badal as such could never forget this. Though both Tohra and Badal were in the same party i.e., Shiromani Akali Dal but their egos consistently clashed on different issues due to bitterness that had cropped up between them. Prakash Singh Badal was grooming his son Sukhbir Singh Badal to establish a dynastic rule and it was a step in the direction of making his position formidable and unchallenged in the Shiromani Akali Dal. Personal enmity has hindered the flourishing of top ranked leaders of

the Shiromani Akali Dal under one roof. As such these leaders floated their own Akali Dals namely Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal (Tohra), Shiromani Akali Dal (Maan) to name just a few.

### **IGNORING SENIORITY**

As shown in table 5.7, 10 percent of the respondents opined that ignoring seniority was the main cause of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal. The persons interviewed stated that whenever a senior leader felt ignored and side stepped, it was not only the concerned leader but his supporters too were a disgruntled lot. Factionalism in such circumstances becomes unavoidable.

Any political party thrives on the services of their leaders and workers. With the passage of time a certain leader gains a respectable position in the party keeping in view the length of service he or she has put in all these years. This earns him the title of a 'senior leader'. But it has been observed that in certain cases a party promotes a person and elevates him or her to a post sidestepping a leader who has put in more years in party related work with dedication. It is important to note that in the Shiromani Akali Dal too, such acts have led to factionalism when workers and supporters of senior leaders fan and fuel the hurt emotions.

### **VINDICTIVENESS**

Revenge or vindictiveness is another cause that has been studied and as per the table 5.7, 04.16 percent of the persons interviewed said that vindictive attitude at times led to situations where leaders chose to take opposite stands against each other leading to factionalism in Akali Dal.

Rising up in party ranks to fulfil their personal ambitions has always been a top priority of leaders and with the intention of fulfilling such dream it the leaders try to somehow belittle the image of parallel

leaders so as to gain an upper hand and pave a clear path to move up. It so happens that during elections a particular leader with such a mindset either stays away from canvassing for the rival leaders of the same party or dissuades his supporters from supporting the perceived rival. In both cases the party is the sufferer. Thus the vindictive attitude widens the gap in the party rank and file.

The factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal once again came to the fore when the former Punjab cabinet minister Gobind Singh Kanjhla<sup>26</sup> leveled various charges against former Union minister and Rajya Sabha member Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa and accused him of weakening the party.

Though there has never been a provision of halqa (area) in-charge in SAD constitution but the practice was adopted to accommodate the defeated candidates of the ruling party to run the party affairs in the constituency from where the candidate had lost. Even grants for development works are routed through the area-in-charge and he works as the de facto leader.

Kanjhla was removed from the unofficial post of area in charge of the Mehal Kalan assembly constituency, which falls in Barnala. Gobind Singh Kanjhla took no time in accusing Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa of ensuring his removal as halqa (area) in-charge. Having lost the 2012 Assembly election to Congress, Kanjhla was appointed as halqa (area) in-charge by the ruling Shiromani Akal Dal (Badal). But the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) president removed Kanjhla on the recommendations of Dhindsa as Kanjhla had declined to toe the line desired by Dhindsa for choosing candidates for Zila Parishad and Panchayat Samiti elections to be held on May 19, 2013.

Kanjhla leveled accusations against Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa stating that Dhindsa was weakening the party in the area by pressing

for tickets for Zila Parishad and Panchayat samiti elections to the persons who had opposed party candidate in assembly elections and were expelled from SAD. Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa denied the allegations and said these were being leveled out of sheer frustration.

### **OUTSIDER TAG**

Table 5.7 reveals that 7.5 percent respondents expressed the view that in some cases outside tag becomes a reason for factionalism and sometimes the acrimony is such that it is difficult to bring the warring factions at one table for compromising. The aspirations of a particular section of the party get defeated when they feel that their loyalty has been doubted as someone from other region has been forced upon them.

To counter the growing influence of a particular member of the party on the electorate, his opponents within the party sometimes use different and effective methods and policies to neutralise the growing popularity. A party selects a person or a leader to represent a region or a constituency other than his own. In this process the party loses on the other front also as such a leader may be unacceptable to the masses of that region. Moreover the replaced leader and his supporters often feel alienated and ignored and hence lose faith in the top leadership.

### **GENERATION GAP**

Table 5.7 shows that 4.16 percent of the respondents interviewed said that generation gap within the leaders of the party was also a reason for factionalism as two different generations of leaders had different ways of viewing party policies.

A political party has a firm foundation with a blend of the old and young leaders. But it has been observed that in certain cases generation gap plays spoilsport when the leaders of different

generations find it impossible to come to terms on a common programme or a single policy. One tries to outdo the other leading to breaks though staying within the frame of the party.

### **OTHER REASONS**

Table 5.7 indicates that 1.66 percent of the respondents pointed towards other reasons like the erratic and uneven distribution funds and appointing persons to favoured postings at ground level to be reasons that created factionalism though at much smaller scale.

Distribution of funds, organising social and cultural events at local levels, patronizing institutional heads are some other factors that creates factions within the party. While distributing funds a major chunk of the amount goes to the faction loyal to the leader and during social and cultural events at local level. The organising body is often made up of people owing alliance with their leader.

Paul R. Brass in his study 'Factional Politics in an Indian State' states that power and personal greed have been vital factors that have been the reasons of conflicts within the party. Faction leaders influence the course of factional conflicts by giving positions of power to local factional leaders as this builds their factions strong.

The issue of gaining supremacy in the legislative and organizational wings has been the reason of continuous rivalry between factions. At times the failure of the legislative wing to honour the decisions of the party led to diverse opinions and subsequently to factionalism.

So, as a conclusion to the study, it can be said that there exist numerous causes of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal such as lust of power and prestige which is a major reason. Other causes like ideological reasons, personality clashes, promoting the dynastic rule and social factors too have been found to have given birth to factions.

In addition to these factors, outside pressure and personal enmity gave rise to factionalism in the party. Ignoring seniority, vindictiveness, outsider tag and to some extent generation gap also played a major role in promoting factionalism.

## **CONCLUSION**

It can be concluded that factionalism on the whole has been detrimental to the interests of Shiromani Akali Dal. Factionalism eroded the inherent cohesiveness of the party. The undermining impact of factionalism has been multidimensional. It is a common perception that factionalism adversely affects the performance of the party and decreases its efficiency. It is also a general perception that factionalism led to the deferment of the implementation of major political and economic policies which were in the general interest of the state.



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## *Chapter – VI*

# *Impact of Factionalism on the Policies of Akali Dal, Its Electoral and Governmental Performance*

## **CHAPTER-VI**

### **IMPACT OF FACTIONALISM ON THE POLICIES OF AKALI DAL, ITS GOVERNMENTAL AND ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE**

Shiromani Akali Dal, considered to be the oldest regional political party, had to face dissensions and factionalism which has landed the party in numerous problems. The factions which emerged within the party with the passage of time always worked to their own advantages rather than projecting and safeguarding the party as a whole. In the process the base of the Shiromani Akali Dal either got weak or shrunk considerably. The party which initially had a mass base was now confined to the rural parts of Punjab due to factionalism at the local level where in local leaders started identifying themselves more with their faction leaders rather than the party.

In this chapter, an attempt has been made to find out if factionalism has had significant impact on the policies of Akali Dal and its governmental and electoral performance. The objective is also to study the extent to which factionalism has hampered the progress of the party in terms of its performance. For the purpose of this study and in order to reach valid and creditable conclusions, 120 Akali leaders from the lower to the upper ranks (MPs, MLAs, Sarpanches, Jathedars, Chairmen of the Zila Parishad, Chairmen of the Market Committees and Chairmen of the Block Samitis) were interviewed.

#### **IMPACT ON THE POLICIES OF AKALI DAL AND ITS GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE**

Factionalism, which prevails in all political parties, has invariably had an adverse effect on the image of the concerned party. In the face of factionalism, the working of the party ceases to be

result-oriented. As different factions within the party take different positions on party policies and programmes the party ceases to be a cohesive unit. In the absence of factionalism the party would be better placed to counter all challenges. Factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal has been a conspicuous phenomenon. Wherever factionalism persists in a party, the common man who is the prospective beneficiary of the progressive elements in party policies is the most affected. More often it has been observed that when grants are sanctioned for the development of particular area factionalism raises its head and begins to impede the entire process. Whereas, generally speaking when one faction is instrumental in bringing the grant, the other faction goes all-out to block it from being spent on development fearing that such an act would hamper their political clout and would lead to drifting of vote bank towards the faction responsible for the grants sanctioned. It is a fact that in most of the constituencies, the Shiromani Akali Dal as a party, found it rather difficult to stop factionalism. Unlimited number of instances can be cited where progress was hampered because of factionalism. There is this case of a certain constituency of Sangrur district where the concerned M.L.A was successful in getting grants sanctioned by the government of Shiromani Akali Dal but was unable to spend the amount for development works due to infightings. The municipal council in power, the authority responsible for overseeing the process, took little interest and rather did all it could to block the grants from being spent. Not only did the people suffer but the Shiromani Akali Dal too could not contribute to the progress of the constituency represented by one of its MLAs inspite of being in power. This gave the other political parties an opportunity to hit back on the Shiromani Akali Dal. This is evidence that often it

becomes difficult for the party to keep its warring factions under one roof.

**TABLE 6.1**  
**IMPACT OF FACTIONALISM ON THE POLICIES OF AKALI DAL**  
**AND ITS GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Yes	93	77.50
No	17	14.16
Can't say	10	08.33
Total	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The data in 6.1 table shows that 77.50 percent respondents are of the view that factionalism does influence the policies of Akali Dal and its Governmental Performance whereas 14.16 percent respondents said that factionalism does not have any impact. 08.33 respondents responded by saying that they could not comment.

**TABLE 6.2**  
**EXTENT OF THE IMPACT OF FACTIONALISM ON THE POLICIES**  
**OF AKALI DAL AND ITS GOVERNMENTAL PERFORMANCE**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
Considerable	55	45.83
Sufficient	38	31.66
Negligible	20	16.66
Insufficient	07	05.83
Total	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

According to the data given in table 6.2, 45.83 percent of the respondents are of the view that the impact of factionalism on the working and implementation of policies of the party was considerable. 31.66 respondents are of the opinion that factionalism had sufficient impact on the working as well as implementation of policies. However, 16.66 percent of the leaders interviewed said that the impact is negligible and 05.83 percent respondents said that this factor is insufficient to support the view that factionalism had any impact on the performance of the government.

Factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal has time and again hampered the implementing of different governmental policies. Most of the time the state had to suffer and the development of the state took a back seat.

It is very commonly observed that factionalism directly affects the functioning of the government at various levels as the concerned leaders are busy in promoting their personal interests. It can be mentioned that lack of performance and deficiencies of governance give force to 'anti-incumbency' factor which becomes decisive as the voter feels dissatisfied with the performance of the government.

Different Akali Dal factions and their leaders have often taken diverse and very different positions related to the question of the demands that the Akali Dal should put forward to the Central government. Be it the Anandpur Sahib Resolution or scrapping of the Article 356, never have the Akali Dal factions unitedly fought as a force on a collectively chosen set of issues.

The Central governments at different times have often taken advantage of factionalism to either postpone the implementations or completely shelve the regionally crucial demands of Akali Dal without showing any seriousness. The Rajiv-Longowal Accord signed in 1985

is a unique example of this fact. Barring the Surjit Singh Barnala faction, other factions of the Akali Dal were not in favour of the accord and termed it as a sell-out of the interests of the people of Punjab. Such infightings of the factions during a time when the Akalis were in power led to the rise of militancy and subsequently the Akali government was dismissed.

A united front on the part of the Akalis could very well have given the Akalis a strong hand to force the Central Government to take the Rajiv-Longowal Accord seriously and save the Shiromani Akali Dal from embarrassment.

It is a matter of common understanding that any government in power has certain policies to implement as it had made poll promises in its manifestoes but dismissal of governments always derails the development work that would ultimately have benefitted the common man. On one occasion development work got hampered in Kharar when continued differences led to revolts by councilors from within the party. As such twenty agendas could not see the light of the day.

Sukhwant Singh was nominated as president despite the presence of senior leaders. Works related to sewerage and drinking water supply, construction of dharamshalas and development works of four wards could not be discussed at all due to the tussle within the party.<sup>1</sup> Sukhwant Singh had to finally make way for Gurpreem Singh, councillor from Ward 4 who was elected the new president of Kharar Municipal Council (MC).

The infightings due to factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) led to the development work in the urban and rural areas being relegated to non-priority areas on several occasions. One such instance is the case of Patiala Municipal Corporation where development could not make any headway in the 50 municipal wards



as the focus got completely shifted from the concerned development issues to internal fights within the local body of the party.

Mayor Ajit Pal Singh Kohli-son of former SAD Minister Surjit Singh Kohli had to deal with dissident groups of councilors from within the party who were out to dethrone him. Resentment was bound to crop up as Ajitpal Singh Kohli was elevated to the post of mayor by passing other senior Akali Dal leaders.

Ultimately the party had to confront a revolt in 2009 when more than two dozen councilors boycotted the general house meeting and as such Parkash Singh Badal had to appoint a high level committee to look into and solve the matter.

Such internal rifts within the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) not only adversely affected the development process but gave an opportunity to the opposition , mainly the Congress to raise issues against the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) accusing them of negligence.<sup>2</sup>

With rampant factionalism, socio-economic issues were increasingly sidelined and social development too could not proceed at a good pace. Factional politics in one way or the other took over all the other issues thus retarding the growth.

Punjab is considered to be the food bowl of the nation and the party that has been in the driving seat has the obligation to iron out differences within it in the interest of the welfare and overall growth of the state.

**TABLE 6.3**  
**REPERCUSSIONS OF FACTIONALISM (REGARDING GOVERNMENT**  
**POLICIES AND PERFORMANCE)**  
**IN SHIROMANI AKALI DAL**

<b>RESPONSE</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
ADVERSE AFFECT ON DEVELOPMENT WORKS	35	29.16
HURDLES IN IMPLEMENTING POLICIES	14	11.66
NUETRAL FUNCTIONING OF THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER	27	22.50
SLOW PROGRESS OF ALL WORK	44	36.66
TOTAL	120	99.98

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews.*

The table 6.3 shows that 29.16 percent of the leaders laid stress on the fact that factionalism adversely affects development work. 11.66 percent said that in a situation where factionalism is prevalent, it is problematic to implement policies. 22.50 percent leaders interviewed were of the view that the government in power cannot work keeping itself on the neutral path or position. 36.66 percent respondents said that it is difficult to achieve work within a specified period or a set deadline.

#### **IMPACT ON THE ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE**

Factionalism has had an impact on the working of all political parties at the national as well as the state level. At the state level,

factionalism within the Shiromani Akali Dal influenced Punjab politics to such an extent that the state suffered on many accounts and the Shiromani Akali Dal had to suffer defeats in Assembly elections as well as in the Parliamentary elections.

**TABLE 6.4**  
**IMPACT OF FACTIONALISM ON THE ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE**  
**OF SHIROMANI AKALI DAL**

RESPONSE	Parliamentary Elections		Assembly Elections		Local Bodies	
	Respon.	%age	Respon.	%age	Respon.	%age
Considerable	102	85	99	82.50	82	68.33
Sufficient	13	10.83	14	11.66	28	23.33
Negligible	05	04.16	07	05.83	10	08.33
Insufficient	00	00	00	00	00	00
Total	120	99.99	120	99.99	120	99.99

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

Table 6.4 shows to what extent does factionalism have on the electoral performance of Shiromani Akali Dal.

Responding to the question of the effect of factionalism on the Parliamentary elections, 85 percent of the leaders were of the view that factionalism did have an impact, whereas 10.83 percent said that this factor was just sufficient. 04.16 percent differed with this view and opined that this factor is of negligible important and none of the person chose to say that factionalism did not have any impact on electoral performance.

The people interviewed in connection with the impact of factionalism on electoral performance of the Shiromani Akali Dal, did throw up a similar view as compared to the Parliamentary election. 82.50 percent said that the impact had a vital role in affecting

performance in assembly election. 11.66 percent said that this factor was sufficient and 05.83 percent said it was a negligible factor but no one chose to say that it did not have any impact thus terming it as insufficient.

But at the local bodies level the data showed a slightly different picture. 68.33 percent supported the fact that factionalism was in itself a considerable factor to influence the electorate, 23.33 percent termed it as sufficient and 8.33 percent called it negligible but again none of the leaders interviewed supported the factor and said that it was an insufficient factor that had no impact on the electoral performance of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

Having won the 1997 Assembly elections, the infighting among the Akali leaders resulted in humiliating defeats in the Parliamentary elections in 1999 and Punjab Legislative elections in 2002.

**TABLE 6.5**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD IN OCTOBER 1999 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>SEATS</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	8	38.44
SAD	2	28.59
BJP	1	9.16
SHSAD	0	4.64

*Source: Statistical Reports, Election Commission of India, New Delhi.*

The factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal was a big gain for the Congress Party which had no seat in the 1998 Parliamentary elections but won 8 seats in the 1999 Parliamentary elections whereas the Shiromani Akali Dal with BJP as its alliance partner could win only 3

out of the 13 seats. The Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal led by Jathedar Tohra played spoilsport for Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) as the traditional Akali vote bank got divided due to their perpetual infightings.

The impact of factionalism on the Shiromani Akali Dal could be seen in the 1999 Parliamentary elections when Jathedar Tohra of Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal (SHSAD) led a joint front of splinter Akali Dals, Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar), Shiromani Akali Dal (Panthic) and Shiromani Akali Dal (Democratic). These factions joined hands with a motive to compete against SAD-BJP combine and the Congress.<sup>3</sup> Though these Akali factions were successful in only one constituency but it queered the pitch for Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) leading to defeats in three constituencies. This infighting and factionalism proved to be a curse for the Akali Dal resulting in electoral defeats

The Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal (SHSAD), formed under the leadership of Jathedar Tohra in 1999 had an electoral alliance with Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann), Akali Dal (Panthic) and Akali Dal (Democratic). The different factions fought both the Parliamentary and Assembly elections separately in 1999 and 2002 but performed poorly.

Factional fights within Shiromani Akali Dal intensified with the two Akali stalwarts Parkash Singh Badal and Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra came to loggerheads. The Shiromani Akali Dal, which was considered to have a strong support base, could not live up to its promises to the electorate as its very support base got divided between Jathedar Tohra and Parkash Singh Badal. Subsequently Shiromani Akali Dal had to lose the Assembly elections in 2002.

Either due to ego clashes or due to personal interests, factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal led to divisions that finally

took the shape of parties namely Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), Akali Dal (Maan), Akali Dal (Democratic), Shiromani Sarb Hind Akali Dal, Akali Dal(Ravi Inder) and Akali Dal (Longowal).

In the process of the analysing the support base of the Akali Dal, it has been studied that Shiromani Akali Dal has a considerable support among the Jat Sikhs in the rural areas of Punjab. Apart from this, a sizeable number of people from the scheduled castes also support the Akali Dal party. However, in spite of a large and widely spread support base the infightings in the Shiromani Akali Dal offered an opportunity to the main opposition party, the Congress to make inroads in the Akali bastions and subsequently the Congress party was able to regain control leading to victory in Assembly as well as Parliamentary elections.

The polarization of vote bank due to caste factor also had an impact on the Shiromani Akali Dal as it gradually revealed its proximity the Jat Sikhs. It proved to be a party which mainly safeguarded the rural agricultural interests and as such the voters belonging to the non-jat Sikh section of the society drifted towards Congress, the Bahujan Samaj party and to some extent the Communist Party of India. Congress emerged as the major gainer.

Shiromani Akali Dal has been faction ridden also because it has its operation in the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee. Elections to this Sikh body often brought out conflicts based on personal interests and ego clashes. This is just one of the many reasons.

In this study it has been unambiguously stated that conflicting and contradictory opinions among the senior leaders on joining the NDA at the centre also led to conflicts with the leaders who were against this alliance. The factions opposed to the alliance levelled

charges that by entering into the alliance the Shiromani Akali Dal had compromised with the interests of the state as this alliance could never help resolve contentious issues with the adjoining states. The Shiromani Akali Dal was seen as not the one to raise issues on its own and was solely dependent on the alliance partner for seeking a consensus on matters concerning the state.

As has been pointed out, the divisions in the Akali Dal ranks were a clear gain for the Congress in the elections. The efforts to forge unity in the Akali Dal at different times proved to be failures as the personal interests of leaders came in the way of forging unity. This also hampered the overall development of the state of Punjab. In the 1980's, there was a rise in the secessionist demands and activities in the state. The factions led by moderate Parkash Singh Badal and the hardliners led by Jathedar Tohra and Jathedar Talwandi took up different approaches to the demands.<sup>4</sup> Each leader tried to settle issues as per their own interests and advantages.

It was in the by-elections to the Jalandhar Parliamentary<sup>5</sup> seat on 19 May 1993 that the Akali leaders were seen to field their respective candidates. The Congress party was playing the peace card in their election campaign while on the other hand the Akalis were fighting on two fronts - with Congress and against each other. The Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) fielded Kuldeep Singh Wadala and Akali Dal (Maan) fielded Ajit Singh Bains.<sup>6</sup> Both the Akali Dals were desperate to gain an upper hand in the politics of the state and woo the Sikhs in particular. However, both these Akali Dals espoused different ideologies.

The outcome of this by-election was of crucial importance for the different Akali Dals in the election fray. It was because this result was to project as to which Akali Dal was more acceptable to the people of

Punjab and which Akali Dal would emerge as a dominant force in Punjab politics. Parkash Singh Badal campaigned with a moderate approach and stayed away from the militant ideology that was adopted by Akali Dal (Maan).<sup>7</sup>

The factionalism resulted in the Congress winning the by-election defeating the Akali Dal (Badal) candidate. Umrao Singh of the Congress secured 286923 votes as against the Akali Dal (Badal) candidate Kuldeep Singh Wadala who secured 170939 votes.<sup>8</sup>

**TABLE 6.6**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN JALANDHAR  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD ON 19 MAY 1993 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	286923	48.87
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	170939	29.12
BSP	52216	8.89
BJP	27677	4.71
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	18319	3.12

*Source: Ajit 23 May, 1993.*

Though the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) lost to the Congress in the Jalandhar Parliamentary by-election, it did help to catapult the Akali Dal (Badal) which emerged stronger in Punjab Akali politics as compared to the others.<sup>9</sup> Hence Parkash Singh Badal thought it wise to distance himself from other Akali Dals and to maintain a moderate view of issues.

Realising that the Congress was gaining due to lack of unity among the Akali Dals, leaders with secular views initiated unity moves. But the infighting and different personal interests were much larger and hence Captain Amrinder Singh of the Akali Dal(Panthic)



alongwith Surjit Singh Barnala of Akali Dal (Longowal) chose to keep out Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) from the unity move.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1997 Assembly elections from the Sirhind constituency; Dr. Harbans Lal of the Congress secured 29,983 votes while more than 63,000 votes were polled by all the Akali factions taken together. The official candidate of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), Kirpal Singh Libra, polled 24,744 votes. The Akali Dal (Maan) President Simranjit Singh Mann and Randhir Singh Cheema, a former Akali Minister and independent candidate, garnered around 22,800 and 15,500 votes, respectively.

**TABLE 6.7**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN SIRHIND ASSEMBLY**  
**ELECTIONS HELD IN 1997 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	29983	31.71
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	24744	26.17
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	22103	23.38
INDEPENDENT	15655	16.56

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Had it not been for the factionalism, the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) could have won this seat very comfortably given the fact that the votes of Randhir Singh Cheema and Kirpal Singh Libra taken together accounted for more than the votes polled by the Congress candidate.

The defeat of Sukhbir Singh Badal in the 1999 Parliamentary elections from the Faridkot seat could very well be attributed to the prevailing factionalism with Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal, Akali Dal (Panthic) and Akali Dal (Democratic) in the election fray.<sup>11</sup> The votes got divided to such an extent that it led to the Congress candidate

Jagmeet Singh Brar winning the seat though with a thin margin of 5148 votes.

**TABLE 6.8**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN FARIDKOT**  
**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD IN 1999 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	4,18,454	48.00
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	4,13,306	47.41
INDEPENDENT	13,673	1.57
INDEPENDENT	8,359	0.96

*Source: Statistical Reports, Election Commission of India, New Delhi.*

Had it not been factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal, Sukhbir Singh Badal could have won the Faridkot Parliamentary seat with a comfortable margin. Factionalism in the Akali Dal again resulted in a substantial gain for the Congress.

A similar phenomenon was witnessed in the Patiala Parliamentary constituency in 1999 where Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) candidate Surjit Singh Rakhra was defeated by Congress candidate Parneet Kaur by a margin of 78908 votes. The Congress candidate secured 306125 votes as against 281217 votes secured by the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) candidate. The Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal candidate Prem Singh Chandumajra secured 89268 votes. The split in Akali Dal votes led to the defeat of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).

**TABLE 6.9**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN PATIALA**  
**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD IN 1999 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	360125	46.06

AKALI DAL(BADAL)	281217	35.97
SHSAD	89268	11.42
INDEPENDENT	13089	1.69

*Source: Statistical Reports, Election Commission of India, New Delhi.*

The combined votes of the Akali Dal factions would have resulted in the Shiromani Akali Dal winning the seat.

Surjit Singh Barnala had to face the consequences of factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) when he was fielded as the party's official candidate from the Sangrur seat for the Parliamentary elections in 1999. Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra had parted ways with the Shiromani Akali Dal but Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa stated in the press that the split would hardly have any effect on the party's poll prospects.<sup>12</sup>

In the election rally organized by Surjit Singh Barnala, the leaders who addressed the gathering were Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa, Member Rajya Sabha and Secretary-General of the party, Tota Singh, Punjab Education Minister, Gobind Singh Kanjla, Jagdev Singh Talwandi, senior Vice-President of Shiromani Akali Dal(Badal) and Nanak Chand Kalra, district President of Bhartiya Janata Party.<sup>13</sup>

However, factionalism did have its effect as Simranjit Singh Maan of Shiromani Akali Dal (Maan) won the Sangrur Parliamentary seat defeating Surjit Singh Barnala by a margin of 86317 votes. Simranjit Singh Maan got 298846 whereas Surjit Singh Barnala got 212529 votes. Had the faction of Jathedar Tohra supported the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) candidate, the Sangrur Parliamentary seat would surely have been won by the SAD(Badal) party. The CPM candidate, Ajit Singh too got a sizeable chunk of the votes polling 190824 votes.

**TABLE 6.10**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN SANGRUR  
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS HELD IN 1999 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
SAD(Maan)	298846	42.08
SAD(Badal)	212529	29.93
CPM	190824	26.87
Independent	5738	0.81

*Source: Statistical Reports, Election Commission of India, New Delhi.*

In the 2002 Punjab Legislative Assembly elections, various Akali Dal factions worked to get a stable and strong foothold. But owing to the infighting between Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Parkash Singh Badal, the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) had to suffer defeat paving the way for the Congress to form the government.<sup>14</sup> Other factor that went against the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) in the elections was that Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) is perceived to be inclined towards the sikh community and in the process it is accused of having ignored the interests of the other sections of the society. The other sections of the society seemed to move away from the Akalis.

**TABLE 6.11**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE**  
**ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>SEATS CONTESTED</b>	<b>WON</b>
Congress	105	62
Akali Dal(Badal)	92	41
Akali Dal (Maan)	84	00
BJP	23	03

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

The split in Shiromani Akali Dal in 1999 also led to a decreased voter turn out at a decrease level in the elections in October 1999 as well as in February 2002. The endless factional fights resulted in a clear decrease in voter turn out to 56.11 percent in October 1999. As such the Congress stepped up its propaganda attacking the Shiromani Akali Dal, among other things; of wide spread corruption at all levels leading to Shiromani Akali Dal's defeat.

It is generally believed that whoever gains supremacy in the Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee undoubtedly rules the Akali politics in Punjab. Hence, in the race to control the SGPC, the Akali leaders play the politics of factionalism. Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Parkash Singh Badal tried their best to outdo each other to wrest control of the Sikh religious body. In turn this added more fuel to the simmering fire of factionalism. The fallout has had serious repercussions on the political scene of the state of Punjab.

Getting a boost due to impressive performances in the Ajnala and Nakodar Assembly by-elections in 1994, Parkash Singh Badal had prepared himself to take on Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, who was the SGPC President. With Jathedar Tohra and Simranjit Singh Maan adopting a hawking and hardliner attitude, Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) started getting greater acceptance in the masses due to its moderate and restrained approach on all issues.

Factionalism in the Akali Dal had a huge impact in the Sirhind Assembly constituency in 2002. Dr. Harbans Lal of the Indian National Congress took advantage of the Akali Dal leaders' infighting and launched his election campaign much in advance and even before the different Akali factions could announce their candidate. The Sirhind constituency had always been an Akali stronghold but due to factionalism this seat was wrested twice by the Congress.<sup>15</sup>

**TABLE 6.12**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN SIRHIND ASSEMBLY  
ELECTIONS HELD ON 13.2.2002 IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	35659	37.51
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	32528	34.22
BSP	4045	4.25
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	19235	20.23
LBP	1532	1.61

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer, Chandigarh, Punjab.*

The Dakala constituency had in the past seen electoral fights between the Congress Party and Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal). The sitting M.L.A from this constituency, Harmel Singh Tohra, who happened to be the son-in-law of Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, had previously fought elections as an independent candidate. But in 2002 Assembly elections, Harmail Singh Tohra entered the fray as a Panthic Morcha candidate thus hampering the image of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).<sup>16</sup>

**TABLE 6. 13**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN DAKALA ASSEMBLY  
ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	38424	37.33

AKALI DAL(BADAL)	22597	21.95
BSP	8986	8.73
PANTHIC MORCHA	9317	9.05
INDEPENDENT	17091	16.61

*Source: Statistical Report, Chief Electoral officer, Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Former Congress minister Lal Singh defeated former MP and SAD candidate Charanjit Singh Walia by a margin of nearly 16,000 votes from the Dakala seat. While Mr Lal Singh polled 38,424 votes, Mr Walia polled 22,597 votes.

One of the other factors that led to the defeat of SAD (B) candidate was that internal feud had intensified due to Gurbans Singh Punia filing his papers as an independent candidate after being denied the party ticket. As the party refused to accept his resignation, his son, Amarjot Singh contested the elections as an independent candidate.

Amarjot Singh Punia and Harmail Singh Tohra cut into the vote bank of the Akalis. Had it not been for the factionalism in Akali ranks, the combined votes of Harmail Singh Tohra, Charanjit Singh Walia and Amarjot Singh Punia would have led the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) to a landslide victory in the Dakala constituency. As a result of the Akalis' internal dissensions, the Congress candidate, former minister Lal Singh wrested the seat from the Akalis.

Once considered to be a leader who held sway in Patiala and Fatehgarh Sahib districts, former Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee president and Panthic Morcha leader Gurcharan Singh Tohra had to face defeat in his own bastion in the Assembly elections held in 2002.<sup>17</sup>

The veteran leader though remained most effective in his home constituency of Amloh and somehow managed to get 13,309 votes for Harnek Singh Deewana, the Panthic Morcha candidate. However, even

in this constituency the Panthic Morcha candidate was much behind the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) candidate Gurdev Singh Sidhu who secured 26,633 votes. Even though Sadhu Singh of the Congress, was much ahead with 45,383 votes and could not have been defeated even if the votes of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and the Panthic Morcha candidate were combined together but it remains a true fact that if the Akali factions had planned and entered the elections and campaigned together, the results surely would have been different. As such the divided house of the Akalis was a gain for the Congress.

**TABLE 6.14**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN AMLOH ASSEMBLY  
ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	45383	45.5
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	26663	26.7
BSP	11120	11.15
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	13309	13.34
INDEPENDENT	1560	1.56

*Source: Statistical Report, Chief Electoral officer, Chandigarh, Punjab*

Reverse results for the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) were seen in Nabha constituency where the Panthic Morcha candidate Randhir Singh Rakhra cut into the vote bank of the Akalis securing 7796 votes. Congress candidate Randeep Singh took advantage of the internal fights of the Akali Dal and gained substantial ground leading to his victory. Raja Narinder Singh of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) was second, having polled 23502 votes and Ramesh Singla of the National Congress Party (NCP) polled over 22,282 votes.

**TABLE 6.15**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN NABHA ASSEMBLY  
ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**



<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	37453	34.82
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	23502	21.85
BSP	8040	7.47
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	7796	7.25
NCP	22282	20.72
INDEPENDENT	5541	5.51

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab*

Such was the impact of factionalism on the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) that many of its stalwarts and seasoned politicians had to face humiliating defeats. From the Bhatinda Assembly segment, Surinder Singla, the former AICC chief spokesman and Congress candidate polled 46444 votes and defeated the Punjab Law and Justice Minister, Chiranji Lal Garg, by a margin of 13,415 votes.

**TABLE 6.16**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN BHATINDA ASSEMBLY**  
**ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	46451	40.62
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	33038	28.89
BSP	2891	2.53
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	7366	6.44
INDEPENDENT	14788	12.93

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer, Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Chiranji Lal Garg could manage 33,038 votes. The rebel Congress candidate Mr Kulwant Rai Aggarwal who polled only 14,787 votes could not save his security deposits.

The official candidates of both the major political parties of Punjab, the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and the Indian National Congress, had to face surprise defeats at the hands of two Akali rebel candidates, Jeet Mohinder Singh Sidhu from the Talwandi Sabo Assembly segment, and Mr Gurpreet Singh Kangar from Rampura Phul.<sup>18</sup> Gurpreet Singh Kangar, a Zila Parishad member of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and a close confidante of Sukhbir Singh Badal, announced his candidature as an independent after being denied the party ticket thus giving a tough fight to Sikandar Singh Maluka.

**TABLE 6.17**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN RAMPURA PHUL**  
**ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	17138	16.96
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	37644	37.26
BSP	2025	2
INDEPENDENT	40303	39.89

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Gurpreet Singh Kangar defeated the SAD-BJP alliance candidate and Punjab Power Minister, Sikander Singh Maluka, by a margin of 2,659 votes having polled 40,303 votes. The Congress candidate, Harbans Singh Sidhu trailed behind at the third position securing 17,138 votes.

The Talwandi Sabo constituency in Bathinda was another example of factionalism that had a serious impact on the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and its poll prospects in 2002.

**TABLE 6.18**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN TALWANDI SABO  
ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	29642	31.35
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	18094	19.14
BSP	8375	8.86
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	1744	1.84
INDEPENDENT	29879	31.6

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Jeet Mohinder Singh Sidhu sprang a major surprise by defeating the sitting MLA and Congress candidate, Harminder Singh Jassi by a margin of 237 votes. Mohan Singh Bangi, the SAD-BJP alliance candidate came third. Jeet Mohinder Singh Sidhu secured 29,879 votes while Harminder Singh Jassi could manage to secure only 29,642 votes. Mohan Singh Bangi got only 18,094 votes.<sup>19</sup> Jeet Mohinder Singh Sidhu had lost the election to Harminder Singh Jassi of the Indian National Congress in 1999 Assembly elections.

Having been denied the party ticket by Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal), Jeet Mohinder Singh Sidhu jumped into the election fray as an independent. The Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) had chosen to field

Mohan Singh Bangi who was the brother of Mithu Singh Bangi, a close confidante of Parkash Singh Badal.

Jeet Mohinder Singh Sidhu alleged that his less than cordial relations with Akali leader Balwinder Singh Bhunder was the reason behind the denial of the party ticket.<sup>20</sup> The division of Akali votes alongwith sympathy votes saw the triumph of Jeet Mohinder Singh Sidhu from Talwandi Sabo.

The stronghold of the Akali Dal was dented in the Pakka Kalan constituency in 2002 Assembly elections. The CPI candidate, Gurjant Singh Kutiwal, sprang a surprise when he emerged as winner by defeating the SAD-BJP candidate and sitting MLA, Makhan Singh with a margin of 1,777 votes. Gurjant Singh Kutiwal polled 34,254 votes and Makhan Singh polled 32,477 votes. Darshan Singh of the SAD (Mann) could get only 12,488 votes. The combined votes of the Akali factions summed up could well have been the turning point for the SAD-BJP alliance but that did not materialize mainly due to factionalism within the party.<sup>21</sup>

The SAD-BJP alliance suffered at least three setbacks losing seats due to internal feuds between Surinder Singh Kairon, a former Congress MP and son-in-law of party supremo Parkash Singh Badal, and Ranjit Singh Brahmura, a former Cooperation Minister. Parkash Singh Badal took the initiative to bring about a truce between the two leaders but they refused to relent and that led to the defeat of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).<sup>22</sup>

In the Tarn Taran constituency, Surinder Singh Kairon openly backed the Akali rebel, Harmeet Singh Sandhu, who defeated the Akali candidate, Alwinderpal Singh Pakhoke, senior vice-president of the SGPC and a close relative of Ranjit Singh Brahmura. In spite of warning from Parkash Singh Badal that any rebel who refused to

withdraw from the contest would be expelled from the party, Harmeet Singh Sandhu went ahead with his plans to fight elections on his own as an independent.<sup>23</sup>

**TABLE 6.19**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN TARN TARAN**  
**ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

PARTY	VOTES	%
CONGRESS	14204	18.01
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	24341	31.01
LBP	5203	06.63
INDEPENDENT	30560	38.93

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Harmeet Singh Sandhu garnered 30560 votes and defeated Alwinderpal Singh Pakhoke of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) who got 24341 votes. Gurinder Singh Kairon, brother of Surinder Singh Kairon fought the elections on Congress ticket and could get 14204 votes.

There have always been high expectations of aspiring candidates for getting the tickets allotted during elections. Denials of tickets often lead to party fragmentations causing serious damage to the party. This happened in Jandiala, where the Akali ticket was denied to the sitting MLA, Ajaipaul Singh Mirankot, a confidante of Surinder Singh Kairon. Though at a later stage Ajaipaul Singh Mirankot withdrew from the contest, he did not support SAD candidate Malkit Singh wholeheartedly. In the aftermath of the infightings, the Congress candidate Sardool Singh won the seat.

**TABLE 6.20**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN JANDIALA ASSEMBLY**  
**ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	45599	52.01
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	37866	43.19
NCP	2029	2.31
BSP(A)	2175	2.48

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Prof. Jagir Singh Bhullar, Chief Parliamentary Secretary and sitting MLA, was an aspirant for the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) ticket from Valtoha. On being denied the ticket, Prof. Jagir Singh revolted and did not support the official candidate of Akali Dal, Gurdial Singh Algon. Gurchet Singh Bhullar, the Congress candidate, won the Valtoha Assembly. This was all due to the revolt that brewed up over the distribution of tickets. Subsequently the disgruntled leaders were directly responsible for the defeat of Akali Dal candidates.

**TABLE 6.21**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN VALTOHA ASSEMBLY**  
**ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	39064	50.44
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	34119	44.06
SAD(MAAN)	1597	2.06

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Denial of party tickets in the Assembly elections in 2002 has had an adverse impact on the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) leading to its defeat. On being denied the party ticket, Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) rebel Gobind Singh Kanjla filed his nomination from the Sherpur

(reserved) seat as independent candidate and won handsomely securing 30,132 votes, defeating the official Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) candidate Piara Singh by a margin of about 4000 votes.

The Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) had opted to field Piara Singh Panj Garaian as party's official candidate from the Sherpur Assembly constituency.

**TABLE 6.22**  
**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN SHERPUR ASSEMBLY**  
**ELECTIONS HELD IN 2002 (PUNJAB)**

PARTY	Votes	%
CONGRESS	19439	21.39
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	26525	29.19
BSP	3661	4.03
AKALI DAL(MAAN)	4369	4.81
INDEPENDENT	30132	33.16
CPI (M)	3228	3.55

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer, Chandigarh, Punjab*

The morale of Gobind Singh Kanjhla was on a high note due to the massive gathering in his support which included panches, sarpanches, members of market committees, youth clubs and Akali leaders of the area. Kanjhla claimed that 70 sarpanches of the total 81 were in support of his candidature as independent candidate.<sup>24</sup>

The 2009 Parliamentary elections had presented a different situation. The Sangrur seat saw the electoral fight between the Congress, Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and Shiromani Akali Dal (Maan). Shiromani Akali Dal(Badal) candidate Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa lost the elections to Vijay Inder Singla of the Congress by a margin of 40872 votes. Factionalism in this constituency was at its highest with Baldev Singh Maan, Political Affairs Committee member, and Gaganjit

Singh Barnala, working against SAD (Badal) candidate Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa.<sup>25</sup>

Sukhbir Singh Badal was quick to take action against the leaders for their anti-party activities. As such, Baldev Singh Maan and Gaganjit Singh Barnala were expelled from the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).

Due to the factionalism, the party got a drubbing in the 2009 Parliamentary elections with the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) getting only 4 out of the 13 Parliamentary seats.<sup>26</sup>

The Punjab Assembly elections of 2012 were seen as a political survival of Gaganjit Singh Barnala who at some point of time was contemplating to contest the elections on a Congress ticket. Son of Surjit Singh Barnala finally chose to contest elections on a Sanjha Morcha ticket. Shiromani Akali Dal fielded Gobind Singh Longowal as its official candidate and the Congress had Arvind Khanna in the election fray.<sup>27</sup>

Having parted ways with the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) after the 2007 Assembly elections, the Barnalas were kept at a distance by Parkash Singh Badal. After remaining in oblivion, Surjit Singh Barnala floated the Shiromani Akali Dal (Longowal) in 2009. When he fielded his son Gaganjit Singh Baranala, it was seen as a comeback in the Punjab politics by Surjit Singh Barnala. <sup>28</sup> Gaganjit Singh had previously fought the Assembly elections of 2002 from Dhuri on the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) ticket and had won convincingly but lost the 2007 elections to Akali Dal rebel, Iqbal Singh Jhunda by a margin of 10,000 votes

### **TABLE 6.23**

#### **RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN DHURI ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS HELD IN 2012 (PUNJAB)**



<b>PARTY</b>	<b>SEATS</b>	<b>%</b>
Congress	51536	45.65
SAD	39063	34.6
BSP	4155	03.68

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab*

Though Shiromani Akali Dal(Badal) won the 2012 Assembly elections to form the government, it had to lose certain seats due to the split in votes because of infightings within the party. From Dhuri constituency the Congress candidate Arvind Khanna was the ultimate gainer having won the seat garnering 51536 votes. Gobind Singh Longowal, also an outsider in the constituency got 39063 votes and Gaganjit Singh Barnala polled 15682 votes. Statistics show that the combined votes of Akali candidates could have added to the seats of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal).

The Assembly elections to the Gidderbaha seat in 2012 left the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) in an embarrassing situation having lost the seat due to factionalism and because of the subsequent split in the party. On this occasion Manpreet Singh Badal too was in the election field as Punjab Peoples Party candidate. Manpreet Badal had previously won this seat four times in a row. Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) had fielded Sant Singh Brar who had joined Akali Dal after leaving the Congress party.

**TABLE 6.24**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN GIDDERBAHA  
ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS HELD IN 2012 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>	<b>%</b>
CONGRESS	50305	40.4
AKALI DAL(BADAL)	36653	29.43
PPP	31906	25.62

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Amrinder Singh Warring of the Congress<sup>29</sup> was confident of winning the seat as he was fully aware of the fact that the split in the vote bank of the Akalis would definitely benefit him. His estimate proved to be right when Amrinder Sing Warring won the Gidderbaha seat with a margin of 13652 votes defeating Sant Singh Brar of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) who got 36653 votes. Manpreet Singh Badal, Punjab People Party candidate and supremo, took away a major chunk of the Akali votes by polling 31906 votes thus ensuring the SAD (Badal) candidates defeat. The major gainer was Amrinder Singh Warring who had never contested elections and was considered totally new to such elections. The tri-angular contest was tough but this time also the combined votes of SAD (Badal) and Punjab Peoples Party were way ahead of the Congress candidate.

Factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal was very much visible in the 2014 Parliamentary elections in 2014. The Parliamentary seat of Ludhiana constituency had thrown up a sordid picture where in there was a four cornered fight due to Amarjit Singh Bains filling his nomination as an independent. Being a former Akali leader, Amarjit Singh Bains commanded a good chunk of Akali votebank. Manpreet Singh Ayali was preferred for the Shiromani Akali Dal ticket but the Akali voters split to such as extent that Ravneet Singh Bittu of the Congress emerged victorious though with a narrow margin of 19,709 votes.

**TABLE 6.25**

**RESULTS AND PARTY PERFORMANCE IN PARLIAMENTARY  
ELECTIONS HELD IN APRIL 2014 (PUNJAB)**

<b>PARTY</b>	<b>VOTES</b>
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	300459

AAM AADMI PARTY	280750
SHIROMANI AKALI DAL	256590
INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE (AKALI DAL)	210917

*Source: Statistical Reports, Chief Electoral officer, Chandigarh, Punjab.*

Had it not been factionalism, then the combined votes of Ayali and Bains would have been enough to push Ravneet Singh Bittu of Congress to the second position thus giving the Shiromani Akali Dal the Ludhiana seat. Ravneet Singh Bittu won the elections garnering 300459 votes, Harvinder Singh Phoolka of the Aam Aadmi Party got 280750 votes to be placed at second position while Ayali and Bains got 256590 votes and 210917 votes respectively to be at third and fourth position thus costing the Shiromani Akali Dal a Parliamentary seat of utmost importance.

**TABLE 6.26**

**FUTURE POSSIBILITIES OF FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL**

	<b>RESPONDENTS (120)</b>	<b>PERCENTAGE</b>
FACTIONALISM WILL EXIST	73	60.83
FACTIONALISM WILL BE MAXIMUM	29	24.16
FACTIONALISM WILL BE MINIMAL	18	15

*Source: Data collected through personal interviews*

Keeping in view the existence of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal, a study was undertaken to assess the views of the respondents about the future of factionalism.

The data in table 6.26 shows that 60.83 percent leaders stated that factionalism will exist and would not be diminished. On the contrary, 24.16 percent of the leaders interviewed were of the opinion that factionalism will be on the rise but 15 percent opined that it will be minimal in the times to come. It can be said that factionalism has damaged and adversely affected interests of the Shiromani Akali Dal substantially on the electoral front and has proved to be a major stumbling block in the way of implementing of policies and efficient governmental performance.

Rather than concentrating the affairs of governance and policy negotiation, the Shiromani Akali Dal had to divert its attention towards the infightings among the factions which were at times difficult to control.

**CONCLUSION**

Thus it can be concluded that the most damaging impact of factionalism on Akali Dal has been in terms of its electoral

performance both in the Parliamentary and Assembly elections. Most importantly, the factions which had taken the shape of political parties led to the fragmentation of the vote bank. Opposition parties capitalized the polarization of the vote bank of the Akalis to win elections. In several elections that the Akali Dal lost the collective votes of the various break-away factions of the Akali Dal were more than that of the winning candidates.

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## *Chapter-VII*

### *Summary and Conclusion*



## **CHAPTER VII**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

As the world, after the fall of ancient monarchies and religious empires progressed towards democratic dispensations political parties gained central importance and prominence. As they became conceptually central to political scientific concerns research and study began to revolve around them. The basic premise of the notion of democracy enshrined in the principle 'for the people, of the people and by the people' manifests itself in the freedom to choose between different political parties. Thus all over the world, in almost all democratic political systems political parties are bestowed with a pivotal and fundamental importance. Different political parties assert their difference from one another through their different political orientations and ideologies. Political parties are basically representative institutions with some common and sustained guiding principle or theme. They try to appeal to the collective consciousness of a distinct group and aim to carry out their political programme to suit the needs of the people they represent. Although in its conception, a political party is a cohesive body comprising individuals who possess pronounced affinities in terms of their political outlook and has its basis in a common religious, regional, ethnic or linguistic identity; yet it is quite rare to find a political party which is completely free from any internal dissensions.

Factionalism is almost a universal phenomenon. With the evolution and development of democracies, factionalism has acquired massive proportions and has become almost ubiquitous. With the expansion and spread of factionalism it has become theoretically important as well as practically imperative to study the phenomenon in a political scientific light. As factionalism has a direct bearing on some very important developments like the performance of a political party, its overall ideological orientation, the creation of new parties along alternative ideological lines and the intra party power struggles; it becomes important to conduct a systematic study of the reasons of the incidence, causes and impact of factionalism. The present study proceeds with the aim of focusing on all the three aspects related with factionalism mentioned above.

The study of factionalism can best be carried out through an analysis of the evidence of factionalism in a given political party. In the context of Punjab, Shiromani Akali Dal in its capacity as a major politico-religious organization has remained one of the major political parties. The importance of Shiromani Akali Dal is linked to the fact that it is the sole representative body of the religious / regional community of the Sikhs. In spite of the fact that Shiromani Akali Dal rose as a voice of a homogeneous religious group which had a strong regional presence, it has not been able to escape factionalism. The party which began with a well defined political agenda of giving representation to the Sikhs/ Punjabis, assertion of Sikh / Punjabi cultural identity, safeguarding the economic and political

interests of the region and becoming politically autonomous in a federal structure could be expected to retain its cohesive character. However, the thesis tries to examine the increasing incidence of factionalism in the party before and after 1997. An equally important aim of the present study is to study the nature, causes and impact of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal.

The thesis through a detailed and exhaustive analysis of theoretical resources on the subject of factionalism has arrived at some very significant findings. Factionalism is not only concurrent with the rise of political groups and parties but is also coterminous with them. In terms of collective psychology, the phenomenon of factionalism can be linked to the inherent human trait of engaging in competition. In political scientific terms factionalism can basically be defined as an intra group phenomenon. In the context of political parties, factionalism emanates from the feeling of conflict and competition between two or several groups with a desire to dominate and control the party organization. The Shiromani Akali Dal after being set up in 1920, emerged as a major politico-religious organization with a regional basis. It soon established itself as the most important representative of the political and religious interests of the Sikhs. During the period of its rise to a major political entity it formulated and formalized its own distinct ideology. As factionalism has remained integral to all political organizations, Akali Dal was no exception. Right from the time of its inception, it has remained prone to intra party divisions and factionalism. The modern day Akali Dal is a consequence of fragmentations and

divisions in the original organization of the times of Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh.

The present research work primarily is a study of the phenomenon of factionalism in political parties and the incidence and evidence of this phenomenon in a political party of Punjab. It therefore becomes the first and the most important objective as well as theoretical responsibility to gain clarity about the ideas denoted by the terms political party and factionalism. Only through a conceptually clear approach can the incidence of factionalism and the complex relationship between factionalism and political entities be understood in practical terms. It is widely accepted that the emergence of political parties is linked with the emergence of representative and democratic institutions and the enfranchisement of the masses in Europe, the United State and elsewhere. The formation of political parties is a direct corollary of the experience of colonialism and the encounter with the western political structures. The acquaintance with the idea of political parties at social and political levels in India can be linked to the exposure to the western notions of democracy, nation/nationalism and political freedom. It can be logically inferred that the evolution of political parties was only partially on western lines as most of them drew sustenance from native cultural, social and religious identities. The Shiromani Akali Dal is only one example of the innumerable political parties in India that appeal to and invoke to a particular regional/religious identity.

The thesis however, through its findings has attempted to study the distinct nature of factionalism as it occurred in Shiromani Akali Dal. The theoretical aim of the present research project has been to explore the phenomenon of factionalism within Akali Dal (Badal). However, it has to be conceded that Akali Dal (Badal) was only one of the many break-away factions that were created after separation from the parent organization. Nevertheless, it can safely be argued that in relative terms Akali Dal (Badal) has played a far more decisive and central role in the politics of Punjab as compared to the other groups that broke away from the original Akali Dal. It is equally important to state that in the interest of achieving clear and precise theoretical findings, the period of study has also been delimited to the years since 1997. However, in the interest of making the study more comprehensive in nature, factionalism in Akali Dal till 1997 has also been dealt with in one of the sections in the study.

In a general and generic sense, the term faction is commonly used to denote any constituent group formed out of a larger unit which works for the advancement of particular persons and well defined policies or an ideology. The findings of the present thesis suggest that factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal in different phases of its political life was a result of either advancement of particular persons or ideological positions. However, it is common knowledge and a matter of general agreement that factions are also a manifestation of the struggles for power that are integral to politics. A society has several general characteristics. Factionalism is one of the most universal

of these. A perennial feature of human history and civilization has been the unequal distribution of power and resources which always results in a clash of interests. It is one of the important findings of the present research that conflict is a recurrent phenomenon and factionalism is a characteristic form of conflict manifestation and conflict resolution.

The findings of the present research clearly establish that factions are of multiple types. It will not be appropriate to conceive factions as something homogeneous and monolithic. They are to be understood as very dynamic structures that emerge out of different power equations operating at different times and in different socio-political circumstances. In addition to this the factions, at different times and places, may be of lasting nature or may be characterized by a fluidity and fickleness. This means that in some political parties the factional divisions take the form of deep schisms of a chronic nature whereas in other political parties the factional divisions may be subject to rapid and frequent changes. However, in situations when the factional divisions become irreconcilable and occlude the possibility of adjustment and reconciliation they may lead to rupture in a political party. This then becomes the reason for the formation of new political parties. Moreover, just as factions these new political parties find their justification in newly formulated ideological stances and policy shifts. Sections of the study have attempted to study the veneers of ideological differences that have been raised in the past to give moral justifications to vicious struggles for power between Master Tara Singh faction and the

Jat-Sikh factions, Badal and Tohra factions and later the bitter and internecine war of succession within Shiromani Akali Dal Badal involving the paternal cousins Sukhbir Singh Badal and Manpreet Badal.

An important theoretical point that has received the corroboration of several theorists is that once a faction breaks away from the parent political party it ceases to be a faction. In addition to this on the issue of the emergence of faction, theoretical opinion holds that some factions may be personality driven and may arise to promote a person. In such cases the faction would have its strength and justification in the personality cult. On the other hand if the faction has its provenance in an ideology or principle then its working and existence would revolve around them. Thus, it can be said that factions can be classified as those that have their basis in a personality and those that have their origin in ideological differences clashes. The study has also tried to show through its findings that as far as the phenomenon of factionalism in Shiromani Akali Dal is concerned it has been driven by a blend of personality and ideological issues. This is in evidence in the fact that almost all the different factions combined a strong and leading personality like Master Tara Singh, Sant Fateh Singh, Parkash Singh Badal, Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Manpreet Badal with some distinct ideological characteristics. Theorists have also articulated the centrality of power to the emergence and existence of factions. In the ultimate analysis, it is the desire for the acquisition and retention of power which is the most

important impetus to the formation and proliferation of factions. It can further be theorized that a faction is a cohesive group which has its origin in dissent. In many cases the membership of a faction may be tacit rather than open. Furthermore, a faction has an unambiguous material aim which it sets out to achieve and justify through espousal and valorization of ideological ideas.

Thus, it can be added that faction is inextricably linked to the notions of conflict and leader. Conflict for power manifests itself covertly whereas the ideological conflict manifests itself overtly. Political factions are basically political groups which are formed with the aim of wresting political power. Although the idea of leader is central to the existence and sustenance of a faction sometimes leadership may be in the possession of a clique or group and not an individual. The findings of the thesis suggest that as far as Shiromani Akali Dal is concerned, the structure of its power has never been oligarchic. As membership is important component of a faction, an attempt is generally made to enlarge the support base by all possible means.

As far as the comparative influence, strength and size of various factions are concerned they may co-exist in several different arrangements. There may be dominance of one faction. In such a situation the control and power are monopolized by this faction. The other factions are either too small or too insignificant to, in any major way; disturb the balance of power within the party. These smaller factions are too small to offer any resistance or pose a challenge to the dominant faction. These



small factions do exist but their existence is peripheral and of little significance.

There is another possibility of the presence of several factions where none of these factions can claim the position of a dominant faction. No faction can claim to control the party exclusively at state and local level. The strength of factions keeps changing from time to time. The increase and decrease in the strength of a faction is a question of degree only. Therefore, under this kind of amorphous balance of power no faction is in a position to claim that it is the superior most faction. The result of such a situation is that all factions share power. The relatively greater or lesser hold on power is a difference of degree only.

Factionalism can be of a bi-polar nature also. In this type of factional system, there are, mainly speaking, two factions in the party. Neither of the two factions can claim the position of a dominant faction. Power is shared by both factions in the party. The dynamics of the balance of power may change from time to time. The degree of sharing power may also change from time to time. There may be some sort of co-operation between the two factions in accordance with the minimum or absolute political programme of the party as a whole. But rivalry, in some or the other form, always continues between two factions. It is essential for their existence and continuity.

In functional terms factionalism has therapeutic and cathartic importance and in some cases may actually help in the preservation of the party. It is a way of channelizing the suppressed feeling of opposition and of giving voice to difference

of opinion. In this sense it is a natural method of conflict management.

The period before 1997 is the time of the rise of the Akali political power from a less organized political movement having its basis in the religious self assertion of the Sikhs before independence to a highly organized political entity having a highly entrenched political character and a wide recognition after independence. This period of more than 50 years can for theoretical clarity be further divided into the period before 1966 (when one of the major demands of the Punjabi Suba was conceded) and the period after 1966 (a period marked by phases of extremism and separatist politics). Although Akali Dal, as the principal representative of the Sikhs, came into existence as a fairly cohesive body which assumed the responsibility for carving out a distinct social, cultural and political identity for the Sikhs and of bringing about reform in the religious bodies of the Sikhs; yet it was riddled with factionalism right from the time of its inception due to the different orientations and approaches to these issues. As has been discussed above the different orientations and approaches corresponded with the contestations among different leaders who fought for eminence. The very first step towards the formalization of Akali Dal was the act of seizing the Gurudwaras from the Mahants by the *Akali Jathas*. The political outfit has its genesis in a religious movement called the Akali movement. Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee remained the parent body during the initial years and the Akali Dal functioned more or less as its task force. The religious

reform movement led to the formation of Central Akali Dal which later became Shiromani Akali Dal in 1920. The relevance and popularity of the political outfit was immense in the initial years as the Sikhs of Punjab had virtually remained unrepresented at political level. More and more Sikhs related to the political and reformist aspirations of the Akali activists and agitators. As the popularity of the Akali movement rose, the first murmurs of disagreement were in evidence in the disapproval of violent means by a section of the Akalis. The formation of the Shiromani Akali Dal achieved another important objective which was of tremendous importance to the entire Sikh community. It gave a more formalized shape to the participation of the Sikhs in the Indian struggle for independence. Simultaneously, the emergence of a political outfit created the possibility of raising issues related to the political status of the Sikhs in the very crucial years before the birth of the Indian Union. The party constantly raised demands for a separate political entity for the Sikhs before the British rulers. However, as will be discussed below these issues remained contentious and promoted factionalism because there was very little consensus and multiple mutually conflicting positions which the Sikhs had to choose from. Shiromani Akali Dal replaced the Chief Khalsa Diwan as the principal representative of the State. The first Akali stalwart Master Tara Singh spearheaded the Punjabi Suba movement for reorganization of the states on the basis of language.

The findings of the present research related to the period before 1997 clearly establish that the first intimations of

differences among the Sikhs became visible with the enactment of the Gurudwara Act of 1925. There were some serious differences among the Akali leaders pertaining to the implementation of the various provisions of the Act. This can be seen as arguably the first sign of factionalism in the party. Factionalism once again manifested itself in a similar form in the form of differences between Mehtab Singh and Giani Sher Singh's approval to the government's final draft of the Gurudwara Reform Act 1925-26 and Baba Kharak Singh and Master Tara Singh's opposition to it. The research proves that the phenomenon of factionalism was quite apparently damaging to the collective interest of the party. This dispute once again delayed the implementation of the Gurudwara Reform Act which came into force after resolving the differences of the two factions through arbitration. It was a time in the history of the Sikhs and the Akali Dal when crucial policy adjustments had to be formalized on two fronts or levels – the issues related to the Sikh identity, their representation and their social and political status within the newly emerging nation and the position of the Akali Dal vis-à-vis the fight for political independence spearheaded by the Indian National Congress. Akali Dal, while expressing disagreement with the position of pro-government bodies like the Chief Khalsa Dewan, demonstrated internal solidarity and decided to endorse the decision of the Congress by boycotting the Simon Commission its resolution in 1928.

Another important finding of the present research that has been emphasized in the later sections also is that the basic

character of Shiromani Akali Dal remained nationalist. Their general consensus on the issue of Indian independence is also revealed in their joining the Indian National Congress and their celebration of the 'independence day' on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1930 as a mark of protest against imperial rule. Again there is evidence of the wholehearted participation of the Sikhs collectively in the Civil Disobedience Movement and the breach of the Salt Law. Even though Master Tara Singh had a minor issue of the non inclusion of the saffron colour in the national flag; he was fully conscious of the consequences of dissociating the Sikhs from the nationalist movement. He overcame his objections and supported Gandhi in a strong way and even courted arrest. This shows that although there was factionalism in the Akali Dal right from the days of Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh regarding the party related decisions and also with regard to the orientation of the party towards the issues related to the assertion of Sikh religious and political identity; the evidence of factionalism was lesser in its overall orientation towards the national struggle for freedom. Overcoming minor differences over the issue nationalist leaders of the Akali Dal and S.G.P.C. like Amar Singh Jhabhal, Baba Kharak Singh, Mangal Singh and Sardul Singh Kaveeshar and Sardal Ujjal Singh prevailed and decided in favour of completely boycotting the Simon Commission in line with the decision of the groups and leaders at the national level. The decision to boycott the Simon Commission was later confirmed at the All Sikh Parties Conference in 1929.

However, as has been stated before, the contentious problem of communal representation in the legislature continued to cause rifts and differences between the Sikhs of the Akali Dal and S.G.P.C and the congress on the one hand and factional division of opinion within the Sikhs on the other. Three factions assuming different positions and stances within the Akalis contended with each other on the issue of co-operation with the Congress in the wake of the non-resolution of the intractable communal representation issue. The faction led by Baba Karak Singh stood for non-cooperation with the Congress; the faction led by Mangal Singh stood for unconditional cooperation and the faction led by Giani Sher Singh insisted on 33 percent reservation for the Sikhs.

The research clearly proves that before 1997 factionalism within the Sikh bodies mainly the S.G.P.C and the Akali Dal was more often a result of disagreements and difference of opinion with regard to the issues of the representation of the Sikhs and the assertion of Sikh religious and Political identity in the emerging polity. Factional fissures once again surfaced when on the one hand Giani Sher Singh boycotted the First Round Table Conference and Master Tara Singh the official representative of the Sikh for the conference was prevented from attending it as the Government announced the names of Sardar Ujjal Singh and Sardar Sampuran Singh. This shows that factional ruptures rather than contributing to the Sikh cause proved to be major hurdles in its way. The inability to project a united front led to confusion and to their failure to achieve their desired goal in the

Communal Award. This is another significant instance of the damaging affect of factionalism on the party.

In the first elections under the Government of India Act of 1935, Akali Dal contested against its main contender the Chief Khalsa Diwan in coalition with Congress. A little later factionalism once again raised its head during the Second World War as a result of which the Sikhs found themselves divided over the issue of Quit India Movement. The groups led by Giani Kartar Singh and Udham Singh Nagoke maintained different positions in their approach to participation in the war. Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh in support of Giani Kartar Singh faction did not participate in the Quit India Movement and extended their support to the British in their war effort. On the other hand a section of the Akali Dal consisting of Gurmukh Singh Musafir and Udham Singh Nagoke participated in the Quit India Movement. The present research has tried to proved that factionalism in Akali Dal was very rarely damaging to its nationalist credentials. In spite of the differences over the participation of Quit India Movement, the Akali Dal was never very vociferous in its demand for an autonomous Sikh State. In March, 1940 when the Muslim League made a categorical declaration for the creation of a separate Muslim nation, the Sikhs reposed strong faith in the unity and creditability of the Indian Union to protect and safeguard their minority rights. However factionalism did have long term bearing on their approach to the representation and status of the Sikhs within the Indian Nation even after independence.

The findings of the thesis prove that the post independence era of Indian politics was witnessed to increasing discomfiture and restiveness of the Akali Dal to find a rightful and respectable place in the Union. There was a conspicuous presence of tension between the Akalis and the Congress as the clear cut regional and religious agenda of the Sikhs in the Akali Dal could never amicably be resolved with the larger interests of the Congress. Giani Kartar Singh and Udham Singh Nagoke factions were still at logger heads. Finally in 1959, the demand for Punjabi Suba assumed prominence as Akali Dal contested the election independently on the issue. Hereafter the demand for Punjabi Suba became the main plank of the party. The nationalist credentials across different factions once again were highlighted as the Akali Dal did not succumb to the propaganda of the demand for a Sikh state drummed up by anti national forces. The Sikhs showed considerable unity on the issue of the Punjabi Suba.

The findings seem to suggest that factionalism did not have much effect on the cohesive character of the Punjabi Suba Movement. The Movement was given direction by Master Tara Singh and Fateh Singh. The Movement tasted success when in 1966 the Punjab Reorganization Bill was passed providing for the creation of Punjab and Haryana. It can be argued that during the period between independence and 1966 factionalism was neither prominent nor vicious. The Akali Dal maintained and preserved its nationalist credentials and pursued the demand for



Punjabi Suba collectively. Till 1966 the nature of factionalism was more ideological and issue based than personality based.

The Akali Dal showed the same cohesive character after the creation of Punjab in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The next phase of the political life of Shiromani Akali Dal would revolve around the demand for federal structure and the issue of Chandigarh. The rise of the Akali Dal in the new state of Punjab as the most important political force can be attributed to its single minded and consistent pursuit of federal structure. However internal contradictions and factionalism kept on intensifying with the growth of the party as a result of which Gurnam Singh formed a separate group and in 1970 Prakash Singh Badal became the chief minister.

In a significant turn of events after 1980 Akali Dal entered a new phase of politics. The findings clearly establish that as the demand for Khalistan became pronounced and the rise of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale factionalism in Akali Dal came to be determined by factors such as support to and opposition to Khalistan; moderate and extremist approaches; separatist and unionist approaches and violent hard line approach and moderate dialogic approach. The basic line of division in the Sikhs in the early years was between the Sant Hanrchand Singh Longowal faction and Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale faction. The breach significantly affected Shiromani Akali Dal also. With this turn of events Akali Dal enters a phase where factionalism becomes deeper, personality driven and is marked by acute differences of ideology. The differences between the different

factions became even more acute after the military action on Harmandir Sahib. This action led to greater alienation of the Sikhs and changed the nature of issues that Akali Dal represented. The violence of the post 80s phase saw probably its most dark phase after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and anti-Sikh riots. Given the violent nature of this phase of history it is evident that the Akali Dal became intensely faction driven. The Rajiv-Longowal accord of 1985 further aggravated the existing factionalism as it did not enjoy universal approval in the party. The Surjit Singh Barnala faction of the Akali Dal was a beneficiary of this phase and it formed one of the most popular governments in 1985. This was also a low phase for the Prakash Singh Badal faction. The internal factions within the Akali Dal made it weak from within and the government saw a premature end in 1987 in a prevailing atmosphere of spiraling violence with the imposition of the President's Rule. An attempt at resolving factionalism was made when in 1991 all the important factions accepted the leadership of hard liner Simranjit Singh Badal. Soon afterwards Akali Dal (Maan) also broke up. In a swiftly changing political situation Akali Dal got splintered into Akali Dal (Maan), Akali Dal (Badal); Akali Dal (Longowal) and Akali Dal (Panthic) united to form Shiromani Akali Dal. These small factions were directionless and Congress formed the government in 1992. The study proves that the phase between 1980 and 1997 was a phase when Akali Dal found itself in a highly challenging and politically unstable situation in Punjab primarily due to factionalism. As has been argued earlier the party got

completely fragmented due to irreconcilable ideological positions on extremely contentious issues like separatism, violence, extremism on one hand and moderate dialogic approach on the other.

It is a contradiction of sorts that after restoration of peace in the state of Punjab after 1997 factionalism in Akali Dal rather than subsiding continued to remain an integral to its politics. However, it can be conceded that the nature, tenor, expression and reasons of this factionalism are significantly different from the earlier three phases. While in the earlier phases macro level national problems somehow influenced the differences in the ideological positions of the different factions; this ceased to be the case after 1997. With the consolidation of Shiromani Akali Dal in the politics of Punjab, the stakes became high leading to bitter and acrimonious struggles for power having their basis in personality clashes. As the factionalism after 1997 has its basis in socio-economic factors rather than in serious differences on national regional and international issues the reasons for factionalism can best be traced by profiling the socio-economic antecedents of the members of the political party.

The findings pertaining to the post 1997 phase make it apparent that this period remained a period when Prakash Singh Badal faction dominated the party. However, the incidence of factionalism remained quite common as the leadership of Prakash Singh Badal has consistently been repeatedly challenged from different fronts. The internecine battle between stalwarts and ambitious elements can be seen to unfold in the rivalry

between Captain Amrinder Singh and Prakash Singh Badal. Feeling restive and uncomfortable with a position inferior to Prakash Singh Badal, Captain Amrinder Singh quit Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) with Charanjit Singh Walia and seven MLA's. After Prakash Singh Badal was anointed chief minister in 1997, four factions were active within the party. They were Badal faction, Tohra faction, Barnala faction and Dhindsa faction. In a period of political stability and prosperity a politically strong Akali Dal was witness to mutually damaging contests between the leaders for virtually non ideological and insignificant issues. This period saw a fierce struggle between Badal and Tohra factions on the one hand and Barnala and Dhindas factions of the other. This was evidenced in the personality clash between the two power centers; Prakash Singh Badal and Gurcharan Singh Tohra. As has been discussed in the present study there was a long drawn and fierce battle between Tohra and Badal. The thesis presents a detailed account of the dynamics of this power struggle. Before Badal faction scored a definitive victory the entire rank and file of the Akali Dal had to be polarized between the two leaders. The conclusion that can be drawn from this form of polarization is that compared with the earlier forms of factionalism where very important national issues determined the nature of ideological positions, this factionalism was more of a personal clash between two equally important leaders. At the important time of the tri-centenary celebration of the Khalsa, the two leaders were desperate to project themselves as the representatives of the community. In a strategic victory Badal

manipulated the SGPC and used the body to make Tohra irrelevant. The expulsion of Tohra led to the formation of Sarv Hind Shiromani Akali Dal. Several important leaders from the parent political party joined the new party. This had a direct bearing on the elections of 2002 when the party formed by Tohra joined hands with Akali Dal (Maan); Akali Dal (Panthic) and Akali Dal (Democratic). As a direct result of fragmentation due to factionalism Akali Dal failed to retain power. However, even after the loss of 2002, the other factions were not able to come into prominence and remained peripheral actors. They merely played a role that was limited to containing the influence of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) which nevertheless remained the dominant faction.

The same pattern of personal contestations got replicated in the interpersonal struggles between Prem Singh Chandumajra and Captain Kanwaljit Singh on the one hand and Sukhbir Singh Badal and Manpreet Singh Badal on the other hand. Chandumajra formed a separate party only to return to the parent party within a span of three years and in time for the next assembly elections. The fight for successions got manifested in the political contest between the two Badal cousins. The restiveness of Manpreet Singh Badal on the rise of his cousin in the party got manifested in the creation of Punjab Peoples Party.

Two observations about the period since 1997 can be made at this point. One the factionalism witnessed between this period was mainly personality driven. Being a period of political stability very few issues of great ideological importance were

present. The fissures and divisions were more a result of rivalries between leading figures of the party. A sustained trend that can be observed is the continued dominance of the moderates over the hardliners. Professed hardliners like Simranjit Singh Maan and Gurcharan Singh Tohra were systematically marginalized to occupy unimportant positions. There is no doubt about the fact that factionalism caused heavy damage to the main representatives of the Sikh community. As is corroborated through chapters 5 and 6 it was chiefly owing to the phenomenon of factionalism that a powerful political party like Akali Dal had to yield political space to Congress in every alternative legislative assembly.

In the post 1997 phase there is a clear gender inequality with a negligible percentage of as low as 15% women as active members of the party. The data on the age wise distribution of leadership clearly indicates that the age group between 56-70 closely followed by 41-55 is the dominant group. To this can be added the fact that post graduate level literates are the smallest group whereas graduates and under graduates are the largest group in the party. The presence of illiterate members is quite considerable. Agriculture is the occupation of a majority of SAD leaders. Relatively less number of leaders has a background in trade, business and industry. Another important factor which emerges from the data is that the party is dominated by Jat Sikh caste from the rural areas. The combined and corresponding percentage of Jat Sikh from rural areas is overwhelmingly high as compared to other sections of the society. To this can be added,

the fact that an equally overwhelming majority of leadership comprises high income group Sikhs. When asked a categorical question about the presence of factionalism in the party almost 95% answered in the affirmative. The socio-economic profile of the Akali leadership can clearly be linked to the nature and kind of factionalism that has plagued the party after 1997. A high income group male dominated Jat Sikh leadership from rural areas is most likely to find a reflection in a fierce struggle for personal prestige, power and position.

Some very clear and precise findings can be obtained from the data compiled above. Going into the details of the causes of factionalism it can be said that particularly in the post 1997 phase socio-economic factors have played decisive role. The party has been traditionally dominated by Jat Sikh community and non-Jat Sikhs have been marginalized. This is perceived as one of the reasons for factionalism. Secondly, factionalism is also caused by regional differences. Sometimes members of a particular region relate to a regional leader leading to emergence of factions of regional grounds. In the context of Akali Dal all the main leaders like Prakash Singh Badal, Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa, Gurcharan Singh Tohra and Surjit Singh Barnala have enjoyed their traditional regional clouts and can be said to be regional leaders as well as factional leaders. As far as the causes of factionalism are concerned in the perception of the Akali leaders themselves also quite in line with the findings of the thesis; lust for power and prestige, personality clash and promotion of dynastic rules in addition to personal enmity are cited as the

most important causes of factionalism. The only ideological issues which arose after 1997 were of incidental and temporary nature. They were more an extension of personal clashes rather than being important to the larger interests of community as a whole.

The study shows that factionalism on the whole has been detrimental to the political party. Akali Dal possessed an inherent cohesiveness on the basis of its religious/ regional antecedents. Factionalism eroded this cohesiveness considerably. Apart from this the undermining impact of factionalism has been multidimensional. Based on the compilation of responses of 120 Akali leaders it can be concluded that there is a pervasive feeling that factionalism inhibits and hampers the performance of the government. Internal competition among leaders deviates the attention of the government away from performance of governmental duties and responsibilities. Thus the entire government mechanism becomes less efficient. This is corroborated by the fact that a significantly large number of the respondents felt that factionalism was responsible for lack of implementation of policies. This leads to a perception of inefficient performance among the electorate. This is one major reason that almost all the major issues concerning the Sikhs of Punjab included in the Anandpur Sahib resolution, article 356 and certain important components of the Rajiv Longowal accord have remained unfulfilled. Factionalism in the Akali Dal has translated into an advantage for the Central government which has repeatedly postponed or ignored the various demands related



with the welfare of the state. This implies that Akali Dal has not been able to fulfill to the maximum extent its responsibility towards the people of the region that it represents.

One of the most important findings of the present research is that the most damaging impact of factionalism on Akali Dal has been in terms of its electoral performance both in the Parliamentary elections and the Assembly elections. The data in the thesis proves beyond doubt that in the several elections from Parliamentary elections to Assembly elections the prospects of Akali Dal were repeatedly damaged. The factions which had taken the shape of political parties like Sarv Hind Akali Dal, Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar), Shiromani Akali Dal (Panthic) and Shiromani Akali Dal (Democratic); individually or collectively eroded or fragmented the vote bank of the Akalis particularly in Parliamentary elections of 1999 and Assembly elections of 2002. Although the support base of Akali Dal has expanded over the years to include many other sections of the society but Congress has invariably capitalized the polarization of Akali vote bank due to factionalism. The data compiled for several constituencies in different Parliamentary and Assembly elections (Jalandhar Parliamentary elections 1993; Sirhind Assembly election 1997; Patiala Parliamentary elections 1999) clearly proves that the combined vote share of Akali Dal and its splinter groups was clearly more than the winning Congress candidate. In one of the most significant losses due to factionalism Akali Dal lost the 2002 Assembly elections. Significantly even though Akali Dal (Mann) and Panthic Morcha did not win a single seat they eroded

the vote bank of Akali Dal to an extent that it cost the party a humiliating defeat. An analysis of the result of the Assembly constituencies of Sirhind, Dakala, Amlloh, Nabha, Bathinda, Rampura Phul, Talwandi Sabo, Taran Taaran and Gidderbaha clearly shows the extent of damage done by splinter groups and independent candidates.

Thus it can be concluded that factionalism in Akali dal took a decisive turn towards personality driven factionalism from an ideological based factionalism after the two main aspirations of freedom from imperial rule and the establishment of Punjabi Suba had been met. After 1966 after the two main political milestones were accomplished and the party was deeply entrenched in the soil of Punjab that gradually factions drawing their sustenance from personality cults began to rise. This form of factionalism saw its most intense phase during the days of militancy in Punjab. In the post militancy phase the personality based factionalism once again changed its character beginning to find its logic in the socio-economic antecedents of the leadership. As the leadership fell exclusively in the hands high-caste, high income group Jat-Sikhs of rural background the internal factionalism became a manifestation of the power struggle of competing feudal landlords turned politicians. However the greatest damage of the personality driven factionalism was in evidence in the electoral performance in the post 92 phase.

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- ❖ Political Science Quarterly
- ❖ Punjab Journal of Politics
- ❖ Punjab Vidhan Sabha Journal
- ❖ Research Journal of Social Science
- ❖ Seminar
- ❖ Social Science Research Journal
- ❖ The Indian Political Science Review

### **NEWSPAPERS**

- ❖ Akali Patrika, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar and Dr. Ganda Singh Punjabi Reference Library (Special Collection), Punjabi University, Patiala.
- ❖ The Akali-te-pardesi, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.
- ❖ The Hindustan Times, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.
- ❖ The Khalsa Samachar, (Microfilms), Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi and Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.
- ❖ Hindustan Times, New Delhi.
- ❖ The Times of India, Chandigarh.

- ❖ The Tribune (English), Chandigarh.
- ❖ Dainik Tribune (Hindi), Chandigarh.
- ❖ Punjabi Tribune (Punjabi), Chandigarh.
- ❖ Akali Patrika (Punjabi), Jalandhar.
- ❖ Indian Express, Chandigarh.
- ❖ The Times of India, New Delhi.
- ❖ Ajit (Punjabi), Jalandhar.

**QUESTIONNAIRE**  
**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

1. Name.....
2. Age.....
3. Sex.....
4. Caste.....
5. Religion.....
6. Occupation.....
7. Income.....
8. Education.....
9. Residence..... (Rural/Urban)
10. Do you own any property?  
(if yes, the nature of property owned)
  - i. Land..... (Number of Acres)
  - ii. House..... (Rural/Urban)
  - iii. Shop(s)-(Monthly Rental value)
  - iv. Industry/Factory.....
  - v. Any other.....
11. What is your political status?
  - i) MLA
  - ii) Former MLA
  - iii) M.P.
  - iv) Former M.P.
  - v) Circle /District Jathedar
  - vi) Former Circle /District Jathedar
  - vii) Chairman of Zila Prishad/Block Samiti/Market committee
  - viii) Former Chairman of Zila Prishad/Block Samiti/Market committee
  - ix) President of Municipal Corporation

- x) Former president of Municipal Corporation
  - xi) Sarpanch
  - xii) Former Sarpanch
12. Do you agree with this statement that factionalism exists in every political party of the state?  
Yes/No
13. Have you noticed any factionalism in Akali Dal since 1997?  
Yes/No
14. Name the main factions operating at the state level in Akali Dal.
- i)
  - ii)
  - iii)
  - iv)
15. Name the main factions operating at the District level?
16. Name the factions operating at the constituency level?
17. To which group/Faction of Akali Dal, do you belong?
- i) Akali Dal(Badal)
  - ii) Akali Dal(Longowal)
  - iii) Barnala Faction
  - vi) Dhindsa Faction
  - v) Majhitia Faction
  - vi) Kairon Faction
18. Which section of the population largely supports your faction?
- a) Jat Sikh/ Non Jat Sikh
  - b) Educated/illiterate
  - c) Agriculturist/Traders
  - d) Rural/Urban
  - e) Backward/Scheduled caste/class
  - f) All
19. What is the Political future of your faction?

20. What are the causes of factionalism in the party?
- i) Ideological reasons
  - ii) Personality Clash
  - iii) Sociological reasons
  - iv) Lust for power
  - v) Other reasons
21. What are the main causes of factionalism at the state level?
22. What are the main causes of factionalism at the constituency level?
23. Which were the factions during 1997 to 2002?
24. Which were the main factions during 2002 to 2007?
25. Which were the factions 2007 to till date?
26. What has been the impact of the factionalism in the party on the working of the Govt. and implementation of its policies?
27. Is there any socio-economic factors responsible for the factionalism in Akali Dal?  
Yes/No
28. Which socio-economic factor do you feel is responsible and how much?
- a) Caste                      Region                      Educational Background  
Religion                      Occupation                      Income Desparity
  - b) 1. Considerable                      2. Sufficient  
3. Negligible                      4. Insufficient
29. What and how much is the impact of the factionalism on the policies of the party?
1. Considerable                      2. Sufficient                      3. Negligible
  4. Insufficient



30. What and how much is the impact of factionalism in the party on its performance in the elections?
- i) In the Parliamentary elections.
  - ii) In the Assembly elections.
  - iii) In the Panchayat /Municipal election.
31. In your opinion what is the future of factionalism in Akali Dal?

# **APPENDICES**

## **APPENDIX - 1**

### **VERDICT GIVEN BY FIVE PRIESTS\***

Dated: November 29, 1961

Master Tara Singh, Sant Fateh Singh and eight members of the executive of the Akali Dal were declared guilty and were given punishment by the Akal Takht on November 29, 1961. Master Tara Singh was given the following punishment: (i) he should arrange one Akhand Path; (ii) besides his routine prayers he should recite for one month Jaap Sahib containing the sayings of Guru Gobind Singh; (iii) he should offer Karah Parshad worth Rupees 125; (iv) he should clean the shoes of a congregation in any Gurdwara for five days; (v) he should clean the used utensils for five days in a langar.

For Sant Fateh Singh the following punishment was prescribed; (i) apart from his daily routine prayers he should recite Japuji Sahib for one month; (ii) should clean the used Langar utensils for five days. For the eight members of the Akali Dal working committee namely; Harguranad Singh, Kartar Singh, Gurbax Singh Veragi, Mohan Singh, Harcharan Singh Hudiara, Sant Nihal Singh, Ujjagar Singh and Hardit Singh Malik, the following punishment was prescribed: (i) they should clean the parkarma of the Durbar Sahib for two days; (ii) they should clean the used langar utensils for two days.

The Jathedar of Akal Takht announced that the decision was an endeavour to unite the Panth.

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\* Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Glory of the Akal Takht, Punjabi Book Company, Jullundur, 1984, p. 77

## **APPENDIX-2**

### **TEXT OF PUNJAB ACCORD\***

Following is the text of the memorandum of settlement:

1. Compensation to innocent persons killed.
  - 1.1 Along with ex-gratia payment to those innocent killed in agitation or any action after 1-8-1982, compensation for property damaged will also be paid.
2. Army recruitment
  - 2.1 All citizens of the country have the right to enroll in the army and merit will remain the criterion for selection.
3. Enquiry into November incidents.
  - 3.1 The jurisdiction of Mr. Justice Ranganath Mishra Commission enquiring into the November riots of Delhi would be extended to cover the disturbances at Bokaro and Kanpur also.
4. Rehabilitation of those discharged from the army.
  - 4.1 For all those discharged, efforts will be made to rehabilitate and provide gainful employment.
5. All-India Gurdwara Act.
  - 5.1 The Government of India agrees to consider the formulation of All-India Gurdwara Bill. Legislation will be brought forward for this purpose in consultation with Shiromani Akali Dal, others concerned and after fulfilling all relevant Constitutional requirements.
6. Disposal of pending cases.
  - 6.1 The notifications applying the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, Punjab will be withdrawn.

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\* The Times of India, August 26, 1985, p. 9.

Existing special courts will try only cases relating to the following type of offences:

- (A) Waging war
- (B) Hijacking.

6.2 All other cases will be transferred to ordinary courts and enabling legislation if needed will be brought forward in this session of parliament.

7. Territorial claims.

7.1 The capital project area of Chandigarh will go to Punjab. Some adjoining areas which were previously part of Hindi or the Punjabi regions were included in the Union Territory. With the capital region going to Punjab, the areas which were added to the Union Territory from the Punjab region of the erstwhile state of Punjab will be transferred to Punjab and those from Hindi region to Haryana. The entire Sukhna Lake will be kept as part of Chandigarh and will thus go to Punjab.

7.2 It had always been maintained by Mrs. Indira Gandhi that when Chandigarh is to go to Punjab some Hindi-speaking territories in Punjab will go to Haryana. A commission will be constituted to determine specific Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab which should go to Haryana, in lieu of Chandigarh.

The principle of contiguity and linguistic affinity with a village as a unit will be the basis of such determination. The commission will be required to give its findings by 31st December 1985, and these will be binding on both sides.

The work of the commission will be limited to this aspect and will be distinct from the general boundary

claims which the other commission referred to in Para 7.4 will handle.

7.3 The actual transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and areas in lieu thereof to Haryana will take place simultaneously on 26th January 1986.

7.4 There are other claims or counter-claims for readjustment of the existing Punjab-Haryana boundaries. The government will appoint another commission to consider these matters and give its findings. Such findings will be binding on the concerned states. The terms of reference will be based on a village as a unit, linguistic affinity and contiguity.

8. Centre-state relations.

8.1 Shiromani Akali Dal states that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution is entirely within the framework of the Indian Constitution, that it attempts to define the concept of centre-state relations in a manner which may bring out the true federal characteristics of our unitary Constitution, and that the purpose of the resolution is to provide greater autonomy to the states with a view to strengthening the unity and integrity of the country since unity in diversity forms the corner-stone of our national entity.

8.2 In view of the above, the Anandpur Sahib Resolution in so far as it deals with centre-state relations, stands referred to the Sarkaria Commission.

9. Sharing of river water.

9.1 The farmers of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan will continue to get water not less than what they are using from the Ravi-Beas system as on 1-7- 1985. Water used for consumption purposes will also remain unaffected.

Quantum of usage claimed shall be verified by the tribunal referred to in para 9.2 below.

- 9.2 The claims of Punjab and Haryana regarding the shares in their remaining water will be referred for adjudication to a tribunal to be presided over by a Supreme Court judge. The decision of this tribunal will be rendered within six months and would be binding on both parties. All legal and Constitutional steps required in this respect will be taken expeditiously.
- 9.3 The construction of the SYL canal shall continue. The canal shall be completed by 15th August, 1986.
10. Representation of minorities.
  - 10.1 Existing instructions regarding protection of interests of minorities will be re-circulated to the State Chief Ministers (PM will write to all Chief Ministers).
11. Promotion of Punjabi language.
  - 11.1 The Central Government may take some steps for the promotion of the Punjabi language. This settlement brings to an end a period of confrontation and ushers in an era of amity, goodwill and cooperation, which will promote and strengthen the unity and integrity of India.

### APPENDIX -3

#### DOCUMENT OF THE DECLARATION OF “KHALISTAN”\*

Victory be in the name of one God.

Sri Akal Takht Sahib, Amritsar:

Five member Panthak Committee.

The Panth Khalsa, founded by Sahib Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji on the Baisakhi of 1699 A.D., once again as per the saying of *Dhar Tej Krara* (be a brave and glorious warrior) and as per Guru's ordained dictum, *Raj Karega Khalsa* (The Khalsa shall rule), through the Five member Panthak Committee nominated by the *Sarbat Khalsa* on 26th January, 1986, fulfils the most cherished dream of the Sikhs (by this declaration) of 'Khalistan'.

On this auspicious day, from the *Holy Akal Takht Sahib*, it is (on behalf of the five member *Panthak Committee*) hereby declare before all the States/Governments and notifies to them that from today onwards, the Khalsa Panth will have its own Home, the 'Khalistan', wherein will ever remain high in the air the flags, towers and posts of the Sikhs and wherein the writ of the Khalsa will run supreme. Herein the entire control of the government and administration shall vest in those who pray for the welfare of all and earn their livelihood by the sweat of their labour.

The slogan of 'Khalistan', which has been moving the hearts of the Sikhs and the Sikh youths for several years and the

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\* Gopal Singh (ed.), Punjab Today, Intellectual Publishing House, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 387-94.

founding of which had been mentioned by Sant Baba Jarnail Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindranwale, on June 3, 1984 at the time of military attack on Sri *Darbar Sahib* and Sri *Akal Takhat Sahib* by the Hindu Government of India. (Sic.) The Sikh Sangat had ratified this idea with great joy and thrill at the time of the Sarbat Khalsa convened on April 13,

1986. *The Sikhs* repeat their commitment to the dictum 'The Khalsa shall rule' in their daily prayer but it is today, that by unbounded grace of the Guru, the commitment to 'Khalistan' is being realised. The Five member Panthak Committee constituted by the Sarbat Khalsa convened by the Damdami Taksal, today hereby declares (the formation of) 'Khalistan'.

This declaration of the Khalistan is made before the Khalsa Panth as well as the Sikh community (comprising of every Sikh; male, female, mother, brother etc.) so that all of us may, in accordance with our individual capacity, contribute to its cause physically, mentally, and financially and may thus prove worthy of our exalted Guru's saying of 'Maran Munsa, Suria Hak Hai, Jo Hoi Maran Parwano'. Today the five member Panthak Committee calls upon the entire Sikh nation to be ready for all types of sufferings and scarifies.

The wish of the Khalsa is to achieve the declared objective by the Guru's grace, love and affection. Our programme is:

'Na ko wairi nahi begana,  
Sagal Sang hamko ban ai.'

(No one is our enemy and no one is stranger to us, all are our brethren).

We are not interested in creating any upheaval or in shedding undue blood and we expect the same from other too. We express our firm faith in resolving all the issues cordially and



through a dialogue with the Hindu majority and Government of India. We hope that the Government of India will not be blinded by an anti-Sikh attitude underlying Brahmanism and will face the reality by giving recognition to the formation of 'Khalistan'. This would be the real Satyagraha of Bharat.

### **POLITICAL RECOGNITION**

The Khalsa Panth demands political recognition (of the 'Khalistan') from all the powers of the world, especially America (U.S.A.), England, Pakistan, China, Canada, West Germany and from the Governments which are signatory to the Warsaw Pact, and Italy, France, Japan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Burma, Bhutan, Bangla Desh, Iran, Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, Israel, Equador etc. We also appeal to the member countries of U.N.O. to grant us recognition, help and assistance for the various political, military and other issues, which have arisen or may arise concerning the human rights in the 'Khalistan'.

We are hopeful that the new government of 'Khalistan' will be formed soon but the Panth is seeking its political recognition to avoid the problems that may be caused by the delay in its recognition. We have already demanded recognition by the Government of India which should come forth in order to keep good neighbourly relations (between India and 'Khalistan') that will help in restoring peace and brotherhood in Punjab as well as in India, and encouraging toleration so as to end all bitterness of the day.

Since 'Khalistan' has come into being, the Government of India should (respecting its existence) take political, military and administrative measures such as recalling its army of occupation and para-military forces. It should also direct its administration to execute the writ of 'Khalistan'.

'Khalistan', for the time being, does not intend to bring about any change in the present form of government/administration set up so that day-to-day work may not suffer. Only the seals of Government of Punjab and India will be replaced by those of 'Khalistan'.

The Sikh community is especially commanded to be patient and tolerant. The Government Sikh officials, the Sikh soldiers and all kind of Government/semi-Government employees should, without falling victim to any provocation, continue to do their duty honestly till some specific orders from the *Panth* are issued to them. This order is the most important because the Khalsa is desirous of avoiding every kind of upheaval, especially the destruction of State property and (natural) resources.

The task of forming the Government of 'Khalistan' has been left to its Prime Minister/President who will announce its formation at the earliest. All Sikh political organizations are hereby directed to declare their concurrence and allegiance to 'Khalistan', and accord all possible help to make it a Success. At this juncture, every Sikh is duty bound to forge Panthic unity by brushing aside all kinds of differences.

### **SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

The 'Khalistan' will function on the lines of the Guru's saying 'Jab Lag Khalsa Rahe Niara, Tab Lag Tej Doe Main Sara' (so long as the Khalsa remains distinguishable, I shall bestow full glory upon him). No individual will be allowed to exploit others (either economically or socially), particularly the backward village community. Profiteering, black-marketing, adulteration, and all such other offences and social inequalities will not be tolerated by the Khalsa, which will also not allow mental retardation of any individual. No particular community or

sect will be allowed to impose selfish will arbitrarily upon others through the medium of press, writing, education or other media of publicity.

The constitutional arrangements will be made for the religion to act as the custodian of State. The Sikh religion will be the official creed of Khalistan. Further, till be a paramount duty of the Government to see that Sikhism must flourish unhindered in Khalistan.

The Chief objective before the political and administrative structure of the Khalistan will be the welfare of humanity and social service, as per the saying: It is sinful to employ our hands and legs, save in the service of others.

Every Sikh, male and female, will be guaranteed to develop and prosper to the best of his or her ability. The lack of education or social backwardness will not be allowed to stand in the way of progress. The monopoly of education with its feudalistic tendencies will also not be allowed to be used as a tool to deprive the uneducated of their rights just as the way in which the children of the urban settlers and the rich outmaneuvered all the children of the poor village folk and enjoy the bounties of nature much more than what is due, while On the other hand, the children of the poor and the village people continue to remain backward from generation to generation due to illiteracy, poverty and sickness. The Khalistan government would like to base the distribution of all natural resources upon the fulfillment of basic necessities of life.

Feudalism and capitalism will not be allowed to influence the government machinery and the consciousness of the people. Contrary to it, no limitation will be imposed on any individual to

prosper and flourish according to the best of his wisdom, labour and ability.

The people will be associated fully with the administrative tasks and their participation will ensure that the red tapism will not re-emerge in Khalistan. At the village level, the local men will be associated with civil, criminal, developmental and judicial administration of various types so that the false witnesses and police touts may not kill justice by concealing the truth. The association and involvement of the villagers will be secured through more than one (it may be two or three) tier systems to see that opportunity for appeal and arguments may be readily available and at low cost.

The policy of Khalistan will be as per the Guru's wish of 'Sarbat Da Bhala' (welfare of all) and a policy of encouraging a civilized life, of promoting the sense of brotherhood of mankind and a sense of involvement. The segregation of humanity based upon caste, jati, birth, locality and colour will not be permitted, and such divisions will be abolished by the use of political power. Likewise, such other cruel and distasteful practices ascribed to social-inequality, especially between Sikh males and females will be removed through the use of political power.

It will be the first endeavour of Khalistan to maintain cordial relations with its neighbouring countries. The 'Khalistan Commando Force' is under the charge of General Hari Singh, its Commander-in-chief. This force shall serve as the nucleus of future defence organisation of Khalistan.

The Sikhs living outside Punjab in India are hereby called upon to settle in Khalistan, so that they may not face any calamity such as the holocaust of November 1984. At the same

time, money-minded and Keshdhari Hindus are hereby directed not to put hurdles in the way of Khalsa Panth.

The Shahi Imam in Delhi, Saiyyed Muhammad Abdul Bukhari, in his Presidential address at the sixth Seminar on 'Why not Khalistan?' held at Chandigarh on February 1, 1981, while referring to the bloody massacre of Sikhs by Nirankaris on 13 April, 1978, at Amritsar, had observed that in the free India the Muslims had been subjected to carnage but now the Sikhs too are being butchered. This observation of the Shahi Imam has proved to be Prophetic. The Indian Punjab Government has started the assassination of the Amritdhari (baptised) Sikhs in Punjab. The innocent Sikh youths, without being tried in the courts are being killed in fake police encounters organised regularly.

The police chief of Rajasthan has complained about 400 such dead bodies found in the Rajasthan canal. Subsequent to this, in June 1984, the Government of India, under the cover of curfew, butchered the entire Sangat gathered at Sri Darbar Sahib on the eve of Gurburb celebrations of Sri Guru Arjun Dev Ji. Following this, the armed forces besieged all the Gurdwaras of Punjab and killed the Sikhs therein. Similar curfew was imposed on more than 12,000 villages of Punjab and Amritdhari (baptised) Sikhs were hunted down and martyred. Before starting this task of genocide of the baptised Sikhs, the Hindu military officers and sepoy were mentally and emotionally equipped through their official Magazine Bat Cheet for the complete extinction of the Sikhs. It was clearly spelt out in the Bat Cheet as to what were the distinctive marks of the Amritdhari Sikhs. It was mentioned that though outwardly they appear to be innocent, yet in reality they (Amritdhari Sikhs) are

murderous, anti-national and extremist. Therefore, it becomes the duty of every security personnel to inform their superiors of the whereabouts of any such Amritdhari Sikh they come across.

Nowhere in the history of the world, such an action has been taken by any Army against the citizens of its own country.

After this, when Indira (Gandhi) was assassinated by 'Beant Singh's bullets', (the Security Guard of the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi) the Hindu Government of India, the new Prime Minister, in league with his political and other official associates/advisers, executed the conspiracy of systematic killings of the Sikhs in Delhi for a number of days. This carnage has put to pale even the bloody carnage of Nadir Shah in Delhi.

Bhai Ajit Singh Bains, ex-judge, Punjab and Haryana High court, Chandigarh President of the Enquiry Committee constituted by the Barnala Government, while writing about the 100 false police encounters, expressed surprise Over the fact that in none of these encounters, any police constable or an officer has been shown as wounded, nor any murder case has been registered against police. It is because in India, the government functions as per the saying, "O Lalo, falsehood is reigning all around". This shows the real meaning of Brahminical principles which proclaim 'only Truth wins' but practise falsehood. The singular aim of Brahminism is to exterminate the Sikh religion root and branch because the Sikh religion is inimical to the Brahminical principles of caste-system and 'bipran ki reet' (Karma system).

It is what was done by Shankaracharya who secured the death of lakhs of Buddhist monks and destroyed their temples and other religious symbols by the use of military forces. Although the Buddhist religion took its birth in Hindustan, and

it spread in far-flung countries like China, Japan, Malaya and Burma etc, yet it was eliminated from its place of birth i.e. India. This reflects the real meaning of the Brahminical motto of Ahimsa Parmo Dharma. (Non violence is the supreme religion).

Presently, Indian Government is following the policy of Shankaracharya, determined to annihilate the Sikhs and Sikhism by using all kinds of political, cultural, economic, administrative and military means. This is the real meaning of the (false) claims of Brahminism of preaching tolerance. In free India, attempts are made to put curbs on the minority communities/religions. The voices are raised in the Indian Parliament to put a ban on the conversion of the Hindus. A petition was made before West Bengal High Court to put a ban on the Holy Quran of the Muslims.

Attempts are made to secure a total annihilation of the Sikhs, destruction of the Sikh religious symbols through military force, imprisonment of the Kirtani Jathas (signing groups), by registering false cases against them and threatening the Granthis (readers of the religious scriptures) in every village and involving them in false cases too, and putting them behind the bars without trial. We have already referred to the unequivocal anti-Sikh policies of the Indian Government and the manner in which the Amritdhari Sikhs, the products of hard labour of the propagation of Sikhism, are being made the targets for elimination through the methods as enunciated in the Bat Cheet.

The Government has already exhibited its anti-Sikh attitude by depriving the Sikhs of the fundamental rights through false propaganda of declaring the Sikhs as extremists, murderers and traitors. It has been quite successful in

concealing the facts from the world through its use of political power. To achieve this aim, there is censorship and ban on the entry of foreign correspondents and newspaper editors in Punjab since 1984. If any organisation or individual reported anything concerning the miserable plight and annihilation of the Sikhs, it/he incurred the wrath of the government which struck like a thunder bolt.

As a result of the false propaganda of the government, the Sikhs had to suffer several hardships even in the countries known as the champions of civil Rights such as U.S.A., England, West Germany and Canada. The Government of India, working by proxy (as a puppet of Brahminism), contemplates that the Sikhs shall depart from the scene like a Bulbul which submits silently to the will of her hunter. Unfortunately, for Brahmins, the Sikhs have been taught by their Gurus to walk on this earth proudly and gracefully like a lion. This is, in brief, the tale of undeclared total war of the Indian Government against the Sikhs. The war had begun in June 1984 with the Operation 'Blue Star' and the Operation 'Wood Rose' (mopping up operation) continuing unabated till now. Some time back, when the Government of Bangla Desh banned the entry of Sikhs in that country and this issue was raised in the Indian Parliament, the Speaker Shri Balram Jakhar, most shamefully termed it as the 'internal matter of Bangla Desh'. There is hardly any worse example in the world of such a big political communalism. All the major political parties of India i.e. B.J.P., C.P.I (M) organised themselves against the Sikhs and never condemned the massacre and the total annihilation of the Sikhs. This is the painful scene of the undeclared total war against the Sikhs.



There is popular saying that history repeats itself. Today again, as per the writing of Shah Muhammad;

Jang Hind-Punjab da hon laga,

Chareh Hindustani-Purbi-Dakkhani ji,

(The war between India and Punjab has begun, and the Hindustanis belonging to the East and Deccan have attacked).

At this critical juncture we are (still) reluctant to declare a total war against India in retaliation (and have) only (retaliated) through declaration of Khalistan so that we may not be misunderstood and charged as aggressors in the world court.

If the Indian government does not stop its naked aggression, the five members Panthak Committee formed on 26th January, 1986, by the Sarbat Khalsa will approach the countries known for supporting the cause of human rights, for every kind of desired help, supply, assistance and sympathy. We appeal for similar help to the U.N.O. We shall, ever feel grateful to the neighbouring countries which sympathise with our cause during our hours of deep crisis. We are also grateful to all those Sikh ladies and gentlemen living abroad who have espoused our cause. If they so desire, we are ready to offer the Khalistan citizenship to the Sikhs living abroad.

The five members Panthak Committee appeals to all the Sikhs not to loot arms and ammunition or other items from the Sikh houses. It also appeals to the Sikh Sangats to help in every possible manner those Sikh ladies and gents who are engaged in fighting for the cause of the formation of Khalistan since the (real) forte of the Sikhs are the Sikh Sangats.

## **APPENDIX -4**

### **TEXT OF SURJIT SINGH BARNALA'S LETTER TO THE JATHEDAR OF AKAL TAKTH\***

Dated: February 8, 1987.

Hon'ble Professor Darshan Singh Ji,

We appreciate your efforts to bring about Panthic unity and have full faith in the supremacy of Sri Akal Takht Sahib. In this regard, the two resolutions passed by the working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal are already in your kind notice. These resolutions clearly express our feelings about Panthic unity.

“We wish to reiterate that the Shiromani Akali Dal is committed to Panthic unity, but we want that this unity should be based on the principles which the Shiromani Akali Dal has been struggling for the past 70 years and should be attained through a consensus among the parties concerned. Our services are always available for the attainment of the above said goal.”

Yours humbly,  
“Surjit Singh Barnala”

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\* The Tribune, February 9, 1987

**APPENDIX -5**  
**NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE AKALI DAL ISSUED BY**  
**FIVE HIGH PRIESTS\***

Dated: February 5, 1987

The new constitution under the title of “rules and objectives” was divided into four parts: Policy programmes, organizational rules, office-bearers, pre-requisites and special rules.

“In the introduction to the policy programme it is stated that the Akali Dal firmly believes that the Khalsa Panth is an Independent and separate nation whose political goal is the pre-eminence of the Khalsa. The main objective of the Akali Dal, therefore, is to preserve the ‘independent identity’ of the Panth and carve out a “geo-political” environment which will reflect the “aspirations and sentiments of the Sikh people.”

The Akali Dal strives for a “clean and efficient” management of Gurdwaras by incorporating the necessary amendments to the Sikh Gurdwara Act, in accordance with the wishes of high priests and in consultation with the various Sikh seats, organisations and Panthic parties.

The party will strive to declare Amritsar a “holy city”.

Some of the other programmes listed included seeking the release of detained Sikhs in the Jodhpur and other jails, transfer of prisoners from outside to Punjab, rehabilitation and reinstatement of army deserters and holding of an enquiry into the police “encounters” in which Sikh youths had been killed. The party will work for the withdrawal of the false cases registered against youths and put an end to such encounters.

The Akali Dal will resist the increasing influence and interference of the centre in the state’s affairs and will oppose

the creation of security belt along the India-Pakistan border, besides working against “atheism and egoism” in accordance with the Sikh tenets and code of conduct.

Regarding the membership of the party, the rules say that it is open to all Sikh men and women who do not believe in caste, creed or regionalism, follow Sikhism and do not cut their hair. They should accept the “independent” entity of the Khalsa Panth and follow religiously the programmes and policies of the Akali Dal.

The office-bearers of the party will be required to be Amritdharis, well versed in Gurbani, “True-Sikhs” and teetotalers.

No member of the party High Command will hold office for more than two years, after which there will be a fresh enrolment and elections.

Any member who violates the code laid down can be expelled from the primary membership by the party High Command.

A very important point in the entire programme is that “no Akali government will enter into any agreement or accord with the centre without the written permission of the party High Command.

On the issue of its relationship with the All-India Sikh Students’ Federation, the rule is that the Akali Dal will give legal and constitutional support or help as deemed necessary at given point of time.

**APPENDIX - 6**

**ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT OF THE**

**AMRITSAR DECLARATION AND A PLEDGE TO THE**

**KHALSA PANTH\***

Following is the text of the new goal determined by the unified Shiromani Akali Dal under the title of 'Amritsar Declaration'.

"The Akali Dal being a champion of Punjabi culture based on Guru Granth Sahib reiterates its commitment for waging a struggle within democratic norms for the creation of such a separate region for the Sikhs, where they could enjoy glow of freedom. The Congress had made solemn promises before the partition of the country for the creation of such a region, which were never implemented. The aspirations of the Sikh community and the Punjabis can be realized only with the creation of such an area. Such an autonomous region can help in fulfilling the needs and desires of the minorities. At this turn of history when there is unrest in the South-East Asian countries, the European nation are also look out for new models of values and carving their destinies and are making efforts for restructuring themselves in a changed political scenario. In such a situation, a region free from political exploitation and evil influences and having faith in the universal amity and harmony would be a beacon of light for other cultural entities. In this new region, the religious, economic political and social institutions would have the liberty to freely profess and propagate their views and ideas

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\* Spokesman Weekly, Volume 43, No. 5, May 1994 (Monthly issue), pp. 23-24

and such a region would, thus, provide them an Opportunity which has never been provided to them in the past. With this attainment, the Sikhs and the Punjabis would be able to enrich the cultural heritage of the world.

“The Akali Dal feels that India is a sub-continent consisting of various nations and cultures, each one with distinct heritage. This sub-continent needs restructuring of its polity into a confederation of various cultures, So that each one could make effective development. If the Government of India fails to restructure Indian polity into a federal structure, the Akali Dal would be left with no other alternative, but to wage a struggle for a sovereign Sikh state.”

- Amarinder Singh, Jagdev Singh Talwandi, Simranjit Singh Mann, Jasmer Singh Bala, Col. (Retd.) Surjit Singh Barnala, Bhai Manjit Singh.

### **A PLEDGE TO THE KHALSA PANTH**

While sitting amidst the Panthic gathering, on the holy soil of Sri Akal Takht and Sri Darbar Sahib, and after undergoing the value-based discussions for mutual unity, we take this solemn pledge in the presence of the Gurusangat that:

We shall work together for the welfare of our community after sinking all our differences.

We shall abstain from mutual leg pulling under the conspiratorial influence of the anti-Panthic forces.

Our thoughts are dedicated to Sri Akal Takht Sahib. We shall always endeavour and be ready to undertake the work which has or will have its fountainhead in the inspirations of the Khalsa Panth. We shall go on dedicating our body, Soul and worldly riches to carrying out of the traditions of the Khalsa. We shall spare no efforts to bring together all the Panthic parties on

one platform and shall continue struggling, on the permanent basis, for the community's cause in a democratic manner. We shall never betray our community under any circumstances. We shall go on performing our duties in the capacity of the humble servants of the Panth.

Amarinder Singh, Jagdev Singh Talwandi, Simranjit Singh Mann, Jasmer Singh Bala, Col. (Retd.) Gurcharan Singh Tohra, Bhai Manjit Singh, Surjit Singh Barnala.

**APPENDIX-07**  
**THE LETTER OF PARKASH SINGH BADAL TO THE**  
**ACTING**  
**JATHEDAR OF AKALI TAKHT\***

ਸਤਿਕਾਰਯੋਗ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀਓ,  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਖਾਲਸਾ  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ।

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਆਪਣੇ 17 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ 1994 ਦੇ ਪੱਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਮੈਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਜੁੱਗੋ-ਜੁੱਗ ਅਟੱਲ ਸਰਬ-ਉਚੱਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਸਿਰ ਝੁਕਾਇਆ ਸੀ । ਅੱਜ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਮਹਾਨ ਰੋਸ਼ਨ ਸਥਾਨ ਅੱਗੇ ਨਤਮਸਤਕ ਹਾਂ ।

ਮੈਂ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਉੱਚੇ ਸੁੱਚੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਵਿਦਵਤਾ ਦਾ ਕਦਰਦਾਨ ਰਿਹਾ ਹਾਂ । ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਪੱਤਰ ਕਾਰਨ ਜੋ ਦੁੱਖ ਪੁੱਜਾ ਸੀ ਉਸ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਹੀ ਖਿਮਾ ਜਾਚਨਾ ਕਰ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਮਨ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਠੋਸ ਪਹੁਚਾਉਣ ਜਾਂ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਕੁਝ ਲਿਖਣ ਜਾਂ ਬੋਲਣ ਦੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਕਦੀ ਕੋਈ ਮਨਸ਼ਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹੀ । ਨਾ ਹੀ ਕਦੀ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਕਰਨ ਬਾਰੇ ਸੋਚਿਆ ਹੀ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ।

ਮੈਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵੀ ਲਿਖ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਹਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਅੱਜ ਫੇਰ ਦੁਹਾਰਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਹਾਮੀ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ । ਉਹ ਏਕਤਾ ਜੋ ਸਹੀ ਅਰਥਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਦਿਲਾਂ 'ਚੋਂ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਈ ਹੋਵੇ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਆਧਾਰ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਨੀਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਉਸਰਿਆ ਹੋਵੇ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਧਾਂਤਕ ਇਕਸੁਰਤਾ ਹੋਵੇ। ਮਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਪਨਪੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਕ ਵਖਰੇਵੇਂ ਕਦੀ ਵੀ ਚਿਰ-ਸਥਾਈ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਾਮਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੇ । ਇਸੇ ਲਈ ਹੀ ਮੈਂ ਲੋਕ ਕਚਹਿਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਫਤਵਾ ਲੈਣ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਈਆਂ ਸਨ। ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਪੱਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਈਆਂ ਅਜਿਹੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਅੱਜ ਵੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸੀ ਹਾਂ । ਮੈਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਭੈਅ ਜਾਂ ਹੋਰ ਕਾਰਨ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁੱਖ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲ ਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਘਰ ਦਾ ਦੋਖੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਣਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ।

ਪਿਛਲੇ ਲੰਬੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਂਅ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਵਾਪਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ, ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਇਸ ਮਸਲੇ ਤੇ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਇੱਕ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਠਿੱਬੀ ਲਾਣ ਦੇ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ, ਉਹ ਨੈਤਿਕ ਕਦਰਾਂ-ਕੀਮਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਸੱਖਣੀ ਮਾਨਸਿਕਤਾ ਦਾ ਹੀ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵਾ ਸੀ । ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਮੇਰੀ ਸਮਝ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਕੁਝ ਸੱਜਣ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਜੀਵਨ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤੀ ਵਾਰ ਪੰਥ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਿੱਠ ਮੋੜੀ ਰੱਖੀ ਉਹ ਕਿਵੇਂ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਸ ਮੂੰਹ ਨਾਲ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਵੱਡੇ ਮੁਸਈ ਬਣ



ਕੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਖੜ੍ਹੇ ਹਨ । ਇਸ ਸਾਰੇ ਵਰਤਾਰੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨ ਨੂੰ ਗਹਿਰੀ ਠੋਸ ਪੁੱਜੀ ਅਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨਗੀ ਤੋਂ ਅਸਤੀਫਾ ਦੇ ਦਿੱਤਾ ।

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਪੁੱਜੇ ਹੁਕਮ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਮੈਂ ਬੜੀ ਹੀ ਨਿਮਰਤਾ ਸਹਿਤ ਇਕ ਆਜੀਜ਼ ਸਿੱਖ ਵੱਜੋਂ ਆਪ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਹਾਜ਼ਿਰ ਹਾਂ ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਦਾਸ  
ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ

## APPENDIX-08

### THE LETTER ISSUED BY THE ACTING-JATHEDAR OF AKAL TAKHT TO ALL AKALI LEADERS\*

**Dated: October 25, 1994**

ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਐਕਟਿੰਗ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਪ੍ਰੋ ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੱਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ:

ਪਿਛਲੇ ਲੰਬੇ ਅਰਸੇ ਤੋਂ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਵਿਚ ਅਤਿ ਤਰਸਯੋਗ ਅਤੇ ਗਿਲਾਨੀ ਭਰੀਆਂ ਘਟਨਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਦੌਰ ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਨੇ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਆਕੁਲਤਾ ਭਰੇ ਸੰਤਾਪ ਦਾ ਭਾਗੀ ਬਣਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਕੌਣ ਕਿਤਨਾ ਕੁ ਜ਼ਿੰਮੇਵਾਰ ਹੈ, ਦੀ ਚਰਚਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਕੋਈ ਲੋੜ ਨਹੀਂ, ਬਲਕਿ ਲੋੜ ਇਸ ਗਲ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਚਾਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਥਕ ਕਹਾਉਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਇਹ ਸਿਆਸਤ “ਬੱਚੇ ਖਾਣੀ ਅਵਸਥਾ” ਤੋਂ ਚੱਲਕੇ “ਆਤਮਘਾਤੀ ਅਵਸਥਾ” ਤੱਕ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ। ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਮਾਨ ਸਨਮਾਨ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਾਮਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਵਾਰ-ਵਾਰ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਕਾਰਕੁੰਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਨੂੰ ਬਰਕਰਾਰ ਰੱਖਣ ਲਈ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਂ ਤੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਪਾਏ। ਹਾਲਾਂ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਮੁੱਚਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਪੰਥ ਨਹੀਂ; ਪਰ ਫਿਰ ਵੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਮ ਅੰਗ ਜਾਣਦਿਆਂ, ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਜਜ਼ਬਾਤ ਅਤੇ ਪੀੜਾ ਨੂੰ ਅਨੁਭਵ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਨੇਕਨੀਯਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਸਮੇਂ-ਸਮੇਂ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤੇ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਹਰ ਵਾਰੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਨਿਰਾਸਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਅਪਮਾਨ ਹੀ ਪੱਲੇ ਪੈਂਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ। ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੇ ਪੰਨਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਅੰਕਿਤ ਇਸ ਕੌੜੇ ਸੱਚ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਵੀ ਝੁਠਲਾਇਆਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ।”

“ਅੱਜ ਫਿਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਤ ਇਸ ਪੀੜਾ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਗੁਜ਼ਰਨਾ ਪੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲ ਆ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਚਿੱਠੀਆਂ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣ ਹਨ। ਜਦੋਂ ਦੀ ਤਖਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਬਖਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਹੋਈ, ਉਦੋਂ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਆਪਣੇ-ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਸੀਸਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਰਜ਼ਾਈ ਜਾਣਦਿਆਂ “ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਬੋਲਬਾਲੇ” ਅਤੇ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦੇ ਭਲੇ ਲਈ ਗੁਰੂ ਨੇ ਯਤਨਸ਼ੀਲ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੇ ਓਟ ਆਸਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਰਚਾਂ ਦੀ ਲੜੀ ਆਰੰਭੀ ਗਈ। ਨਿਰਸੰਦੇਹ ਇਹ ਮਾਰਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਧੜੇ, ਵਿਅਕਤੀ ਜਾਂ ਸੰਸਥਾ ਲਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਨ ਪਰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਜਿੱਥੇ ਕੌਮ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ

ਨਵੀ ਰੂਹ ਫੂਕਨ ਦੀ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾ ਪੈਦਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ, ਉੱਥੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਖੁੱਲੇ-ਆਮ ਵਿਚਰਨ ਦਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਜਦ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੀਆਂ ਸਭ ਸਰਗਰਮੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਪਾਬੰਦੀ ਲਾ ਕੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਆਖੰਡ ਪਾਠਾਂ ਦੇ ਭੋਗਾਂ ਤੱਕ ਹੀ ਸੀਮਤ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ। ਪਰ ਅਫ਼ਸੋਸ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਹੈਂਕੜ, ਖੁਦਗਰਜ਼ੀ ਅਤੇ ਧੜੇਬਾਜ਼ੀ ਵਾਲੀ ਬਿਰਤੀ ਦੇ ਅਧੀਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਬਾਰਾ ਉਸ ਹਾਲਤ ਵਿਚ ਪਹੁੰਚਾਉਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਵਾਤਾਵਰਨ ਬਣਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ, ਜਿਥੇ ਪੰਥ ਦੇਖੀ ਅਤੇ ਨਾਸਤਕ ਤਾਕਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਕਹਿਣ ਦਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਮਿਲਿਆ ਕਿ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਨੂੰ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਵਿਚ ਕੋਈ ਦਖਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ। ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਲਿਖਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਜ਼ਬਾਨੀ ਤਰਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਰੱਖ ਕੇ ਨਾਂ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹੋਈ ਵੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੇਵਕ ਬਣ ਕੇ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਬੈਠਣ ਲਈ ਕਹਿ ਦਿੱਤਾ। “ਇਹੋ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਡਾ ਕਸੂਰ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਮੈਨੂੰ “ਟੌਹੜੇ ਦਾ ਬੰਦਾ” ਜਾਂ “ਕਠਪੁਤਲੀ” ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ “ਟੌਹੜੇ ਦੀ ਸਾਜ਼ਿਸ਼” ਕਹਿ ਕੇ ਕਚਹਿਰੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਮੇਰੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਮੁਕੱਦਮਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਗਈ। ਮਿਥ ਕੇ ਅਪਮਾਨ ਭਰੇ ਬਿਆਨ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ। ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਵਿਚ ਲੇਖ ਲਿਖੇ ਤੇ ਲਿਖਾਏ ਗਏ। ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਸਵੈ-ਇੱਛਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਆ ਕੇ ਸਿਰ ਜੋੜ ਕੇ ਬੈਠਣਾ ਕਬੂਲ ਕੀਤਾ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਸੀਸਾਂ ਦਾ ਪਾਤਰ ਬਣਨ ਲਈ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਬੈਠ ਕੇ ਬਾਣੀ ਪੜ੍ਹਨ-ਸੁਣਨ ਅਤੇ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਪੰਜ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਆਦੇਸ਼ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਸਿਵਾ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਪੱਖੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਉਪਾਅ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ। ਪਹਿਲੇ ਦਿਨ ਹੀ ਇਹ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਕੋਈ ਤਨਖਾਹ ਜਾਂ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਗਤ ਦੀ ਨਿਕਟਤਾ ਲਈ ਗੁਰੂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਹੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਬਾਦਲ ਕਿਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਸਬੰਧਿਤ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲੀ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਕਹਿ ਕੇ ਭੰਡਿਆ ਗਿਆ। ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੇ-ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਸੱਚਾ ਸਾਬਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਇਹ ਕੋਝਾ ਹਥਿਆਰ ਵਰਤ ਕੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਭਰਾ ਦੀ ਪੱਗ ਉਛਾਲੀ ਗਈ। ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਸੇਵਾ ਬਖਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਹੋਈ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਦੋ ਕੁ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਬਾਕੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਬੋਝ, ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰੀ ਭਰੀ ਫਾਲਤੂ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਸਮਝਦਿਆਂ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਅਸਮਰਥਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਈ। ਮਾਨੋ ਉਹ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਚਨ ਸਤ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹੋਣ:

ਭਾਉ ਭਗਤਿ ਸੰਰਿ: ਕਾਜ ਨਾ ਕਛੁਅ ਮੇਰੇ ਕਾਮੁ ਦਿਬਾਨ।”

“ਇਸ ਭਿਆਨਕ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਤਾਈ ਵਾਲੇ ਮਾਹੌਲ ਵਿਚ ਦਾਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ-ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਸਸਤੇ ਕਿਸਮ ਦੀ ਅਖਬਾਰੀ ਬਿਆਨਬਾਜ਼ੀ ਤੋਂ ਪਾਸੇ ਰੱਖਣ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ। ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਕਾਰਨ ਨੇਕ ਨੀਯਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਕਹੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੋੜ-ਮਰੋੜ ਕੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਦੇਸ਼ ਵਿਦੇਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਮਿਲੀਆਂ ਪਿਆਰ ਅਸੀਸਾਂ ਨੇ ਹੋਰ ਈਰਖਾ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਡੇਢ ਕਰੋੜ ਦੀ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਰਿਸ਼ਵਤ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਅਤਿ ਘਿਨਾਉਣੀਆਂ ਉਝਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਾਰਸ਼ ਹੋਈ। ਇਸ ਸਾਰੇ ਸੰਤਾਪ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ-ਆਪ ਤੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੱਗੇ ਝੋਲੀ ਅੱਡ ਕੇ ਲਿਆ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਹੁਣ ਜਦੋਂ ਦੋ ਦਿਨ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਭਾਈ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੋਰਾਂ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਵਰਤ ਕੇ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਭੰਡਣ ਹਿਤ ਖ਼ਬਰ ਲੁਆਈ ਗਈ ਤਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰ ਹੋਇਆ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ-ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਰੂਬਰੂ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਕੁਝ ਕੁ ਸਤਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਆਈ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਕੇਵਲ ਜਸਬੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਹਲੂਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਦਾ ਵੇਰਵਾ ਮੰਗਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ, ਪਰ ਪਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਹੜੇ “ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰੀ ਸੂਤਰਾਂ” ਕੋਲ ਜੇਲ੍ਹ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ਼ ਬਿਆਨ ਪਹੁੰਚਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਸ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰੀ ਅਧੀਨ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਅਖਬਾਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਛਪਵਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਹੋਈ।”

“ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸੱਜਣੇ..... ਕਿਤਨਾ ਕੁ ਚਿਰ ਐਸੀ ਕਪਟ ਭਰੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਵਿਚ ਫਸੇ ਰਹੋਗੇ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਫਸਾਉਂਦੇ ਰਹੋਗੇ? ਕਿਤਨਾ ਕੁ ਚਿਰ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਖੁਦਗਰਜ਼ੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਕਮਜ਼ੋਰੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਪੜਦਾ ਪਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸ਼ਖਸੀਅਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਲੀ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਰਹੋਗੇ? ਕਿਤਨਾ ਕੁ ਚਿਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਧੜੇਬਾਜ਼ੀਆਂ ਪਾਲ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਹਉਮੈਂ” ਅਤੇ ਪਦਾਰਥਾਂ ਦੀ ਭੁੱਖ ਵਧਾਉਂਦੇ ਰਹੋਗੇ? ਇਹ ਭੁੱਖ ਮਿਟਣ ਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਸੁਆਲ ਹੀ ਪੈਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ। ਕਿਤਨਾ ਕੁ ਚਿਰ ਹੋਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਾਸੂਮ ਖੂਨ 'ਤੇ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਕੁਰਸੀਆਂ ਡਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਰਹੋਗੇ? ਮਹਾਂਕਾਲ ਦੀ ਚੋਟ ਵੱਜ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਕਿ ਆਤਮਘਾਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਜਗਤ ਕਸਾਈ ਬਣ ਕੇ ਨੇਸਤੋ-ਨਾਬੂਦ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੇ, ਆਪਣੇ ਕਦਮ ਰੋਕ ਲਉ। ਮੈਂ ਬਾਰ ਬਾਰ ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁੱਖ ਆਖਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਜਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਥੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਵਿਅਕਤੀ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਭੈਅ, ਦੁਨਿਆਵੀ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਜਾਂ ਲਾਲਚ ਜਾਂ ਪੱਖਪਾਤ ਅਧੀਨ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲ ਕੇ ਕੀਤੀ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਆਪਣਾ ਲੋਕ-ਪਰਲੋਕ ਗੁਆਉਣਾ ਹੈ,

ਪਰ ਫਿਰ ਵੀ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਧੜਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਖੜ੍ਹਾ ਕੇ ਅਪਮਾਨਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਜਾਰੀ ਹੈ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਛਤਰ ਛਾਇਆ ਹੇਠ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਅੱਜ ਤੱਕ ਆਪਣੀ ਹੋਂਦ ਬਰਕਰਾਰ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਆਏ ਹੋ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਕਪਟ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸਹੀ, ਕਿਤੇ ਐਸਾ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਕਿ ਸਦਾ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਇਹ ਤਖਤ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਢੁੱਕਣ ਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਮਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਕਰ ਦੇਣ ਅਤੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਲਾਵਾਰਸ ਜਿਹੇ ਬਣ ਕੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਸਫਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਸੀਸਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਲਾਂਭੇ ਹੋ ਜਾਵੋ। ਭੁਲੇਖੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਾ ਰਹਿਣਾ।” ਯਾਦ ਰੱਖੋ, ਆਉਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਨੌਜਵਾਨ ਜਜ਼ਬਾਤੀ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਕੇਵਲ ਸ਼ਹੀਦੀਆਂ ਪਾਉਣ ਵਾਲਾਂ ਜਾਂ ਜੇਲ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸੜ੍ਹਨ ਵਾਲਾ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਬਲਕਿ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਦੀ ਰੌਸ਼ਨੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਿੱਖ ਤੇ ਅਸਿੱਖ ਦੀ ਪਛਾਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਪੰਥ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਦਾ ਸਹੀ ਵਾਰਸ ਵੀ ਬਣੇਗਾ। ਸੋ ਅਜੇ ਵੀ ਸਮਾਂ ਹੈ ਆਪੋ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਰ ਤੋੜਨ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਏ ਸਿਰ ਜੋੜਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਤੁਰ ਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਖੁਸ਼ੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰੋ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਬੇਚੈਨ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਬੱਜਰ ਪਾਪ ਤੋਂ ਬਚ ਜਾਵੋ ਅਤੇ ਜੇਲ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਜੂਨ ਭੋਗ ਰਹੇ ਗੁਰਸਿੱਖ ਮਰਜੀਵੜਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਜ਼ਾਦ ਕਰਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਰਲ ਕੇ ਹੰਭਲਾ ਮਾਰਦਿਆਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਕਰਜ਼ਾ ਉਤਾਰਨ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕਰੋ।”

## APPENDIX-09

### THE LETTER OF THE ACTING JATHEDAR OF AKAL TAKHT TO PARKASH SINGH BADAL\*

Date November 10, 1994

ਸਤਿਕਾਰਯੋਗ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ,  
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ।  
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ।

ਪਿਛਲੇ ਦਿਨੀਂ ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਾਰੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਬੋਧਿਤ ਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ ਇਕ ਪੱਤਰ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਸੀ, ਜਿਸ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਆਪਸ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਰ ਤੋੜਨ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਏ ਸਿਰ ਜੋੜਨ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਆਖੀ ਸੀ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਪਹੁੰਚੀ ਇਹ ਅੰਦਰੂਨੀ ਤੜਪ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਸਮਝਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਆਪਣੇ- ਆਪ ਵਿਚ ਵੱਡੀ ਨਮੋਸ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਦੋ ਢਾਈ ਕਰੋੜ ਇਹ ਕੌਮ ਲੰਬੇ ਅਰਸੇ ਦੇ ਖੂਨੀ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼ ਅਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰਾ ਕੁੱਝ ਲੁਟਾਉਣ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਵੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਕੋਈ ਸਰਬ- ਸਾਂਝਾ ਕੌਮੀ ਲੀਡਰ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਲਿਆਉਣ ਵਿਚ ਸਫਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਈ। ਉਹੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਮੈਂਬਰਸ਼ਿਪ ਅੱਜ ਫਿਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਰਹਿਨੁਮਾ ਕਹਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੌਮ ਵੇਲਾ ਵਿਹਾ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਗਰਦਾਨ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਵੱਸ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਕੌਮ ਨੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਾਰਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਫਿਰ ਗਲ ਨਾਲ ਲਾ ਲਿਆ ਪਰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਦੁਬਾਰਾ ਆਪਣਾ ਖੁਦਗਰਜ਼ੀ ਅਤੇ ਹਉਮੇ ਭਰਿਆ ਕਰੂਪ ਚਿਹਰਾ ਦਿਖਾਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਜ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਆ ਰਹੇ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਤੱਖ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣ ਫਤਹਿਗੜ੍ਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਵਾਪਰੀ ਘਿਨਾਉਣੀ ਘਟਨਾ ਹੈ ।

ਮੇਰਾ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਸਾਰਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਮਾਰਨ ਦਾ ਇੱਕ ਹੀ ਮਕਸਦ ਸੀ, ਕੌਮ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੁੱਚੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਕੁਰਬਾਨੀਆਂ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਦਾ ਆਪਣੀ ਕੁਰਸੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਜਾਂ ਕਰਜ਼ਾ ਉਤਾਰਣ ਲਈ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸੇਵਕਾਂ ਵਾਲੀ ਬਿਰਤੀ ਦੇ ਧਾਰਨੀ ਬਣੇ ਅਤੇ ਕੁਰਸੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਥੋੜ੍ਹ-ਚਿਰੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਨਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਇਕ ਦੂਜੇ ਨੂੰ ਪਛਾੜਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਮਨਮੁਖੀ ਬਿਰਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਤਿਆਗੋ। ਐਸਾ ਕਰਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਵੀ ਦੇਰੀ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਸਾਰਿਆਂ ਲਈ ਆਤਮਘਾਤੀ ਸਿੱਧ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ। ਪਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਲੱਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੇਰੀ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਤਰਜਮਾਨੀ ਨੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਰੂਹ ਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ ਝੰਜੋੜਿਆ ਬਲਕਿ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਵਿਚ ਬੇਲੋੜੀ ਦਖਲ ਅੰਦਾਜ਼ੀ ਕਹਿ ਕੇ ਨਕਾਰਿਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਮਝਦਾ ਕਿ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਬਾਰ-ਬਾਰ ਇਹ ਕਹਿਣ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਵਿਅਕਤੀ, ਧੜੇ ਜਾਂ ਸੰਸਥਾਂ ਦੇ ਭੈ ਜਾਂ ਲਾਲਚ ਅਧੀਨ ਕੀਤੀ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ

ਗੁਰੂ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਤੋਂ ਬੇਮੁੱਖ ਹੋਣਾ ਹੈ। ਪੰਥ ਦਰਦੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਏ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਅਜੇ ਕੌਮੀ ਚੇਤਨਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਇਤਨਾ ਨਿਖਾਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਇਆ ਕਿ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਦੀ ਬਦਦਿਆਨਤੀ ਦੇ ਮੱਦੇਨਜ਼ਰ ਪੰਥਕ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਅਧਿਆਤਮਕਤਾ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਨਿਖੇੜ ਕੇ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕੇ ਬਲਕਿ ਸਿੱਖ ਪੰਥ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਹੋਰ ਜਾਗਰੂਕ ਹੋ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ ।

ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਸੰਤੁਸ਼ਟੀ ਭਰੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਟੋਹੜਾ ਨੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਚੈਲਿੰਜ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਬਾਵਜੂਦ ਆਪਣੇ-ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਪਿਛਲੀ ਕਤਾਰ ਵਿਚ ਖੜ ਕੇ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ । ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਹੋਣ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ। ਕੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਅਜੇ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਪੇਸ਼ਕਸ਼ ਦੀ ਰੋਸ਼ਨੀ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣਾ ਰਾਜਹੱਠ ਛੱਡਣ ਵਿਚ ਝਿਜਕ ਹੈ? ਯਾਦ ਰਖਿਓ ਹੋਣੀ ਵਾਰ-ਵਾਰ ਦਸਤਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿੰਦੀ। ਜਦੋਂ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਆਵਾਜ਼ ਅਣਸੁਣੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਅਨਹੋਣੀ ਬਣਕੇ ਭਿਆਨਕ ਨਤੀਜਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਉਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਖੁਸ਼ਫਹਿਮੀਆਂ ਮਨੁੱਖ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਹਉਮੇ ਦਾ ਖੇਲ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਣ ਦਿੰਦੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਆਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਸਮੇਂ ਦਾ ਸੱਚ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ। ਜਖਮੀ ਕੌਮੀ ਮਾਨਸਿਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਚੱਕੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਜਿਹੜਾ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਨਪੀੜਿਆ ਗਿਆ, ਉਸ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਮੁੜ ਕੇ ਸੰਭਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਣਾ। ਜਿਸ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਤੋਂ ਭਗੋੜੇ ਹੋਣ ਦਾ ਖੱਬਾ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤੇ ਲੱਗ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਤਖਤ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਚਿਤਾਵਨੀ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਕਹਿ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਫੈਸਲਾ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਹੱਕ ਦਾ ਹੈ ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਦੀ ਜੋਦੜੀ ਸਹਿਤ ।

ਗੁਲਾਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ

ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ

**APPENDIX-10**  
**LETTER ISSUED BY THE ACTING-JATHEDAR OF AKAL**  
**TAKHT TO AKALI LEADERS\***

**Dated: November 23,1994**

ਪਿਆਰੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸੱਜਣੋਂ,  
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ,  
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ ॥

ਪਿਛਲੇ ਕੁਝ ਅਰਸੇ ਤੋਂ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਚਰਚਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਰਗਰਮੀ ਹੁਣ ਅਤਿ ਨਾਜੁਕ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਆ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਅੰਤਰ ਪੀੜਾ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਨਿਕਲੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਬੇਲੋੜੀਆਂ, ਆਪ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਪੱਖਪਾਤੀ ਲੱਗ ਸਕਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਅਧਿਆਤਮਕ ਨੈਤਿਕ, ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਦਾ ਪਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਗਰਜ਼ਾਂ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਬੰਧਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਵੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਖੁਦਗਰਜੀ ਲਈ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਖੇਡ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸੇਦਾਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਾਂ। ਜਦ ਕਿ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਰਾਰਤਪੂਰਨ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਉਥੇ ਖੜ੍ਹਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਕੋਝਾ ਯਤਨ ਨਿਰੰਤਰ ਜਾਰੀ ਹੈ। ਕੁਝ ਕੁ ਅਖੌਤੀ ਵਿਦਵਾਨਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਇਸ ਬੇਬੁਨਿਆਦੀ ਅਤੇ ਅਨੈਤਿਕ ਪੇਸ਼ਕਾਰੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਤਮਾਸ਼ਬੀਨ ਦੀ ਹੱਦ ਤੱਕ ਸੁਆਦ ਲਿਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਰ ਜੋੜ ਕੇ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ ਲੋਚਣ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਜਖਮੀ ਰੂਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਇਹ ਕਪਟ, ਘੋਰ ਅਨਿਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਆਤਮਿਕ ਮਲੀਨਤਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਕ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਚੇਤਨ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਜਾਂ ਸਲਾਹ ਮੈਂ ਉਪਰੋਕਤ ਕਿਸਮ ਦੇ ਬੰਦਿਆਂ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਨਹੀਂ, ਸਗੋਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਤੇ ਕੌਮੀ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲੈਣੀ ਹੈ। ਸਿੱਖ ਸਿਆਸਤਦਾਨ ਸਿੱਖ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਵੰਡੀਆਂ ਪਾਉਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਗਿਣਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ। ਇਸੇ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵਾ ਮੈਂ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਨਾਮ ਲਿਖੀ ਪਹਿਲੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ। ਮੈਂ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਰਾਹ ਵਿਚ ਰੋੜਾ ਬਣਨ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਚਿਤਾਵਨੀ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਸੀ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚਿੱਠੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਲਿਖਣ ਦਾ ਪਿਛੋਕੜ ਸਮਾਂ ਆਉਣ ਤੇ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਕਰਾਂਗਾ। ਇਸ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਬੰਧਿਤ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਅੱਗੇ ਪਿੱਛੇ ਕੋਈ ਲਗਾਉ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਅਕਾਲੀ” ਅਤੇ “ਪੰਥ”



ਸ਼ਬਦ ਵਰਤ ਕੇ ਅਧਰਮੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਦੁੱਖੀ ਅਤੇ ਅਪਮਾਨਿਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਨੂੰ ਕਦਾਚਿਤ ਬਰਦਾਸ਼ਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਕੀਮਤ ਕੁਝ ਵੀ ਅਦਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ। ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਜੰਮ ਜੰਮ ਲੜੇ, ਪਰ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਤੇ ਲਾਹੀਆਂ ਜਾ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਪੱਗਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਜੋ ਮੁਕ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਵਜੋਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਵੇਖ ਸਕਦਾ। ਐਸਾ ਤਾਂ ਕੇਵਲ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬੇਮੁੱਖ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਹੀ ਸੰਭਵ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪੱਤਰ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕੌਮ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਅਤਿ ਅਧੀਨਗੀ ਸਹਿਤ ਇਹ ਸੰਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਹਾਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਿਆਸਤਦਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਐਸੀਆਂ ਬਦਦਿਆਨਤੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਹਟਾ ਕੇ ਇਕ ਥਾਂ ਤੇ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਹੋਣ ਲਈ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰ ਕਰਨ। ਇਕੱਠੇ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਜਗਤ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਵਿਧੀ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਅਪਨਾਈ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸ਼ੁਭ ਅਮਲ ਨੂੰ ਰੋਕਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਨਿਗਾਹਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਸੂਰਵਾਰ ਹਨ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਮਾਨ ਸਨਮਾਨ ਦੇ ਜ਼ਾਮਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੇਸਗੜ੍ਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਹੋਣ ਦੇ ਨਾਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਿਆਸਤਦਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਨੈਤਿਕ ਜ਼ਿੰਮੇਵਾਰੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਸਾਸ ਕਰਵਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ, ਜੋ ਕਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਫਰਜ਼ਾਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਇਕ ਹੈ। ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਰਬਤ ਦੇ ਭਲੇ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਭਰਮਾਰੂ ਬਿਰਤੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਦਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਹੋ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਇਸਦੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਸਿੱਖ ਕਹਾਉਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਹਜ਼ੂਰ ਵਲੋਂ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਦਾ ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਕਰਨ, ਪਰ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਦੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ ਮੁਹਿੰਮ ਚਲਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਕਪਟ ਨੂੰ ਨੰਗਾ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਸਮਾਂ ਵੀ ਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਨੂੰ ਜਲੀਲ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਖਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ, ਨਾ ਹੀ ਮੈਂ, ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਭੈ ਅਧੀਨ ਕਰਕੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਈਨ ਮਨਵਾਉਣੀ ਜਾਂ ਅਪਮਾਨਿਤ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। ਮੈਂ ਐਸਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਛੇ ਕੁ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਆਰੰਭੇ ਯਤਨਾਂ ਸਮੇਂ ਹੀ ਕਰ ਦਿੰਦਾ। ਹੁਣ ਵੀ ਮੈਂ ਕੇਵਲ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਆਪਸੀ ਖਹਿਬਾਜ਼ੀ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਨਿਕਲੀ ਨਮੋਸ਼ੀ ਅਤੇ ਅਪਮਾਨ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਉੱਪਰ ਉਠਾਉਣਾ ਲੋਚਦਾ ਹਾਂ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ਐਸਾ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਖੁਦ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥ ਦੋਖੀਆਂ, ਕੁਝ ਕਪਟੀ ਅਤੇ ਖੁਦਗਰਜ ਸਿਆਸੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਕਰੋਪੀ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਹੋਣਾ ਪੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪੱਖੋਂ ਸੁਚੇਤ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਐਸੇ ਹਾਲਾਤਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਤਾਂ ਮਹਾਂਪੁਰਖ ਕਹੇ ਜਾਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਦੁਨਿਆਵੀਂ ਨਿੰਦਿਆ, ਬੋਲ-ਕੁਬੋਲਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਹਰ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਦੁਸ਼ਵਾਰੀ ਦਾ ਸਾਹਮਣਾ ਕਰਨਾ ਪੈਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਸੰਸਾਰ ਇਵੇਂ ਹੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਚਾਲੇ ਚਲਦਾ ਆਇਆ ਹੈ। ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਦੀ ਰੋਸਨਿ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਮੇਂ-ਸਮੇਂ ਤੇ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹਰ ਪੱਖੋਂ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਮਨੁੱਖੀ ਬਿਰਤੀਆਂ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਨਿਕਲਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਭਿਆਨਕ ਨਤੀਜਿਆ ਪ੍ਰਤੀ ਚਿਤਾਵਨੀ ਵੀ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿੱਚ ਇਕ ਵਾਰ ਫਿਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਫਰਜ਼ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਤੀ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਪੰਥਕ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਤੋਂ ਬਿੜਕੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਿਆਸਤਦਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੌਮ ਦੀਆਂ

ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਸਿਰ ਝੁਕਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਆਪਸੀ ਸਹਿਮਤੀ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਹੋਣ ਲਈ ਸੁਚੇਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ। ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਤਖ਼ਤ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਇਸ ਚੇਤਾਵਨੀ ਨੂੰ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਅੰਦਾਜ਼ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਮਤਲਬ ਕੌਮ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਪਿੱਠ ਮੋੜਨਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਬਦਸੂਰਤੀ ਦੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਆਪ ਜਿੰਮੇਵਾਰ ਹੋਵੋਗੇ। ਗੁਰੂ ਰਾਖਾ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਦੀ ਜੋਦੜੀ ਸਹਿਤ,

ਗੁਲਾਮ ਗੁਰੂ ਦਾ

ਸਹੀ-/

(ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ)

**APPENDIX-11**  
**LETTER OF PARKASH SINGH BADAL TO THE ACTING**  
**JATHEDAR OF AKAL TAKHT**

**Dated: April 17, 1994**

ੴ ਪਰਮ ਸਤਿਕਾਰਯੋਗ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀਓ,  
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ  
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ ।

ਸਦੀਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਮਹਾਨ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਹਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ । ਅਨੰਤਕਾਲ ਤੱਕ ਸ਼ਰਧਾਵਾਨ ਇਸ ਅੱਗੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਸਿਰ ਝੁਕਾਉਂਦੇ ਰਹਿਣਗੇ । ਇਹ ਪਵਿੱਤਰ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕੌਮ ਲਈ ਉਤਸਾਹ ਦਾ ਸੋਮਾ ਬਣਿਆ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ । ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਨਾ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ । ਅਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਰੋਸ਼ਨ ਮਿਨਾਰ ਅੱਗੇ ਨਤਮਸਤਕ ਹਾਂ।

ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਚਰਦੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਚਲਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਬਹੁਤੇ ਲੋਕ ਵੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਲੜੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਪਹੁੰਚਾ ਵੇਖਣ ਦੇ ਚਾਹਵਾਨ ਹਨ । ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਪੱਧਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਯਤਨ ਵੀ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ । ਮੈਂ ਅਤੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਥੀ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਹੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਚਾਹਵਾਨ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ । ਇਸ ਲਈ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਦਾ ਹੀ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਯਤਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ੰਸਕ ਵੀ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਤੀ ਲਈ ਆਪਣਾ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਵੀ ਪਾਉਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ । ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਕਿਸੇ ਤੋਂ ਭੁੱਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਤੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਥੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਇਸੇ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਖਾਤਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਅਹੁਦੇ ਤਿਆਗ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨਗੀ ਸ.ਸਿਮਰਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਸੌਂਪ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਸੀ । ਪਰ ਬਾਅਦ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੁਝ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਹਉਮੈ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਕੁਚਿਤ ਸੋਚ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਸ ਪੱਖੋਂ ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਪੱਲੇ ਨਿਰਾਸ਼ਾਂ ਹੀ ਪਈ ਸੀ । ਇਸ ਦੇ ਬਾਵਜੂਦ ਅਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਲਈ ਆਸਵੰਦ ਰਹੇ । ਅੱਜ ਵੀ ਅਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਨਿਰਾਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਏ ਸਗੋਂ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਪੱਧਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਯਤਨਾਂ ਦਾ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਵਾਗਤ ਹੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ । ਆਪ ਵੀ ਇਸ ਸਬੰਧੀ ਕੁਝ ਯਤਨਸ਼ੀਲ ਰਹੋ ਹੋ । ਪਰ ਅਸੀਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਦਾ ਇਸ ਬਾਰੇ ਪੱਖ ਕਦੇ ਵੀ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਿਹਾ । ਆਪ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸਮੇਂ- ਸਮੇਂ ਬਿਆਨ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਜੋ ਭੁੱਲੇਖਾ ਪਾਉ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਾ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਸਨ । ਉਦਾਹਰਨ ਲਈ 20 ਮਾਰਚ, 1994 ਨੂੰ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਵਾਰ-ਵਾਰ ਸਪਸ਼ਟ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਰਚ ਦਾ ਉਦੇਸ਼ ਨਿਰੋਲ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦਾ

ਅਕਾਲੀ ਧੜਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਵਿਚ ਦਖਲ ਦੇਣ ਦਾ ਕਦਾਚਿਤ ਕੋਈ ਇਰਾਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ । ਪਰ ਇਸ ਮਹਾਨ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਮਾਰਚ ਦੇ 12 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ ਨੂੰ ਖਤਮ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਰਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਲੱਗੀ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਟੇਜ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਕੁੱਝ ਹੋਇਆ, ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਇਥੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਖਾਸ ਸਾਜ਼ਿਸ਼ ਤਹਿਤ ਜਬਰੀ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਨੂੰ ਘੁਸੇੜਨ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਸ਼ਰਧਾਵਾਨ ਹਿਰਦਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਬੇਹੱਦ ਨਿਰਾਸ਼ ਹੀ ਕੀਤਾ। ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਵੱਡੇ ਦੁੱਖ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਸਭ ਕੁਝ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਮੌਜੂਦਗੀ ਵਿਚ ਵਾਪਰਿਆ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਆਦੇਸ਼ ਵੀ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਸਨ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਸਟੇਜ ਤੇ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਗੱਲ ਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ।

ਹੁਣ ਦੀ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ 1979 ਵਿਚ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਹੋਂਦ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਈ । ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਇਹ ਸਿਰਫ ਪੰਜ ਸਾਲ ਲਈ ਚੁਣੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ । ਸਮੇਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਰਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਦਨੀਅਤੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਕਈ ਹੋਰ ਅਦਿੱਖ ਕਾਰਨਾਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੰਬੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੱਕ ਲਮਕਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ । ਇਸ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸਮਾਂ ਬੀਤ ਜਾਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਵਾਜਬੀਅਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਵੰਗਾਰਿਆ ਗਿਆ । ਇਸ ਆਧਾਰ ਤੇ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਫੈਸਲਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਕਿੰਤੂ ਪਰੰਤੂ ਵੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸਮੇਤ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਸਤੀਫੇ ਦੇਣ ਲਈ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ । ਅਸੀਂ ਵੀ ਵਾਰ - ਵਾਰ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਉੱਤੇ ਇਸੇ ਗੱਲ ਲਈ ਜ਼ੋਰ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਜਲਦੀ ਕਰਵਾਈਆਂ ਜਾਣ ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਾਖ ਮੁਤਬਹਾਲ ਹੋ ਸਕੇ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਭਾਈ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਲੰਬੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਨਜਰਬੰਦ ਹਨ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਅਨਿਸਚਤ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਰਜਕਾਰੀ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਦੀ ਜਿੰਮੇਵਾਰੀ ਸੌਂਪੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ। ਹੁਣ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਚੋਣਾਂ ਨੇੜੇ ਆ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ ਇਹ ਠੀਕ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ ਕਿ ਸਿੱਖ ਲੀਡਰਸ਼ਿਪ ਅਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਅਹਿਮ ਮੁੱਦਿਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਕੰਮ ਦੇ ਫਤਵੇ ਦੀ ਉਡੀਕ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ ।

ਮੈਂ ਫੇਰ 12 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ ਤਲਵੰਡੀ ਸਾਬੋ ਦੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਦੀਵਾਨ , ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਯੋਜਨਾ ਤਹਿਤ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਰੁਖ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ, ਵੱਲ ਆਪ ਦਾ ਧਿਆਨ ਦੁਆਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦਾ ਹਾਂ । ਮੈਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵੀ ਲਿਖ ਚੁੱਕਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਇਕ ਨੀਤੀ ਤਹਿਤ ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਕੁਝ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਿੱਜੀ-ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਤੀ ਲਈ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ, ਉਸ ਨੇ ਨਾ ਸਿਰਫ ਵੱਡੀ ਪੱਧਰ ਤੇ ਨਿਰਾਸ਼ਾ ਹੀ ਪੈਦਾ ਕੀਤੀ, ਸਗੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਕਿਆਸੇ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਸੰਕਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਕੀਤਾ । ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਜਾਣ-ਬੁੱਝ ਕੇ ਓਪਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਤਹੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਦੂਸਰਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਜ਼ਬਰੀ ਠੋਸਣ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ । ਸਾਡਾ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਇਹ ਪੱਕਾ ਯਕੀਨ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੇ ਨਾਂ ਤੇ ਇਹ ਮੱਗਰਮੱਛ ਦੇ ਹੰਝੂ ਹੀ ਵਹਾਏ ਜਾ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ । ਅਸਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦਿਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ। ਇਮਾਨਦਾਰੀ ਵਾਲੀ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਨੂੰ ਅਪਣਾਉਣ ਨਾਲ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ । ਦੂਸਰਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਅੱਗੇ ਵਧਦਾ

ਦੇਖ ਕੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਠਿੱਬੀ ਲਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਨਾਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦੀ। ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਸਥਾਈ ਤੇ ਚਿਰਕਾਲੀ ਕਦਮ ਉਠਾਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਦਿਲ ਸਾਫ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣੇ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚੋਂ ਸਾੜਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਕੀਨਿਆ ਭਰੀ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਮੈਲ ਧੋਣੀ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ । ਸਾਡਾ ਇਹ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਹੋਰ ਵੀ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਹੋਇਆ ਜਦੋਂ ਰਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਟੇਜ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਸਟੇਜ ਵਿੱਚ ਬਦਲਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਇਸ ਸਟੇਜ ਤੋਂ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਭਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀਆਂ ਟਾਹਰਾਂ ਮਾਰਨ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਨ ਅੰਦਰ ਛੁਪੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਦੂਸਰੀ ਹੀ ਸਵੇਰ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆ ਗਈਆਂ । ਜਦੋਂ ਨਾ ਸਿਰਫ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਸਟੇਜਾਂ ਹੀ ਲੱਗੀਆਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਇਕ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਦੇ ਖਿਲਾਫ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੀ ਵਧ ਭੰਡੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ । ਕੀ ਕਦੀ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਦ੍ਰਿਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਸੱਚੀ ਤੇ ਸੁੱਚੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਸਿਰੇ ਚੜ੍ਹ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ?

ਇਥੇ ਗੱਲ ਆਧਾਰ ਦੀ ਆ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ । ਅੱਜ ਹਰ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਆਪਣੇ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖਰੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤਾਂ ਤੇ ਚਲ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ । ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਵੱਖੋ-ਵੱਖਰੇ ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨੇ ਨਿਸ਼ਚਿਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ । ਕਈ ਮੁੱਢਲੇ ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨੇ ਇਕ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਤੋਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੀ ਵੱਖਰੇ ਹਨ । ਅਸੀਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵਿਚਾਰਧਾਰਕ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਦੂਸਰੇ ਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਆਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਗ਼ੈਰ ਏਕਤਾ ਦਾ ਆਧਾਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ । ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਬਗ਼ੈਰ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਠੋਸੀ ਗਈ ਏਕਤਾ ਕੁਝ ਹੀ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿਚ ਖਖੜੀਆਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ ।

ਸਤਿਕਾਰਯੋਗ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪ ਦਾ ਧਿਆਨ ਇਕ ਹੋਰ ਪਹਿਲੂ ਵੱਲ ਵੀ ਦਿਵਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ । ਬਿਨਾਂ ਸ਼ੱਕ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਧਰਮ ਅਤੇ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਦੇ ਸੁਮੇਲ ਵਿੱਚ ਯਕੀਨ ਰੱਖਦੀ ਹੈ । ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਹੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਕਰਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ । ਅਕਾਲੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਮਾਜ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਅਹਿਮ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਹਨ । ਪਰ ਆਪ ਲਈ ਸੋਚਣ ਅਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰਨ ਵਾਲੀ ਗੱਲ ਇਹ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਿਰਫ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਜਗਤ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿਧਤਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਮਹਾਨ ਤਖਤ ਦੀ ਸਾਂਭ ਸੰਭਾਲ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਇਸੇ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਅਧੀਨ ਹੀ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਨਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ । ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਤੋਂ ਇਹੀ ਉਮੀਦ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕੌਮ ਲਈ ਸਰਬ ਸਾਂਝੇ ਹੋਣ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਦਿਓਗੇ । ਸਾਨੂੰ ਆਪ ਤੋਂ ਇਹ ਵੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਉਮੀਦ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਇਸ ਮਹਾਨ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਇਸ ਦੀ ਆਭਾ ਤੇ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਦੀ ਕਾਇਮੀ ਲਈ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਵਾਦ-ਵਿਵਾਦ ਵਿਚ ਪੈਣ ਤੋਂ ਗੁਰੇਜ਼ ਕਰੋਗੇ ।

12 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ ਦੀ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਟੇਜ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਵਾਪਰਿਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਥੇ ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਆਪ ਦੀ ਮੌਜੂਦਗੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਚਾਲਾਂ ਚੱਲਣ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਉਸ ਤੋਂ ਭਾਵੁਕ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਰੋਸ ਵਜੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਗਜ਼ ਤੇ ਦਸਤਖਤ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਪਰ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਅਤੇ ਭਰੀ ਸੰਗਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਮੇਰੀ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਨੂੰ ਨਾ-ਮਨਜ਼ੂਰ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਤੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਦਸਤਖਤਾਂ ਵਾਲੇ

ਕਾਗਜ਼ ਨੂੰ ਸਟੇਜ ਤੇ ਹੀ ਸੁੱਟ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੀ । ਆਪ ਨੇ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵੀ ਵਾਰ-ਵਾਰ ਅਤੇ 14 ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ 1994 ਦੇ ਲਿਖਤੀ ਬਿਆਨ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਹਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਨੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਕਦੀ ਵੀ ਅਸਤੀਫੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੰਗੇ ਬਲਕਿ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਕੀਤਾ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਤਾਂ ਹੀ ਇਸ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਉੱਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕਰੋਗੇ “ਜੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਆਗੂ ਆਪਣੇ ਏਕਤਾ ਮਸਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਮੇਰਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ।” ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਬਿਆਨ ਦੀ ਰੋਸ਼ਨੀ ਵਿਚ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣਾ ਅਸਤੀਫਾ ਇਸ ਪੱਤਰ ਨਾਲ ਨੱਥੀ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹਾਂ । ਇਸ ਪੱਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਦਰਜ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਮੱਦੇਨਜ਼ਰ ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਨਿਮਰ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਇਸ ਮਸਲੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਦਖਲ ਦੇਣ ਦੀ ਖੋਚਲ ਨਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਦਾ ਮਸਲਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਫਤਵੇ ਉੱਤੇ ਹੀ ਛੱਡਣ ਦੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲਤਾ ਕਰੋ ਜੀ ।

17-7-1994

ਗੁਰੂਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਦਾਸ

ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ

ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ

## APPENDIX-12

### TEXT OF THE LETTER OF THE FIVE HIGH PRIESTS TO PARKASH SINGH BADAL\*

ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲਾਂ ਦੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਦਖਲ ਲਈ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਧੜਿਆਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ । ਪਿਛਲੇ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਨਿਰੰਤਰ ਅਖਬਾਰੀ ਬਿਆਨ-ਬਾਜੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਕੌਮ ਵਿਚ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਖੜੀ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਸ੍ਰ. ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਸਰਗਰਮੀਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਮਿਤੀ 2 ਮਈ 1994 ਦਿਨ ਸੋਮਵਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਸਵੇਰੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਕੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੱਖ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰਨ ।

ਸਹੀ-/

ਗਿਆਨੀ ਮੋਹਨ ਸਿੰਘ

ਮੁੱਖ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ-/

ਪ੍ਰੋ. ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜਥੇਦਾਰ,

ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ-/

ਗਿਆਨੀ ਕੇਵਲ ਸਿੰਘ

ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਤੱਖਤ ਦਮਦਮਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ-/

ਗਿਆਨੀ ਭਗਵਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ

ਮੁੱਖ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ-/

ਗਿਆਨੀ ਜੋਗਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਵੇਦਾਂਤੀ

ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

## APPENDIX-13

### TEXT OF THE AMIRTSAR DECLARATION\*

**Dated: May 1, 1994**

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਭਾਈ ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਆਰੰਭ ਯਤਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਾਰਨ ਨਵੇਂ ਬਣੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ) ਵਲੋਂ “ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਐਲਾਨਨਾਮੇ” ਦੇ ਸਿਰਲੇਖ ਅਧੀਨ ਜੋ ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨਾ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਦਾ ਮੂਲ ਪਾਠ ਹੇਠ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ (ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ) ਦੇ ਨੇਤਾਵਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਅਪਣਾਏ ਗਏ “ਖਾਲਸਾ” ਪੰਥ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਣ ਪੱਤਰ” ਦਾ ਮੂਲ ਪਾਠ ਵੀ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।

#### ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਐਲਾਨਨਾਮਾ

ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਜਮਹੂਰੀਅਤ ਦੇ ਦਾਇਰਿਆਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਰਹਿ ਕੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਉੱਤੇ ਆਧਾਰਿਤ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਕੌਮੀ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਦੇ ਮੋਹਰੀ ਹੋਣ ਵਜੋਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਲਈ ਇਕ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਵੱਖਰੇ ਖਿੱਤੇ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਜਦੋਂਜਹਿਦ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਚਨ ਨੂੰ ਦੁਹਰਾਉਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਜਿਥੇ ਉਹ ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਨਿੱਘ ਮਾਣ ਸਕਣ। ਵੰਡ ਤੋਂ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਕਾਂਗਰਸ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਖਿੱਤਾ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਦਾਅਵਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਅਜੇ ਤੱਕ ਇਹ ਹੋਂਦ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਇਆ। ਕੇਵਲ ਅਜਿਹੇ ਖਿੱਤੇ ਦੇ ਹੋਂਦ ਵਿੱਚ ਆਉਣ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਰੀਝਾਂ ਪੂਰੀਆਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਅਜਿਹਾ ਖਿੱਤਾ ਘੱਟ ਗਿਣਤੀਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੰਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮੂਰਤੀਮਾਨ ਕਰਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਹਾਈ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਮੌਕੇ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਜੋ ਦੱਖਣ ਪੂਰਬੀ ਏਸ਼ੀਆ ਬੇਚੈਨ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਪੱਛਮੀ ਕੌਮਾਂ ਵੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਤਕਦੀਰ ਘੜਣ ਲਈ ਕਦਰਾਂ-ਕੀਮਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਵੇਂ ਮਾਡਲ ਦੀ ਤਲਾਸ਼ ਵਿੱਚ ਹਨ। ਇਹ ਕੌਮਾਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਿਲੱਖਣ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਨਵੇਂ ਸਿਰਿਉਂ ਵਿਉਂਤਣ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਯਤਨ ਕਰ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਅਜਿਹੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅੰਦਰ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਬ੍ਰਹਿਮੰਡੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਕਸੁਰਤਾ, ਸੰਬਾਦ ਸ਼ਾਇਰਾਨਾ ਤਰਜਿ-ਜਿੰਦਗੀ, ਲੁੱਟ- ਖਸ਼ੁੱਟ ਰਹਿਤ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਧੀਨ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੀ ਮਾੜੀ ਬਿਰਤੀ ਤੋਂ ਮੁਕਤ ਖਿੱਤਾ, ਹੋਰਨ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਾਂ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਚਾਨਣ ਮੁਨਾਰਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਇਸ ਖਿੱਤੇ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਜੀਵਨ ਜਾਂਚ ਉੱਤੇ ਉਸਰੀਆਂ ਵਿਲੱਖਣ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ, ਆਰਥਿਕ, ਰਾਜਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਇਕ ਪਾਸੇ ਮੌਲਿਕ ਚੇਤਨਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਸਾਕਾਰ ਕਰਨਗੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਪਾਸੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਇਕ ਅਜਿਹਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਕਰਨਗੀਆਂ ਜੋ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਿਲਿਆ। ਅਜਿਹੀ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਸਿੱਖ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀਅਤ, ਸੰਸਾਰ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਅਤਿਅੰਤ ਸੁੰਦਰ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵੇ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਗੌਰਵਸ਼ੀਲ ਯੋਗਦਾਨ ਦੇ ਸਕੇਗੀ।



ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਦਾ ਇਹ ਮੱਤ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਕੌਮੀ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਦਾ ਇਕ ਉਪ-ਮਹਾਦੀਪ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਹਰ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਦੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਨਿਵੇਕਲੀ ਵਿਰਾਸਤ ਅਤੇ ਨਿਵੇਕਲੀ ਮੁੱਖ ਧਾਰਾ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਉਪ ਮਹਾਦੀਪ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਕਨਫੈਡਰਲ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਨਵੇਂ ਸਿਰਿਓ ਸੰਗਠਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਹਰ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਪ੍ਰਤਿਭਾ ਅਤੇ ਆਭਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਪ੍ਰਫਲਿਤ ਹੋਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਖੁਸ਼ਬੂ ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਾਗ ਨੂੰ ਦੇ ਸਕੇ। ਜੋ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਨਫੈਡਰਲ ਨਵ-ਸੰਗਠਨ, ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨੀ ਹੁਕਮਰਾਨਾ ਵਲੋਂ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਤਾਂ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਕੋਲ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਭਸੱਤਾ ਸੰਪੰਨ ਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਕਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਜਦੋਜਹਿਦ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਚਾਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ।

ਅਮਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜਗਦੇਵ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਲਵੰਡੀ, ਸਿਮਰਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਾਨ, ਜਸਮੇਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਲਾ (ਕਰਨਲ ਰਿਟਾਇਰਡ), ਸੁਰਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਰਨਾਲਾ, ਭਾਈ ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ।

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਣ ਪੱਤਰ

ਅਸੀਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਅਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਪਾਵਨ ਧਰਤੀ ਤੇ ਬੈਠ ਕੇ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਆਪਸੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਆਧਾਰਤ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਕਰਨ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਣ ਅੱਜ ਦੇ ਇਸ ਪੰਥਕ ਇਕੱਠ ਵਿੱਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ।

ਅੱਜ ਤੋਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਾਰੇ ਮਤਭੇਦ ਭੁਲਾ ਕੇ ਕੌਮੀ ਹਿਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਖਾਤਰ ਇੱਕਠ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂਗੇ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਾਜਿਸ਼ਾਂ ਅਧੀਨ ਆਪਸੀ ਖਿੱਚੋਤਾਣ ਦੇ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਪੂਰਨ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਮੁਕਤ ਰਹਾਂਗੇ।

ਸਾਡੀ ਸੋਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਰਪਿਤ ਹੈ। ਅਸੀਂ ਹਰ ਉਸ ਕਾਰਜ ਲਈ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾ ਯਤਨਸ਼ੀਲ ਰਹਾਂਗੇ ਜੋ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਨਾਵਾਂ ਚੌ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਖਾਲਸਾਈ ਰਿਵਾਇਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਾਲਣਾ ਲਈ ਆਪਣਾ ਤਨ, ਮਨ, ਧਨ ਕੌਮ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਰਪਿਤ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ।

ਅਸੀਂ ਹਰ ਸੰਭਵ ਯਤਨ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਸਮੁੱਚੀਆਂ ਪੰਥਕ ਜਥੇਬੰਦੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਇੱਕ ਪਲੇਟਫਾਰਮ ਤੇ ਇੱਕਠੇ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਕੌਮੀ ਕਾਰਜ ਲਈ ਲੋਕਤੰਤਰੀ ਢੰਗ-ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਦੀਵੀ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਜੁੜਦੇ ਰਹਾਂਗੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਸੂਰਤ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੌਮ ਨਾਲ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸਘਾਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ। ਇਕ ਸੇਵਕ ਦੀ ਹੈਸੀਅਤ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਚਰਾਂਗੇ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਦਾਸ:-

ਅਮਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜਗਦੇਵ ਸਿੰਘ ਤਲਵੰਡੀ, ਸਿਮਰਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਾਨ ਜਸਮੇਰ ਸਿੰਘ (ਕਰਨਲ ਰਿਟਾਇਰਡ) ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਟੌਹੜਾ, ਭਾਈ ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਸੁਰਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਰਨਾਲਾ।

## APPENDIX-15

### LETTER ISSUED BY JATHEDARS, REGARDING AKALI UNITY AFTER THEIR MEETING WITH PARKASH SINGH BADAL\*

ਅਸੀਂ ਇਹਨਾਂ ਸਾਰੇ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਆਗੂਆ ਨੂੰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਾਰ-ਵਾਰ ਬੇਨਤੀ ਕਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਦਰਦ ਭਰੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੱਖਦਿਆਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਬਿਠਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਉਪਰਾਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ । ਪਰ ਦੁੱਖ ਦੀ ਗੱਲ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚਲੀ ਆਪਸੀ ਬੇਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਦੁਨੀਆਵੀਂ ਬਿਰਤੀਆਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਬਣੀ ਮਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਦੂਰੀ ,ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਸਿਰ ਜੋੜ ਕੇ ਬੈਠਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਵੱਡੀ ਰੁਕਾਵਟ ਬਣੀ ਹੈ । ਸਾਡੀ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਤੇ ਤਮੰਨਾਂ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਬੋਲਬਾਲੇ ਅਤੇ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦੇ ਭਲੇ ਲਈ ਇਹ ਬਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇਰੀ ਤੋਂ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਗਰਜ਼ਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਹਉਮੈ ਹੰਕਾਰ ਤੋਂ ਰਹਿਤ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਸੇਵਕ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਅਸੀਂ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਤੇ ਇਹ ਪਿਆਰ ਭਰਿਆ ਸੰਦੇਸ਼ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਅੱਜ ਵੀ ਇੱਕ ਦੂਜੇ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵਿਥ ਤੇ ਖੜੇ ਅਕਾਲੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਨਿਸ਼ਕਾਮ ਸੇਵਕ ਬਣ ਕੇ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਵਿਚਰਨ ਲਈ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰ ਕਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਏਕਤਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਰੁਕਾਵਟ ਬਣਨ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਨਿਸ਼ਾਨ ਦੇਹੀ ਕਰਨ ।

ਸਹੀ-/  
ਗਿਆਨੀ ਮੋਹਨ ਸਿੰਘ

ਮੁੱਖ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ-/  
ਪ੍ਰੋ.ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ,ਜਥੇਦਾਰ,

ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ -/  
ਗਿਆਨੀ ਕੇਵਲ ਸਿੰਘ

ਜਥੇਦਾਰ,ਤਖਤ ਦਮਦਮਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ-/  
ਗਿਆਨੀ ਭਗਵਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ

ਮੁੱਖ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸਹੀ-/  
ਗਿਆਨੀ ਜੋਗਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਵੇਦਾਂਤੀ

ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

## APPENDIX-16

### HUKAMNAMA ISSUED BY THE JATHEDAR AKAL TAKHT BHAI RANJIT SINGH FOR AKALI LEADERS

Dated: 31-12-1998

#### ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ

ਹੋਇ ਇਕਤ੍ਰ ਮਿਲਹੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਦੂਰਿ ਕਰਹੁ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਇ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੇ ਕੇ ਹੋਵਹੁ ਜੋੜੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਬੰਸਹੁ ਸਫਾ ਵਿਛਾਇ॥

ਅੱਜ ਮਿਤੀ 31-12-98 ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਪੰਜ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀ ਇਕੱਤਰਤਾ ਹੋਈ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਸ੍ਰ:ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ ਤੇ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਟੌਹੜਾ ਦੇ ਵਾਦ-ਵਿਵਾਦ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਪਟਾਉਣ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਦੇਸ਼-ਵਿਦੇਸ਼ ਤੋਂ ਆਈਆਂ ਸੈਂਕੜੇ ਪੱਤਰਕਾਵਾਂ ਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਹੋਈ ਅਤੇ ਵਾਦ-ਵਿਵਾਦ ਦੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਤੋਂ ਅੱਜ ਤਕ ਦੇ ਹਾਲਾਤ ਨੂੰ ਵੀ ਗੰਭੀਰਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਵਿਚਾਰਿਆ ਗਿਆ। ਉਪਰੰਤ ਪਰਵਾਨ ਹੋਇਆ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਦਲ ਦੇ ਸਿਰਮੌਰ ਲੀਡਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਪਸੀ ਹਿੱਤ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਰੱਖਣ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਏ, ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਆ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ। ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਤੀਜੀ ਸ਼ਤਾਬਦੀ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਅਤੇ ਉਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਨਾਲ ਮਨਾ ਸਕੇ। ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤ ਦੀ ਸੋਚ ਵੀ ਕੁਝ ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਉਭਰ ਕੇ ਕੁਝ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਈ ਹੈ।

ਖਾਲਸੇ ਦੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਸੌ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਇਸ ਮਹਾਨ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕ ਦਿਹਾੜੇ ਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਹਾਲਤ ਵਿਚ ਮਨਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਨੀਤੀ 'ਤੇ ਛਾਏ ਹੋਏ ਕਾਲੇ ਬੱਦਲ ਹਟਾਏ ਜਾਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਇਹ ਤਿੰਨ ਸੌ ਸਾਲਾ ਸ਼ਤਾਬਦੀ ਮਨਾਉਣੀ ਅਸੰਭਵ ਜਾਪਦੀ ਹੈ। ਅਸੀਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਤਰਜਮਾਨੀ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਅਕਾਲੀ ਹਾਈ ਕਮਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਆਦੇਸ਼ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਮਿਤੀ 15-04-99 ਤਕ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਧਿਰ ਇਕ ਦੂਜੇ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਨੁਕਸਾਨ ਨਾ ਕਰ ਸਕੇ। ਬਲਕਿ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਅਹੁਦਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਣੇ ਰਹਿ ਕੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਸੌ ਸਾਲਾਂ ਸ਼ਤਾਬਦੀ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੋਗਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਰੇ ਚਾੜ੍ਹਨ।

ਜ਼ਾਬਤਾ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਆਦੇਸ਼ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਗੁਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਟੌਹੜਾ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਕਾਰਨ ਦੱਸੇ ਨੋਟਿਸ ਦੇ ਜੁਆਬ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਫਾਫੇ ਵਿਚ ਸੀਲਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਰੱਖਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ। ਮਿਤੀ 15-4-99 ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਦਲ ਦੇ ਸੰਵਿਧਾਨ ਤੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਰਵਾਇਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿਚ ਰੱਖਦਿਆਂ ਜ਼ਾਬਤਾ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਇਸ ਕਾਰਨ ਦੱਸੇ ਨੋਟਿਸ ਦੇ ਜੁਆਬ 'ਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ। ਅਸੀਂ ਆਸ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ

ਅਕਾਲੀ ਹਾਈ ਕਮਾਨ ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਾਵਨਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਦਰ ਹੋਈ ਇਸ ਆਦੇਸ਼ 'ਤੇ ਅਮਲ ਕਰੇਗੀ।

ਅਗਰ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਧਿਰ ਜਾਂ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਲੀਡਰ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ ਜਾਰੀ ਹੋਏ ਇਸ ਆਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਉਲੰਘਣਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਪੰਥਕ ਰਵਾਇਤਾਂ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਵੇਗੀ ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਦਾਸ

ਸਹੀ-/

(ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

## APPENDIX-17

### HUKAMNAMA ISSUED BY JATHEDAR AKAL TAKHT BHAJ PURAN SINGH EXCOMMUNICATING SHIROMANI GURDWARA PRABANDAK COMMITTEE PRESIDENT BIBI JAGIR KAUR FROM SIKH PANTH

ਮਿਤੀ 23-12-2000

#### ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ

ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਪੂਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਹੁਕਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਘੋਰ ਉਲੰਘਣਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਦੋਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਤੇ ਖਾਰਜ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਨੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਹੁਕਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਵਾਰ ਵਾਰ ਉਲੰਘਣਾ ਕੀਤੀ ।

ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਐਗਜ਼ੈਕਟਿਵ ਕਮਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਵੀਂ ਜੰਤਰੀ ਬਾਰੇ ਚੱਲੀ ਮੀਟਿੰਗ ਵਿੱਚ ਦਲ ਦਾ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਕੀਤਾ ਪਰ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਉਲਟ ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਨੇ ਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਪੁਰੇਵਾਲ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਰਪਾਉ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਜੰਤਰੀ ਚਾਲੂ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ। ਉਸ ਉਪਰੰਤ ਜੰਤਰੀ ਉਪਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਪਾਬੰਦੀ ਲਗਾਈ ਗਈ ।

4 ਨਵੰਬਰ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਜੰਤਰੀ ਉਪਰ ਫਿਰ ਪਾਬੰਦੀ ਲਗਾਈ ਗਈ ਪਰ ਬੀਬੀ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ (ਦੇ) ਹੁਕਮਾਂ (ਦੀ) ਪਰਵਾਹ ਨਾ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਜੋ 14 ਜਨਵਰੀ ਪੋਹ ਸਦੀ ਸਤਵੀਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦਾ ਅਵਤਾਰ ਪੂਰਬ ਮਨਾਇਆ ਜਾਣਾ ਸੀ, ਪਰ ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ (ਨੇ) ਇਹ ਪੂਰਬ 5 ਜਨਵਰੀ (ਨੂੰ) ਸਿੱਖ ਕੌਮ ਨੂੰ ਮਨਾਉਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਬਿਆਨ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਕਈ ਜਗ੍ਹਾਂ 'ਤੇ ਜਬਰਦਸਤੀ ਇਹ ਦਿਨ ਮਨਵਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਪਰ ਸਾਰੀ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਦਿਨ 14 ਜਨਵਰੀ ਪੋਹ ਸਦੀ ਸਤਵੀਂ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਮਨਾਇਆ ।

ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਜਿੰਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਇਹ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਪੇਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦੀ, ਉਨਾਂ ਚਿਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮ ਲੇਵਾ ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਸਟੇਜ ਤੇ ਬੋਲਣ ਨਾ ਦੇਣ । 27 ਜਨਵਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਐਗਜ਼ੈਕਟਿਵ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ

ਮੀਟਿੰਗ ਤੇ ਰੋਕ ਲਗਾਈ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਐਗਜ਼ੈਕਟਿਵ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਮੈਂਬਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ 'ਤੇ 2 ਫਰਵਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਸਵੇਰੇ 10 ਵਜੇ ਤਲਬ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਦਾਸ

ਸਹੀ/- (ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਪੂਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਸਹੀ /-(ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਰੋਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਸਹੀ /-(ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸੂਬਾ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਸਹੀ /-(ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਮਿਲਖਾ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਸਹੀ /-(ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

**APPENDIX-18**  
**HUKAMNAMA ISSUED BY JATHEDAR AKAL TAKHT**  
**BHAI PURAN SINGH EXDCOMMUNICATING**  
**IMPORATANT PERSONALTIES OF SIKH PANTH**

ਮਿਤੀ 12-03-2000

**ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ**

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ॥

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ॥

ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਆਈ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਮੁਤਾਬਕ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ 'ਤੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੋਣ ਲਈ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਭੇਜੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਤੀ 12-3-2000 ਨੂੰ ਸਵੇਰੇ 11.00 ਵਜੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਸਤੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ।

ਅੱਜ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਪਾਵਨ ਪਵਿੱਤਰ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਮਹਾਨ ਇਕੱਠ ਸੀ। ਦਾਸ ਮਿੱਥੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ 11-00 ਵਜੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ 'ਤੇ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ। 12.50 ਵਜੇ ਤਕ ਬੀਬੀ ਦੀ ਇੰਤਜ਼ਾਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ। ਲੇਕਿਨ ਹੰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਭਰੀ ਬੀਬੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਾਮ ਲਸ਼ਕਰ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ 'ਤੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਨਾ ਹੋਈ ਸਗੋਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਮਾਨ-ਮਰਯਾਦਾ ਨੂੰ ਚੈਲਿੰਜ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਚਲੀ ਗਈ ਅਤੇ ਹੁੱਲੜਬਾਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਜ਼ਬਰਦਸਤੀ ਉਪਰ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਚਲੀ ਗਈ, ਜੋ ਇਸ ਨੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਮਾਨ-ਮਰਯਾਦਾ ਨੂੰ ਵੰਗਾਰਿਆ ਹੈ। ਅਜਿਹਾ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਤੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਮਿਲਦਾ।

ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਪੰਥ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਛੇਕੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਇਕੱਠ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠਣ ਨਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਰੱਦ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਣ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ਹਨ, ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਾਟੀਆ, ਮੈਂਬਰ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ (ਐਗਜ਼ੈਕਟਿਵ), ਜਸਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਐਡਵੋਕੇਟ, ਮੈਂਬਰ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ, ਗਿਆਨੀ ਭਗਵਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੈਡ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਕੇਵਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ, ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਮਦਮਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ, ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੇਸਗੜ੍ਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ।

ਜਿੰਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ 'ਤੇ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਮਾਫ਼ੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੰਗਦੇ, ਸੇਵਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਗਵਾਉਂਦੇ, ਓਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ, ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਇਕੱਠ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠਣ ਨਾ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਰੋਟੀ - ਬੋਟੀ ਦੀ ਸਾਂਝ ਰੱਖੀ ਜਾਵੇ।

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਸਵਾਰਥਾ ਨੂੰ ਛੱਡ ਕੇ ਮੀਰੀ-ਪੀਰੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਲਕ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਹਰਿਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸਥਾਪਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਮਾਨ ਮਰਯਾਦਾ ਕਾਇਮ ਰੱਖਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਦਾਸ

ਸਹੀ/-

(ਪੂਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ) ਜਥੇਦਾਰ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ,

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ।



## APPENDIX-19

### ADESH ISSUED BY JATHEDAR AKAL TAKHT BHAI PURAN SINGH APPOINTING ACTING PRESIDENT OF SHIROMANI GURDWARA PRABHANDAK COMMITTEE AND ACTING JATHEDAR OF TAKHT SHRI DAMDAMA SHIB AND KESGARH SAHIB

ਮਿਤੀ 12-03-2000

ਆਦੇਸ਼

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ॥

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਹਿ ॥

ਮੀਰੀ-ਪੀਰੀ ਦੇ ਮਾਲਕ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਹਰਿਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਪਾਵਨ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਹਾਨ ਇਕੱਠ ਵਿਚ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਲਾਲਚਾਂ ਕਾਰਨ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ ਨੂੰ ਰੱਦ ਕੀਤਾ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਤੀ 12-3-2000 ਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹਨ, ਭਗਵਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੈਡ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਕੇਵਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਮਦਮਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ, ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੇਸਗੜ੍ਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਾਟੀਆਂ, ਮੈਬਰ ਅੰਤ੍ਰਿਗ ਕਮੇਟੀ, ਜਸਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਐਡਵੋਕੇਟ, ਮੈਂਬਰ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ।

ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਲਿਖ ਕੇ ਦਾਸ ਨੇ ਮਿਤੀ 12-3-2000 ਐਤਵਾਰ ਸਵੇਰੇ 11-00 ਵਜੇ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਪੇਸ਼ ਹੋਣ ਲਈ ਕਿਹਾ ਸੀ, ਲੇਕਿਨ ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਵਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਭਾਰੀ ਸੱਟ ਵੱਜੀ ਜਦੋਂ ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਹੋਣ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਏ ਹੰਕਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਹੁੱਲੜਬਾਜੀ ਨਾਲ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਉਪਰ 11-00 ਵਜੇ ਦੀ ਬਜਾਏ 12-30 ਵਜੇ ਦਾਖਲ ਹੋਈ ਅਤੇ ਉੱਥੋਂ ਹੀ ਵਾਪਸ ਚਲੀ ਗਈ । ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਕੋਈ ਵਿਅਕਤੀ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਉੱਪਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ।

ਸੋ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਆਦੇਸ਼ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਤੁਰੰਤ ਐਕਟਿੰਗ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਬਣਾ ਕੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਾਜ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ-ਕਾਜ ਚੱਲਦਾ ਰਹੇ। ਜਿਹੜੇ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਛੇਕੇ ਗਏ ਹਨ

ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਐਕਟਿੰਗ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਬਣਾਏ ਜਾਣ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਤਖ਼ਤ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨਾ ਦੀ ਸੇਵਾ ਸੌਂਪੀ ਜਾਵੇ । ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਧਾਰਮਿਕ, ਸਮਾਜਿਕ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਇਕੱਠ ਵਿਚ ਨਾ ਬੈਠਣ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸੱਦੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਮੀਟਿੰਗ ਵਿਚ ਹਿੱਸਾ ਨਾ ਲਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਰੋਟੀ-ਬੋਟੀ ਦੀ ਸਾਂਝ ਰੱਖੀ ਜਾਵੇ। ਜਦੋਂ ਤਕ ਇਹ ਪਾਵਨ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖ਼ਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਭੁੱਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਖਸ਼ਵਾ ਲੈਂਦੇ, ਓਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਇਹ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੇ ।

ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਦਾਸ

ਸਹੀ /-

(ਪੂਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ) ਜਥੇਦਾਰ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖ਼ਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ,

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

## APPENDIX-20

### HUKAMNAMA ISSUED BY JATHEDAR AKAL TAKHT GIANI JOGINDER SINGH VEDANTI TO TAKE BACK ALL HUKAMNAMAS ISSUED BY FORMER JATHEDAR AKAL TAKHT BHAI PURAN SINGH

ਮਿਤੀ 29-03-2000

#### ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ

ਅੱਜ ਮਿਤੀ 29-3-2000 ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖ਼ਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਖੇ ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਣਿਤ ਪੰਜ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀ ਇੱਕਤਰਤਾ ਹੋਈ ਜਿਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖ਼ਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸਾਬਕਾ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਪੂਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਜਨਵਰੀ, ਫਰਵਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਮਾਰਚ 2000 ਵਿੱਚ ਸਮੇਂ ਸਮੇਂ ਕੁਝ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਣ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਐਲਾਨ -ਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਘੋਖਵੀਂ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ।

ਸਾਰੇ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਮਤੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਾਬਕਾ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਜੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਮਿਤੀ 25-1-2000 ਤੋਂ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਮਿਤੀ 28-3-2000 ਤੱਕ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਪੰਥ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਣ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਅਧੀਨ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਸਾਰੇ ਐਲਾਨ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੌਂਤੀ ਸੋਚ ਅਤੇ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਪ੍ਰੇਰਿਤ ਸਨ। ਇਹ ਸਾਰੇ ਐਲਾਨ-ਨਾਮੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਸੋਚ, ਪੰਥਕ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਜੁਗਤ ਤੋਂ ਮੂਲੋਂ ਹੀ ਵਿਰਵੇ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣਿਤ ਪੰਥਕ ਪ੍ਰਪਰਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਖੁੱਲ੍ਹਮ - ਖੁੱਲ੍ਹਾ ਉਲੰਘਣਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ। ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਫਲਸਰੂਪ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਨਮੋਸ਼ੀ ਹੋਈ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਵਜੋਂ ਮਾਨਸਿਕ ਸੰਤਾਪ ਭੋਗਣਾ ਪਿਆ।

ਸੋ ਸਾਬਕਾ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਪੂਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਮਿਤੀ 25-1-2000 ਤੋਂ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਮਿਤੀ 28-3-2000 ਤਕ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਪੰਥ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਣ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਸਮੁੱਚੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਅਧੀਨ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਵਿਅਕਤੀਆਂ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਨਿਰਾਧਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਨਿਰਮੂਲ ਦੋਸ਼ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਥ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਛੇਕਣ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ ਸਾਰੇ ਐਲਾਨ-ਨਾਮੇ ਪੰਜ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੀ ਸਰਬ ਸੰਮਤੀ ਨਾਲ ਅਨੁਚਿਤ ਅਤੇ ਨਾਜਾਇਜ਼ ਕਰਾਰ ਦੇ ਕੇ ਰੱਦ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਫਲਸਰੂਪ ਸਿੰਘ

ਸਾਹਿਬ ਪ੍ਰੋ:ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ, ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਕੇਸਗੜ੍ਹ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਗਿਆਨੀ ਕੇਵਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ, ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਤਖਤ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਮਦਮਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਗਿਆਨੀ ਭਗਵਾਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ, ਮੁੱਖ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਬੀਬੀ ਜਗੀਰ ਕੌਰ ਜੀ, ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਅਤੇ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ, ਸ੍ਰ. ਪ੍ਰੀਤਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ, ਸ੍ਰ. ਜਸਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਐਡਵੋਕੇਟ, ਸ੍ਰ. ਗੁਰਪਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ, ਸ੍ਰ. ਰਘੁਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਅਤੇ ਸ੍ਰ. ਸਤਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ ਭਾਈ ਰੂਪਾ, ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਭਨਾ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਦੋਸ਼ ਮੁਕਤ ਐਲਾਨਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਇਹ ਸਾਰੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਪਿਆਰ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਥਕ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਵਿਚ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੰਥ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸੌਂਪੀ ਹੋਈ ਸੇਵਾ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਵਾਂਗ ਹੀ ਨਿਭਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਅਸੀਸਾਂ ਦੇ ਪਾਤਰ ਬਣੇ ਰਹਿਣਗੇ ।

ਬੀਤੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੇ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਘਟਨਾਕ੍ਰਮ ਉੱਤੇ ਦੁੱਖ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਵਾ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਨਿਮਾਣੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਕੌਮ ਦੀ ਹੋਈ ਨਮੋਸ਼ੀ ਅਤੇ ਹੰਡਾਏ ਮਾਨਸਿਕ ਸੰਤਾਪ ਲਈ ਖਿਮਾ ਦੀ ਯਾਚਨਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਹੈ। ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੀ ਮੇਹਰ ਕਰਨ ।

ਅੱਗੇ ਤੋਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨਿਮਾਣੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਿਰ ਉੱਤੇ ਮੇਹਰ ਭਰਿਆ ਹੱਥ ਰੱਖ ਕੇ ਸੁਚੱਜੇ ਢੰਗ ਨਾਲ ਸੇਵਾ ਨਿਭਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਬਲ ਬਖਸ਼ਣ। ਇਸ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਸਮੂਹਕ ਪ੍ਰਾਸਚਿਤ ਲਈ ਮਿਤੀ 30-3-2000 ਦਿਨ ਵੀਰਵਾਰ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਦਿਵਸ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ । ਇਸ ਦਿਨ ਸਵੇਰੇ 7-30 ਵਜੇ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਵੇਲੇ ਦੇ ਦੀਵਾਨ ਦੀ ਸਮਾਪਤੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ, ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੇ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਸੰਗਤੀ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਜਪੁਜੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਪਾਠ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਾਤਿਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੀ ਤੋਂ ਬਖਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਦੀ ਯਾਚਨਾ ਕਰਨਗੇ ।

ਅੰਤ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਨੂੰ ਹਦਾਇਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਕਿ

- (1) ਜਲਦੀ ਤੋਂ ਜਲਦੀ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸੋਚ ਵਾਲੇ ਮਾਹਿਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਕਮੇਟੀ ਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੇ ਜਥੇਦਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾ ਨਿਯਮ, ਜਿਵੇਂ ਨਿਯੁਕਤੀ ਲਈ ਯੋਗਤਾਵਾਂ, ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਜ ਖੇਤਰ, ਕਾਰਜ ਵਿਧੀ, ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਜ਼ਿੰਮੇਵਾਰੀਆਂ, ਸੇਵਾ ਮੁਕਤੀ ਆਦਿ ਦੇ ਨਿਯਮ ਨਿਰਧਾਰਤ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸਮੇਂ-ਸਮੇਂ ਪੇਸ਼ ਆਉਣ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਪੰਥਕ ਸਮੱਸਿਆਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਸਮਾਧਾਨ ਅਤੇ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਜਾਣ ਦਾ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਵਿਧੀ ਵਿਧਾਨ ਸੁਨਿਸਚਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਭਵਿੱਖ ਵਿਚ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਵੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ ਸਮੇਂ-ਸਮੇਂ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਮਾਨਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਪਵਿੱਤਰਤਾ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਵੇ।

- (2) ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਐਕਟ ਨੂੰ ਬਣਿਆ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਪੌਣੀ ਸਦੀ ਹੋ ਚੁੱਕੀ ਹੈ। ਸਮੇਂ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਬਲ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥਕ ਯੁਕਤ ਦੇ ਅਨੁਸਾਰੀ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਇਸ ਐਕਟ ਅਧੀਨ ਬੀਤੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਈ ਲਾਭ ਹਾਨੀ ਦਾ ਲੇਖਾ-ਜੋਖਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਐਕਟ ਵਿਚ ਪੰਥਕ ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਉਲਟ ਜੋ ਕੋਈ ਧਾਰਾ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਸੋਧ ਲਈ ਉਪਰਾਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ।
- (3) ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਨੂੰ ਸਿਆਸਤ ਦੀ ਕੁਟਲਤਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਤੋਂ ਪਾਕ ਰੱਖਣ ਨੂੰ ਯਕੀਨੀ ਬਣਾਇਆ ਜਾਵੇ।
- (4) ਸ਼੍ਰੋਮਣੀ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਕਮੇਟੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਅਤੇ ਬਾਕੀ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਆਪੋ ਆਪਣੀ ਥਾਵੇਂ ਪੰਥ ਦੀਆਂ ਗੌਰਵਸ਼ੀਲ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਹਨ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸੰਸਥਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰੂ-ਪੰਥ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸੋਧੀ ਹੋਈ ਜ਼ਿੰਮੇਵਾਰੀ ਪਰਸਪਰ ਪਿਆਰ ਸਤਿਕਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਮਿਲਵਰਤਣ ਦੀ ਭਾਵਨਾ ਅਧੀਨ ਨਿਭਾ ਕੇ ਗੁਰੂ-ਪੰਥ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਸੁਰਖਰੂ ਹੋਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ।

-/ਸਹੀ (ਮੋਹਣ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਹੈਡ ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ,  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

-/ ਸਹੀ (ਜੋਗਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਜਥੇਦਾਰ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

-/ ਸਹੀ (ਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

-/ ਸਹੀ (ਗੁਰਬਚਨ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ

-/ਸਹੀ (ਰਵੇਲ ਸਿੰਘ)

ਗ੍ਰੰਥੀ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ  
ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

**CONSTITUTION  
OF  
SHIROMANI AKALI DAL  
(ENGLISH VERSION)**

**CONSTITUTION OF SHIROMANI AKALI DAL  
(English Version)**

**THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE BODY IS  
BASED.**

The Shiromani Akali Dal is a political party, which is formed on the basis of democratic principles and to create an environment through democratic and peaceful means to secure better standard of living, equality and justice for all sections of society and especially to safeguard the interests of National Minorities in general and Sikhs in particular. The Shiromani Akali Dal realizes that India is a federal and republican geographical entity of different languages, religions and cultures. To safeguard the fundamental rights of the religious and linguistic minorities, to fulfill the demands of the democratic traditions and pave the way for economic progress, it has become imperative that the Indian constitutional structure be given a real federal shape by redefining centre state relations and rights on the lines of the aforesaid principles and objectives.

**AIMS AND OBJECTS**

“The Shiromani Akali Dal realizes that India is a federal and republican geographical entity of different languages, religions and cultures. To safeguard the fundamental rights of the religious and linguistic minorities, to fulfill the demands of the democratic traditions and to pave the way for economic progress it has become imperative that the Indian constitutional

structure be given a real federal shape by redefining the Centre and State relations and rights on the lines of aforesaid principles and objectives.”

“Shiromani Akali Dal has ever stood firm on this principle and that is why after very careful consideration it unanimously adopted a resolution to this effect first at All India Akali Conference , Batala, then at Shri Anandpur Sahib endorsing the principle of Federalism.

As such, the Shiromani Akali Dal emphatically urges upon the Government of India to take cognizance of the different linguistic and cultural sections, religious minorities as also the voice of million of people and recast the constitutional structure of the country on real and meaningful federal intergrity of the country and further, to enable the states to play a useful role for the progress and prosperity of the Indian people in their respective areas by meaningful exercise of the powers”

### **ENROLMENT**

1. Every adult is eligible for enrolment as primary member of the Shiromani Akali Dal after depositing membership fee for a period of three years provided:
  - A) He/She has faith in the programmes and policies of Shiromani Akali Dal:
  - B) Does not believe in untouchability, areas bias and caste system.
  - C) Does not drink liquor.
  - D) No member of the Shiromani Akali Dal can become a member of any other political body or association without the prior approval of the Working Committee.
2. Admission to the Shiromani Akali Dal shall remain open throughout the year. Every person can apply for

membership on the prescribed proforma along-with advance payment of enrolment fee. The Working Committee will have the right to reject any application. Only those would be eligible for participation in annual election who have' been enrolled on or before the last date prescribed.

### **ENROLMENT FEE**

3. (A) Membership fee for primary membership shall be Rs.5/ payable in advance. Distribution of enrolment fee shall be as under:--

a) for the State of Punjab:--

Shiromani Akali Dal	Rs. 3.50
District Akali Jatha	Rs. 1.00
Circle Akali Jatha	Rs. 0.50

b) States other than Punjab :--

Shiromani Akali Dal	Rs. 3.50
State Akali Dal	Rs. 1.50

c) Foreign countries:--

Shiromani Akali Dal	Rs. 3.50
State Akali Jatha	Rs. 1.50

**NOTE:** Total enrolment fee shall be deposited in the office of Shiromani Akali Dal in advance by every Jatha. The Akali Dal will then make payment to the respective Jathas as per their share.

B) Delegates to the circle Akali Jathas shall pay Rs.25/- annually to their respective Jathas and Delegates to the District Akali Jathas shall pay Rs. 50/- annually to their respective District Jathas/State Akali Dal.

C) Every General Delegate to the Shiromani Akali Dal shall pay Rs. 100/- to the funds of Shiromani Akali Dal annually.



- D) Only those members would be eligible to vote in meeting of their respective Jathas, who have paid their dues before the start of the meeting.

### **ORGANISATION**

- A) A minimum of ten members are required for establishing a Jathas in any village town or city. There shall be only one Jatha in any one village town and city.
- B) A minimum of one hundred primary members or existence of 5 local jathas shall be a pre-condition for constituting the Circle Akali Jatha. The area under the jurisdiction of a particular Police Station shall comprise the area under that Circle Akali Jatha within the State of Punjab. The Working Committee shall fix the limits of the Circle Akali Jathas outside Punjab.
- C) The Distt. Akali Jatha will be constituted by the elected Delegates of the Circle Akali Jatha. Where Circle Akali Jathas have not been constituted, Distt. Akali Jathas can be set up by the Special Approval of Shiromani Akali Dal provided more than one hundred primary members have been enrolled in that District.
- D) Village Akali Jathas shall elect members for their Circle Jathas. Members of the Circle Akali Jathas will elect general members for their Distt. Jathas.

### **ELECTION**

5. (A) Shiromani Akali Dal shall be organized at the village level. Members of the village Jatha will elect one member for every 100 members as general member of their Circle Akali Jatha. Every 25members of the Circle Akali Jatha shall elect one Delegate for the Distt. Jatha. Each Distt. Jatha shall elect Delegates for the general house of Shiromani

Akali Dal only in accordance with the quota allotted by the Akali Dal to the Districts. For each Delegate elected by the District Jatha, a minimum of 500 primary members should have been enrolled.

- B) All jathedars (Presidents) of the Shiromani Akali Dal, State Akali and Distt. Akali Jathas who have remained on that position for a minimum of one year and fill in the application form for the primary membership of the Jatha of which they were Presidents shall be treated as General Members of that Jatha.
- C) Enrolment of primary membership of Akali Dal will be held every three years. Delegates to the Circle, District, State & Shiromani Akali Dal and office bearers of the village jathas shall hold office for a period of three years, but the election by the general house of the Circle Jathas, Distt. Jathas, President, State Akali Dal, President Shiromani Akali Dal will be elected by their respective general houses for three years. The Working Committees shall comprise of 51 members including office bearers. The President shall nominate 31 members including the office bearers the remaining 20 shall be directly elected by the general house. The Shiromani Akali Dal Working Committee will have the dates of enrolment and election. The Working Committee will have the right to postpone the date for enrolment and election for special reasons.
- D) President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, Distt Akali Jatha, Circle Jatha will hold office till the election of the next Presidents.
- E) Election of the general members of the Distt. Akali Jathas of Shiromani Akali Dal shall be conducted in the general

meeting of the District Akali Jatha under the Presidentship of the observer appointed by the Shiromani Akali Dal.

- F) At the time of organizational elections, it would be imperative for the elected Jathedar of each unit to give due representation to the minority group according to their strength.
- G) The maximum number of General Delegates to the Shiromani Akali Dal including ex-officio members will not exceed 500. District – Wise distribution is as under:--

**PUNJAB**

Sr No.	Name of the District	No. of Delegates
1	Amritsar Rural	35
2	Amritsar City	10
3	Batinda	25
4	Ferozepur	20
5	Faridkot	07
6	Fateh Garh Sahib	10
7	Gurdaspur	22
8	Hoshiarpur	11
9	Jalandhar Rural	22
10	Jalandhar City	08
11	Kapurthlala	20
12	Ludhiana Rural	26
13	Ludhiana City	10
14	Mukatsar	20
15	Moga	11
16	Mansa	12
17	Nawan Shahar	12
18	Patti	12
19	Patiala Rural	20

20	Patilala City	08
21	Ropar	19
22	Sangrur	30

### **DELEGATES OF OTHER STATES AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES**

Sr No.	Name of State or Country	Total State Delegate
1	Uttar Pardesh	08
2	Uttranchal	04
3	Haryana	30
4	Delhi	10
5	Chandigarh	03
6	J&K	04
7	Himachal Pardesh	02
3	Rajasthan	10
4	TamilNaidu	01
5	Bihar	02
6	Maharashtra	04
7	Canada	05
8	Afganistan	00
9	Iran	00
10	USA	05
11	Africa	00
12	Australia	01
13	Singapore	01

#### **NOTE:**

The above figures shall be presented before the first meeting of the general house after each census for its consideration.

On any vacancy being caused in the general house either by the death, resignation or expulsion of any member, the

President will have power of nomination for filling of any such vacancy for the remaining term.

### **OFFICE BEARERS**

Akali Jathas of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall have the following office bearers:

Sr No	Designation	Total
1	Patron	2
2	Jathedar (President)	1
3	Senior Vice Presidents	4
4	Vice Presidents	4
5	Secretary General	1
6	General Secretary	6
7	Secretary	1
8	Organisation Secretary	2
9	Press Secretary	1
10	Treasurer	1

**NOTE:** The President shall have the powers to increase or decrease the number of office bearers as per the requirements of the time. He has the right of nomination against any post falling vacant.

- 7) In the event of the vacancy falling to the office of the President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, The Working Committee shall have the power to fill this post till such time the election is held. Same shall apply to Distt. And Circle office bearers.
- 8) In the event of office bearers of the Circle, Distt., State or the Shiromani Akali Dal having been sent to jail for a period exceeding three months or sickness for the same period a temporary vacancy for that post would be

taken to have occurred. The Working Committee will have the powers to make temporarily appointments against the said vacancy.

- 9) The general body of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall meet at least once every year and a report regarding the activities of the Dal in the previous year shall be presented for the consideration of the House. Subsequent upon deliberation of the prevailing situation, programme for the next year will be prepared.

### **DUTIES OF THE OFFICE BEARERS**

10 (A) President (Jathedar) of Shiromani Akali Dal will be responsible for implementation of the programme and policies of the Shiromani Akali Dal and work for the accomplishment of the objectives of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

B) Senior Vice President will perform any such duties as are assigned to him by the President. He will also look after the duties of the President in case of the absence of the President.

C) Vice President will perform any such duties as are assigned to him by the President and in his absence by the Senior vice President. He will also perform the duties of Senior Vice President in the case of his absence.

### **GENERAL SECRETARIES**

A) General Secretaries shall be responsible for the office work and the President will distribute the work load among them.

B) Supervision of the work of Secretary.

C) Approval of the bill for expenses.

D) Preparation of the Budget etc.

E) Successful implementation of the organizational programmes as directed by the Akali Dal.

## **SECRETARY**

- A) To manage the office work under the supervision of the General Secretaries.
- B) Maintain accounts.
- C) To maintain the records and correspondence.
- D) To take down the notes of the proceedings of the meetings and presentation of the agenda in the meetings.

## **TREASURER**

To arrange collection of funds for the Shiromani Akali Dal and supervise the accounts.

## **FUNDS**

- A) Funds will be accounted under the following heads:--
  - a) General donations.
  - b) Annual subscription by the members.
  - c) Share of the membership fee.
  - d) Misc.
- B) Expenses will be accounted as follows: ----
  - a) Monetary help to any Akali worker for special services rendered for the party.
  - b) Pay and allowances of the office employees.
  - c) Expenses incurred for implementation of the Shiromani Akali Dal resolutions and for holding rallies/meetings etc.
  - d) Misc. by orders of the President.
  - e) Party accounts will be maintained in any branch of the Scheduled Bank and will be operated by the President/Treasurer and one office bearers designated by the President for this purpose. Any two members can be empowered by the President to operate the account.

## **POLITICAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE**

11. The Political Affairs Committee will consist of 25 members.

## **WORKING COMMITTEE**

12. The working committee shall comprise of 51 members.

## **GENERAL COUNCIL**

13. Total membership of the Council will be 101. This will be nominated by the President from amongst notable personalities in various fields.

## **QUORUM**

14. One fifth of the total membership of all the Jathas of the Shiromani Akali Dal will constitute the Quorum for their meeting but in the case of Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal one third of the total membership shall form the quorum.

## **MEETINGS**

15. (A) The General House of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall meet at least once every year in addition to other annual gatherings.

(B) The Political Affairs Committee and Working Committee shall meet at least once every two months and the council, if constituted, will hold a meeting every three months.

(C) No confidence motion against the President can only be brought forth if it forms part of the agenda circulated for that meeting. In case of no confidence motion being passed in the meeting the post of the President will be considered as vacant and a new President may be elected in the same meeting.

In the case of the no confidence motion against the President being passed in the Working committee, an appeal against it would lie with general house. Same rule will apply to



all the Jathas of the Shiromani Akali Dal except that a no confidence motion in these Jathas can be brought forth with the approval of the Shiromani Akali Dal. No confidence motion can only be brought forth after a period of three months from the date of election.

(D) No confidence motion against the President of the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Distt. Jathedars can be passed by a majority of members of the General House, present and voting.

(E) President of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall have the powers to summon meetings. In case of refusal by the President to summon a meeting 30 members of the General House or 10 members of the Council or 5 members of the Working Committee can issue requisition for a meeting, the President shall be bound to call a meeting on the receipt of such a notice. The persons requisitioning such a meeting shall have the right to summon the meeting on their own provided the President does not fix a date of the meeting within 7days of the receipt of such notice and meeting of the General House is not fixed within one month of the receipt of such notice and 15 days in case of the Council and that of the Working Committee within 7 days. Such a requisitioned meeting can only be held at the head quarters of the Shiromani Akali Dal.

16. Annual report will be read before the annual meeting of the general house and printed audit report will be circulated.

17. The budget of the Shiromani Akali Dal will be approved at the beginning of each year by the Working Committee and monthly accounts report will be placed before each meeting of the Working Committee.

18. The Working Committee shall have the powers to make rules regarding the maintenance of the accounts.
19. The accounts of the Shiromani Akali Dal will be audited annually and audit report will be placed before the meeting of the Working Committee.
20. Working Committee will appoint auditors for the accounts for the Distt. Jathas.
21. Rules and regulations and resolutions formulated in the matter of accounts shall be binding on all Jathas.
22. Concerned Jathas will be responsible for their own income and expenses of funds, but the auditing of the accounts will be done by appointees of the Shiromani Akali Dal.
23. The Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall have the powers to dissolve any Jathas in case of the Jatha flouting the rules, resolutions and directions or on refusal to perform organizational duties or working against the interests of the party. The working Committee shall appoint an adhoc Jatha in such a situation in its place. Within specified period fresh enrolment for the Jatha shall be initiated and a new Jatha will be installed through election.
24. Every member shall be bound to obey the directions of his Jathedars in connection with organisations work.
25. The Working Committee shall have the powers to expel any member from the party. However, the Distt. Akali Jatha can suspend any member for any lapses.

### **ELECTION PETITIONS**

26. (A) Election petitions against the elections of the office bearers and Delegates of concerned Jathas of Shiromani Akali Dal shall be submitted at the head office of

Shiromani Akali Dal within 15 days of the announcement of the results of the concerned election.

(B) The working committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal will appoint an election tribunal comprising of three independent persons of high integrity to hear the election petition. One among them shall be appointed as Chairman and the decision of the tribunal shall be final and binding. The Working Committee will have the powers to frame rules and bye-laws in this connection.

(C) Election petition can be filed on the basis of violation of the rules which have materially affected election results.

(D) Every election petition will be accompanied by advance deposit as follows:--

Village Akali Jatha	Rs. 20.00
Circle Akali Jatha	Rs. 50.00
Distt. Akali Jatha	Rs. 100.00
State Akali Jatha	Rs. 1000.00
President Shiromani Akali Dal	Rs. 2000.00

(E) Election petition can be filed by the defeated candidate or a minimum ten voters.

(F) Election petition can be withdrawn at any time.

27. Any member of the Shiromani Akali Dal or office bearers who is in default of payment of advance for a period of three months shall not have the right to vote in any meeting till such time that he clears his arrears.

28. The Working Committee shall have the powers to frame rules for the implementation of these regulations/bye-laws provided no such rules shall be in contravention of these regulations/ bye-laws.

29. Any vacancy falling in the general house of the Circle, Distt. Or State Akali Dal shall be filled up by the Working Committee of the concerned Jatha with the condition that it shall be filled up from the same village/Distt. In which it has fallen vacant. State Akali Dal outside Punjab will enjoy the status of Distt. Akali Jathas within Punjab.
30. Distt. Akali Jathas can further frame rules for the convenience of their working with approval of the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal. But any such rule shall not be in contravention of the aims and regulations of the Shiromani Akali Dal. These rules and regulations of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall supercede any such rules framed by the Distt. Jathas.
31. Amendments to these regulations can be made by approval of two third majority of the members of the general house present and voting. Any such amendments or framing new rules/ regulations shall first be placed before the working Committee and shall be circulated with the agenda of the general house meeting.
32. Every elected Member of Parliament and Member of Legislative Assembly on the party ticket will contribute monthly subscription of Rs.100/- and Rs.50/- respectively. Clearing of arrears shall be necessary for obtaining further nomination.
32. Every unit of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall have minimum of 2 office bearers and 3 members to the working committee from amongst the Scheduled Castes and Backward classes.
33. Every unit of the Shiromani Akali Dal shall have a minimum of one lady member.

34. Decision of the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal regarding the interpretation of these regulations shall be final and binding.
35. Shiromani Akali Dal shall bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of India as by law established and to the principals of socialism, secularism and democracy and shall uphold the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India.

## DECLARATION

I hereby affirm that the work presented in this thesis titled, **“FACTIONALISM IN AKALI DAL SINCE 1997”** is exclusively my own and there are no collaborators. It does not contain any work of or which a degree/diploma has been awarded by any other university/institution.

*Parmjit Kaur*  
**(Parmjit Kaur)**

17 ..... 12 ..... 2014 .....  
Day Month Year

*J. A. Khan*  
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Day Month Year

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

SAD	:	Shiromani Akali Dal
BJP	:	Bhartiya Janta Party
INC	:	Indian National Congress
DMK	:	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
AIADMK:		All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
PHD	:	Doctor of Philosophy
CM	:	Chief Minister
TDP	:	Telugu Desam Party
BSP	:	Bahujan Samaj Party
SC	:	Scheduled Castes
ST	:	Scheduled Tribes
OBC	:	Other Backward Classes
LBP	:	Lok Bhalai Party
PPP	:	Punjab Peoples Party
AAP	:	Aam Aadmi Party
DK	:	Dravida Kazhagam
CPI	:	Communist Party of India
SGPC:		Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandak Committee
CID	:	Crime Investigation Department
MLA	:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NDA	:	National Democratic Alliance
CBI	:	Central Bureau of Investigation
BKS	:	Bhartiya Kisan Sangh
AISSEF:		All India Sikh Students Fedration
SHSAD:		Sarb Hind Shiromani Akali Dal
CPM	:	Communist Party of India
NCP	:	Nationalist Congress Party
BKU	:	Bhartiya Kisan Union
SSF	:	Sikh Students Federation