Chapter-3

Nature of Party System in Punjab

Political parties, arena essential where condition for the success for working of representative government political parties, where society and polity meet with each other. Our present modern democratic government cannot function in a well way in the absence of political parties. If we define political parties, are those parties which are organized by group of individuals who attempt to exercise power in their own political system by influencing government policy. Political party is a power seeking instrument which is supported by Schumpeter, Max Weber and sartori.¹

We know that the study of political parties and that of a party system has different perspective. The former concentrates on the unity of a party, their internal organization their programmers and leadership etc. and the latter concentrates on study of their inter relationship among different parties by party systems, we meant that the number of parties and pattern of relationship among the parties with in a political system. In other words, if we analysis of a party system on several levels.²

i.e. internal dynamics of political parties external factors that affect their working and how this system works in a state.

Party system is a product of many different and compete factors like traditions and history, social and economic structure, religion, beliefs, social composition, national rivalries, social conflict and so on. If we see the ecological profile of state of Punjab. It consists of various factors like historical, social and economic, demographic and political in general, which also influenced the party system.³

In 1947, India was partitioned, and Punjab was also divided into two parts. The new state of Punjab in the Indian union consists of thirteen districts while sixteen districts of united Punjab were included in the new state of Pakistan. After partition the Hindu became a majority community with sixty one percent of the population. The Sikhs became a sizable minority with thirty three percent of the population within six districts. With the integration of the primary states Patiala and other eastern Punjab states were brought together to form a new state of the Indian union with the name, the PEPSU (Patiala and Eastern Punjab States' Union) Later, during the reorganization of the starts, the PEPSU areas were combined with Punjab in 1956.
The Punjab underwent another reorganization on 1st November 1966 when the contiguous Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab comprising South-East of the river Ghagar were joined together to form a new Hindi speaking state of Haryana. To form a bigger Hindi-speaking area such as Kulu, Kangra, and Shimla were taken away. The creation of the Punjabi-speaking state on linguistic basis led to drastic demographic changes, having wider political implications. By the transfer of Hindi-speaking areas from the Punjab, the Sikhs become the majority community in all the districts except in Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, and Jaladhar. The Sikhs now had a great shore more than three fifth of the state's population socially, the prominent feature of the state has been the prevalence of religion, linguistic and caste cleavages. Religion has become the single most important factor in the politics of the state since it overlaps and across cuts regionalism and rural-urban orientation and injects a dynamic element into otherwise static categories on many occasion, religious differences has prolonged conflicts between the two major communities, the state, the Hindu and the Sikhs. These differences between them. Sometimes took the state to linguistic controversies between the protagonists of Hindi and Punjabi. Languages caste conflicts have cleared itself the agriculture and non-agricultural castes on the one hand, and between the higher castes and the scheduled castes on the other.

The two major communities the Hindu and Sikhs also differ in terms of rural urban spread. The Sikhs are predominantly rural, 85 percent among them line in rural areas and the Hindus who dominate in urban areas, are 52 and 48 percent next the peasantry and artisan caste groups predominate amongst the Sikhs, while upper caste mercantile caste group is predominantly Hindu number of scheduled castes. Who are statistically Hindus and Sikhs, form a group lying in the twilight zone between the Hindu and Sikh communities.

As we see the caste system we see in the country which not rigid in Punjab. Every religious community in Punjab is internally divided by the cleavages of caste. About percent of the Sikh their main occupation has been the agriculture. This was mainly owned by Jatts in Punjab. In Punjab villages, the Jat often dominates numerically, politically and economically. They feel superior over all other castes in the village. The Khatri Sikhs rank next. Tarkhans and Kalats are below. Kambj, mallisnadsainies are other agricultural scheduled castes. Ramdasias and Majhabis.
The Majhabi Sikhs are known as the scheduled caste Sikhs. They provide mostly agriculture labour in Punjab. They are looked down by Jat land owners. This caste cleavage in Punjab is further reinforced by the class cleavage of landowners and landless labourers same amount of polarization is witnessed amongst various caste groups. The non-jat caste groups The Majhabis, SikhKhatries and artisan, castes Jain hands the pre dominance of the jat Sikhs and in regard to their role in two major political parties of the state the Akali Dal and the congress.7

In Punjab the Hindus mainly consist of three castes KhatriesAroras and Banias and their main occupation is trade. All these castes constitute urban class in Punjab. There are other many Hindus lower castes politically. Hindu Castes generally supported either the congress or the BJP.

Economically we know that Punjab is an agricultural state and also its economy mainly dependent on agriculture than on industry Punjab is relatively on prosperous state and is amongst the highest per capita income in the country Punjab economic prosperity has primarily resulted from modernization of its agriculture. Increase in agriculture production has given small scull industry and other medium sized industries and we can see these similar balance in the asocial. Economic relations and consequently in the politics of the state one notable result has been that the rural land cord peasantry has become relatively stronger in the politics and economy of the state. This vast change in the history of Punjabmainly caused by green revolution in late 1960s and early 1970s which made Punjab the food Bowe of India.8

Regionalism is another factor that in its various forms has also influenced the working of political parties. Regionalization of Politics is a major trend regional Political parties have superior influence over national parties in many state. In Punjab prior to the reorganization of the state in 1966, regionalism manifested itself in the form of certain cultural, religious and linguistic differences among the three well marked regions of the state, viz, the hill region, presently constituting the Himachal Pardesh, Haryana and the Punjabi region. However after the Organization of the state, regionalism took the shape of the sharp differences between the state and the central government. The Akali Dal has often blamed the central government of discriminating against the state. Particularly in the allotment of centrally founded
projects and pooled resources. However this phenomenon of regionalism in Punjab took a new shape in the early 80s. The 1980s witnessed a militant era in the Punjab politics. A number of Sikh militant outfits demanded separate state in the name of Khalistan. Akali Leadership was helpless in this situation. Its programme of more rights to the state almost lost its pursuit unit the suppression of the militant movement in the early 90s by the congress government. The influence of all these factors can be seen over the functioning of all the parties active in the politics of Punjab.\(^9\)

Party system in India has been the dominance of the congress party of quite a long period. The studies of Kothari, morris jones and ecopalkrishana have enlightened the main feature of one party dominance in India and Indian party system has underwent vital charges during the past three decades. The significant change of the congress dominate system and the rise of regional political parties, as in the form of greater competitive politics. Even in India, Today all the India political parties like the Indian National Congress, the BhatriyaJanta Party (BJP) the communist parties (The CPI) and the CPICM and the BSP are dominating in specific regions and are competing for power at the centre. Today, none of these parties has a base in majority of the regions of the country as the congress had in Nehruvian era. So the attempts are made by these parties to form union with regional parties in order to strengthen their regional base regional parties share power with national parties at the centre while concentrating their activities in their respective regions. The Akali Dal in Punjab. The national conference and the people's democratic party (PDP) in Jammu and Kashmir, the DMK and the AIADMK in Tamilnadu, the Shiv Sena and the national congress party (NCP) in Maharashatra, the Indian national lok dal (INLD) in Haryana, the RashtriyaJanta Dal (RJD) the LokJanshakti Party (LJP) and the Janta Dal (U) in Bihar, the Trinamul national congress in West Bengal, the Janta Dal (Democratic in Karnalaka, the Samajwadi party in Uttar Pardesh, the Jharkhand MuktiMorcha in the newly created state of Jharkhand and the TelguDesam Party in Andhra Pradesh are some important regional parties have effectively competed with the national parties in their respective areas of influence and been successful in forming the governments at state level on their own strength. They have undersined the base of the national parties. Particularly the congress party.\(^{10}\)

Through this successful developments competitive party system hance also come out in the states district from, yet closely selated top the national system two
categories can be identified one in which a regional party is dominant and another one, in which all India and states parties complete for power. Most of the state have a per dominantly two party system. The Akali Dal and the congress in Punjab. The marxists and the congress in Kerla, Shiv Sena BJP and the congress in Maharashtra, the congress and the BJP in Gujrat etc.\textsuperscript{11}

Political configuration in Punjab

Punjab have dual competition system between two dominant parties, the congress party and Akali Dal. The Congress is a leading national party and the Akali Dal is one of the strangest regional parties in India. Sop for in the reorganized Punjab either the Akalis or the congress has been able to control the state power at one time or the other while the other parties have been on the periphery of political power. The other parties include the communist parties the CPI and CPI (M), the BhartiyaJanta Party (BJP) ie. The former Jana Sangh and the BahujanSamaj Party (BSP) have also been active in the politics of Punjab the lokBhalai Party (LBP) and the nationalist congress party (NCP) are the new entrants in the political arena, Besides, There are certain splinter groups of the Akali Dal Among them (Simranjeet Singh Maan led by Akali Dal the Most influential is the Akali Dal led by Simranjeet Singh Mann.\textsuperscript{12}

The Congress Party in Punjab National Congress was founded on 28\textsuperscript{th} December 1885 in Bombay. This Party is the oldest among all other parties in India. In the pre. Independent jears the party system in India was characterized by as an identified centre which was represented by the congress party. It was the only party, which develop a nation-wide organization, and leaders. The congress party in Punjab is the branch of Indian National congress. During 1946 elections that the congress party emerged as a major force and has destined to dominate the political scene of state for the next twenty years i.e. till 1966. Since the congress had the majority in bifurcated assembly after reorganization, It made its ministry the congress fails to make its ministry after the first and second elections held after reorganization in march 1967 and February 1969 respectively. The non-congress rule in Punjab. Going on till march 1972 when third assembly elections were held. Through these election congress returned to power in the state. And congress continued to rule till June 1977. The excessed committed by the congress government during the emergency period resulted in its defeat both at the centre and state level. The Akali Dal with its union
with the newly formed Janta Party were again in power after June 1977 assembly elections.13

The Congress party get back power at the centre in January 1980 mind term elections. The congress managed to win in majority in the state assembly elections and it formed its ministry under the Chief Ministership of Darbara Singh. He however, had to reign in October 1983 on his government’s failure to control the growing Sikh Militant activities in Punjab.14

After staying out of power for a long period, the congress again captured power in Punjab in February 1992 Assembly election, as all the major factions of the Akali Dal notably, the Akali Dal (Badal) and Akali Dal (Mann) hast boycotted these elections. The congress which has been drawing its support from both the Hindi speaking and Punjabi speaking areas of composite Punjab, had to loss power after the reorganization of the Punjab the congress compromised both the Hindus as well as the Sikhs in Punjab. But after the reorganization of the congress has to face with the Akalisalmost on equal times for winning a majority in legislature. More immediately, the influence of the reorganization was particularly difficult to the congress for many of its, supporters, both Hindus and Sikhs, moved away from it, though for different reasons the Hindus blamed it because of accepting the claims of the Akalis for a Punjab state. And the Sikhs criticized it for keeping Chandigarh and some other allegedly Punjabi speaking areas outside the reorganization Punjab. Though with varying degree the support base of the congress comprises both of the Hindus and the Sikhs. In the reorganizationed Punjab. In fact it is the only party which is both multi communal in theory and practice and moderatesocialist in ideological respectect. It has generally been electorally strong in fetching the votes of the scheduled castes and other backward castes due to their apprehensions regarding the Akali Dal being a Jat. Dominated party however, the phenomenon of the BSP resulted in the decay of the congress’s support among the scheduled castes and other backward classes in Punjab for example. The influence of BSP was felt in 2004 loksabha election. This tendency of the scheduled caste voters from the congress in 2004elections fave profit to the Akolik to win 8 loksabhaseats . The congress support base is restricted mainly to hindus and the harigans. Although it has experienced dent in its support base with the emergence of the BJP and the BSP the congress support base is weaker among as compared to that of the Akali Dal in Punjab.15
From various studies of the congress clearly show deceit of the party machinery in states that had been instrument in maintaining the congress dominance at the national level, thus providing place for the rise of the regional parties and district competitive party systems in the states.16

The shiromaniAkali Dal

The ShiromaniAkali Dal (Sub sequently described as the Akali Dal) was come in to its eternal shape during the days of Gurdwara Reforms movement of the 1920s. theAkali Dal Free the Gurdwaras from the had conduct and mismanagement of mahants and guarded them. About the prominent role of Akalis in Guirdweatra reform Movement, Khushwant Singh has remarked which was the movement for the llibration of Gurdwaras (1919 to 1926) mostly described the Akali movement from the their active participation and with their courage Akali volunteers forced the government to pass the Gurudwara Act in 1925 under the Act 1926 the ShiromaniGurdwaraParabdhak Committee (SGPC) exercised jurisdiction over some 200 historic Gurdwaras and snsines in Punjab.17

It was not only the successful freeing of Gurdwara and their it reform, but also important political consequences in the institutional station of the sikh identify while gaining freedom of Gurdwaras , the latter turned in to a comaign against the government in which political feelings became as strong as the religions feeling the general awaiting brought about by the Akali campaign strengthenedthe national movement in India. The congress with peacefulnon cooperation movement in 1920 to 1921, impressed by the passive resistance of the Akalis. Therefore, the congress also decided to support the cause of the Akalis and Gurdwara movement was looked upon as part of the national movement. Because of this cooperation, as a result and Akalis and the congress worked together in the national movement for freedom, in the early 1930s, the Akali dal also connected to the congress sponsored Civil disobedience movement. However, the Akalis continue their efforts to affirm their separate identity. The main focus of the Akali Dal was related to the communal representation and weight age for the Sikhs in the Punjab assembly and central assembly. Thus, we can say that on the one hand the Akali continued to support the congress the freedom movement, while on the other hand it functioned as a pressure group of the Sikhs in relations the congress.18
According the government of India Act 1935, the Punjab was to have a unicameral legislature, brown as the legislative assembly. The first election were to be held in the heinterof 1936-37. The Akali dal opted to contest the elections on its own and decided not to support either the congress or the unionist party and rejected the congress because of its predominantly Anty Sikh, Hindu AryaSamaji Leadership.  

The Akali Dal and congress set apart in 1942 as the Akali leadership entered into an confederation with the ruling unionist party in Punjab. After recurring certain concession for the Sikhs, Sardar Baldev Singh joined the ministry on June 26,1942 as minister for development. After the Sikander Baldev Singh, the Akalis decided to follow an independent policy. 

During the period 1942 to 1947, Akali Dal meet face to face with the increasing demand for the partition of India. Muslim league which had declared in 1940 that Muslims were a separate nation they demanded that the areas where they were in majority should be constituted into a sovereign Muslim state is the Pakistan. The all India Akali conference which held at Attari in 1940, to came to a resolution to resist the demand for Pakistan Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh, and Giani Sher Singh. It would be formed on their dead bodies. The possibility of sovereign of Muslim state of Pakistan grate by troubled the Sikh leaders. In order to the counter it, the Akali Dal demanded for Azad Punjab.

However, as the Pakistan began to loom on the political horizon as a reality, the Sikh demand become more radicalized it now took the form of a sovereign Sikh state. Akali Dal president, The Giani Kartar Singh established on June 17, 1947 that the latest plan of the partition of Punjab which was unacceptable to the Sikhs and The Sikhs who wanted separate Sikh homeland of their own, where they could develop and persevere their culture and their identity. He asserted that partition plan will divided the Sikhs into two parts and they were determined to secure Sikh homeland even if to be engaged in another struggle. But, immediately Akali leader give up the idea of a separate Sikh state and decided to stay in India.

In 1947, the partition of Punjab changed the Indian Punjab in to a Hindu dominated state with a substantial Sikh minority the Akali Dal made their mid to join the first congress ministry in the state. However, the confederation could not last long. Its only came to an and on July 20, 1950. Whose major cause was Sikh minority
apprehension against the Hindu majority. Khushwant Singh has noticed in the regard that the main cause of uneasiness among the Sikh in free India was the resurgence of Hinduism, which threatened to swallow up the minorities completely. Renascent Hinduism, manifested itself in a phenomenal increase in Hindu religious organization, the revival of Sarskriti and the dominance of Hindithe Punjabi Hindu was more aggressive than other Hindu. In this condition again the Akali Dal Demanded for their separate state, Named as Punjabi Suba, Mainly on the basis of Language.23

The Main mortify of a Punjabi speaking state was finally achieved on 1 November, 1966. It can be said a historical victory for the Akali Dal, the winning of a Punjabi Suba would have been unthinkable to all in the persistent opposition of the government in post independence period.24

Since the re-organization of the state, the idea of Akalidal who came to power in Punjab five times was unthinkable to all yet, no Akali Dal led government would work for the full term of five years except the Akali BJP led government formed after the 1997 Assembly elections.25

The Akali Dal, who always used to the politics of agitation, leaving the politics of alliances, when it is out of power, The Akali Dal started an anti-emergency movement, namely, save Democracy Morcha on July 9, 1975. Then, during eighties, it launched an agitation named DharamYudhMorcha to mobilize masses, the Sikhs in particular, were against the congress government for certain demands the religious as well as political by the time, the agitation turned violent and the situation in Punjab take a new turn.26

An agreement knows as "Punjab Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi and the Akali Dal president, SantHarchand Singh Longowal on July 25, 1985 to soothe the Punjab problem but the Punjab accord fails to succeed.

Ideologically, since its beginning, the Akali Dal had been a Political religious Organization of the Sikhs. It is a Theo-political ideology. Theo-political is meant the inseparability of religion and politics. But the Akali leadership is of the view that politics cannot be seen properly without the permission of the religious authority of the Sikh religion, which cannot be safeguarded without holding political power, both go hand in hand.27
Another fact of the Akali Dal's ideology is its goal of "Creating such an environment, where national aspirations and nationality of Sikh path may find complete realization. This goal of the Akali Dal committee of the party of demands ranging from Sikh Homeland to autonomy for the states though the Punjabi suba was created in Nov 1966, yet the Akali mission was not fully activated. In view of the prevailing circumstances, the Akali Dal continued their demand for more kowers to the states within the Indian federal frame work."  

The Akali Dal's religious ideological base is further evident from the goals of the party in chided in the famous and controversial "Anandpur Sahib resolution never the less the jointure of the religious and politics is only one aspect of Akali's ideology on the base of the political party Akali Dal has fought many secular issues. Which is known as AnandpurShib resolution contain a number of issues relating of Punjab."

The several Jat Sikh peasants were the main support base of the Akali Dal. If we compared the Majha and Doaba regions of Punjab, the Malwa region has always been better in Akali's electoral performance due to various factors, one is that in Malwa regions more proportion of the Sikh population as compared the Majha and Doaba regions, which have comparatively larger population of the Hindus. Both castes the Hindus and schedule castes have been supporters of the non Akali parties in Punjab. There for Akali Dal's has always been poor in these regions. That's why in confederation with the BJP, BJP has allotted maximum seats in these regions so, to increase its support base among the schedule castes, theAkali Dal also formed the alliance with the BSP on certain occasions, like in the LokSabha elections 1996.

The BhartiyaJanata Party (BJP)

After the facedown of Janata Government at the centre, the BhartiyaJanata Party was formed in 1980. The BJP is the current manifestation of the former janaSangh, with its long tradition of militant Hindu nationalist politics. The janasangh was formed in 1950 by the cadre of the RashtriyaSwayahSevakSangh (RSS) The Jana Sangh played a role of leading proponent of the Hindu cultural nationalism and became partner in the coalition government formed in 1967 and 1969 with Akali Dal and other. Which became one of four coalition parties in establishing the Janata party in 1977 and coalition government was also formed at the state level. Now the BJP is
almost a permanent alliance partner of the Akali Dal in the State. The Akali Dal also expands its support to the BJP in certain other states with Sikh population particular in Delhi. In the case of Haryana the Akali Dal prefers, the INLD, a regional outfit, instead of the BJP.\textsuperscript{31}

The Hindu nationalism is the core of BJP's ideology. Therefore, the BJP is predominantly called a party of Hindus. Which is educated, high castes, urban Hindus that support them. It is called that Hindus form a nation to which all individual belong, irrespective of their castes, class, creed and languages. It works upon the idea of a nation which belongs to one country, one people one culture. That's why: the minority community representation in the BJP is mere nominal.\textsuperscript{32}

**The communist parties- the CPI and the CPI (M)**

The communist party of India (CPI) was founded in 1925. Which combined with the congress in the independence movement in the 1950 and was involved with the congress socialist with the coming of independence, the communists were divided over the appropriate approach to the parliamentary democracy and to the congress government soon after, they apted for competitive electoral politics within the parliamentary framework.\textsuperscript{33}

The party divided in 1964, mainly over the china issue, under the leadership of S.A. Dange, retaining the party level and close relationship with the Soviet Union. The more militant wing led by E.M.S namboodiripad, a former chief Minister of Kerala and JyotiBasu, Later to become chief Minister of West Bengal, left to form communist party of India (Marxist).

The two communist parties had different views on fundamental issues of ideology and strategy. The CPI which supported the views of communist party of Soviet Union (QSO). It supported the peaceful coexistence and inevitability of war, peaceful transition of socialism and non capitalist path of development. The CPI (M), on the other hand, has had reservations regarding the Soviet Worldview. In starting, it holds the views of the communist party of China (CPC) on almost all ideological issues. In CPC's view, inconsistency in the present world was between imperialism and national liberation movements in the under developed countries. It rejected the idea of peaceful coexistence and believed that the war between imperialism and
socialism was inevitable. It the very beginning the CPI (M) followed this in forming its ideology, strategy.\textsuperscript{34}

The support base of the communist parties in Punjab is quite weak as against that of the congress and the Akali Dal. It is confined to different parts of the State. This is equivalent from their performance in each election.

**The BahujanSamaj Party (BSP 14-Apl-1984)**

The BahujanSamaj Party is mainly for the scheduled castes and other backwards castes. In 1989 LokSabha elections, A candidate of this party HarbhajanLakha won the Phillaour parliamentary seat by defeating Charanjet Singh Atwal of the Akali Dal. But its impact as a political power was felt in the February 1992 Punjab assembly Elections when it managed to capture nine seats and became the opposition party in Punjab.

The BSP supported by the Akali Dal boycotted assembly elections of the scared of Sikh militants in 1992. The BSP along with Akali Dal during the 1996 General Election of LokSabha, they were succeed to win three seats. But now if we see the BSP is affording to show existence in Punjab. The BSP has suffered many splits in Punjab, But its earlier Storng base among dalits which they have gained Particularly in Doaba region in Punjab. The BahujanSamajMorcha, which was under the leadership of Satnam Singh Kainth had got created a space of his own into electoral alliance with the Akali Dal in 1997 Assembly Elections.\textsuperscript{35}

There are other parties, which did not succeed even to win a signal assembly seat like LokBhalai party and Nationalist congress party, which contested the last assembly elections held in February 2001.

**Alliance Politics in Punjab-another view**

Punjab is a endurance. The political culture is different from other states politics of alliances is another feature of the party system in Punjab. The Akali Dal and the congress are in competition for power which gradually took the shape of alliance politics in which other similar parties make efforts to enter into alliance with either the Akali Dal or the congress to have a deep understanding of politics of
alliances in Punjab, a historical perspective to trace out certain enduring principles of the alliance politics.36

In politics the contemporary Punjab is affected by the separate Punjabi tradition which was created by the British in the Late 19th century. The land alienation Act of 1900 made the British Imperial authority by firing rural agriculturists from the non-agriculturists. In effect, the Act limited the transferor of land from peasants to moneylenders central to the Act laid a defiance of rural power and land ownership by the agriculture tribes.

The land alienation Act formed Punjab's provincial politics. Some of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs related to agricultural tribes in the legislative council formed an alliance based on common issues. It resulted in the formation of the Unionist Party in 1923, a class community coalition, with Fazil Husain as the leader for Muslim agriculturists and Chhotu Ram as the leader of Hindu Jat agriculturists. In the ideology of the rural Punjabi leadership the set assumed a central place.37

After the formation of the unionist party, the separation for rural from urban interests became the cornerstone of Punjab politics castes and religious identities were included into the larger rural-urban categories. Where the Hindu interests were largely subsumed within urban interests, while the Muslim interests were predominantly identified as rural.

The unionist party, who ruled Punjab nearly three decades, marched towards regionalism presenting the various peasant properties, it gone the importance of a cross communal alliance of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim agriculturalists in time when communal forces had planed the rest of the country it had endured the national communal pressure, circumventing intrusions of national parties. Where the congress remained ineffective so did the Muslim league in effect, Punjab remained separated pressure and ideological manipulations. This unionist, in turn, strengthening the forces of Punjab hence where a Punjabi identity arose politically as well as culturally.

In 1940's this identity got tested by two factors. One the rise of local caste and communitarian identities challenged the cross-communal foundation of the unionist party. The Akalis, as the Chief spokes persons of the Sikhs, posed a threat to the unionist party. Religion-communitarian concerns, having played a secondary role
In provincial politics, came to the front Punjab which was surrounded by national political forces. The Muslim league, the congress and the Hindu communal forces performed a new political drama.\(^{38}\)

Along with the Muslim league campaign, the states regional identity came under treat as an estimate none of political expediency, the unionist party forged an alliance with the Akalis and the congress in 1946 to oppose the Muslim league’s none towards partition, which they perceived to be an attack on Punjab. Yet in 1947, Punjab became a victim of centralist forces. The defeat of regionalism and on the other hand the triumph of centralism helped in rise the tendencies towards partition.

The post independence Punjab got the political framework by the colonial system since independence Akali leadership adopted several strategies. As the commingling strategy, agitation strategy and strategy of alliance building despite holding centre stage in Punjab electoral politics, the both the Akalis and the congress have always been looking for electoral alliances In the case of Akali Dal from various reasons. First, from its role in the gurudwara reform movement, to the Punjabi Suba movement the Akali Dal has been identified, supported by the Sikhs, especially the rural Jat Sikh landed pleasantly. Second, the Sikh community itself not a homogeneous community of different castes and is divided on class and regional lines. These increased in the aftermath of the Green revolution third; there are equally divisions among the Sikhs on politico-ideological lines, as a significant section of the community has been rotting for the congress. The decent rote share the congress maintains among all sections of society, especially the dalits, constitute about 31 percent of the total population. Fourth, to compound its problem, the Akalis have been divided in too many larger body.\(^{39}\)

The alliance between the two parties (the Akali Dal and BJP) with diametrically opposed ideology and social bases forced them to slowly discard radical stances on contentious issues like, language or centre state relations. The main theme which works with them was peace, brotherhood, communal harmony, socio-economic welfare, all sound development and profitable agriculture development.

We can see Akali Dal has its ability to build alliances with parties having their own different ideologies. We also see that before independence the parties, both Akali Dal and the congress who had warm relations entered in to electoral alliances
to compete elections some members of the Akali Dal belong to the congress party, and after independence these two parties have been arch political rivals. During the assembly election which held in 1952 and 1962, the Akali Dal had shared seat with the communist party and praja socialist party respectively. During these elections, the congress complete freely as it had established its hegemony in Punjab. But soon Akalis found that despite the sizable Sikh majority they cannot easily form government of their own the leadership become conscious that could not hope to get power since its appeal was bound to a particular community Sikhs, like other communities, they were divided into classes, rural and urban, agriculturists and mercantile interests. From 1967 onward the Akali Dal followed a pragmatic Policy of entering into alliance Finally Akali Dal succeed into alliances with both the rightist parties (Like the Jona Sangh in 1967 and Janata Party in 1977) and the leftist parties (the CPI and the CPI (M) in the 1986 Elections) depending upon its political needs.40

On the other hand, the other party has its own strong case in Punjab, the congress party with the CPI, It enters in to an alliance.

The winning elections alliance was succeeded by the parliamentary alliances and the Akali Dal and its alliance parties were also able to form coalition government. The Akali coalition of 1969-71, the Akali-BJP coalition of 1997-2002 are such examples. But the other party. Congress has never formed a coalition government in Punjab so for with the congress party, the Akali Dal also entered in to a government alliance.41

The Akali Dal also shared in to government alliance with the congress party when the left the coalition ministry headed by Badal on June 30, 1970 since independence it was the first time when both parties, the Akali Dal And the congress came closer but their relations could not last up as they failed to forge an electoral alliance between themselves. The congress and the CPI came closer after the division in the congress in 1969. In Punjab the congress and the CPI had electoral alliance in the parliamentary election of 1971 and sub subsequently in the assembly elections of 1972. It was not possible for both the parties the Akali Dal and the Jana Sangh to forge alliance due to their difference on the language issue.

The three parties the Akali Dal, the Janata Party and the CPI (M) are into an electoral alliance to contest the lok sabha elections of 1977. The Akali Dal Janata Party
CPI (M) alliance again won the June 1977 assembly elections, on the other hand the congress and the CPI has set apart by the end of 1976 and both the parties compete the loksabha and assembly election. During the assembly elections of 1980 to defeat the congress in Punjab, the Akali Dal forged the electoral alliance with the two communist parties (the CPI and the CPI (M) while the BJP and the congress contested these elections without any electoral alliance.⁴²

When the relations among the (enter-state were disturbed. It was in this contest that terrorism gained in path Punjab in the 1980s. Ultimately the dialectic of regionalism and centralism contained the trend towards Sikhautonomy and secession.

After a long period, the Akalis come on the same path to share power with the BJP during assembly elections in Punjab. In 1997, the tactical alliance was formed to oppose the congress perceived as anathema to regional and communitarian aspirations. The alliance sought to divert both Hindu and Sikh votes from the congress. Upon the base of political consensus, the alliance tried to reconcile religion. Communitarian concerns with regionalism. The Sikh and Hindu identities secured by the Akalis and the BJP, were irreconcilable, both these tried to strike a balance between the rural and urban sectors and give stress on communal harmony.⁴³

However, the Akali-BJP alliance did not deny the ideological foundation of Punjab politics. It drew upon the legacy of colonial rule. The Akalis have bind the Class and community interest of the rich jattsikh pleasantly within the framework of the rural urban outside. The main in Akali politics has been its identification with to rural interests and structures. The AkaliDal, stands for Punjab Punjabis and Punjabiyyat. It is for the regional interests that the Akali Dal has entered in to alliances with centralist party like the BJP.

Akali Dal was first to adopt the alliance politics in the state. Then BJP has been the almost permanent alliance companion of the Akalui Dal while the other communist parties something support either both Akali or the congress. Also Akali Dal entered in to electoral alliance with the BahujanSamaj Party.⁴⁴

The BSP emerged as a difficult dalit force in the state has declined. It has been riddled with factions. Though commanding the loyalty of a large chunk of Dalit votes
in a number of constituencies, it has continually been to be seduced by the Akali BJP, congress and other splinter groups of the Akali Dal, like the pentatonic Morcna.  

**Factionalism**

It is another most important aspect of the party politics. Also before independent if we see the Akali Dal was inclined to factional bights. As Baldev Raj Nayar has observed. The Akalis have been torn by dissensions since the days of Gurudwara Reform movement. Over a number of times, Punjab has witnessed political instability. The central representatives make efforts to resolve the issue by different factional leaders. Unusually an effort is made to ascertain the relative strength the completing groups so that the leadership may be turned to majority.

In the congress party the factions are not permanent. They are made in order to manipulate politics to obtain and made an edge over the rival faction. These factions influence the working of the government being opportunist, factions for the sake of political concession, criticize their own government and sometimes even side with the opposition party.

The communist party of India (CPI) is considered to be well known party with sincere workers. Actually this party is not independent from factionalism. By the factionalism which led to the split of party in 1964. And formed a new party which came to be known as the communist party of India the CPI (M). As branch of the national party, the CPI (M) in Punjab originated in July 1964.

Factionalism is present in all the parties. It has said that it proved harmful for the Akali Dal because the degree of Intra-party factional struggle is maximum in the Akali Dal among all political parties in the state.

If we see it present under the leadership of Parkash Singh Badal the Akali Dal has come out as the most powerful faction in Punjab politics and all other Akali factions have been marginalized. On the other side, in Punjab, factionalism, in the congress is under control by the intervention of the party high command.

Over the last three decades a bipolar party system has come to stay in the state a where power has interchanged between the two parties the Akali Dal and the Congress Akali Dal has had always contested the elections with the alliance with the
BJP. The Akali Dal and the complementary electoral bases of both parties are the main concerns behind the sustenance of the Akali BJP alliance. Making efforts, the BJP has been able to wear out some of the congress base among the urban hindus in Punjab. As such, the congress party have possible vote among all sections, is the main competitor to the Akali Dal in Punjab Politics while where on their other hand, the other parties are not in the condition to challenge the hegemony of both these parties, the Akali Dal and the Congress. 49
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