Political parties besides acting as an indispensable link between the people and the government also act as instruments of articulation and synthesis of various demands of multiple, competing social groups. It is the political parties that help in raising the political consciousness of the people in traditional societies as also in the formation of government particularly in the parliamentary systems. Thus, political parties while trying to provide a stable government have also to induct new groups into the political arena. At the same time they don’t have to lose sight of the political and economic goals of the nation. A political party can be said to act as an organised group that seeks to capture power and control the government. Besides playing a crucial role as instrument of politicisation of the masses and agents of social change they also mobilise and compete for popular support. Most of the political parties have definite ideological orientations, which shape their articulation of social and economic goals and programmes. They also derive support from different segments of the society.

In the adaptation of modern institutions of representative government to traditional societies, political parties play a decisive role. In every modern polity, and in every polity which aspires to modernity, political parties are an indispensable link between the society and the institutions of government. In traditional societies undergoing modernisation and political development political parties have the double task of providing stable government and of bringing new groups of people into the political process while orienting them towards the political and economic goals of the modern state. The ability of former colonial countries to make a successful transition from foreign bureaucratic rule to democratic self-government depends very much upon the capacity of the political parties to perform these tasks. The capacity of the ruling
party in a new state to perform these tasks, in turn, depends upon how successful it is in
the years after independence.¹

Burke expounded party more eloquently than any other statesman, defining party
as “a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest,
upon some particular principle on which they all are agreed”.²

In a democracy, elections provide the basis of people’s choice and representation.
Elections help people to crystallize their interests and to give expression to them. In the
elections it is decided who shall govern and who shall have the control over government.³
It is through these processes that peripheral groups transcend their regional and caste
identities, and acquire, over time, a certain communality of economic interests and
political identifications which help establish a political framework of conflict and
negotiation among divergent interests within the society.⁴

Laski has viewed party as an organisation, which seeks to determine the economic
constitution of the state.⁵ The role of a party often changes as the conditions in a country
change. If in the West, political parties are a means of seeing that there is peaceful and
regular change of government in the developing countries, they act in such a way that
power is generated, mobilized and directed.⁶ Every political party is a coalition of
political groups of people with differing shades on economic and development issues.
A party is a loose confederation of ‘sub-parties’. Thus, a party can be called a system

consisting of parts. The contemporary theory tends also to see political parties as reflections of social cleavages.7

As stated above, every political party is a coalition of political groups of people with differing shades on economic and political issues. At times there are differences within a party as to the pace at which the change is to be brought about or the methods by which its policies and programmes are to be carried out. Thus, there is prioritisation of tasks to be implemented and methods or means to be used for this purpose. This gives rise to factions in all the political parties.

A faction is defined as, ‘a group of persons forming a cohesive, usually contentious minority within a larger group’.8 A political party is a group of people who more or less subscribe to an ideology but there can be a variation in adhering to that ideology. These differences, sometimes, are so sharp that they can lead to a crisis within a party. Thus, faction can be termed as a group which functions within the folds of a political party and wants to control the organisation ultimately so that it can capture the seat of power in the state. Hence, they remain in a state of flux because of constant change in combinations. This leads to, at times, playing havoc with the government programmes, rendering the various laws obsolete and encouraging animosities among the people of the same party.

Besides ideology, there is also struggle for power because of varied experience with the political system and within the party. In this process, the leaders try to out-do each other by mobilising the party cadres in their support. This leads to the alignment of party-workers towards different leaders and thus a faction is born. At times, factions act as intermediaries and can be termed as informal structures and links which act as a chain between the formal institutions of the political system and the bureaucratic agencies and the social institutions of society like caste, family, religion or region.

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It is usually believed that factions ‘are founded only on the arithmetic of politics with the sole aim of capturing power within a party’\textsuperscript{9}. Sometimes government policies provoke factionalism. The decisions made by the government are sometimes purposely mace to serve a particular religious, linguistic or regional group or sometimes made for the sake of administrative convenience. In India, the political parties have ‘dominant’ aspects but ‘dissidence’ is also prevalent. Factions can be directed towards an individual, it may be the party leader or towards group interests. Edmund Burke who was elected member of Parliament from Bristol in 1774, in his famous address (November 3, 1774) enunciated the doctrine that a Member of Parliament is a representative of the people and not a delegate or ambassador of the constituency which elects him and that, in his actions, he must be guided, above all, by his own judgement and conscience rather than pressure of the people who elected him.\textsuperscript{10}

Thus, a faction may be a warning to the establishment of the party, it may be against bossism in the party or it may be against those who do not believe in change. However, both the sides are to be blamed, for if one faction is clinging to power because of it; interest in maintaining the status quo, the other faction may be demanding power because they believe in change and progress. If one wants to maintain the existing power structure the other may want to build another one that is better for it as well as for the party and the people of the country.

At times, the factions are often a result of temptation or deprivation of power, pelf, and status. In a country like India, which is a young nation, it is all the more attractive for people to aspire for higher and higher office. For a legislator the office of a minister holds attraction and he wants to be re-elected. Thus, faction arises. The study of factions, therefore, has become so central today that one cannot understand the working

\textsuperscript{9} Parmod Kumar et al., \textit{Punjab Crisis, Content and Trends}, Chandigarh, CRRID, 1984, p. 69.

of a political system unless one understands the nature and character of factionalism prevailing in various political parties.

Factionalism, its rise and its effects have been the focus of attention of eminent authors. Factions as a phenomenon have an important and interesting dimension because different factions are waiting in line to be pushed into new alignments. In the political parties, factions arise either because of personal enmity or temperamental differences or loyalty or sometimes because of distribution of favours and rewards by several scholars. Different studies on factionalism and its dynamic character irrespective of the party have been the focus of study. A review of some of these works is necessary to understand the issues involved in factionalism. Through this study an effort is being made to see whether factionalism grows when there is absence of external threat or when there is absence of authoritative leadership? An attempt is also being made to ascertain the factional character of Indian National Congress (hereafter INC) and the Shiromani Akali Dal (hereafter SAD).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Some of the above stated questions regarding factionalism have already been studied by various Indian and foreign scholars. Subhash C. Kashyap has in his seminal work dealt with factionalism in both the INC and the Akali Dal with a deft hand. After tracing the causes of factionalism he concludes that 'there were no principles, no policies involved, all was fair in politics of survival, no force was too high, no humiliation too low, (Kashyap, 1974) to stay in power. He further says that the continuous dissentions and splits in the Akali Dal necessitated a joint Hindu-Sikh government because of the mixed composition of the Punjab population. Referring to the 1960’s he painted a dismal

\[\text{Subhash C. Kashyap, Presence of Regionalism, The Case of Punjab in the Politics of Power, Defection and State Politics in India, Delhi, National, 1974, p. 48.}\]

\[\text{Kashyap, p. 443.}\]
picture of factionalism and argues that even the Congress (R) was forced to remain neutral in the show of strength between Badal and Gurnam Singh.

Robin Jeffrey\textsuperscript{13} brings forth the 'untrammeled factionalism' in both the INC and the Akali Dal. He describes factions as an essential element of Punjab politics. So crucial is faction that party label and loyalties take second place in them. He asserts that many a times the success of parties is often dependent on the number of factions that temporarily line up within and against the party. He says, 'Political alliances are fluid, factions join and divide for advantage and the labels of Akali Dal and Congress are often matters of convenience'.\textsuperscript{14} In the chapter on 'factions' Jeffrey talks about factions in every village. He argues that they are based on personal affections and hatreds and on distribution of favours and rewards. He talks of the advent of electoral legislative politics and the increasing importance of numbers. 'Legislatures created governments and governments dispensed patronage. To control the government was to tap a great reservoir from which a man could irrigate his followers. The politics of legislatures thus blended well with the long-standing factions of village. Indeed, legislative politics and the expansion of government activity reinforced such factions'.\textsuperscript{15} He talks of Chief Ministers – Pratap Singh Kairon, Gian S. Rarewala and Prakash S. Badal for each of whom party ideology was far less significant than power and honour and who came up through this system.

J. C. Anand stresses on Akali Dal’s dependence on charismatic leadership and its neglect towards the more important task of institutionalizing the internal functioning of the party machine.\textsuperscript{16} The defiance of the authority of the leader by senior Akali Dal politicians has led to the inability of establishing a viable structure of institutionalized procedures for working the party machine. According to him, the INC too has remained


\textsuperscript{14} Jeffrey, p. 115.

\textsuperscript{15} Jeffrey, p. 121.

as faction-ridden in years of its temporary decline as it was in the years of its dominance in the early 1950’s and early 1960’s. He further states that though factionalism checks authoritarianism inside the party and assists in broadening the area of recruitment of membership, it has grown to a point tending to frustrate national reconstruction.17

Sushil Kumar talks of Akali Dal members not being a united lot. At the same time he calls the ‘INC – A Divided House’.18 He says that the Congress Party has always been divided between a group in power and a group out of power. Such intra-party dissension has often made the running of the government impossible.

Baidev Raj Nayar projects the INC as a secular, broad-based party that has vast resources at its disposal and is dedicated to economic development and planning.19 With vast resources, political concessions and patronage at its disposal the INC mobilizes support by the strategy of building coalition by various social groups. He further talks of sub-regional groups divided among them and thus strengthening the hands of the Centre because the latter has always stood above intra-regional conflicts. Though the Shiromani Akali Dal has a strong political appeal it will remain a permanent political minority. He argues that the nationalist leadership of the country wants to disseminate the ‘values of political democracy, protection of minorities, safeguarding of liberties, egalitarianism and social change’ throughout the entire social and political order.20 (Nayar – 1966) He believes that factionalism, though functional in some respects for the political system, can also lead to contempt for the political system and politics itself.21 (Nayar – 1966)

20 Nayar, p. 339.
21 Nayar, p. 344.
Mohirder Singh underlines factions in 'the traditional friendship' between the INC and the SAD. He cites the case of the Akali Dal leadership’s ambition to capture power at the provincial level and the INC’s inability to come to terms with the Akali Dal’s claim for ruling the crucial border state. He compares the SAD party leaders in the past and present and gives credit to the past leadership for rising above petty animosities and working for the community.

Another study which touches on the issue of factionalism is by Anup Chand Kapur. He asserts that factionalism has existed within the Shiromani Akali Dal from its very inception and ‘the splintering of the party has been the pattern since 1961’. He further argues that whenever an Akali leader senses his followers dwindling he raises propaganda and that is usually the talk of Panth in danger. He emphasises that all the Sikhs are not Akalis (Kapur – 1985). He argues that clash between the ministerial and the organizational wing is not only in the Akali Dal but also in all political parties in India.

Pavate compares the situation in Punjab at the time of Gill Ministry in 1969 with that of the Stuarts in England. He says that nobody seems to learn from past history and the new ministry of Sardar Gurnam Singh settled down to work in a spirit of not to ‘forget and forgive past happening’ (Pavate – 1974). He talks of the Akali Dal led by Gurnam Singh trying to have close relations with Dravid Munnetra Kazagham (hereafter DMK) as both were emerging as strong independent parties having nothing to do with the INC ruling at the Centre. He talks of a tendency among Indian politicians to change loyalties very quickly. He says this is a curse for the ruling party because the detractors


23 Anup Chand Kapur, *The Punjab Crisis (An Analytical Study)*, New Delhi, S. Chand and Company Ltd., 1985, p. 188.

24 Ibid.


26 Pavate, p. 98
or adventurers are in quest of money and power. If some of them are accommodated by
the ruling party and appointed ministers, discontent spreads among others which has a

Shanti Swarup in his study of Punjab argues that ‘every society or group has a
multiplicity of values and political culture traits. Its seeks to achieve all but it may not be
able to do so. It, therefore, arranges its goals or traits, perhaps in its sub-conscious or
psyche in some kind of a hierarchical order. (Swarup – 1986) He also puts forward the
argument that politicians are able to use the caste element more than religious one.

Harish K. Puri emphasises that accommodation and compromise have been the
trademark of Punjab politics since Independence. (Puri – 1986) He talks of two periods
– one in 1948-56 when the Akalis tried to merge with the Congress Party and the inner-
factionalism that was always prevalent in the INC always added to factionalism in the
Akali Dal. Thus, he says that whenever a crisis emerged in the Akali Party between the
so-called extremist group and the so-called legislative group, it is the INC that had some
direct or indirect role in this factionalism.

Gobinder Singh’s argument is that though the ruling class has not allowed the
extremist element to grow beyond a point, yet it has used it for political gains. He gives
the example of Shiromani Akali Dal with its distinct factions of ‘hawks’, ‘moderates’ and
‘doves’ (Gobinder – 1986). He also highlights the Akali Dal’s use of the spiritual and
material resources of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhndak Committee (hereafter SGPC)
in its favour. The Akali Dal attains the Sikh population’s emotional involvement there.

Gurharpal Singh also highlights the intense factionalism witnessed in the two
parties in Punjab. In his view the ‘Non-Sikh specialists are regularly bewildered by the

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27 Pavate, pp. 105-106.
Challenges of Politics in Indian States, New Delhi, Uppal Publishing House, 1986, p. 82.
Ibid., p. 130.

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The leaders all vary in their tactics and strategy towards the pursuit of Sikh demands ranging from regional autonomy within the Indian Union to a separate Sikh state.

Dalip Singh gives a vivid picture of factions, their origin and their role in Punjab politics (1981). Factions, according to him, rise within a party, at times, because despite a common vision of the party there are minor differences over issues among the members. Besides this, religion, caste, language or group loyalties of leaders can be a bone of contention. The last can be an important reason for the gain of material benefits. He talks of multi factionalism in the Congress Party. He says that the INC allowed members of various parties to become its members. The latter had joined INC only to fulfill their own interests. This has been the chief cause of factionalism in Punjab. He described the Akali Dal as a ‘faction-ridden party’. He traces the rise of factions from the time of liberation of Gurudwaras. He blames the drive for power as the main reason for the rise of factions. He also agrees with the argument that whosoever happens to control the S.G.P.C. has an upper hand in the SAD.

S. Bhatnagar and P.S. Verma underline the tussle between a political party when in power and when out of power. When the party is out of power all the discussions are taken by the high command. But once the party is in power the governmental wing resents when the high command wants to assert its supremacy. The latter does not want to play a secondary role and wants to take vital decisions. This leads to in-party fighting and subsequently fall of governments.

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Satya M. Rai laments that the Akali Dal today is just a shadow of itself (1981). The factions have taken their toll on the party. The author’s argument is that the ruling classes will continue to make use of the differences among people whenever it suits them.

M. S. Dhami takes up the role of factions at the village level in two areas – ‘the arena of village politics and the arena of state and national politics’. He contends that the Jat peasantry is the prominent participant in the village factional structure.

Jaspal Singh differentiates factions from Associations and Organisations. While he calls factions as ‘machines for grabbing resources in an unorganized society’, he quotes togetherness as a feature of associations and class organizations as regulated and coordinated structures for goal achievements. He asserts that the main function of faction is irrational struggle for power. The faction leaders, he says, run after pragmatic gains.

Joyce Pettigrew argues that factions are based on the mutual protection of each other’s area of influence and not just an ideological commitment. She traces the roots of factionalism to the medieval history of Punjab.

Marian Smith puts forward the argument that leaders of various factions try to outdo their rivals by maximizing their own advantages and minimizing benefits of their rivals. All efforts are made to play one faction against the other.

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38 Jaspal Singh, p. 73.
39 Jaspal Singh, p. 89.
John Dewitt Jr. concludes that factionalism is a way of life for Punjabis. The persistent search for prominence leads them to intense bickering, manipulating, bragging and turning around. The people who lose elections organize themselves into committees to lodge their grievances through public protests. Emphasizing that ideological commitments are not very deep he talks of splits as a common occurrence.42

Scope of Study

The above studies are no doubt very useful in understanding the dynamics of Punjab politics but they touch upon factionalism in the INC and the SAD in a rather general and limited way. The present study is different in so far as it seeks to identify the pattern of factionalism in these two major political outfits in a comparative perspective. The research has aimed at analyzing the factors that intensify the phenomenon of factionalism in these parties. Further, the study has examined the tensions which invariably arise between the organizational and the legislative wings of each of these parties.

The period analysed in the present study is the present state of Punjab as it came into being in 1966. We chose 1966 as the starting point of the study because before 1966, Punjab also included the present state of Haryana and some hilly areas of Himachal Pradesh that were detached from Punjab at the time of linguistic reorganisation. The exigencies of historical circumstances coupled with geographical features have gone a long way in making the people of Punjab daring and demanding. They have faced repeated onslaughts of invaders at various points of time because they were highly conscious of their rights and were at the same time determined to succeed. With all these traits the Partition had more sufferings to offer. Thousands of men, women and children were killed in the transfer of population in 1947. The Partition also resulted in change in Punjab’s social demography and economy that led to the shrinking of Punjab’s area. The

Partition radically changed the religious composition of the population which earlier consisted of 55 per cent of the Muslims, 30 per cent Hindus and 15 per cent Sikhs. After Partition the Hindus became roughly 60 per cent and Sikhs about 40 per cent in Punjab. It may be noticed that the Sikhs who constituted 15 per cent of the total population of pre-partition Punjab remained in minority even after the partition of the country, though their numerical strength rose from 15 per cent to 40 per cent. The Hindus became a majority community in the post 1947 Punjab with 60 per cent population in Punjab. Thus, the Sikhs still remained a minority.

A section of the Sikh masses were not satisfied to remain a minority forever. In fact, on the eve of the Independence of India they had put up the demand for a Sikh Homeland. They had put forward the argument that before the British established their rule over the country, three religious communities were ruling the country: the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. Their argument was that while the Hindus and the Muslims were being given their separate Homelands in the form of India and Pakistan, the Sikhs too should get a political space for themselves. However, the British rulers did not accept their demand because unlike the other two communities the Sikhs were not in a majority in any district of pre-partition Punjab. Thus, the Sikhs continued to be a part of Indian Punjab. The majority of the Sikhs, particularly the Akalis or some factions of Akalis were unhappy with this arrangement and wanted to extract some concessions in free India. The leaders of the Congress party who inherited power in 1947 realised the apprehension of the Sikhs and promised to safeguard their interests. But the party was not unanimous on the nature and extent of such safeguards.

When the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) was set up for the linguistic reorganization of the country, a section of Akalis put forth their demand for the creation of a Punjabi speaking state. However, on the SRC’s recommendations the whole country was reorganized on linguistic basis except the states of Punjab and Bombay. Dissatisfied with this discriminatory approach of the SRC, the Akalis launched various agitations in the late 1950’s but it did not yield the desired result. The agitation was further intensified when Bombay was bifurcated into Maharashtra and Gujarat. A section of Akalis felt that
the Union Government was discriminating against the Sikhs. They continued their
morchas after 1960 as well. It was India’s 1965 war with Pakistan that led to the
suspension of all agitations by the Akalis. Punjab was finally reorganized on linguistic
basis in 1966. This led to the creation of Haryana. The hilly areas of Punjab like Kangra,
Kullu and Lahaul Spiti were transferred to Himachal Pradesh. Even after the creation of
Punjabi-speaking state the dissatisfaction among the Akalis continued. Many of them
alleged that several Punjabi-speaking areas had been left out of Punjab and had been
wrongly given to Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

Thus, this study of the present day Punjab and how the two parties have shaped it,
holds relevance. The issues examined in the present study are whether factionalism is
based on ego of leaders of different factions and political parties or whether there is a
clash over the question of ideology that each faction within the party professes to follow.
It also needs to ascertain whether the differences are over various issues which arise from
day to day affairs of the party or is it merely a struggle for power? If the differences
among various factions are of ideological nature what are the issues? If it is only a matter
of clash of ego and struggle for power what are the manifestations of this in the various
organs of the party? Punjab being predominantly an agrarian society where 70 per cent of
the people still earn their livelihood from agriculture, the rural areas have their own
prominence in all walks of life. So, we have tried to find out whether or not there is a
clash between the rural leadership and the urban leadership? In other words, does
factionalism in Punjab reflect the rural-urban divide? It was necessary to examine this
dimension because many a time the rural and urban leadership have different priorities
and cater to different interests.

It has been observed that sometimes factionalism arises because of differences of
generational values. The study has attempted to ascertain whether factionalism in Punjab
reflects the clash of values and principles between the younger and the older leadership?
The older leadership inducts the younger generation into the party and then teaches them
about the reins of power. Once the younger recruits learn the tricks of the trade they try
to assert themselves. What effect does this have on their relations? Is a rift created
because the older generation does not want to surrender power to the younger recruits or because the latter want to change the power equation by coming to power?

The study also tries to discover whether there is a clash of interests between the different occupational groups in the party? Each leader has his own lobby and support-base: it can be the different trade unions, the industrialists, the landlords, the small and marginal farmers, the professionals, and student groups etc. Each leader has to articulate aspirations of its support-group. The resources are limited in every political system and each occupational group wants to squeeze out larger share of cake to itself. Does this give rise to factionalism among diverse occupational groups? How prominent are the differences between the groups representing the industrialists and those representing the farmers of the state?

Another dimension that is examined is whether the experienced and the emerging leadership are in harmony with each other over important issues? Does the emerging leadership feel that the established leadership is out of tune with the times? Or is that the working styles of the emerging leadership and the experienced leadership are different and it makes it difficult for the two to get along? Is it that the experienced leadership is not ready to change its style of working and does not reconcile with the dynamism and energy of the emerging leadership? Do these differences arise because the basic way of thinking and working of the two are different? Do differences arise because the experienced leadership believes in working with caution while they feel that the emerging leadership is too rash in its actions and acts only on impulse?

The study has examined the differences that arise between the leaders who are traditional in their outlook and those who are modernists in their outlook? The leaders who hold traditional ideas want the status quo to remain; while the modernists within a party may want a face-lift of the party. The traditionalists may not want to experiment as they may benefit or lose in the new pattern. So they would leave no stone unturned to see that the status quo maintained. The radical elements in the party would prefer sweeping changes while the traditional leadership might appear to be conservative. In other words, the differences in the party may be between the liberal and the conservative elements. It
is worthwhile to investigate this question because every party has moderate and extremist elements. The moderates are careful in their approach and think of the long term as well as short-term gains for themselves as well as for the party. The extremists, on the other hand, believe in action and extreme steps. They want a fulfillment of all their interests that may stand them in good stead but may be detrimental to the others. The leaders who are moderate in their approach believe in compromise and accommodation while the extremists do not. Though they face the poll together but after elections these differences manifest themselves in the functioning of the party. How do these differences affect the unity in the party? How do they damage the party’s prospects when in power and when out of power? Does the rank and file, particularly the organizational wing take kindly to such in fighting?

Further, the present study explains whether factionalism is more intense when the party is out of power or is it more pronounced when the party is in power? Is there a clash between the Parliamentary and organizational wings of the party? In the case of Congress do the leaders at the Centre interfere in the party’s working at the regional level? Do factions arise because of the interference of the Centre in the day-to-day affairs of the party at the state level? Does the process of factionalism intensify with the leaders at the Centre being partial towards a particular faction? Is factionalism beneficial for the central party leaders or does solving conflicts work for the party’s advantage?

The study also addresses itself to finding out the nature of factionalism in INC and the SAD in a comparative perspective. Is factionalism in Congress different in any way from factionalism in Akali Dal? If so, what are the broad differences in the nature of factionalism in the two political parties?

Regional parties are characterized so because they have to push parochial issues in order to survive. Does this lead to factions within the party? In the case of SAD, the SGPC has a major role to play in the Sikh politics. Whichever group is extended support by the SGPC usually comes to power in the party. Once in power, it wants to free itself from the hold of the SGPC and assert itself while the SGPC wants its prominence by having a say in the party functioning. So, the question to be investigated is whether this
leads to factionalism in a party or there are other issues like ego of party leaders, ideology or the regional issues?

Does factionalism arise because of a group that is not in the saddle? Is the group in power asserting itself to such an extent that the other leaders of the party feel sidelined? Does the group in power lack the capability to carry the party forward as a team? What effect does factionalism have on the working of the party when in power and when in opposition?

Thus, the study has attempted to investigate whether factionalism exists because of lack of mutual trust among the leaders or because of the continued rivalry between the legislative wing and the organizational wing over the issue of supremacy? Is it because of the failure on the part of the legislative wing to respect and implement the decisions of the organizational wings of the party? Is factionalism a result of pursuit of power for personal benefit or simply a case of clash of personalities and group loyalties? Are factions at the local, district, state levels linked with each other through? Are factions ever-changing rival informal groups of leaders and their followers? How do factions operate? How do they project themselves? How do they hinder effective functioning of the rival group? Why do they do so? Does this role of factions divide the people and make it easier to rule over them? How different are factions from Associations and Organisations? Do factions cut across caste, kinship and religious boundaries? Do factions flourish only where ideology is weak? Are factions found only traditional societies? These are the questions that the study has aimed to research and find answers.

CHAPTERISATION

The study is divided into five chapters.

Chapter I: Introduction – The chapter deals with the importance of the topic. It also spells out the scope of the study. Further, it contains a review of literature and identifies the gaps in our knowledge about the subject. Finally, it indicates the methodology of the study and source of data used during the course of this work.
Chapter II provides a brief historical perspective on the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Indian National Congress right from 1920’s to 1966. The purpose of this chapter is to put the subsequent discussion in proper context.

Chapter III: Factionalism in the Indian National Congress – The third chapter is devoted to the study of nature and pattern of factionalism in the Indian National Congress in Punjab. In what way factionalism in INC at the Centre gets reflected at the state level? What are the issues that give rise to factionalism? In what situations factionalism intensifies and under what circumstances?

Chapter IV: Factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Dal – In the fourth chapter the organisational set up of Shiromani Akali Dal and SGPC is analysed. It examines factionalism in these two important bodies at the state level and how it penetrates to the grass-roots level.

Chapter V: Having discussed the context, nature and patterns of factionalism in both the Indian National Congress and the Shiromani Akali Dal this chapter endeavours to make a comparative study of the nature and pattern of factionalism in the two parties. In what way factionalism in the two parties is different and in what way it is similar? What are the reasons for the similarities and differences? The chapter sums up the finding and present the findings of the present study. It highlights the trends in factionalism and also the positive and negative traits of factionalism.

APPENDIX- Verbatim responses of leaders with whom interviews were conducted.

This is followed by a select bibliography,

METHODOLOGY

A study of factions is fruitful exercise because it is a political activity, which results in certain consequences. Thus, an analysis of this political activity has a direct impact on the structure of the political system as well as on politics. The role of factions in history cannot be denied for they influence the decision-making process of a particular
time. An attempt would be made to find through various sources the role of factions – whether it has been integrative or disintegrative.

The present work is based on primary source material both published and unpublished as well as secondary sources. Primary sources consist of official documents of the two political parties. This includes proceedings of the state-level organs of the INC and the SAD. This also includes the statements and speeches of State Presidents of the two parties. Sometimes factionalism also gets reflected at the district units of the party. Therefore attempt is made to make use of such material existing at the district level units of the party. Various Seminars organised by the party have also been a source. Besides this the discussions and seminars in which the important leaders of the party participate has also been a source. In Election manifestoes of the party each faction tries to get the agenda of its own faction included and may prove to be of some use. Besides this, the leaders' message to their supporters through conferences is an important source. The interaction of the leaders with the masses through small informal meetings has been used in the present study. Various religious fairs in which the leaders address the masses that have thronged at the religious congregation help us to understand the formation, strength, strategies and tactics of different factions to mobilise people in their favour.

Factionalism acquires an acute form during the allocation of party ticket during elections to the Parliament, Vidhan Sabha and elections to the local bodies where each faction tries to out-do the other in getting ticket for its supporters. Similarly, during the ministry formation various factional leaders try to grasp as many positions as possible at the cost of other factions. Similarly, during the allocation of portfolios various factions begin to dictate their own terms.

The leaders in their communication with their constituents, the way they address the latter's problems has been followed up through interviews with the prominent sections of the people. Personal interviews with leaders and their correspondence has also been used.
the secondary sources, books, periodicals, journals, other publications and newspapers have been made use of. Works on factionalism done by eminent authors have been an important source of information. The Editorials of various newspapers which highlight factionalism have been relied upon to understand the currents and the cross-currents within a party. Informal interviews and discussions have been held with important leaders to elicit their views about the nature of factionalism in the INC and SAD.

Sometimes, when factionalism reaches a higher pitch the leadership initiates changes in the party organisation and in the Council of ministers. Certain leaders are dropped and some others are included. These reshuffles provide a lot of insight into the nature of factionalism. In a moment of crisis in the party the leadership has to do a delicate balancing act to keep various factions contented. Such balancing acts are subtle indicators of under currents of factionalism in the party.

Sometimes important leaders of the party begin to publicly level allegations against their colleagues that are a reflection of factionalism. There are various other ways in which intra-party feuds come to the surface. An attempt will be made to identify such events in order to gain an insight into the nature and extent of factionalism. Sometimes party leaders hold threats of quitting the party or resigning from various positions that they are holding in the party. Such threats bring the factionalism into open.

The present study is partly historical – analytical and partly empirical.

In the historical analytical method the approach is contextual, institutional and processual. The contextual part will trace the origin of factionalism in the Shiromani Akali Da and the Indian National Congress from the pre-independence period to 1966 when the state of Punjab acquired its present territorial form. It will help us to put the subsequent discussion in a proper perspective. The institutional aspect of the study relates to an examination of factionalism in specific institutions of the two parties. In the case of the INC the study particularly focus on factionalism in the All India Mahila (women) Congress, Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC), District Congress Committee
(DCC), Congress Legislative Party (CLP) and the state unit of the Indian Youth Congress. In the case of Shiromani Akali Dal it examines the nature and form of factionalism in the state and district level units of the SAD and in the successive Akali legislative wings, Youth Akali Dal and Istri (women) Akali Dal. In addition to it, factionalism in the SGPC is also analyzed.

The processual part examines in comparative perspective the manner in which factionalism actually found expression in the two political parties. In other words, it deals with the *modus operandi* of factionalism in the SAD and the INC.

The present study is empirical in so far as it tries to elicit the views of some important state and district level leaders of both the political parties to identify the major ideological issues that lead to factionalism. In this context the role that power struggle, personal ego and temperamental incompatibilities of different leaders play is assessed.