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A minority became a majority in the Punjab

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Abstract

This study will focus on the Punjabi Suba Movement in Punjab 1966. The Punjabi Suba came into being after various sacrifices and struggles. The Indian Government appointed 'Shah Commission' to demarcate the boundaries of Punjab and Haryana. The reorganization bill was passed on the basis of recommendations of this committee only. Punjab was divided into two states; Punjabi Suba and Haryana under Punjab Reorganization Act, 1966. Certain areas of undivided Punjab were given to Himachal Pradesh. However, Haryana was raised as a rival to the state of Punjabi language (which was to be made for Punjab). Common links had been made for Punjab and Haryana. Haryana was the area of Hindi-speakers. It could have been easily amalgamated with neighboring Hindi states of Rajasthan and U.P. But, the state of Punjab, which was demanding the areas of Punjabi-speakers, was crippled and made lame as well. Such seeds were sown for its future of economic growth that would not let it move forward. Haryana welcomed the Act of reorganization. As a result, the common forums were removed for Haryana and Punjab and Sant Fateh Singh and the Akali Dal welcomed this decision.

Methodology: The study of this plan of action is mainly based on the available main material content. The main content was found in the historical research Department of Amritsar, Sikh Reference Library and Punjabi University, Patiala. From these Universities many of these scholars, writers 'art, newspapers, statements of various leaders, names of *Jatha* members etc. have been presented.

Conclusion: The findings of the study reveal, there was a considerable impact on the political, economic and social conditions of Punjab after the formation of Punjabi Suba. Punjab became a Sikh-majority area. If at all the Punjabi language had been implemented then its entire credit goes to the speakers of Punjabi for the first time.

Keywords: Suba, commission, reorganization, undivided, Punjabi-speakers, majority, formation

Introduction

During the period from 1947 to 1966, Congress party enjoyed monopoly of Power in the Punjab State. The Congress was able to win all the three elections of 1952, 1957 and 1962 with a thumping majority. Its main rival had been the Akali Dal. However, the Akali Dal merged with the Congress party during 1948, and again in 1966 but separated from them when its political goals were not fulfilled. The issue of the creation of Punjabi Suba dominated the political forum of Punjab in the era which was a period of turbulent agitations [1].

On 10th January, 1966, Lachhman Singh Gill, General Secretary of the S. G. P. C and Rawal Singh, member of its executive met the committee and presented the case of Punjabi Speaking state [2].

Lal Bahadur Shastri died suddenly on 11th January, 1966 and Sm. Mahavir Tyagi submitted his resignation from the cabinet on 14th July, 1966 Indira Gandhi became President of the party on 20th January, 1966. Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh had announced to go on 'fast unto death' to accelerating the demand for Punjabi Suba [3].

Lal Bahadur Shastri appointed Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker of the lower house, as Chairman of Parliament Committee related to Punjabi Suba, he was already fully committed to the cause of Punjabi Suba. Certain members of the committee had great apprehensions when the demand for Punjab Suba had been made. Hukam Singh was ready to announce in favor of the formation of Punjabi Suba. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Y. B. Chavan and Gulzari Lal Nanda tried all the methods to stop submission of report by Hukam Singh. It was not up to Indira Gandhi to stop the report. To take credit before the

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report was submitted by Hukam Singh, she got the resolution passed on 9th March, 1966 from the Congress Committee for the formation of Punjabi Suba, even though, the report had been submitted on 15th March, 1966. She wrote about demand approval for Punjabi Suba.

“I had to make another unpopular decision. It concerned a tricky problem which I inherited from my predecessor – The Punjab Problem. My father had been strongly opposed to the idea but, by 1966, the demand had grown so strong that the Centre was in no position to resist it [4].

As such, the resolution was got passed in Punjab by the Congress Working Committee according to which, support was provided where a Punjabi-language state was to be created in the State of Punjab. The Government was requested to take necessary steps. This resolution was being opposed vehemently, but, Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister had to concede. The decision of the Indian National Congress was accepted by all the political parties except Jan Sangh. Gulzarilal Nanda and Lala Jagat Natrain who were against the formation of Punjabi Suba, opposed the proposal of Punjabi Suba [5]. The Government of India formed a commission based on Mr. J. C. Shah – a retired judge of Supreme Court for demarcation of Punjabi Suba. There was no need of a commission because the boundaries had already been made clear through the 'Regional Formula'. Instead of language, population was considered as a base for demarcation, due to which Gulzari Lal Nanda launched the first attack on the demand of the Punjabis. The Parliament Committee recommended on 18th March, 1966 to divide the state into three parts. The commission recommended handing over Kharar tehsil which included Chandigarh also, to Haryana [6].

Recommendations of The Parliament Committee were:

- The current Punjab should be reorganized on the basis of language.
- As mentioned in the first schedule of the Punjab Regional Committee 1957, one- Language State was to be made in the Punjab region.
- In case there arises any discrepancy of any type, then a committee of the experts be instituted forthwith who should recommend the necessary changes.
- Chandigarh should be a part of Punjabi region. The 'Shah commission' had given grievous instructions against Punjab. The census of 1961 was considered as the base for reorganization; whereas these figures of the census were the product of Communal conditions. Nehru, too, had ignored these figures.
- The people of Haryana were incited to raise false claims over the land and waters of Punjab.
- Indira Gandhi created false claims of Haryana over Chandigarh, the areas of Punjab and waters of Punjab and, while doing so, the National and International laws had lost sight of the decisions taken earlier were also ignored [7].

On the contrary, Subimal Dutt a member of the S. Dutt Commission recommended Kharar including Chandigarh to be given to Punjab because:

1. Though, undoubtedly, the number of Hindi speakers in Kharar, according to the census of 1961 for making division was 52. 2 percent but, the number of speakers of Punjabi language in the rural areas was 56. 2 percent.

2. Kharar tehsil had been given to Punjab according to 'Sachar Formula'.
3. The Hindu population of the Chandigarh Capital are, in fact, of the migrants from UP and Rajasthan. As such, the tehsil of Kharar and Chandigarh cannot be said to be of the speakers of Hindi language.

The Government accepted the minority report about Kharar and declared Chandigarh to be a Union territory. A delimitation Commission was constituted on 23rd April, 1966, based on Justice Shah, M. M. Philip and S. Dutt [8], The Commission submitted its report on the division of Punjab to the Government in May, 1966. The recommendations proposed by this Commission were:

Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab

- Punjabi Suba would be formed of Districts Gurdaspur, (less Dalhousie, Balun and Bakloh), Amritsar, Kapurthala, Jalandhar, Ferozepur, Bathinda, Patiala, Ludhiana, the tehsils of Sangrur district- Barnala, Malerkotla and Sangrur, Ropar tehsil of Ambala district, Tehsil Dasuha, Hoshiarpur and Garhshankar, Anandpur and the development blocks of Nurpur Bedi, villages Kharabagh, Samipur and Kalseh of Una Block and village Kasauri of Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur district.

Hindi-speaking areas to Haryana

- The districts of Hissar, Mohindergarh, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Karnal and tehsils Narwana and Jind (District Sangrur) and tehsil Kharar (Including Hadigarh Capital Project), Naraingarh, Ambala, Jagadhari (of Ambala district) were to form the Hindi-speaking state. The hilly areas, such as Shimla district, Kulu, Kangra, Lahaul Spiti were given to Himachal Pradesh. The development blocks Gagrat, and Una (excluding the villages of Kharabagh, Samipur, Bhabhour and Kalseh), and village Kasri from tehsil Una (District Hoshiarpur), tehsil Nalagarh (District Ambala), Enclaves Dalhousie, Balun and Bukloh in Chamba district, the hilly areas having cultural affinity with the people of Himachal Pradesh were merged with Himachal Pradesh.

Punjabi Suba Parliament Committee sent its recommendations to the Home Minister-Gulzari Lal Nanda. By granting approval on 18 April, the Home Minister announced the names of members for new demarcation of Punjab and offered a proposal to keep common system in 42 Government and non-Government institutions in Punjab and Haryana. Indira Gandhi implemented the report of minorities. Following common considerations were made in the Reorganization Bill:

- Common High Court
- Common State Electricity Board
- Chandigarh was retained as a Union territory; with both-Haryana and Punjab were equal partners.
- Common Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana and Punjab University, Chandigarh.
- Common Governor

The Central Government retained the control of following:

- Bhakhra Dam, Water-Reservoirs and other controls related to it- Nangal Dam and Nangal Hydrel Channel, Kotla Power House, Irrigation, Ropar headworks, Harike and Ferozepur, Bhakhra Power House, Power

Houses of Ganguwal and Kotla, Bhakhra Management Board, Beas Project, Cooperative Union Chandigarh.

By taking away the following from Punjab, it showed disbelief on its loyalty citizenship as Indian citizens:

- Pong dam Project, Punjab State Cooperative Civil Supply and Marketing Federation Chandigarh, State Finance corporation, Punjab Games and Sports Corporation, Punjab Dairy Development Corporation, Punjab State Handloom Works Cooperative Society, Chandigarh, Punjab State Mortgage Bank Ltd. Chandigarh, Punjab State Labor Uplift Federation, Chandigarh, the Sources of Water and Electricity. Now where else was so done at the time of creation of state of Hindu domination. The Reorganization Bill was full of biasness and partiality.

By chaining Punjab with common systems, it was made into a 'limping' Punjab. Out of the whole of Punjab, 41.2% area was given to Punjab, 35.8% to Haryana and 23% given to Himachal Pradesh, free of cost. The reallocation of sources between Punjab and Haryana had been done in the ratio of 60:40 but this ratio was ignored during the division of river waters^[9].

- The Legislative Assemblies of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh were to have 87, 62 and 56 members respectively. 22 seats were allotted to Punjab and 04 to Himachal Pradesh in the Lok Sabha.

Allocation of seats in the Lok Sabha was done as:

- Punjab– 13 (3 reserved for scheduled castes)
- Haryana– 9 (2 reserved for scheduled castes)
- Himachal Pradesh– 6 (1 reserved for scheduled castes) and
- Chandigarh– 1

In the Rajya Sabha, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh had 11 and 2 seats respectively. After the reorganization, Punjab was given 7 seats, Haryana 5 and Himachal Pradesh 01 seat respectively^[10].

The bill for reorganization of Punjab was presented in the Lok Sabha on 3rd September 1966. It was objected to by the Akali Dal. Demand was made for inclusion of Chandigarh within Punjab. The Master Akali Dal refused to accept it in entirety^[11]. Sardar Kapur Singh said in the Parliament that the Shiromani Akali Dal was not willing to accept it due to following three reasons:

“Firstly, its conception was based on deceit. Secondly, it had been prepared by an incapable and illiterate official. Thirdly, it was against the interests of the nation. It would certainly weaken the National integration and lessen the faith of unity in those who use political power^[12].”

After the publication of 'Boundary Commission' on 8-6-1966, following telegrams had been sent by the Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee to the President of India- Dr. S. Radha Krishnan, Prime Minister- Indira Gandhi, Home Minister- Gulzari Lal Nanda, Foreign Minister- S. Swaran Singh, Speaker- S. Hukam Singh^[13], The President of All-India Congress Committee- Kamraj, Narain Siha, Patil and Sanjiva Reddy:

“The Sikh public has felt sad and grieved by observing the report submitted by Boundary Commission constituted for demarcation of Punjabi Suba and has been recommended by the majority people for Chandigarh to be given to Haryana. By ignoring the memorandum given by the Shiromani Committee to the Boundary Commission, an awkward effort

has been made to take Chandigarh and the Punjabi-speaking tehsils (since ancient times) of Kharar and Sirsa out of Punjab. It is a move of the Central Government to weaken the Punjabi Suba. The report of the Commission was in total contrast to the assurance given by the President and the Prime Minister during the demarcation of Punjabi Suba to pacify Sant Ji. Report of the Demarcation Commission is against the proposals made by the Congress Working Committee and the Parliament Committee. The Central Government and concerned officials should include Chandigarh and other Punjabi-speaking areas in Punjabi Suba.”^[14] Despite of it being opposed, the bill was passed on 7th September, 1966 and made law with the approval from the President on 18th September, 1966 President rule was imposed in Punjab at this time.

While debating on the bill, Akali members (S. Kapur Singh, S. Buta Singh) had presented 32 amendments on the common links between Punjab and Haryana where Punjabi speaking areas had been kept out of Punjab. Instead of Nangal, the amendment of making Anandpur Sahib a tehsil, due to its historical significance, had been accepted. The Congress members rejected other amendments on the strength of majority. Chandigarh was retained under the Central rule. Punjab was behaved unfairly with this bill. The Akali members proposed to reject this bill. The discussion had thus continued on this bill^[15]. The bill had been passed on 7th September, 1966 and got approved by the President on 18th September, 1966, due to which, New Punjab came into being on 1st November, 1966, 13 districts came as share of Punjab in 1947, which remained in the same form till 1957 Kangra was the largest of these districts. By amalgamating the eight states of East Punjab, there were eight districts of PEPSU in August 1948. The districts of Barnala, Fatehgarh Sahib and Nalagarh had been disbanded. PEPSU had been amalgamated with Punjab on 1st November, 1956. The number of districts had become 18 due to amalgamation with Punjab. This number of 18 continued till 1966.

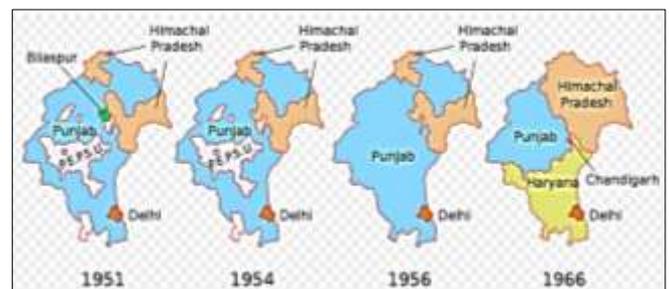


Fig 1: Map of the Punjab showing years of 1951-1966

Reorganization of Punjab took place on 1st November, 1966, on the basis of language. Kangra and Shimla districts of Punjab were given away to Himachal Pradesh. Dalhousie tehsil of Gurdaspur district and Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur also went into Himachal Pradesh. On the other side, the Jind tehsil of Sangrur district was amalgamated with Haryana. At the same time, Kharar and Ropar tehsils of Ambala district were grouped with Punjab. Ropar was given the status of a district on 1st September, 1966 Including it, 11 districts formed Punjabi Suba including Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur, Hoshiarpur, Jalandhar, Kapurthala, Ludhiana, Bathinda, Sangrur, Patiala and Ropar. On the other side, in Haryana, Jind too got the status of a district on 1st November, 1966 thus, making the number of districts as six Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar, Gurgaon and Jind. Districts

in Punjab remained 11 only in 1972. The sabotaging of the districts on political bases started from 1972 onwards. Lachhman Singh Gill kept trying to make Moga a district but could not succeed^[16].

The reorganized state of Punjab has the area of 50, 376 square kms, which constitutes 1.6% of the total area of India. On the eve of division of the state, the population was estimated to be 1, 11, 47, 054, consisting 25, 63, 306 urban and 85, 78, 748 rural inhabitants.

Whereas Haryana received 16, 835 sq. miles area and Himachal laid hands on 10, 215 sq. miles of the earlier Punjab. Though, all the Punjabi-speaking areas could not join in the new demarcation, but 85% of the Sikh population got together in Punjabi Suba^[17].

The New council of ministers was born under the leadership of Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir on 1st November in which a total of 22 Ministers were elected; 11 cabinet ministers, 04 State Ministers, 04 Deputy Ministers and 01 Parliament Secretary.

In Haryana, under the leadership of Pandit Bhagwat Dyal Sharma, a council of 17 ministers was formed consisting of 10 Cabinet Ministers, 03 State Ministers and 04 Deputy Ministers^[18]. Haryana welcomed the reorganization of Punjab. The majority population got together at one place. It was opposed by the *Akalis*. Threat was given by Sant Fateh Singh to go on fast and immolate himself on the issue of Chandigarh. The issue of Chandigarh took the precious life of S. Darshan Singh Pheruman but satisfactory solution could not be found for Punjab or Haryana.

Sant Fateh Singh had gone abroad at the time of publication of the report. He opposed the Reorganization Act on his return from foreign tour. Sant Fateh Singh said, "Punjabi Suba is our last demand. "Master Tara Singh also opposed the deceit meted out regarding the Punjabi Suba^[19]. Fateh Singh called a Conference on 10th November, 1966 in which representatives of the Communist parties, Independent parties, Republican Party and United Socialist Party favored the annulment of common links. A *Jatha* (group) of 75 was sent from Amritsar on 16th November, 1966. This *Jatha* was further divided into three groups. These *Jathas* were taken into custody much before they reached Chandigarh^[20]. Sant Fateh Singh announced to commence the observance of 'fast unto death' at a *Diwan*, which was being held at *Manji Sahib*, Amritsar, on 5th December. He commenced his fast on 17th December at the third story of *Manji Sahib*, which was considered to be the initial stage for self-immolation. On 27th December, 1966 Sant Fateh Singh said, I want to make it clear that this program of mine for self-immolation can be averted only if the Government agrees to fulfill our following demands:

- Termination of mutual arrangement.
- The return of Dams, Projects and Chandigarh being retained by the Central Government.

The demands for inclusion of the Punjabi –speaking areas in Punjab were a part of it^[21].

Master Tara Singh supported Sant Fateh Singh and demanded "An Autonomous status" to acquire a real type of "Homeland for the Sikhs". As such, the struggle by the Sikhs and the *Akalis* recommenced regarding the Reorganization Bill^[22].

In the background of the fast of Sant Fateh Singh, Shiromani Akali Dal also took part in the General Elections of 1967. The conditions of those times were not so favorable

for the *Akalis*. Congress was the ruling party and could take advantage due to the demand for Punjabi Suba. This Punjabi Suba was not as per demands of the Akali Dal. Certain leaders of that time suggested that the Punjabi area be converted into Punjabi Suba. The attitude of Congress changed due to the 'fast unto death' of Sant Ji. Showing satisfaction on this attitude, he cancelled the program of his fast and self-immolation. Akali Dal had got 26 seats and the Congress won 48 of the total 120 seats in this election^[23].

Justice Gurnam Singh became the Chief Minister of the first Akali Government in Punjabi Suba. He was sworn in on 8th March, 1967. The 'Gurnam Singh' Government fell on 22nd November, 1967 and Lachhman Singh Gill became the Chief Minister with help of the Congress. Sant Fateh Singh who had found himself in embarrassing situations announced that he would go on a fast-unto-death on 26th January, 1970 and commit self-immolation on 1st February, 1970. Sant Fateh Singh went on fast as planned on 26th January, 1970. Indira Gandhi met the Chief ministers of Punjab and Haryana on 7th January. She announced her eagerly-awaited award on 29th January. According to the terms of award:

- Fazilka and Abohar along with 114 villages in the two tehsils would be transferred to Haryana.
- The Chandigarh Capital Project area was to be transferred to Punjab in five years.
- Punjab was also to get Punjabi-speaking areas adjacent to Chandigarh.
- The Government of India would make a grant of Rs 10 billion and loan of Rs 10 billion to the Government of Haryana to construct its new capital.
- A commission would be appointed in consultation with the Governments of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh to recommend territorial adjustments on the basis of contiguity of linguistic regions^[24].

Sant Fateh Singh and the Akali Dal welcomed the award and the *Akalis* requested the Sant to break his fast as his demands had been met. He did so and broke his fast on 30th January 1970. The Punjab Government ordered two state holidays on 1st and 2nd February to celebrate the events.

The Haryana Government condemned the award on Chandigarh but welcomed that on Fazilka area^[25].

Various people and organizations tried to take credit for the acquisition of Punjabi Suba. The collective honor of the establishment of Punjabi Suba should go to the Sikh public, Akali workers, Punjabi farmers to those who were thronged into the prisons for Punjabi Suba, Master Tara Singh, the bravery of the Sikh soldiers in the 1965 war (with Pakistan) changed situation in the country and Fateh Singh. As a matter of fact, the Akali Dal was now moving even beyond Punjabi Suba. The talks of principle of self-determination, Sikh Homeland, Sikh state, Khalistan, etc. were on the increase. The Government, too had a scheme (which failed ultimately) to stop the formation of Punjabi Suba^[26]. The Akali Dal had won a number of seats, as is evident from the elections of 1967, 1969 and 1977. The reorganization of Punjabi Suba affected the politics of the state. The organization of Punjabi Suba was a significant event in the political sphere of Punjab. It created a deep impact on the economics, social-structure and politics of Punjab.

With formation of Punjabi Suba, the territorial area and population got considerably reduced than before. The Present Punjab is only the 7th part of what it was before the

partition and only 49.9% of the time before reorganization as far as area is concerned. It is one of the smallest among the states. Its area is only 1.54% of the total area of India. In regards of population, only 55% population has remained in the New Punjab as compared to the pre-reorganization population. These changes have affected the economy of the state. The hilly areas were also given to Himachal Pradesh along with forest capital. Punjab has been left with no natural resources which could become the base for economic development. The powerful center of industries of Punjab (Faridabad) was given away to Haryana [27]. The mutual control of Bhakra Dam Complex has made the new state dependent on Central Administrative Board and for water supply. Punjab became primarily a farming state with no major industries. Revolution took place in agriculture after the New Punjab came into being. Punjab made a contribution of 60% and 30-35% of wheat and rice respectively towards the central pool. Ironically, the policies of the center have made devastating impact on it. Base of agriculture is water. The united-Punjab had got two rivers at the time of partition. By clearly trespassing Indian Constitution, the Centre had no right to form any law over the rivers of Punjab and Hydly power, because these issues were in the jurisdictions of the state. By ignoring the national and international laws, the riparian rights of Punjab had been taken away under these provisions. By maintaining the riparian laws of Yamuna waters, Haryana Government and Haryana Assembly were given freedom to take every decision regarding them, while the Centre held control over the rivers flowing in Punjab and maintenance of Hydly Power projects. Rajasthan had no right over the waters of Narmada River because these waters do not touch the borders or pass through Rajasthan. As such, Rajasthan came to be considered a non-riparian state. Haryana, Rajasthan and Delhi were called the non-riparian and Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir as riparian states. The Sutlej-Yamuna Link canal delivered a death blow to the rights of millions of farmers and crippled the industrial economy of Punjab. Water is the only biggest capital with Punjab because, it does not have any sea, natural resource, coal, oil or water. The economy of Punjab suffered grievously due to looting of its waters. The economy of Punjab became weak due to the Re-organization Act 1966 and formation of the Punjabi Suba [28].

The social-structure of Punjab had changed completely after the formation of Punjabi Suba. Before reorganization of Punjab, the Hindus were 63.3% and the Sikhs 33.4% of the total population. However, The Sikhs had become majority from the minority status. Punjab had become the only state of India which was a Sikh majority area. According to the census of 1991, the Sikhs were 62.95%, Hindus 34.46%, Muslims 10.8 percent and the Christians 10.1% respectively. Except the districts of Gurdaspur, Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur, the Sikhs were in majority in all the other districts of Punjab. Not only this, Punjab had become the state of India after reorganization having a greater number of scheduled castes (% wise) than other states of India. As per the census of 1991, their population was 23.3% of the total population of Punjab. Education got affected considerably in Punjab. The numbers kept going down in schools and colleges. The business and employment of the people got affected. The policy of Punjab had also been deeply affected by the formation of Punjabi Suba. This effect can be felt in various political areas of the state. Firstly, there had been a

considerable effect of reorganization on the future of various political parties. The Akali Dal benefitted most from it. The Akali Dal could not even think of coming to power before reorganization. However, due to increase in numbers of the Sikhs and rural seats, the chances of victory of the *Akalis* had increased considerably. There had been constant increase in the number of seats won by the *Akalis* since the elections of 1967 till now. There had not been much damage to the Jan Sangh/B.J.P. due to reorganization of the state because, even earlier, they would get the support from Punjabi speaking areas but was limited to the Hindu votes only. The Communist Parties initially benefitted immensely due to reorganization, because the traditional base of these parties was also the Punjabi speaking areas. The Congress party suffered maximum loss due to reorganization. There was strong hold of this party on politics before reorganization but it lost power due to reorganization.

The other impact of the reorganization noticed on Punjab politics was that the disputes arose with the neighboring states on the issues of areas and water. The tensions between the Centre and the Akali Dal also increased due to these disputes.

Thirdly, the demand of Akali Dal for greater rights to Punjab is also the result of reorganization. The Akali Dal started feeling after formation of Punjabi Suba that their problems would not be solved with the formation of the Suba until they are given more rights by the Centre. They started demanding more rights in due course of time. They also passed two proposals in this regard which are called 'The Batala and Anandpur Sahib Resolutions' after their names.

Fourthly, due to impact of reorganization on the future of political parties, the 'coalition system' of politics was born in the state. The Akali Dal emerged as a dominant party to the forefront after the reorganization which coerced the power of the Congress. By breaking the hold of the Congress, it cleared the way for the formation of coalition Governments [29].

Finally, the common forums were removed for Haryana and Punjab and Sant Fateh Singh and the Akali Dal welcomed this decision. There was a considerable impact on the political, economic and social conditions of Punjab after the formation of Punjabi Suba. Punjab became a Sikh-majority area. If at all the Punjabi language had been implemented then its entire credit goes to the speakers of Punjabi for the first time.

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