CHAPTER-IV
TERRORISM IN PUNJAB- GENESIS AND CAUSES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

History has, indeed, moved forward with the speed of a torrent sweeping along its way, ages of cross culture and economy. Besides, the proud land of Punjab has undoubtedly, paid a colossal price in blood and devastation as & when there was any war or aggression on India. Punjab passed through an era of decay after independence, which was once a fertile and rich state. Jean Bodin has rightly said, “the study of history is the beginning of a political wisdom.” In all moral and social standards, the history of India is always integrated to the events of Punjab, since it is always Punjab which makes first base in the history of India. Generally, the history of Punjab starts with invasion on the borders or Punjab, but here, it was the internal enemy who with the deviant behavior turned in to terrorist/extremist.¹

Such an unmitigated evil of them made history of Punjab/India not only arrogant assertive but it showed their disgraceful and dishonourable act in the eyes of the world. The triumph of democracy, in fact, is the triumph of healthy tradition and of national life through hard won independence, the irony of fate is that the people ignomously suffered for a long time because of the indulgence of the wrong and inappropriate/unlawful acts by the distracted and exploited youth. The continued obsession of the terrorists and of certain leaders created chaotic situation which showed complete absence of order. Earlier, even the Govt. was not honest in handling situation & situation continued to be worsening. In fact, there was need to discern the truth of the problem form national point of view but lack of vision of our leaders and their unconcern for Punjab and its people had injured the Punjab’s interests immensely.

Though, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderenwale started it as reformatory movement but it ultimately turned in to the demand of Khalistan, especially after the security forces entered the Golden Temple in 1984. There was a strong nexus between the criminals, smugglers and religious bigots in Punjab in 1980s. Bhinderawale washed the brain of Sikh youth to rise against the government in power and work for the achievement of Khalistan. Jasbir Singh Rode founded ISYF in America and Canada, collected funds and sent to Punjab to strengthen the Khalistan movement. Human Right aspect was totally ignored by both sides i.e. Security forces & the terrorists.

Terrorism is a state of war though of low intensity. It covers the entire gamet of activities to overawe the government from kidnapping and extortion to civil war and insurgency. Because of the involvement of the local population, mostly as victim, it is the

¹Threats to Human Rights, Human Rights in India, Block-5, Indira Gandhi National Open University, 2000, p.19
police that plays a leading role in countering terrorism. Human Rights propagandists, and so
called intellectuals should not have a myopic view while criticizing security forces for human
rights violations in Punjab, Kashmir and North Eastern states. In between 1978-93, the
terrorists killed nearly 25000 persons including about 2000 men of security forces. Extensive
damage to public and private property, disruption of normal life, set back to economic
development etc. have been caused. It certainly, had threatened the national unity and
integrity of our country. Article 4 of the ICCR says, “when the life of nation is threatened, the
derogation of human rights is valid”

Terrorism is a form of violence to create terror for the political purposes. The crucial
element of terror activity, as a famous Scotish scholar, Paul Wilkinson, underlined is, “the
deliberate attempt to create fear, intense fear, in order to coerce the wider targets giving in
what the terrorists want”. It involves:

a. Deliberate targeting of civilians.

b. Creating intense fear in the general public with a view to
   i. Secure unquestioning obedience to the groups, commands & desires.
   ii. Stimulating friends & supporters.
   iii. Prompt the counter action by the state.

“Kill one and frighten 1000 is the saying in Chinese folklore”. Two illustrations of terrorist
actions in Punjab from the Amnesty International Report may be useful:-

I. The Panthic Committee issued a 13 point programme, which included a specific
dress for school children. Mrs. Nirmal Kanta, Principal of Govt. Girls Secondary
School, Rajpura could not implement the order immediately, because most of the
pupils came from poor families, who could not afford immediately to make new
dresses. She was killed at prayer time of the school in the presence of all students.
The Babbar Khalsa terrorist group took the responsibility for not obeying the dress
code.

II. Operation Mother Tongue: Panthic committee issued a dictum that every work
should be done in Punjabi language alone. Principal O.P. Vig of Modi College
Patiala was killed in his office for not doing the office work in Punjabi. KCF
(Panjwar) claimed the responsibility of killing.

A person on the bicycle was killed in Rayya area just to show that the newspapers are
saying that police has upper hand over the terrorists, that it is not true.
4.1.1 THREAT FROM THE TERRORIST GROUPS

Threat to life and security is inherent in the terrorist methods and logic, which involve surprise targeting at mostly the innocent people. The well known incidents of the killing of 110 passengers of trains in Punjab by gunfire, spraying of bullets on sleeping migrant labour and people watching Ram Leela performance or the bomb blasts such as in Bombay in 1993 are the examples which cause widespread insecurity.

2. The terrorists groups also resort to killing on group or community basis. ULFA killed Muslims, Bodos killed Chakmas and Khalistani terrorists targeted Hindu community. Thus, because of Muslim terrorists targeting the Kashmir Pandits, they had to flee the valley.

3. Kidnapping for ransom, torture of suspected informers, extortion of money and rape of women are other known activities of terrorists groups. Thus there is a threat to the property, privacy of family & home & above all to the honour of persons.

4. Threat to the freedom of speech and expression is the central to the phenomenon of the terrorism. Murder of Lala Jagat Narayan of Hind Samachar Group, Jalandhar was the first murder on this count. A large number of Journalists, News paper hawkers and Director of AIR, Patiala were killed.

There was a great threat to the anti-terrorist forces in Punjab. Nobody was giving evidence against the terrorists. Criminal Justice system had collapsed. Terrorists were freely released on bail and even the special law TADA had also failed. Thus both the terrorists and criminals had become threat to human life. Threat also came from the state for adopting extreme measures to combat terrorism.2

4.2 GENESIS

Punjab is a Persian word meaning five rivers. Punjab history was influenced by popular eighteenth century poets such as Bulleh Shah and Waris Shah. Secondly it is influenced by 1857 revolution, Punjab as the empire’s Jettison state, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Phenomenon during 1929-31, the Muslim League Pakistan’s resolution of 1940 and partition of 1947. Punjabi became Sikh language, Urdu of Muslim and Hindi of Hindus. It is difficult to define Punjabiat. Punjabiat appear alive in both India and Pakistan as East Punjab and West Punjab. The Punjabiat was kept alive by Amrita Pritam, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Saadat Hassan Munto, Khushwant Singh, K.L. Sehgal, Noor Jehan, Mohd. Rafi, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, Raj Kapoor, Nargis, Dev Anand, Sunil Dutt, Rajesh Khanna and Akshay Kumar and

2 Id p. 23
also enriched the language.\textsuperscript{3}

After the death of Aurangzeb, there were clashes between the Moughal rulers, Afghan rulers (invaders) and Sikhs Chieftans. In 1739, Nadir Shah invaded Punjab & Delhi. In 1758 Adina Beg, a Punjabi Muslim governed Punjab in the name of Maratha Confederacy. Maharaja Ranjit Singh governed Punjab at Lahore as Capital. Punjabiat or Punjabiness is the primordial and patriotic feelings localized around a region. Region, religion and culture of an area is an important aspect. The languages are Maghi, Siraiki, Malvai, Puadhi, Kangri, Doabi, Hindko, Pothohari, Dogri etc. The advent of Punjabi Sufi poets and Bhakti era of Guru Nanak is an important aspect to Punjabi culture. Punjabi linguistic and literary culture was marked by pluralities i.e. Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Almost all speak Punjabi.\textsuperscript{4}

Terrorism in Punjab was a political violence because of the crisis of identity of community in addition to other demands by the Akalis. There was a great loss of lives and property during terrorism in Punjab. Sikh terrorists failed to create a wedge between the two main communities, residents of Punjab. The migrant labour, defenseless villagers, prominent political leaders, the persons belonging to one community and families of policemen fell to the automatic fire-power of the terrorists. They also targeted the members belonging to one sect i.e. Nirankaris. They also targeted police, Army and government officials. Even Mr. Julio Francis Rebeiro, the then Punjab D.G.P had gone pessimistic in 1987 and said, “the elimination of terrorism in Punjab was not possible as it is in the hearts and minds of those people perpetuating it in the cause of misplaced sentiments of philosophy”. The terrorism had ceased to be a means to an end and became an end itself. The state and the militant groups considered violence was the only solution to the problem. Terrorism had become integral to the political and social life of Punjab. Another observer summed up the prevailing pattern as a fight between just the police and militants.\textsuperscript{5}

Perception among Sikh masses specially belonging to Akali Dal was that Indira Gandhi Govt. was opposed to Sikh political aspirations. Akali Dal launched a Dharam Yudh Morcha in 1982. The basic issues were.

\textsuperscript{3} Gandhi, Raj Mohan; \textit{A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten}, Rupa Publications India, New Delhi, 2013 p.50
\textsuperscript{4} Malhotra, Anshu and Mir, Farrina; \textit{Punjab Reconsidered – History, Culture and Practice}, Oxford University Press -2012 p. 16
\textsuperscript{5} Crenshaw, Martha (Ed.), \textit{Terrorism in Context}, Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, 1995 p.355
i. Stopping of digging of the SYL canal and restoration of state’s rivers water as per riparian law.

ii. To merge Punjabi speaking areas in new state of Punjab.

iii. Restoration of Chandigarh to Punjab as its capital.

iv. Greater autonomy to states as envisaged in Sri Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

In Punjab, a large number of robbers and dacoit gangs were active in earstwhile Pepsu area since merged in Punjab in 1950s, which were finished and controlled by the government neutralizing around 400 dacoits. The major role was played by Mr Rao, the advisor to the then Governor Punjab. In 1969, the Naxal movement was faced by the people in Punjab. Naxalities indulged in ruthless killings of politicians, police officials and their children. The naxalim was curbed with heavy hand under the leadership of Sh. Ashwani Kumar IP, the then IGP of Punjab (since expired) in 1970-71. A large number of naxalites were killed and arrested. Naxalites lodged in jails were released by Akali government in 1977 and they all jointed Bhindranwale group and indulged in mass killings, looting and extortion. The wave of violence remained upto 1993, which was combated and crushed under the strong political will of Late S. Beant Singh, the then C.M. of Punjab and under the police leadership of Sh. K.P.S. Gill IPS, the then D.G.P. Punjab.

The origin of recent terrorism in Punjab can be traced to the killings of Akhand Kirtanis on 13th April, 1978, the assassination of Baba Gurbachan Singh, Nirankari chief in Delhi in 1980, the killing of Lala Jagat Narain & his son Ramesh Chandra. The arrest of Bhinderanwale near Chowk Mehta in the murder of Lala Jagat Narain sparked off the violence near Chowk Mehta, where the police party was attacked with deadly weapons. On September 29, 1981, an Indian Airlines plane was hijacked to Lahore by the Sikh extremists. During those years, people were killed at random, buses were hijacked and Hindu passengers were identified and brutally murdered to sound as a warning to vacate Punjab for Sikhs. The banks were looted. The anti-social elements joined the religious fundamentalists to create terror in Punjab for non-Sikhs. Pre 1984 blue star, there was massive scale of violence in Punjab. Sh. A.S. Atwal DIG/JR was shot dead in the premises of Golden Temple on April 23, 1983. On one day, 37 Railway Stations were burnt down while innumerable attempts to derail the trains by removing fishplates and planting bombs on the tracks were made. Army carried out the Blue Star Operation in Golden Temple and a large number of terrorists were killed or held including the killing of Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, Bhai Amrik Singh and Maj. Gen. Shabeg Singh (Retd.). Army, simultaneously flushed terrorists from 42 religious places in
Punjab. Even after Blue Star, some groups crossed over to Pakistan, got training and again regrouped. Gen. A.S. Vaidya, the then chief of Army staff was killed by Punjab terrorists in 1985 in Pune. Even the Sikh & Kashmiri terrorists attempted on the life of Sh. Rajiv Gandhi on his visit to U.K. The terrorists activities continued & increased each year. The killing of civilians increased tremendously. Sh. J.F. Rebeiro, the then DGP Punjab had a narrow escape in Jalandhar. The situation was grim in the border districts of Amritsar, Ferozepur, & Gurdaspur. Pakistan ISI was funding, training and arming the terrorists to foment trouble in Punjab. However, as a result of stern police measures and swift action, the terrorists started fleeing to neighboring states like Haryana, Delhi and U.P. Their activities in West Bengal, M.P. and Bombay for the collection of funds also came to the notice. Extortion of money and kidnapping for ransom became the order of the day in Punjab. Some of the terrorist groups were eliminated but new gangs appeared. Sh. K.P.S. Gill took over as DGP and operation Black Thunder in Golden Temple flushed the terrorists in 1988. Year 1991 was the peak of violence in Punjab. Sh. K.P.S.Gill was brought back as DGP Punjab in 1991. The families of the policemen were also targeted. The Punjab Police under Sh. K.P.S. Gill as DGP and the political will of S. Beant Singh as C.M., brought back normalcy in Punjab, when most of the top terrorists were neutralized. Ofcourse, the terrorism is not completely wiped out. Shingar Cinema blasts in 2005 in Ludhiana took the lives of 6 persons and Babbar Khalsa activists were nabbed.6

Today USA, UK, Russia, France, Spain, Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan which are breeder of terrorism are biggest victims of terrorism. CIA, Mossad & ISI are at the helm of spreading terrorism in the world. Talibans trained by Pakistan are the biggest danger to Pakistan i.e. good Talibans and bad Talibans. 9/11 attack in New York has made the USA realize that the terrorists are no body’s friends. Who were responsible for creation of Bhinderanwale & LTTE? The creators became the victims i.e. Indira Gandhi was killed by Sikh terrorists & Rajiv Gandhi was killed by LTTE activists as he sent the Indian Peace keeping Forces against LTTE. The terrorist organizations active in India i.e. LeT, Talibans, JeM, HuJI, HM, IM etc are the creation of ISI of Pakistan. CIA & ISI are destabilizing India for the last 40 years. Terrorism in Punjab was the gift of CIA & ISI. Zia-Ul-Haq was the main person behind the unrest in Punjab. CIA was dead set against Indira Gandhi as she was close to Russia. Mrs. Gandhi was apprehensive of CIA that it would kill her one day. Rajiv Gandhi

6 Kumar, Ashok; Dynamics of Global Terrorism, K.K. Publishers, New Delhi, 2014 pp.192-194
was also apprehensive of USA that it will not allow his government to run. The start of militancy in Punjab was the brain child of CIA and Americans propped up hardcore Sikh ultras settled in USA, UK & Canada. CIA is still feared by Indian leaders. CIA & ISI are working closely. After assassination of Mrs. Gandhi & Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, almost all the Prime Ministers were afraid of CIA and they asked the security agencies to be careful from Pakistan. Even the approach of Narinder Modi is also half-hearted and no action independent of America is taken. In Punjab, efforts are there again to revive militancy. The water problem is not good in this respect and it can motivate the hardliners to start again, against the perceived injustice. The aspect of narco-terrorism cannot be taken lightly and ISI is trying its hard to revive militancy in Punjab. 

Mrs. Gandhi & Rajiv Gandhi both were genuinely secular and they respected the Sikh community from their heart. In 1982, Indira Gandhi deputed S. Sawaran Singh Ex Foreign Minister for negotiation with Akalis. An agreement was reached. Government was ready to accede to religious demands, for political demands the government had to consult other states on SYL & Chandigarh & for that government needed some more time. This was to be announced in Parliament by the Home Minister. The party in power backed out and a different statement was given. This increased bitterness between the government and the Akalis. Akalis boycotted the Asiad held in November, 1982. It is alleged that Haryana Police at the behest of Sh. Bhajan Lal, the then CM Haryana searched & humiliated the highly placed Sikh officers while crossing Haryana. All this acted as foundation of Operation Blue Star and thereafter assassination of Indira Gandhi. Arun Nehru group wanted Rajiv Gadhi to take credit of any settlement with the Akalis. Giani Zail Singh was propping up Capt. Amrinder Singh to replace Darbara Singh as C.M. Punjab. Dr. Subramanian Swamy out-rightly blamed Congress to have created the situation alike this and the top leaders were alleged to be close to the extremist elements. Even it is alleged that Bhinderanwale was the creation of Congress & Giani Zail Singh was propping him up. Ch. Bhajan Lal, the then C.M. Haryana played a negative role and irritated the Sikhs. At one time, there was apprehension of clashes between Hindus & Sikhs in the border area of Punjab & Haryana. There was a situation of communal flare-up.

Even pre-partition, there was a tussle over the control of Gurudwaras between Akalis & Sikh Congress leaders. Baba Kharak Singh & Master Tara Singh were Akali leaders who were controlling Gurudwaras. In 1957 elections of SGPC, the Sikh Sangat Board Party

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7 Chawla, G.S.; Bloodshed in Punjab, Har Anand Publication- New Delhi, 2016 pp. 5-18
8 Id pp. 26-30
had a crushing defeat for SGPC membership. This was a clear defeat of Partap Singh Kairon the then CM of Punjab. Master Tara Singh kept the fast unto death at Akal Takhat for Punjabi Suba in 1961, which was broken without any achievement. This made Master Tara Singh replaced by Sant Fateh Singh. Master Tara Singh hit back by getting appointed Das Commission for corruption charges against S. Partap Singh Kairon. Thus the power struggle between Congress & Akalies remained and Congress never wanted Akalis to come to power. The states Reorganization commission on creating new states on language basis rejected the demand of Akalis for Punjab State on linguistic basis but instead asked for adding more areas of Pepsu, Himachal Pradesh etc. Some Hindu leaders got recorded their mother tongue as Hindi, not Punjabi. Lala Jagat Narain and Prof. Sher Singh Launched an agitation against regional formula & for propagation of Hindi. In this way, a cleavage between Hindus & Sikhs was felt because of the role played by leaders of Arya Samaj background and diehard Akalis. In order to further the interests of his Newspapers, Lala Jagat Narain, proprietor of Hind Samachar Group of Newspapers became more and more virulent against Akalis and the Sikh cause. He was killed on September 9, 1981 near Ludhiana for deposing in favour of Nirankaris in Baishakhi 1978 clash case in Amritsar. Later on, Ramesh Chander, his elder son was also killed by the militants in Jalandhar on May 12, 1984. Sant Fateh Singh sat on fast on September 25, 1965 with the ultimate aim of self immolation if the demand of Punjabi Suba was not accepted. Because of war with Pakistan, he was persuaded to give up immolation bid. During the 65 war with Pakistan, all the Punjabis unitedly helped the armed force in their mission. After the war, on the basis of undertaking of the Parliamentary Committee, Indira Gandhi, the then P.M. acceded to the demand of Punjabi Suba.9

The new states of Punjab, Himachal Pardesh, Haryana were carved on November 1, 1966. But the problem of Chandigarh, Punjabi speaking areas and water distribution simmered and even today, Punjab & Haryana are acting like enemies. With the elections in March 1967, Akalis with Justice Gurnam Singh came in to power in Punjab. Later on Lachhman Singh Gill defected from Akalis & became CM with the help of Congress. Darshan Singh Pheruman undertook a fast unto death on August 15, 1969 for the pending demands and he ultimately sacrificed his life. Congress after 71 war & elections in Punjab came to power with Giani Zail Singh as CM of Punjab. Emergency was imposed in June 1975, which lasted upto 1977. Giani Zail Singh adopted the Akali Agenda. In 1977 elections, Congress lost the Parliament and also State Assembly elections. Akali Dal had launched

9 Id pp. 50-58
marcha against emergency in 1975 and ended with the announcement of elections in India. This also created bitterness between the Akalis and the Congress and in a way between Hindus & Sikhs.\(^\text{10}\)

With the Janta Party under Sh. Morarji Desai as PM coming to power in 1977 and appointment of Shah Commission against the atrocities in emergency, the fight between the Akalis and Congress escalated. On Baisakhi Day 13\(^{th}\) April, 1978, the clash between Nirankaris and Bhinderanwale’s men took the lives of 13 persons, the followers of Akhand Kirtani jatha including its head Bhai Fauja Singh. Giani Zail exploited the situation and thought of using Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale to fight against Akalis. Dal Khalsa was set up in Gurudwara Akalgarh, Chandigarh in August 1978 to set up an Independent Sikh State and whole expenditure was borne by the Congress. The same Dal Khalsa became a dangerous radical organization and it was banned later on by the Government of India. Bhinderanwale criticised Akalis after Nirankari clash. In January, 1980 elections of Lok Sabha, Congress came to power and Giani Zail Singh became the Home Minister of India. Government of some states including Punjab were dismissed and in coming Punjab Vidhan Sabha elections, Congress government under S. Darbara Singh as C.M. took over the reins of Punjab. In the meanwhile, Nirankaris were acquitted by Karnal Court and Bhinderanwale adopted the aggressive postures. Baba Gurbachan Singh, Nirankari head was killed in Delhi on 24\(^{th}\) April, 1980. Later on Lala Jagat Narain was killed near Ludhiana on September 9, 1981 and Bhinderanwale was named as one of the conspirator. He was arrested but had to be released because of unknown circumstances. There was a tussle between Darbara Singh & Giani Zail Singh and ultimately, Darbara Singh Ministry was dismissed in 1983. Giani Zail Singh, Jathedar Santokh Singh and Bhinderanwale were on the same tune. There was escalation of violence in Punjab and many innocent persons including Nirankaris were killed by the terrorists. Bhinderanwale moved to Golden Temple premises on 19\(^{th}\) July 1982 and starting using filthy language against Hindus & Indira Gandhi. Bhinderanwale had the support of SGPC chief S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra. To make it safer, he moved to Akal Takhat on December 15, 1983. The rift developed between Bhinderawale and Longowal.\(^\text{11}\) Major General Shabeg Singh was advising him on security aspects and he fortified the Golden Temple complex. In the meantime, DIG Jalandhar Range, A.S. Atwal IPS was killed with in the Golden Temple Complex.

The distribution of water between Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan was the main issue.

\(^{10}\) Id pp. 60-67  
\(^{11}\) Id pp. 70-75
and when this accord was signed on 31st December 1981; Darbara Singh the then C.M. was forced to sign, though he felt that it was injustice to Punjab. Indira Gandhi inaugurated the digging of canal on 24th April, 1982 at Kapoori in Patiala. The Akalis launched the agitation/morcha over this. This actually failed but Akalis shifted this agitation to Golden Temple to take over the Dharam Yudh Morcha launched by Bhinderanwale for the release of some of his associates. Bhinderanwale was propagating violence & spate of killings, extortions and looting was in full swing. Even some people migrated from Punjab and industry was shifted to other states. Thus the economy of Punjab was shattered. Rich & wealthy Sikhs from USA, Canada & UK like Ganga Singh Dhillon, Harbhajan Singh Yogi, Didar Singh Bains of USA etc. preached separatism and subversion. SGPC met in Amritsar and passed a resolution that Sikhs are a separate nation and Sikhs be admitted to associate membership of UN as they were not part of Hindu mainstream and had a separate identity. CIA, ISI and Pakistan Government as a policy started cultivating hardliner Sikh elements to revolt against Indian establishment in the name of separate Sikh homeland but Hindus & Sikhs were so well knit, they could not be successful.\textsuperscript{12}

There was another angle in Punjab i.e. Naxalism. Naxalism got active in late 60s but well controlled by Sh. Ashwani Kumar, the then IGP Punjab. Now the two groups of naxalites one under S.N. Singh& other under CP Reddy got active. There were two strategies i.e. one to incite hardliner Akalis to demand the implementation of Sh. Anandpur Sahib Resolution and other to exploit students & farmers. They also planned to set up civil liberties organizations and Kirti Kissan Cell. Naxalites got the protection of Bhinderanwale and rather, Bhinderanwale used naxalites for shoot out at the early stage.\textsuperscript{13}

Rajiv Gandhi was determined to fulfill Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal accord. Different dates were fixed to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab. But one group in PM office led by Arun Nehru was creating hurdles.\textsuperscript{14}

SGPC is religious body meant to preach Sikh religion through teachings of ten gurus. Gurcharan Singh Tohra was president of SGPC for a longtime and he was close to Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, who was simply a preacher. Akal Takhat is supreme for Sikhs and edict of Jath. Akal Takhat is unchallengeable. Bhai Ranjit Singh, killer of Nirankari chief was also appointed Jathedar Akal Takhat. Jath. Jasbir Singh nephew of Bhinderanwale was also appointed Jathedar Akal Takhat. A new phase of militancy started and operation Black

\textsuperscript{12} Id pp. 100-105
\textsuperscript{13} Id pp. 106-107
\textsuperscript{14} Id p. 147
Thunder was launched in Golden Temple in 1988 by NSG in order to flush out the terrorists. Parkash Singh Badal was all supreme in the party and SGPC. The way, Barnala Govt. was formed in 1985; he was dead set against Congress.\textsuperscript{15}

The role of central intelligence agencies was not good. They were in touch with the terrorists and no action was taken by the centre. At the time of killings of Sh. Atwal DIG Punjab no action was taken against Bhinderanwale, when it was easy to arrest him from the golden temple. IB officials were in touch with Gurbachan Singh Manochahal. He formed Panthic committee in Golden Temple and gave a call for forming Khalistan. Barnala was compelled to send security forces in the Golden Temple by the central authorities just to justify the Blue Star, known as Operation Black Thunder-I. This was not a good approach on the part of Central Govt. Jasbir Singh Rode was got released by IB and installed as Jathedar Akal Takhat. The Central Govt was still in the clutches of Bhinderwale family. No concrete steps were taken by the Central Govt. authorities at the time of Delhi riots in November, 1984 and around 3000 Sikhs were killed by the rioters. Jathedar Santokh Singh President of SGPC was pampered & he was emissary of the Central Government for Bhinderanwale. Central Government did not check the movement of Bhinderwale & his armed men in Delhi in 1982. Bhinderanwale was given importance by the Congress, used him politically & ultimately killed him in Blue Star. Dal Khalsa hijacked the planes to Lahore on 29th September, 1981 and on May 1, 1982\textsuperscript{16}.

Dr. Sohan Singh, Chief of Panthic Committee had given the statement before the police on November 4, 1993 as below “The ISI men told me in Pakistan that to promote terrorism in Punjab was their national policy irrespective of change of political leadership. They also said that supply of weapons to the terrorists in India was not a problem as they could deliver them in Delhi. They are very serious to reactivate terrorist activities in Punjab to the extent they put even heads of terrorists’ outfits camping in Pakistan to rigorous training like other trainees. They included Wadhawa Singh and Mehul Singh of the Babbar Khalsa, Dr.Pritam Singh Sekhon of the KLF, Panjwar of the KLF-P and Narain Singh of KLA. Current Pakistan strategy is to avoid confrontation with the security forces as they are keen to avoid further killing of terrorists. They are concentrating on the targets to bring out economic destabilization in India by sabotaging targets like power and industrial sectors. Punjab terrorism is down but not out”\textsuperscript{17}.

\textsuperscript{15} Id pp. 154-155
\textsuperscript{16} Id pp. 163-169
\textsuperscript{17} Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
4.2.1 PHILOSOPHY AND BELIEFS OF SIKHISM

1. There is only one God. He is the same God for all people of all religions.
2. The soul goes through cycles of births and deaths before it reaches the human form. The goal of our life is to lead an exemplary existence so that one may merge with God. Sikhs should remember God at all times and practice living a virtuous and truthful life while maintaining a balance between their spiritual obligations and temporal obligation.
3. The true path to achieving a salvation and merging with God does not require renunciation of the world or ceibacy, but living the life of a house-holding earning a honest living and avoiding worldly temptations and sins.
4. Sikhism condemns blind rituals such as fasting, visiting places of pilgrimage, superstitions, worship of the dead, idol worship etc.
5. Sikhism preaches that the people of different races, religions or sex are all equal in the eyes of God. It teaches the full equality of man and women. Women can participate in any religious function or perform any Sikh ceremony or lead the congregation in prayer.18

4.2.2 PHILOSOPHY OF GURU NANAK

Guru Nanak was the founder of Sikh religion, who stressed the unity of God and Brotherhood of mankind. He attacked the pillars of traditional society such as caste, idolatry, ritualism, asceticism and intermediary role of priests in men's relation with God. His main principles were:

1. Name Japo
2. Wand Chhako
3. Kirat Karo

Later on, 9 Gurus came on the scene with the spirit of first Guru, Guru Nanak Dev Ji. Gurudwaras were established where the Sikhs used to assemble in order to maintain the corporate life of the community and reinforce the notion of religious collectivism. The prayers in Gurudwara helped in reviving the Sikh spirit. Fifth Guru compiled the Holy Guru Grant Sahib and established in newly built Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar. This became a rallying point of Sikhs. The martyrdom of Fifth Guru for the cause of righteousness left an

18 Grewal, Dr. Sonu(Chief Ed); Reimagining Punjab, Twenty First Century Publication, Patiala – 2016 pp.273-274
indelible stamp on the Sikh way of life. Sixth Guru, Guru Hargobind Sahib raised Akal Takhat, a temporal authority adjacent to Harmander Sahib, symbolizing the highly cherished Miri-Piri doctrine. Not only Darbar Sahib but all the Gurudwaras came to acquire Sikh political status. Ninth Guru gave martyrdom to counter the force of tyranny and injustice to uphold the freedom of men to practice their religion. Guru Gobind Singh Ji, the tenth guru founded Khalsa Panth on Baisakhi day in 1699 A.D. He epitomized all Sikhs as Singhis i.e. lions metaphorically champions or warriors. He described them as Sant-Sipahees. After the tenth Guru, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur kept the torch of Sikhism ablaze. After a long period of turmoil, suffering and persecution, the Sikhs rose to political power under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was a glorious product of Sih ethos. He built the empire and had a strong Army but disliked bloodshed. He fully followed the teachings of Gurus. He was a humble person amidst great honour. Singh Sabha movements were started in 1873 to restore Sikhism to its pristine purity. Some movements were started to free the Sikh shrines from Mahants. Shiromani Akali Dal came into existence in 1920, which has mushroomed in to the supreme organisation of Sikhs. Akali Dal secures exclusive control over the Sikh shrines and other religious places under Sikh Gurudwaras and Shrines Act 1925. This way, the unique religious identity of Sikhs was established. Thus, the control of Gurudwaras passed in to the hands of SGPC.

Sikhs, though only 2% of the India's population played a pioneering role in the freedom movement. Kuka revolt and Ghadar rebellion was almost wholly manned by the Sikhs. More than a hundred Kukas were mercilessly killed and many leaders were deported to Burma and Andaman. Over a hundred Ghadarites were hanged. Indian National Army led by Subash Chander Bose had 60% Sikhs as officers & men. General Mohan Singh from Ludhiana was the second in commander of INA to Subash Chander Bose. The martyrdom of Shahid Bhagat Singh shook the foundation of English rule. Sikhs played an important role in saving Kashmir. Sikhs showed an exemplary bravery in Indo-China and Indo-Pak wars. Lt. Gen. J.S. Arora was the Commander of forces when over a lakh Pak Army surrendered in Dhaka. Sikhs were again in the forefront in the peace keeping force (IPKF) sent to Sri Lanka, in 1985.

When Indira Gandhi declared emergency in India, it was Shiromani Akali Dal that launched the "Save Democracy Morcha". Vijay Lakshmi Pandit paid a glowing tribute to the Akaliies for their brave resistance to emergency. Sikhs under Akali Dal wanted to maintain the distinct identity of Sikhs and political aspirations. Sikhs rose against Hindutava of BJP, RSS, VHP, Shiv Sena, Bajrang Dal etc. where these organisations had projected that Hindutava is
the only way to maintain unity and integrity of India.

Darbar Sahib at Amritsar has been a rallying place for Sikhs since its inception. It is epicenter of Sikh faith. Guru Arjan Dev Ji had openly proclaimed to the world the independent identity of Sikh faith by placement of Guru Granth Sahib in Darbar Sahib. Guru Ji introduced the system of “Daswandh”. Sixth Guru Militarized the Panth by building Akal Takhat as a centre of Sukh empirirical life. All morchas i.e. Guru ka Bagh, Jaito Morcha and other Dharamyudh morchas were launched from Akal Takhat Sahib.

Mahatama Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru had assured the Sikhs that their interests and political aspirations will be protected post partition. In the Constitution, Sikhs were not recognized as separate community. Sikhs had vehemently opposed the partition because major portion of Punjab was to go to Pakistan. Ultimately, there was partition and Punjab was divided in to two parts. Over ten lakh people lost their lives and property worth crores of rupees were destroyed and looted. 2.5% of the Sikh population was brutally massacred. Nearly, 40% of the Sikhs were forced to abandon their homes and became refugees. The Sikhs who had thrown their lot within India in the wake of solemn assurances of the Congress leadership expected a fair deal in free India.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, while speaking in Constituent Assembly on November 25, 1947 had cautioned the countrymen not to betray the minorities. After partition, Indian National Congress made a big somersault and started alienating the Sikhs. Shri Chandu Lal Trivedi, the then Governor of Punjab described Sikhs as a criminal tribe and directed the Deputy Commissioners to exercise vigilance over the activities of the Sikhs. It was to demoralise and denigrate the entire Sikh community. Before independence, the Congress had consistently promised a federal structure with autonomous unilingual states in free India. In 1950, Congress completely backed out from its promises to the Sikhs. The Constitution has a heavily leaning towards a unitary government at the centre. The states were to be created to safeguard their culture, language and religion. In Punjab, Hindi was given supremacy over Punjabi. Punjab was declared a bilingual state in 1948, with both Punjabi & Hindi as its languages. This was resented by Akali Dal. The states re-organization committee in its report (1955) rejected the demand for a Punjabi speaking state. This was just to keep the Sikhs in perpetual minority. It was a bad and tragic breach of the faith which was assured to them pre-partition.

4.3 BACKGROUND

The fundamentalist Sikh Organizations led by Akhand Kirtani Jatha and Chowk
Mehta Taksal led by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale were critical of the Nirankari Sect because of the basic difference of religious philosophy. The fundamentalists specially the Mehta Chowk followers of Taksal preached that the Sikh masses must adhere to the Rehat Maryada as enshrined by the tenth Guru. Nirankaris, though believe in Guru Granth Sahib, also have faith in the living guru which was resented by fundamentalist Sikhs as Guru Gobind Singh had ordained that henceforth Guru Granth Sahib will be the guru of the Sikhs. Chowk Mehta Taksal and Akhand Kirtani Jatha were also against some Nihang Jathas like Tarna Dal as they were living against Sikh dogmas & codes. This conflict ultimately ended with Nirankari clash where 13 followers of Akhand Kirtani Jatha led by Fauja Singh were killed on 13th April, 1978 (Baishakhi day) at Amritsar, at the time of Nirankari convention on Baishaki day. Aftermath of this, Jathedar Akal Takhat issued a Hukamnama against Nirankaris ordering the Sikhs to stop Roti/Beti relationship as a social boycott of Nirankaris. There were clashes between Sikhs and Nirankaris at Kanpur and Delhi in 1978, where mostly Sikhs suffered. The resentment amongst Sikhs reached its pinnacle when Sh. B.K. Gupta, Addl Session Jude, Karnal acquitted all the alleged accused Nirankaris of Baisakhi Day massacre, including Baba Gurbachan Singh, Nirankari chief and S. Niranjan Singh IAS of Punjab Cadre. Ranjit Singh supporter of Bhinderanwale and Akhand Kirtani Jatha, shot dead Baba Gurbachan Singh in Delhi on April 11, 1980. Bhinderanwale openly commended this action. Hind Samachar group of Newspapers led by Lala Jagat Narain criticized the killing of Baba Gurbachan Singh. He had appeared as defence witness in Baisakhi clash in the court at Karnal. Lala Jagat Narain was shot dead by three motorcycle borne terrorists in 09.09.1981 on the outskirts of Ludhiana on G.T.Road between Ludhiana and Phillaur. Bhinderanwale was also named as one of the accused as a conspirator. A raid was conducted in Chando Kalan in Haryana near Ratia but he escaped to Chowk Mehta clandestinely. He surrendered to the police on 20.09.1981 at Chowk Metha where 11 publicmen were killed in the police firing when the crowd had become unruly. As a reaction to this Babbar Khalsa activists led by Talwinder Singh Parmar resorted to shootout in Jaladhar and Tarntaran on the same day because the demonstrators had clashed with the Sikh shopkeepers at the time of funeral procession of Lala Jagat Narain.19

Kapurthala police raided Dera of Amarjit Singh Nihang in village Daheru, P.S. Sdr Khanna wher the top Babbar activists were hiding namely Talwinder Singh Parmar, Tarsem Singh Kala Sanghia, Wadhawa Singh Sandhu Chatha, Ex Head Constables Sewa Singh,  

19 Punjab Police records (Unpublished)
Gurnam Singh and Amarjit Singh. Inspector Pritam Singh and constable Surat Singh were killed in the encounter and all the Babbar Khalsa activists escaped. This further aggravated the clash between the administration and Bhinderanwale/Akhand Kirtani Jatha/Babbar hardliners which resulting in open confrontation and armed confrontation with the state. Bhinderanwale was discharged from Lala Jagat Narain Murder case in Oct, 1981, which further strengthened the position of Bhinderanwale & the radicals. Bhinderanwale/Akhand Kirtani Jatha/Babbars started recruiting new boys & collecting weapons to start a campaign against the Government. Wahawa Siongh &Talwinder Singh Parmar slipped away to foreign countries and started campaign for raising support of foreign Sikhs for puritans.20

Bhinderanwale used to speak against government and he started vilification campaign against centre & state governments. Nirankaris were the main targets in 1982 & 1983. There were attempts of arson, and acts of sacrilege of temples with desecration symbolized by throwing parts of the bodies of dead cows and Gurudwaras by throwing cigarettes.

4.3.1 ROLE OF ALL INDIA SIKH STUDENTS FEDERATION

AISSF was founded in Sikh National College Lahore in 1944. Master Tara Singh mobilized Sikh youth in 1955 for Punjabi Suba agitation & Satbir Singh was made AISSF chief. In 1961-62, S. Bharpur Singh organized AISSF properly as its President. AISSF took active part in demonstrations against Baisakhi Clash, under Bhai Amrik Singh as its President. Amrik Singh was the son of Sant Kartar Singh, predecessor of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, as head of Damdami Taksal. After the arrest of Bhinderanwale in Lala Jagat Narain case, many AISSF activists indulged in acts of violence, bomb blasts,a sacrilege activities etc. AISSF workers organized training camps in Anandpur Sahib in 1983, in Poonch in July 1982, in Paonta Sahib in June 1983, in Goidwal Sahib in August 1983, in Baramula (J&K) in September 1983, in Palahi (near Phagwara) in October 1983, and in Khalsa College Amritsar in November 1983. All the camps were attended by around 300 ASSIF workers and they were trained in weapons & were incited to indulge in violent activities. Bhai Amrik Singh and Satinderjit Singh alisas P.T. were the main persons. With the passage of time, AISSF fully involved itself in violent activities and finally supported the demand of Khalistan under the leadership of Gurjit Singh Jhok Hari Har. Bhinderanwale started morcha to get released his close persons Bhai Amrik Singh, Bhai Thara Singh and Ajaib Singh of Taksal Chowk Mehta arrested by the police on 19.07.82. Bhinderanwale shifted to Golden Temple with his supporters on 24.07.82 and Golden Temple became the headquarter of the terrorists/criminals and weapons were accumulated by Babbars, Akhand Kirtanis and

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20 Punjab Police records (Unpublished)
supporters of Bhinderanwale. A large number of weapons were procured from Pakistan through smugglers, Army deserters and criminals.\textsuperscript{21}

There was consistent rise in killings in Punjab. Hindus, Political leaders and Policemen were the targets. Golden Temple was fully under the control of Bhinderanwale & his supporters and it was fully fortified under the command & control of Major General Shabeg Singh (Retd.). Govt. had to flush out terrorists from Golden Temple under Blue Star Operation where both the sides suffered heavy casualties. Bhinderanwale, Bhai Amrik Singh, Bhai Thara Singh and many other top terrorists were killed. The fortification and extent of piling up of weapons were realized after Operation Blue Star proved the enormity of the problem. As many as over 30 Gurudwaras were also raided by Army in Punjab & got freed from the clutches of the terrorists. Operation Woodrose was launched to nab the terrorists from the rural areas, which resulted in many Sikh youth/terrorists crossing over to Pakistan, who were exploited by the ISI. The various terrorist groups after training in Pakistan started returning to Punjab under Gurjit Singh of AISSF, Attinderpal Singh of Bhopal (AISSF), Wassan Singh Zafarwal, Sukhdev Singh Dasuwal, Manochahal and Wadhawa Singh etc. Longowal accord was signed in August 1985 but Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, the architect of Punjab Accord was assassinated by Jarnail Singh Hawara group. Punjab Vidhan Sabha elections were held and S. Surjit Singh Barnala took over as CM Punjab in October, 1985. Justice Bains committee released many ultras. S. Parkash Singh Badal alongwith 28 MLA revolted against Barnala. A sizeable section of Akalis sided with terrorists. The terrorists carried out extreme violence in Punjab. On the entry of security forces to flush out terrorists from Golden Temple, the Akali Dal was divided and 28 MLA under S. Parkash Singh Badal revolted and left Barnala camp.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{4.3.2 PRE-BLUE STAR PERIOD}

In Pre-Blue Star period, the targets of the terrorists were Nirankaris, Hindus & Police officials especially in the area of Majha and Doaba. After Blue star, a group under Harjinder Singh Jinda, Sukha, Bittu & Kukki from Ludhiana and Mathura Singh from Jandiala area of Amritsar became active, which committed the bank robberies in Delhi & Bombay in 1985/86. They killed Gen Vaidya in Pune on August 19, 1986. Lalit Makan and Gitanjali Makan and Arjun Das were killed in May, 1985 in Delhi as a show of strength of the militants in Delhi. The terrorists again took over the control of Golden Temple in January, 1986 and on April 13, 1986, Gurbachan Singh Manochahal declared Khalistan in Golden Temple. Ragi Darshan

\textsuperscript{21} Punjab Police records (Unpublished)

\textsuperscript{22} Id
Singh was appointed Jathedar of Akal Takhat. A Panthic Committee was set up in the Golden Temple which consisted of Balbir Singh, Dhanna Singh, Gurdev Singh Usmanwala, Arur Singh and Manochahal. This Panthic Committee set up KCF (Khalistan Commando Force) under Manbir Singh Chaheru, who was replaced by Sukha Sipahi alias Gen. Labh Singh after his killing in an encounter. Arur Singh formed his own organization known as Khalistan Liberation Force (KLF), who was responsible for killing 22 persons near Khuda (Hoshiarpur District) in April, 1987. Gurbachan Singh Manochahal was also ousted and he formed his own organization BTFK i.e. Bhinderanwale Tiger Force of Khalsitan, which was responsible for very grave incidents of violence & killings in Punjab & Delhi. Babbars formed their own group under Sukhdev Singh Dasuwal and resorted to target killings. Attinderpal Singh floated his own party Khalistan Liberation Organization (KLO) in February, 1987. Some other outfits also emerged as Saffron Tigers, Rangretta Commando Force, Khalistan Armed Force etc. In the ensuing time, the terrorists took the control of Golden Temple, which culminated into operation Black Thunder in May, 1988 in which some terrorists were killed but mostly made to surrender.23

During the pre-Blue Star period, the phase of terrorist crime started with the murder of Lala Jagat Narain in September, 1981. In the beginning, the number of murders was around 7, which rose to 54 in 1983. The first half of 1984 had 250 murder cases committed by terrorists & resulting in killing of 359 civilians including 20 policemen. The area affected was border area of Amritsar, Gurdaspur & Ferozepur and also some areas of Ludhiana and Jalandhar. The terrorists used to carry out blasts to kill security personnel on patrolling. The border area saw the killings of government officials including teachers. The buildings of Railway Stations, Post Offices, Schools & hospitals specially in the border areas were destroyed. During post Blue Star operation, 1984 & 1985 remained under control to some extent but there was spurt in terrorist violence after the formation of Panthic Committee & KCF in 1986. The number of murder cases rose from 64 in 1985 to 791 in 1987. This is due to the fact that the terrorists returned from Pakistan after training. There was steep rise in bank robberies, extortions, looting and murders. Under reform movement, teachers, liquor vendors & meat sellers were killed. This engulfed almost all the state. There was some lull in the terrorist activities after operation Black Thunder. After the formation of Dr. Sohan Singh Panthic Committee which consisted of Babbars, KLF, KCF etc, there was steep rise in crime in 1990 & 1991. Year 1991 was the peak year when the toll of lives was more than 2500 in a year. After the Beant Singh

23 Id
Government coming into power, there was spurt of crime in the killing of the families of policemen in Amritsar and Sangrur areas but there was sudden decline in crime in 1993.24

In the areas outside Punjab, the terrorists created pockets in Bombay, Tarai areas of UP and Delhi. Arjas Das Shashthari couple was killed in Delhi in 1985 for their alleged involvement in anti-Sikh riots in Delhi after the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. Gen. Vaidya was killed in Pune in August 1986. There were bomb blasts in Feb, March & September 1988 in Delhi, Kurukshetra & Panipat in Haryana. BTFK resorted to mass killings in Delhi in July 1987, in Greater Kailash & Chitranjan Park areas of Delhi. There was bus massacre in Fatehabad area of Haryana. A Congress leader Sh. Katyal was killed in Kanpur.

4.3.3 SRI AKAL TAKHAT SAHIB AMRITSAR
Sri Akal Takhat was founded in 1606 by 6th Guru, Sh. Hargobind Singh Ji and Baba Budha Ji and Bhai Gurdas Ji helped in the construction. After martyrdom of 5th Guru, Sixth Guru changed the mode of installation of Guru by discarding ‘Sehli Topi’ with the bearing of two swords i.e. one as symbol of Power (Miri) and other as symbol of religious head (Piri). He used to live like an emperor and collected arms and raised Sikh Army. Akal Takhat became the base of political activities. This continued till the martyrdom of Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji who vested the spiritual power in Sri Guru Granth Sahib and temporal power in the Sangat (Sikh masses). The tradition became that the decisions taken at Akal Takhat in the presence of Guru Granth Sahib were binding on the Sikhs and considered as the orders of the Guru. Bhai Gurdas was appointed the first Jathedar of Akal Takhat Sahib at Amritsar, during the detention of Sixth Guru in Gwalior fort.

After the release from Gwalior Fort, when Guru ji returned to Amritsar, Deepawali was celebrated by the sangat. Guru Sahib used to appear on raised platform, 12 feet high, for Darshan and it was considered a direct challenge to the authority of Mughal emperors. Sixth Guru shifted to Kartarpur Sahib near Anandpur Sahib where Guru Sahib left for his heavenly abode in 1644 at Kartarpur Sahib. Guru Ji’s family used to look after the maintenance of Akal Takhat. Guru Gobind Singh in 1699 sent Bhai Mani Singh along with 5 other baptized Sikhs to look after Harmander Sahib & Akal Takhat. Bhai Mani Singh used to call Sikhs at Akal Takhat Sahib to plan future programmes, which was named as Sarbat Khalsa. First Sarbat Khalsa was to be held on Diwali in 1734 but Government levied the fine of Rs. 10,000/-. Moughal Army attacked the Sikhs and Sarbat Khalsawas not permitted to be held. Thus Akal Takhat became the symbol of political authority of the Sikhs. Second Sarbat Khalsa was called at Sri Akal Takhat Sahib on 14th October, 1745. It was resolved that the Sikhs were

24 Id
divided into 23 jathas comprising of 100 sewadars each. Third Sarbat Khalsa summoned on March 23, 1747 decided to construct a fort, which was constructed 2 kms away from Golden Temple. Fourth Sarbat Khalsa summoned by Nawab Kapur Singh decided to form Dal Khalsa. Sikh army was divided into 11 jathas & Nawab Kapur Singh was again made the supreme commander. Fifth Sarbat Khalsa summoned on November 7, 1760 decided to capture Lahore. Lahore Governor Mohd. Khan offered to give Rs. 30000 as Nazrana (fine) to the Sikhs. In the meantime, Ahmed Shah Abdali defeated Marathats but Sikhs attacked the Abdali Army and returned 2200 Hindu girls to their parents. They also looted the government treasury. Sixth Sarbat Khalsa was summoned on October 22, 1761 and the Sikhs captured Lahore under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was made Sultan-Ul-Haq. It was resolved in Sarbat Khalsa to issue stamps and currencies with Sikh markings. In Wadda Ghallughara, Ahmed Shah Abdali attacked the Sikhs in 1762 and 30000 Sikhs were killed near Maler Kotla at Kup. Abdali destroyed Darbar Sahib and bungas with gun powder. Sikhs defeated Abdali near Amritsar and rebuilt Darbar Sahib. In December 1764, again Abdali destroyed Darbar Sahib with gun powder. In March 1765 Sarbat Khalsa decided to conquer Lahore & to establish Sikh Raj. Sarbat Khalsa was summoned in 1805, which decided not to give help to Jaswant Rao Holkar against Lord Lake. In another Sarbat Khalsa, Maharaja Ranjit Singh Ji was punished for violating the Sikh code of conduct. The Akal Takhat building was built during his regime. Gurudwaras came in to the hands of Mahants. On October 12, 1920, Jatha of Scheduled castes Sikh under Bhai Mehtab Singh ‘Dir’ presented Karah Prasad in Golden Temple after seeking ‘waq’ which was distributed among the devotees. A Jatha under Bhai Kartar Singh Jhabbar and Bhai Teja Singh Bhuchar took control of Akal Takhat Sahib. A Sarbat Khalsa was summoned on November 15, 1920 to decide about the control of Sikh Gurudwaras and a committee of 175 members was formed to look after the Gurudwaras.  

4.3.4 FORMATION OF AKALI DAL

Akali Dal was formed on 14th December, 1920 to recruit volunteers for maintenance of Sikh Gurudwaras. Akali Dal launched morcha to restore ‘Maryada’ in Gurudwars. The SGPC act was passed on 9th July, 1925 and came into force on 18th November, 1925. Three pillars of strength in Sikhs came in conflict i.e. Jathedar Sri Akal Takhat Sahib, President SGPC and President Sharomani Akali Dal during the meeting at Nankana Sahib in September 1921. SGPC President was made supreme and Jathedar Akal

25 Id.
Takhat was reduced to No. 2 as a paid employee. After independence, Akali Dal launched morchas from Sri Akal Takhat Sahib to seek justice for Punjab and to prevent the government from interfering in the Sikh religious matters. Punjabi Suba Morcha was launched on May 10, 1955 from Sri Akal Takhat and Master Tara Singh & others were arrested. The Police party under Sh. Ashwani Kumar, the then DIG entered the Golden Temple complex and brought order in the complex. Sh. Bhim Sain Sachar, the then CM Punjab appeared before Sri Akal Takhat to seek pardon. In 1955, SGPC came under the control of Akali Dal and since then, it is continuing. Akali Dal again launched morcha for Punjabi Suba in 1960 & Sant Fateh Singh broke the hunger strike. Again Sant Fateh Singh started the hunger strike in December, 1966 to include Chandigarh and other Punjabi speaking areas but was broken. Darshan Singh Pheruman started hunger strike on 15th August 1965 & he sacrificed his life. Sant Fateh Singh again started hunger strike but broken after assurance of transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab. On June, 10, 1978 Jathedar Sadhu Singh Bhaura passed an ‘edict’ against the Nirankaris not to have social relations with them. Jathedar Akal Takhat had been passing Hukamnama often to unite Akalis. The militants in a Sarbat Khalsa in April, 1986, nominated Panthic Committee to lead the Sikh masses. On 11.02.1987, Prof. Darshan Singh Jathedar Akal Takhat excommunicated S. Surjit Singh Barnala from Sikh Panth, who appeared before Akal Takhat and served the “Tankhah”. Akal Takhat building was demolished in Blue Star in June 1984, which was built by Baba Santa Singh. SGPC demolished the building and reconstructed with the help of “Kar Sewaks”. This is the role played by Sri Akal Takhat in the Sikh upsurge.26

The area under concern has remained under attack by neighboring rulers, robbers and invaders. Most of the time, Moughals ruled over this area and they were very treacherous even on the political prisoners and carried out their violent excitement filled with fury which was worse than the wild animals especially from the times of emperor Bahadur Shah (from 1709) to the end of Mohamadan’s rule. Moughal acted and ruled the country in the most heinous way. Mohamadun rule and invaders were opposed tooth and nail mostly by the Sikhs, but they never submitted. During the invasions of Nadar Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali, Sikhs suffered the most. But the invaders enjoyed the sufferings of the other people. Even their transfer of power happened by killing and murdering to get the throne. They lost the sanctity of humanity and also the sacredness of their faith. Sikhs made their own history by dent of their sacrifices, hard work and courage. Thus the Sikhs feel that this is their inherent right as to revel in their own freedom. Sikhs forget one thing that Hindus were the source of

26 Id
conversion to Sikhism. By & by, the Sikhs started considering superior and separate from Hindus. Dharam Yudh Morcha & Bhinderanwale speeches added this concept more among young Sikh generation. It must be kept in mind that Hindus & Sikhs together fought against the invaders. Guru Gobind Singh Ji was a great hero, who revolted violently against the Moughal’s rule as to protect Hindus & they too acknowledged it. Guru ji fought against injustice, cruelty and treason within the bounds of reason and probability. Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh had been continuously fighting wars. The Britishers took over the control of Punjab after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Sikhs fought two Anglo-Sikh wars before succumbing to the Britishers. Punjabi mostly Sikhs faced Jalianwala Bagh killings in 1919. In order to liberate Gurudwaras from Mahants, Sikhs launched & faced Guruka Bagh Morcha, Jaito ka Morcha, Nankana Sahib Massacre, Morcha for keys of Harmander Sahib etc. Akali Dal was founded in 1920 and Sikh Gurudwara Act was enacted in 1925 & SGPC emerged on the Punjab scene on 27th November 1926. Akal Takhat facing Golden Temple was built by the Sixth Guru to control Sikh Politics (Miri & Piri) and foundation was laid on July 9, 1606. It was meant for binding religion and politics in to one Sikh chain that they have the divine right to rule and a right given to them by God. After partition, Akalis had in mind to come to power. They had money power because of income from Gurudwaras under SGPC. They had lot of workers under the name of Dharam Yudh Morcha. For not to be able to have power in Punjab, Master Tara Singh launched agitation to bifurcate Punjab state on lingual basis. Ultimately, Punjab state was bifurcated in Punjab, Haryana & Himachal Pradesh and Akalis easily came to power in 1969 & thereafter.

Sikhs especially Jat Sikhs are basically Rajputs from Rajasthans and they came to Punjab in search of livelihood & settled. They came under the influences of Guru’s teachings. Urban Sikhs are converted from Hindus. They are intolerant against their religion & Gurus. Akali come in the full blaze of Public even there is no proper object in view on certain issues. They are offensive in language & quick in taking offence hoarsely sometimes even when there is no logic. It is said that “the most effective defence is offence but the Akalis commit offence to have defence then.”

Punjabi suba came in to being on November 1, 1966. Akalis in Ludhiana annual conference held on 10/11th December 1966 passed, “Sikh Homeland Resolution” and centre termed it as anti-national. Again Anandpur Sahib Resolution was passed with recommending mainly “Federal Structure in the states” besides river waters, Chandigarh transfer & transfer

28 Ibid pp. 75-76
of other Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab. The Central government again termed it as secessionist. With the murder of Lala Jagat Narain and arrest of Bhinderanwale, the era of violence started and the police was alleged for human right violations. Sant Harchand Singh was elected as President of SAD on August 20, 1980. He declared Dharam Yudh Morcha which merged with morcha launched by Bhinderanwale. This ultimately ended with Blue Star followed by assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the P.M. of Gen. Vaidya, the then chief of Army staff at the time of Blue Star.29

4.3.5 ANANDPUR SAHIB RESOLUTION

Akali Dal, a major political party in Punjab has mixed religion with politics and has been launching political movements from Darbar Sahib, Anandpur Sahib, Alamgir Sahib and so on. From pre-partition days, Sikhs have also tried to establish a separate identity. The round table conference in London, Cripps Mission, The Shimla Conference, the Cabinet Misson plan and the Mountbatten plan had the Sikh representatives. Keeping in view the prominent role of the Sikhs in freedom struggle, Jawahar Lal Nehru had acknowledge the special consideration for the Sikhs after independence. Akali Dal has always reiterated its stand for greater autonomy to the state so that Akali Dal can always remain in power. On December 11, 1972, the working committee of Akali Dal formed a sub-committee of Sikh intellectuals under S. Surjit Singh Barnala to redraw the aims and objectives of the Sikh Panth. The other members were as below:-


a) Pre-eminence of the Khalsa as political goal of the Sikhs.
b) Inclusion of Punjabi speaking areas in to the present Punjab.
c) Restructuring of Indian Constitution to ensure real federal nature of the Union of India. More state autonomy was demanded.
d) Demand for an All India Gurudwara Act.
e) Systematic Amrit Parchar for Sikh revivalism.

29 Id p. 81
f) Restoration of Sikhs share of 25% in the Defence forces as per pre-partition, which was reduced to 8% on the basis of population after partition.

g) Extending support only to that foreign policy of India which was based on the principles of peace and national interest.

This was reiterated in the eighteenth All India Akali Dal Conference held at Ludhiana on October 28, 1978, especially further clarifying that the demand for more state autonomy did not pose a threat to the unity and integrity of the country. Under Rajiv-Longowal accord signed in July, 1985, it was agreed to send the Resolution to the one man Sarkaria commission on Centre-State relations, already set-up by Smt. Indira Gandhi. Anandpur Sahib Resolution is criticized by all the political parties. Rajiv Gandhi compared this Resolution with 1940 Resolution of Muslim League which was responsible for India’s partition.  

**Anandpur Sahib Resolution impressed upon three more clauses i.e.**

1. Ganga Nagar District of Rajasthan, Sirsa area of Haryana, Shahbad, Gulha, Kakla, Pinjore, Ambala Sadar area, Nalagarh and Dalhousie should form part of Punjabi suba.

2. Punjab should be given autonomous status on the lines of J&K.

3. The demand for Sikh Homeland with in Indian Constitution with special importance to the interests of the Sikhs.

APS Resolution was always labeled as secessionist. Rajiv Gandhi had told that this would weaken the country. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal had made it clear conveying:

“Let us make it clear once for all that the Sikhs have no plans to get away from India in any manner. What they simply want is that they should be allowed to live within India as Sikhs, free from all direct and indirect interference, even in their religious way of life. Undoubtedly the Sikhs do have the same nationality as other Indians have”

Subsequently, Bhinderanwale came on the Punjab scene. Some of the factors which aggravated situation were:-

1. There was declaration of emergency in 1975 and all important leaders were put behind bars under NSA.

Since Jai Parkash Narain mounted attack on her ethical fall, she imposed a savage act of ‘emergency’. It had deprived trust of the people and bitterly attacked the real functioning of the democracy only for her partisan advantage.

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30 Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
2. This emergency virtually turned in to ‘Police Raj’. Many people suffered heavily at the hands of police and many even lost their lives.

3. Sanjay Gandhi imposed the draconian measures and even bureaucrats & high politicians from opposition were not spared. This made the people leave their houses but Akalis opposed & launched morcha against emergency.

4. Family planning was planned with coercive measures. To achieve the targets, even unmarried people were not spared. This caused lot of resentment.

The resentment among people led her party & even Mrs. Gandhi, herself was defeated badly in Lok Sabha elections, after lifting the emergency. Dal Khalsa was formed in 1978 in Chandigarh and from here after few months Bhinderanwale emerged as hero.\(^\text{32}\) The first grievance by the Sikhs after independence was that a letter dated October 10, 1947 authored by Sh. Patel, the then Home Minister of India declared that “Sikhs are a criminal community (criminal class), to be kept under special surveillance” This was a severe blow on the psyche of the Sikhs. S. Kapur Singh ICS, the then Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur transmitted the contents of the letter to Master Tara Singh, the eminent leader of the Sikhs. Master Tara Singh at a special meeting at Amritsar discussed this matter at length. This was quite intolerable for the Sikhs. The seeds of separatism among Sikhs were sown, which distracted them from the patriotic feeling they had for newly independent India. Akali Dal under Master Tara Singh resolved to wage a war against the centre. During the Asian games held in November-December 1982 in Delhi, Sikhs fundamental rights were violated when they were searched in-discriminatory while on route to Delhi. The measures taken by Sh. Bhajan Lal, the then CM Haryana were very aggressive, annoying, insulting, and were condemnable. Many were detained illegally. Sikhs protested against Article 25 (Explanation-II) that they are not part of Hindus. When against all this, Akalis over a lac marched towards Parliament in 1981 and police resorted to firing apprehending trouble and many persons were killed in police firing, near Parliament\(^\text{33}\).

4.3.6 THE CONCEPT OF KHALSA RAJ

The genesis of the problem was also becaue of emerging the concept of Khalsa Raj from Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale. He also supported the Akali cause, sharing dominant partnership in the political war against the centre in seventies and eighties. Bhinderanwale brought Sikhs all over the world unde the banner of “Kesari” (Saffron) symbol, supporting a movement for freedom of their religion and getting a political status with regard to their

\(^{32}\) Id pp.128-129
\(^{33}\) Id pp. 299-300
fundamental rights. Secondly, his speeches on the policy of radicals (favouring fundamental reforms and radical changes in political structure) added luster to the interests of the people. Thus he attracted a mass following among Sikhs. Sant openly asked the centre to give a place of honour to the Sikhs. Thirdly, a handful of terrorists supported by foreign powers who wanted destabilization of India, were supported by Bhinderanwale, even at the cost of sufferings of people. Government’s intrusion in to religion followed by Bhinderanwale’s infusion into the lives of political leaders totally polarized in the people of Punjab. The inept handling of the situation by the Govt. authorities aggravated the Punjab problem. His indirect movement for ‘Khalistan’ state had, in fact, led to many wrong doings and it resulted in religious sort of nationalism. His speeches attracted the youth which in the garb of terrorism did great injustice to the people irrespective of religion. In fact, continuous violent polarization collapsed the proper functioning of the Government machinery, which was not in the interest of country, even for the Sikhs. It is a fact that the distrust between the government & people developed.\textsuperscript{34}

Sikhs joined hands with Gandhi & Nehru at the time of partition. It would have been better if assurances given by them to the Sikhs i.e. Federal System in the democratic set up should have been honoured. It would have been better in the interest of the nation.

After Bhinderanwale’s phenomenon, various Sikh organization looked forward to Damdami Taksal for guidance. On the issue of Khalistan, Bhinderanwale said that Khalistan is not their direct demand but if offered and the circumstances warranted for its existence, we would not spurn it as we did once before 1947. But this time, we would not do that blunder. Bhinderanwale admitted that he laid emphasis on the demand of Khalistan since Sikhs felt it as a need of hour, so as to live honourably in their own state. He said that Sikhs under the circumstances have now been compelled to work for the abolition of slavery, because they can no longer live as slaves and be slavish to subordination. For our indepence and to get our own land, Sikhs could sacrifice anything, said Sant ji. Earlier, at one time, he said that our destiny lies with Hindu India & we should stick together. We shall sink or swim together.\textsuperscript{35}

The period of terrorism in Punjab marked the collapse of a moral code and the people saw the dead, wounded, raped, looted & uprooted people.

Congress did not keep the promises made by it prior to independence to the minorities. At the Lahore session in 1929, “the Congress assured the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that no solution of communal question in any future constitution will be

\textsuperscript{34} Id pp. 301-302
\textsuperscript{35} Id pp. 306-307
acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the paratis concerned”. The resolution of complete independence (Pooran Swaraj) passed at the insistence of Baba Kharak Singh. Nehru, on 9th December, 1946 in its 1st meeting of Constituent Assembly of India declared “adequate safeguards would be provided for minorities. It was a declaration, a pledge and an undertaking before the world, a contract with the millions of Indians and therefore, in the nature of Oath, which we must keep.” It is concluded that during 70s, 80s, the Sikh community in India is said to have been put to great torments and Tortures through different means and there was infliction of pain & suffering. But the rising generation burst and their anger through terrible pain for protecting their interests even in the unconstitutional ways and as such many of them adopted terrorism but the people of Punjab had a terrifying experience. The flame of anger and indignation sent out its wave far and wide and Punjab witnessed outburst of anger through acts of violence and it became worst later on.\textsuperscript{36}

The top Akali leaders pointed out that, “The Anandpur Sahib Resolution contains demands for purification of public life, fair wages to labour, greater autonomy, decentralization of power, fair distribution of river waters and improving economic conditions of the people living below poverty lines.” Second issue of Sikh demands is of Chandigarh & it is a common demand of every Punjabi & persons living in Punjab including Hindus.\textsuperscript{37}

4.3.7 SYL CANAL ISSUE

On 4th April 1982, Indira Gandhi, PM of India performed the ceremony of digging of SYL canal at Kapuri village. The peasants & the people in general resented this. The peasants passed the resolution that “the people of Punjab would not allow SYL canal to be dug out at any cost.” The news of fake encounters motivated the Sikh Youth to indulge in violence as a retaliation. The news of alleged fake encounter of Kulwant Singh Nagoke in June 1982 in Amritsar led the arrest of close aids of Bhinderanwale i.e. Bhai Amrik Singh, Bhai Thara Singh etc and Bhinderanwale declared the Dharam Yudh Morcha to get them released. This Dharam Yudh Morcha merged with Dharam Yudh Morcha declared by Akalis under the command of Harchand Singh Longowal.\textsuperscript{38}

On June 1983, Union Home Minister P.C. Sethi declared that Centre had a very soft corner for Punjab and proposed to refer the water disputes and the terrirorial issue for a fresh review. He assured Akalis that pending issues would be soon settled on the table and the Government is ready to have a dialogue with the Akalis if Akalis give an undertaking that

\textsuperscript{36} Id pp. 312-313 \\
\textsuperscript{37} Id pp. 314-317 \\
\textsuperscript{38} Id pp. 316-317
Golden Temple and other religious places would not be permitted to use for storage of arms or for harbouring of criminals. On Oct 6, 1983, Centre declared Punjab as disturbed area and assured by P.M. that army will not be sent to Punjab. In Lok Sabha, all parties wanted a stern action against Bhinderanwale & others for their anti-national and provocative speeches. Meanwhile some Akalis had also joined hand with extremists. Sant Longowal emphasized that Punjabi speaking areas under the Sachar Formula and the Hukam Singh Committee on Punjabi Suba should be taken in view if the centre is really interested in solving Punjab Problem.  

4.3.8 SIKHS- A SEPARATE NATION  
It was also alleged that Congress adopted the policy of divide and rule of the Akalis on the lines of Britain policy. At the same time, Congress blamed Akalis & BJP of their negative role to the Punjab problems and egoism among Akali Stalwarts. Akali were more responsible for the social unrest in Punjab.  

SGPC under S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra passed a resolution on 29th March, 1981 in Teja Singh Samundari Hall Amritsar that “Sikhs are a separate nation.”  

Egoist approach among Akali leaders & rivalry between Giani Zail Singh and S. Darbara Singh aggravated the situation. Whole country suffered for ill planning by Bhinderanwale and not anticipating the repercussion & loss which he would be bringing to the state.  

On demand of Khalistan, Master Tara Singh alleged, “It is not only the whole Sikh community, but there are many ‘Hindus’ also in India, who view this demand with seriousness. But it is neither practical nor feasible. It will rather harm the interests of Sikhs to the most. Any further partition of the country on communal basis would necessarily involve further partition of Punjabi Suba. In that eventuality, people may not allow the mistake of 1947, to be repeated and force all Sikhs to move to Khalistan”.

In fact, the Khalistan movement was though a ‘political’ in its essence, yet it turned out to be a criminal one as the leaders lost the grip on it. Mary Pike, a research scholar observed, “it failed badly because of the amorphousness in its plans, and many wrong doings occurred during conducting operation, and this has now been accepted by the vehement supporter of this movement.”  

The rhetoric of terrorism in those days was more aggressive because of antisocial environment, causing horror and disgust, often atrocious, and sometimes even monstrous
types of acts, eventually leading to a nearby complete breakdown of law & order. It virtually ended up alienating the bulk of population of Punjab since the revolutionary principles have now developed; ‘cynical’ attitude of mind. The exercise on the part of police cannot be denied as many innocent persons were killed.42

There were human rights violations in Punjab, which fell under three categories:

1. Firstly there were complaints against the police of arbitrary arrests, disappearances, custodial death and fake encounters resulting in killings. There were complaints of detention by the police & non-production before the Magistrates, abuses of preventive detention and TADA and the illegal occupation of property by the police.
2. Secondly, there were complaints of killings, torture, kidnapping, extortion and rape by the terrorists. Moreover, they also disrupted normal life through enforcement of a ruthless ‘code of conduct’.
3. The third category of complaints related to inadequate payment of compensation to the families of victim of terrorism, who met discrimination.43

4.4 NAXAL MOVEMENT IN PUNJAB
There was naxalite movement in 1970-71 when Sh. P.S. Badal was CM Punjab. Many naxalities were killed and many were put behind bars. Tarsem Singh Kala Sanghian, Talwinder Singh Parmor, Wadhawa Singh, Sukhdev Singh Dasuwal, Nachhattrar Singh Rode etc. were the key figures. During emergency, they came closer to Akalis lodged in jail. After emergency when Akalis came to power, these naxalities logged in jails were released. Bhinderanwale came to limelight after the killings of 13 Sikhs on April 13, 1978. Most of these released naxalities joined him under his banner. Other people like Manbir Singh Chaheru and Tarsem Singh Kohar also came close to Sant Bhinderanwale. Sukhdev Singh Dasuwal babbar, Mehal Singh Babbar, Manmohan Singh Babbar and Gurcharan Singh, who formed Babbar Khalsa Dal first went closer to Bhinderanwale encouraged by Bibi Amarjit Kaur widow of Bhai Fauja Singh of Akhand Kirtani Jatha. Then this Babbar group come closer to Sant Longowal. These Babbars were responsible for killings of Nirankaris. Manbir Singh Chaheru became chief of Khalistan Commando Force, a hit squad & 1st Panthic committee was nominated.

42 Id pp. 345-346
43 Id p. 423
4.4.1 PRE BLUE STAR SITUATION

Before Operation Blue Star, on February 27, 1984, a group of Akalis led by S. Parkash Singh Badal burnt Article 25 of Indian Constitution inside the premises of Bangla Sahib Gurudwara. When they came out of Gurudwara, they were arrested under Sec 2 of the Prevention of Insult to ‘National Honour Act’ and IPC. On 28th Feb, 1984, Youth Akali Dal burnt Art. 25 at District HQs & consequently some activists were arrested. At the same time, difference between moderate Akali leaders & hardened Akali leaders were at sore. H.S. Manchanda, a prominent Sikh leader, president of DGPC was shot dead in Delhi on March 28, 1984. On April 3, 1984, Dr. V.N. Tiwari was shot dead in Chandigarh. On April 15, 1984, as many as 37 Railway stations were set ablaze all over the state in Punjab. Mrs. Gandhi was determined not to send police or Army in Golden Temple. She reiterated this in Parliament. Eventually, she took the decision of sending Army to Golden Temple on 2nd June to flush out the terrorists as it threatened the integrity and unity of the country.\textsuperscript{44} Lt. Gen. K. Sunderji GOC-W-C Western Commando briefed pressmen at Chandigarh on 30.05.84. On June, 2 1984 (Saturday) a procession on the eve of martyrdom day of Guru Arjun Dev could not be taken out. On June 3, 1984 (Sunday) Army was called in as 13 more people were killed and Akali Dal’s threat of a non-cooperation movement from 03.08.1984.

Lt. Gen. Ranji Singh Dyal, Chief of Western Command took over as Advisor (Security) to Punjab Governor, B.D. Pande. Tohra was forced to surrender on June 7, 1984 under NSA. President visited The Golden Temple on June 8, 1984 (Friday). P.M., Mrs. Gandhi visited the temple on June 23, 1984 (Saturday). Golden Temple was opened to public on June 25, 1984.\textsuperscript{45}

During Army action, Akal Takhat was decimated. On both sides, a large number of people lost their lives. Amritsar is said to be the heart of Sikhs and destroying it means destroying the hearts of Sikhs on the whole.

It was observed that though Sant Bhinderanwale was not veteran of revolution, yet he was successful to grab the opportunity and to catch hold of Govt’s stick, particularly at a time when Sikhs met discrimination during Asian Games enroute Delhi in Haryana during Bhajan Lal’s reign. It happened because the fact that the excesses committed by the police on the Sikhs, turned in to cruelty during the search operations on the direction of the then CM Haryana, Sh. Bhajan Lal. It was the brutal acts of Bhajan Lal, which stirred the feelings of the Sikh People. Besides, it brought a great resentment against him and Sikhs flew into rage and

\textsuperscript{44} Id pp. 489-490
\textsuperscript{45} Id p. 584
the most furious temper. So much so even the military top ranking personnel were not spared during the Asian Games in 1982 held in Delhi, when Akalis & Bhinderanwale’s people threatened to disturb Asian games\textsuperscript{46}. After the Asiad, during which Sikhs were insulted, the messianic appeal of Sant Bhinderanwale gathered thousands of Sikhs under his banner.

There is an intellectual saying that “religion and polity go together and cannot be separated from each other”. Even the Sixth Guru alleged, “Polity is not separated from religion. They go together”. Thus the role of Rishis, Munis and Gurus in India is of vital nature. Our country is country of blind faith and adaption.

Some of the terrorists on interrogation disclosed that they were having peaceful life in their homes, when the terrorists group at night used to come & seek food & beddings. On refusal, they threatened to kill & they perforce had to succumb whatever they wanted. When the police came to their house, they fled & joined the terrorists groups. In one case, one terrorist used to love the village girl and her brothers threatened him to kill & he joined the terrorist group to save his life. Khalistan was no cause for their disappearance and they joined the terrorist groups for their personal reasons. Some terrorists say that Pakistan had misguided them and made them anti Indian for their personal ends.

Brian Jenkin, the American analyst coined the well known expression that “terrorists want a lot of people watching, not a lot of people dead.” In the era of ‘new terrorism’, the two considerations i.e. violence and symbolic value, seem to have merged, with mass casualty attacks against civilian population being routine and influential. Major reasons for people becoming terrorists are the lack of education, unemployment, social injustice and social inequality. Those minds are then brain-washed and then forced to indulge in these kinds of threatening activities. They develop a grudge against society and as revenge, they commit crime.

Guru Nanak was the founder of Sikhism. Now Guru Granth Sahib is the Guru of Sikhs. Tenth Guru gave 5 Ks, which is symbol of recognition of Sikh Community. Sikh religion has over 20 million people worldwide. Sikhism preaches a message of devotion and remembrance of God at all times, truthful living, equality of mankind, social justice and denounces superstition and blind rituals.

Now, Punjab is facing drug addiction, unemployment, corruption, social discrimination, cancer, political instability, cultural degradation, religious intolerance, excessive use of insecticide in farming.

\textsuperscript{46} Id p. 621
The word ‘Punjab’ appeared for the first time in the book “Tarikh-e-Sher Shah” (1580). Reference of Punjab can be found in ‘Ain-e-Akbari’ Part-I. The mention of Punjab is also found in ‘Tuzk-e-Jahangiri’ book of Moughal king Jahangir. The word Punjab and Panch-nada is found in Mahabharta. Panch-Nada means five rivers of the region i.e. Indus, Sutlej, Beas, Ravi & Ghaggar\(^{47}\). Punjab was also called Sapat Sindu meaning seven rivers i.e. Sindh, Jhelum, Sutlej, Beas, Ravi. Chenab & Yamuna.

The role of Sikhs in freedom struggle has been quite prominent. Entitlement of Sikhs to separate identity was also acknowledged by the national leaders. Akalis launched movement to have Punjabi Suba based on Punjabi language and in 1966, Punjab was partitioned in to three states i.e. Punjab, Himachal & Haryana & Chandigarh (UT). It left behind dispute regarding Chandigarh, some Punjabi speaking areas and sharing of water & rivers passing through Punjab State. In the mean time, Giani Zail Singh as CM Punjab launched Sikh revivalism in a big way in terms of Guru Gobind Singh Marg. Sikh fundamentalism and the minority complex added fuel to Sikh grievances. Its extreme ramification was the proclamation in 1969 of the Sovereign Republic of Khalistan by Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan, once Finance Minister of Punjab, then living in London. This has the support of Sikhs settled in U.K., Canada, USA. Ganga Singh Dhillon, a prosperous businessman living in Washington became the most prominent supporter. They went to the extent of publishing Khalistan Currency notes.

On 3rd August, 1977, Sant Jarnail Singh was got elected the head of Damdami Taksal. He started Sikh revivalism in a big way, going to villages exhorting Sikh youth to return to the Khalsa traditions laid down by Guru Gobind Singh. He was also keen to have his followers armed with modern weapons i.e. fire arms. Both Congress & Akalis tried to exploit the nuisance of Bhinderanwale which he swiftly acquired. Meanwhile, Akalis passed the much talked about Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The clash between Nirankaris & followers of Bhinderanwale & Akhand Kirtanis on 13th April, 1978 added fuel to the political fire in Punjab. In this 13, followers of Bhinderanwale including Fauja Singh were killed. In retaliation, Bhinderanwale men killed Baba Gurbachan Singh, the head of Nirankaris, in Delhi. It started the chain of attacks on the Nirankaris, by the fundamentalists of Bhinderanwale. Akalis had started their agitation with their volunteers in thousands courting arrests. Though, there was nothing common between Akalis and Bhinderanwale, but they joined hands against the grievances i.e. religious, political and economic for defiance.

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\(^{47}\) Grewal, Dr. Sonu(Chief Ed); *Reimagining Punjab*, Twenty First Century Publication, Patiala – 2016 p. 291
Anandpur Sahib Resolution became pivotal in the demand of Sikhs. Declaration of Chandigarh as the exclusive capital of Punjab with a few minor adjustment of boundaries with Haryana and reference to a Supreme Court Judge the matter of re-allocation of river waters, were the demands raised by the moderates like Sant Longowal, G.S. Tohra and Parkash Singh Badal, whereas the fundamentalists refused to accept anything short of prominent Sikh hegemony over an autonomous Punjab. Indira Gandhi outrightly rejected the demands of Akalis as unacceptable. Akalis became more offensive. It was followed by wave of violence by way of bomb attacks, arson & killings. Dal Khalsa activists desecrated several Hindu Temples by throwing heads of cows in them. In September 1982, an Indian Airlines plane was hijacked to Pakistan. It followed an orgy of senseless killings. On 9th September, 1981 Lala Jagat Narain, proprietor of Hind Samachar group of Newspapers, Jalandhar was shot dead near Ludhiana. In August 1982, Akalis declared Dharam Yudh Morcha against the Central Govt. under Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, as its dictator. Then there was a succession of agitations like Nehar Roko, Rail Roko, Rasta Roko etc. Akali workers offered arrests& they were sent to Jails. Suddenly Govt. released jailed Akali workers & invited Akalis for talks. Akalis declared that if their demands are not met, their workers will disturb the Asian Games in Delhi. All Sikhs were searched while going to Delhi & it annoyed them.

Bhinderanwale was arrested in Lala Jagat Narain murder case but was released. The handling of the followers of Bhinderanwale by the government was lacking firmness. Bhinderanwale was ferocious against government & Hindus in his speeches. The spate of violence was in full swing. Sh. A.S. Atwal IPS DIG/Jalandhar Range was killed in the Golden Temple on April 25, 1983. S. Darbara Singh the then CM Punjab escaped an attack. H.S. Manchanda President DGPC was killed in Delhi. President rule was promulgated in Punjab on 6th October, 1983. When all doors of negotiations failed with the Akalis, Operation Blue Star took place to flush out the terrorists from the Golden Temple complex.

Bhinderanwale with his associates was killed. Many terrorists escaped & fled to Pakistan. Operation Wood Rose was launched by the security forces to flush out terrorists from rural areas. This annoyed the Sikhs in large. However Rajiv-Longowal accord on Punjab was signed in July, 1985. Barnala Govt. was established in September, 1985. Justice Bains Committee released many terrorists from jails. The terrorists returning from Pakistan and other regrouped and formed 1st Panthic Committee in Golden Temple and declared Khalistan as its goal. Golden Temple was flushed out of terrorists on 30.04.1986 and Akali government came in to sharp criticism and Barnala had to undergo Tankhah for permitting entry of Security Forces in the Golden Temple. The terrorist activists were at the peak and
again, the terrorists occupied the Golden Temple. Mr. J.F. Rebeiro took over as D.G.P. Punjab in March, 1986. The sons of Senior Police officers were killed. Barnala Government was dismissed. Sh. S.S. Virk, DIG/CRPF was injured near Golden Temple & this was followed by operation Black Thunder. Many top terrorists were killed and around 150 were arrested. The total proceedings of operation Black Thunder were televised and media was given open access. Many terrorists defecated in the Golden Temple. The people were convinced that the terrorists were not fighting for any cause but they were the criminals. Later on, the terrorists again regrouped and indulged in mass killings, extortions and looting. Year 1991 was at the peak in the terrorist crime when Sh. K.P.S. Gill again took over as DGP Punjab. It ensured the elections in Punjab and S. Beant Singh became the CM of Punjab, who had a political will to curb terrorism in Punjab. Under the macabre guidance & leadership of Sh. K.P.S. Gill, the operations against terrorists were started. Night deomination was started in Punjab at night. The police had gained success when top terrorists like Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, Sukhdev Babbar, Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala, Rachhpal Singh Chhandra etc. were neutralized. In retaliation, they killed the families of policemen. This gave further determination to the force and ultimately, the terrorism was routed out from Punjab. S. Beant Singh’s was assassinated in Chandigarh on 31st August, 1995, by a group of Babbar activists.

4.4.2 OPERATION BLUE STAR

The decision to use Army to flush out terrorists from Golden Temple was the hardest decision and there was no alternative. Sophisticated weapons were piling up in the Golden Temple premises. It included even the shoulder firing rocket launchers. Only Army could have flushed them out. Of course, it called for a very high degree of restraint, courage and meticulous execution in order to flush them out with minimum loss of life or damage to the Temple. Mrs. Gandhi tried hard to avert it till the end. The President’s rule in Punjab had miserably failed. The security of the country was seriously threatened. The militants had infiltrated in Punjab Police and it was highly demoralized. The last bid to settle the matter with Akalis had failed. Sant Longowal had called an agitation to prevent the movement of grains within the state. The execution parameters to be kept in mind were the minimum use of force, damage to buildings to be avoided, innocent victims to be secured and facilitating to come out, and the troops to uphold the religious sanctity of the holy shrine. Operation to flush out the militants was code named as Blue Star and sealing of the border named as operation “Wood Rose”. Indira Gandhi spoke on electronic media about the situation in Punjab and blaming Akalis for not cooperating the government in maintaining law & order and sanctity in the Golden Temple. At 9 pm, June 2, 1984; her last words of her speech were, “do not shed
blood, shed hatred”.

Longowal and Tohra reacted to the Army deployment calling it a “terrible blow to the peaceful and democratic agitation of the Akali Dal”. Hundred of devotees thronged Darbar Sahib for the martyrdom day of Sh. Guru Arjun Dev on June, 3, 1984. The electricity and water supply to the shrine was cut off and telephone disconnected. Akali Dal rejected the demand of calling of agitation. Curfew was clamped in Punjab and Chandigarh for 36 hours on June 3, 1984 and all train & bus services were suspended. Firing started from both sides and continued incessantly. Tanks and armoured vehicles entered the shrine on June 5, 1984 through Gate No. 2. Tohra, Longowal and Amarjit Kaur were put under arrest. Army completed the Blue Star operation. Western Army Commander Lt. General K. Sunderji admitted that the militants had confronted the Army with unprecedented courage, determination and dedication. The person arrested from the complex were charged for waging war against the government of India. An official statement issued in Delhi said that an independent Khalistan fully supported by the neighbouring and the foreign powers was the obvious goal of the Punjab terrorist trained in POK. The appeal on the loud speakers were continuously made on June 5, 1984 to surrender and only 120 men, women and children came out. At 1 am on June 6, 1984, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Tohra surrendered along with 350 people. By 12.30 pm, June 6, 1984 operation ended where Bhinderanwale, Amrik Singh, Major Gen. Shabeg Singh and many others were killed. The PM on June 6, 1984, justified the action unavoidable and expressed her regret at what had happened.

Shrine was finally opened on June 25, 1984. Giani Zail Singh, the President of India, visited the Golden Temple on 8th morning of June 1984. The causalities of Army were:

(a) 1. Killed – 4 officers, 4 JCOs & 75 other ranks Total = 83
   2. Wounded – 13 officers, 16 JCOs & 219 other ranks Total = 248

The terrorists and other causalities were

(b) 1. Killed – 492 (including 30 women & 5 children)
   2. Wounded – 86 (including 7 women &4 children)

(c) Apprehended – 1283 males, 309 women and children Total =1592

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48 Singh, Jagtar; *Khalistan Struggle, A Non-Movement*, Akkar Books, Mayur Vihar, Phase-1, Delhi, 2011 pp. 177-178
Recoveries of Weapons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weapon Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.62 mm LMG</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.62 SLR</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.62 mm Chinese rifles</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assorted Rifles-all types</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.303 rifles</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbines</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Machine guns 5.56 mm</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistols &amp; Revolver</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistol (Country made)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 bore guns</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocket propelled grenade Launchers (Anti Tank)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>927</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above, a large quantity of standard pattern and improvised grenades, anti personal mines, explosives and time fuses were also recovered.\(^{49}\)

The temple gates opened for free flow of devotees on 21\(^{st}\) June, 1984. Smt. Indira Gandhi visited Golden Temple on 23\(^{rd}\) June, 1984. Kar Sewa of Akal Takhat was taken by Baba Buddha Dal & it was built but later on it was demolished and built by SGPC& Head Priests. Against the Blue Star, some Sikhs in Army units had revolted but the situation was controlled.

This followed the hijacking of Indian Airlines Air Bus from Srinagar to Delhi and was hijacked to Lahore on July 5. The hijackers demanded the withdrawal of Army from Punjab, reopening of Darbar Sahib Complex to Public, 25 million dollar ransom and release of those arrested in connection with the assignation of Lala Jagat Narain, Ramesh Chander and Nirankari Chief Baba Gurbachan Singh. The hijackers who surrendered to Pakistan authorities included Parminder Singh Harfanmaula, Gurinder Singh, Harbhajan Singh, Ravinder Singh Pinka, Dalip Singh, Harminder Singh, Manjit Singh, Malagar Singh and Gurdip Singh\(^{50}\).

Akali Dal accorded the status of martyres for all those who were killed during the Army action in Darbar Sahib. Nirmal Mukarji, who was later appointed as Governor of

\(^{49}\) Brar, K.S.; *Operation Blue Star*, The True Story, UBS Publishers and Distributors Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2015, pp. 124-125

\(^{50}\) Singh, Jagtar; *Khalistan Struggle, A Non-Movement*, Akkar Books, Mayur Vihar, Phase-1, Delhi, 2011 p. 180
Punjab commented on the situation of Punjab and wrote, “for normality to return, what is most crucially required is the building up of a new consensus between the Sikhs and the Hindus and between the Sikh sub-nationalism and the federal centre.” Operation Blue Star was followed by Operation Woodrose, which made many young persons to crossover to Pakistan and thus alienated Sikhs in a big way. The young boys thought of taking revenge of the action by the Indian state. Those who crossed over to Pakistan were trained by the ISI to fight Indian state. Akal Takhat was rebuilt by the Government but SGPC demolished and rebuilt again. Indira Gandhi stressed in the Parliament on the national integrity and unity to deal firmly the communal forces and in no case the worshipping places would be permitted to become arsenals. Russians had been hinting at the CIA design to foment trouble in the region. Another hijacking of Airlines flight from Delhi to Srinagar took place and plane landed at Lahore on August 23, 1984. The hijackers included Kamaljit Singh Sandhu, Amarinder Singh, Devinder Singh, Tejinder Singh, Avtar Singh, Man Singh and Surinder Singh. The plane after fueling landed in Dubai where 79 passengers were released and the hijackers surrendered, who were sent back to India to face legal action. Central Government offered Akalis to resume talks provided they shun secessionism and terrorism. World Sikh convention organized at Gurdwara Shaheed Baba Deep Singh on September 12, 1984, demanded the withdrawal of Army from Golden Temple Complex. On September 12, 1984, militants killed 20 Hindu passengers of a bus near Batala. Army was finally withdrawn from the shrine on September 25, 1984 and threw it open to the public on September 29, 1984. Within 48 hours, the Army and the security forces flushed out about 200 youth out of Darbar Sahib who raised anti national slogans. The Kar sewa of Darbar Sahib Sarovar started on October 12, 1984 in which lakhs of devotees participated. Longowal in Jodhpur jail equated Indira Gandhi with Ahmed Shah Abdali.

4.4.3 ASSASSINATION OF SMT INDIRA GANDHI

Smt. Indira Gandhi was assassinated on the morning of 31st October, 1984 by her security men, Beant Singh and Satwant Singh who were fired by other security persons killing Beant Singh and seriously injuring Satwant Singh. Satwant Singh was hanged after trial. As a retaliation, Sikhs in large number were massacred in Delhi by the mob. Rajiv Gandhi was sworn as the PM of the Country. Sikhs were also killed in other cities of the country. BJP President Atal Bihar Vajpayee squarely held the Congressmen responsible for anti-Sikh violence. Sikh intellectuals of Delhi in a statement condemned the assassination of

51 Id p. 182
52 Id pp. 195- 197
Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Within few months of army action, a panthic committee was formed and Manbir Singh Chaheru was nominated as chief of Khalistan Commando Force. Harinder Singh Kahloln headed the AISSF. Around this time, Baba Joginder Singh, father of Bhinderanwale was brought on the scene to provide leadership. Tohra was re-elected SGPC chief on November 30, 1984, while he was in jail. Sikhs started migrating to Punjab. There were posters in Ludhiana asking Hindus to leave Punjab within a month. On January 16, 1985, there was an attempt on the life of Giani Kirpal Singh, Jathedar Akal Takhat and he was seriously injured. Tohra coming out of jail reiterated that party had never demanded Khalistan or raise secessionist slogans. That Akali Dal had always been in favour of peaceful settlement and stood for the unity and integrity of the country. That it was the Congress that had been projecting the Akalis as separatists. Punjab problem is ethnic in character. He eulogized the killers of Smt. Gandhi and justified honouring their relations. Badal on release said that government should take bold steps to regain the confidence of the Sikhs.53

On June 23, 1985, there was mid air bombing of Air India’s Kanishka, the Air India flight from Montreal to Bombay which crashed in to the Atlantic off the Irish Coast killing all the 326 persons on board. Punjab Government announced partial amnesty for those detained since 1982 under charges other than sedition, murders, dacoity and arson. Behind the scene, parleys were going on between Sant Longowal and Rajiv Gandhi and Arjun Singh, the then Punjab Governor. He was playing the crucial rule. Akali Dal as a whole supported the move for honourable settlement with the Central Government. Whereas, Babbar Khalsa warned against any settlement. Tohra and other hardliners also insisted on precondition of release of detained Sikhs in varios jails and also the army deserters. After number of meetings and deliberations, the Punjab accord was signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal on July 24, 1985. Longowal remarked that the Accord marked the end of the confrontation between the Sikhs and the Centre. The Accord envisaged the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab by January 26, 1986, setting up of a commission to identify Hindi speaking areas to be transferred out of Punjab and setting up a tribunal to go into river water dispute with Haryana while protecting the usage by the two states as on July 1, 1985. The Anandpur sahib resolution was to be referred to the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations. But the accord failed to take off and UAD, AISSF and other hardliners demonstrated in Anandpur against the accord. Accord had also an adverse reaction in Haryana political circles. On 31st July, 1985, Congress

53 Id pp. 202-204
Leader Lalit Makan and his wife Gitanjali were assassinated in Delhi by the terrorists with in days of signing the accord indicating that accord was not antidote to militancy. The accord was rendered redundant within few days of signing. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was gunned down on August 20, 1985 in a Gurudwara in Sherpur village of Sangrur District. One of the assassin was shot dead and another Gian Singh Leel was overpowered. Meanwhile Amrinder Singh joined Akali Dal (Longowal) on August, 23, 1985.

Punjab went to the polls on September 25, 1985 with Akali Dal winning 73 seats out of total of 117 seats, while Congress won 32 seats with 10 to other parties. S. Surjit Singh Barnala was appointed as Chief Minister of Punjab. In the meantime, Babbar group under Sukhdev Singh Sakhira surfaced. The spate of killing of Hindu leaders started. Barnala Government set up a committee under Justice Ajit Singh Bains Retd. High Court Judge to go into the cases against militants including police encounters. Hundred of the Sikhs were released on the recommendation of the committee and cases withdrawn. Many others had gone underground apprehending arrest. On October 29, 1985 Delhi was rocked by serial transistor blasts killing more than 70 persons. It was alleged to be the revenge against the genocide of the Sikhs in November, 1984. The babbars were behind these killings. Mathew Commission was set up to resolve the territorial dispute with Haryana. All these steps did not bring peace. AISSF became the platform of rallying round by the radicals. AISSF submitted the memorandum to the Chief Minister regarding the demands. Hindu radicals under Shiv Sena became active. Tohra was re-elected President of SGPC on November, 29, 1985. SGPC general house conferred the title of “Panth Rattan” on Longowal.

The transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab was deferred. Haryana Vidhan Sabha elections were coming in the way. Centre appointed another Commission under Justice E.S. Venkataramiah, a judge of Supreme Court to determine the Hindi speaking areas to be transferred to Haryana from Punjab. Also, Barnala on April 3, reaffirmed his government commitment to complete the construction of SYL canal. The Commission recommended that 70000 acres area of Punjab should be transferred to Haryana and Government set up Justice D.A. Desai commission to identify this area. However, Punjab rejected this commission on its terms of reference. Meanwhile Eradi Panel on river water dispute allocated 0.78 MAF more water to Punjab than allocated in 1981. Haryana was to get 0.33 MAF more water than 1981 allocation. There was sudden escalation of militant violence. Activists of Youth Akali Dal and Damdami Taksal had a clash in front of Akal Takhat on January 19, 1981. AISSF under

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54 Id pp. 231-233
55 Id pp. 236-237
Harinder Singh Kahlon came on the forefront. Radicals started dictating the terms in Darbar Sahib Complex. Most of the militants were getting training across the border in Pakistan. The downfall of the second phase had started with a section of militants resorting to killings, rapes and extortions within the Shrine Complex. The Sikhs were mostly the victims. Sarbat Khalsa was organized by the Taksal on January 26, 1986 at Akal Takhat which marked the revival of organized militancy and the radical politics. Panthic Committee was formed to intensify the armed struggle. Member of first Panthic Committee included Wassan Singh Jaffarwal, Arur Singh, Dhanna Singh, Gurbachan Singh Manochahal and Gurdev Singh Usmanwala. Jasbir Singh Rodewas appointed Jathedar Akal Takhat in place of Jathedar Kirpal Singh by Sarbat Khalsa conclave. Thus the militant leadership came into direct confrontation with the traditional Akali leadership on sidelining the SGPC which is constituted under the Sikh Gurudwara Act, 192556. Another Sarbat Khalsa was held at Anandpur Sahib on February 16, 1986, which passed a resolution and decided to confront radicals and asked the militants to act according to Sikh Maryada. The convention of Akali Dal Youth Wing held at Patiala on Feb 18, 1986 resolved to confront militancy at the political level. Reconstruction of Akal Takhat under Taksal started on Feb 16, 1986. The clash between militants and Shiv Sena activits was seen in Batala on February 14, 1986. Mr. J.F. Ribeiro took over as DGP Punjab on March 28, 1986. Another Sarbat Khalsa was held in Darbar Sahib Complex on April 13, 1986 and stopped short of commitment to Khalistan. It gave a call to people to break the shackles of slavery and shine for the concept of Raj Karega Khalsa. The Gurmata reiterated the demand for the implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Panthic Committee on April 29 finally announced the setting up of sovereign state of Khalistan and sought recognition from all countries of the World including India. Barnala Cabinet on April 30, in a resolution condemned the declaration of Khalistan made by Panthic Committee saying that the action of radicals exposed the sinister designs of foreign powers to destabilize and disrupt the unity and solidarity of the country through the mercenary mafia of murderers and marauders in unauthorized possession of the Darbar Sahib Complex. The security forces entered Darbar Sahib on April 30, 1986 to flush out the militants, this in a way providing the retrospective legitimacy to Operation Blue Star. Capt. Amrinder Singh and Sukhwinder Singh, the ministers in Barnala cabinet resigned in protest from the cabinet describing it as mini blue star. Tohra and Badal quit the Working Committee of Akali Dal party. Akali Dal legislative party split up in to 27 members group under Badal having a separate group. The strength of

56Id pp. 245-247
Barnal group reduced to 45 members in a house of 117. But Barnala Ministry was rescued by Congress & CPI MLAs. Barnala had to undergo religious punishment. There was split in Akali Dal (L) when Badal was elected President of New Akali Dal on July 5, 1986 at Anadpur Sahib. Gen A.S. Vaidya retired Army Chief was gunned down in Pune (Maharashtra) by Harjinder Singh Jinda and Sukhdev Singh Sukhaon August 10, 1986 to avenge the Operation Blue Star as he was the Army Chief during Blue Star. Later on, both the killers were sent to gallows. PM Rajiv Gandhi survived the assassination attempt at Raj Ghat on October 2, 1986. It was lone attacker Karamjit Singh from Sunam. Rebeiro & his wife Melba survived a gun attack at Jalandhar on October 3, 198657.

The gap between Hindus and Sikhs was widening. Hindus looked up to Mr. Rebeiro as saviour, where as he was felt as a pain in the neck to a large section of Sikhs. Sikhs were feeling that the Barnala Govt. has not done anything for the community and they criticized the sacrilege committed by him sending commandos in the Golden Temple complex. Hindu accused Barnala pursuing communal politics but appreciated his police action against Pro-Khalistan elements lodged in Golden Temple Complex. Sarbat Khalsa convened on November 2, 1986, the Diwali day excommunicated Barnala, Balwant Singh, the then Finance Minister and five high priests, including Jathedar Akal Takhat. Manochahal was replaced by Shabeg Singh and Aroor Singh by Udey Singh, in the Panthi Committee. In a resolution, the announcement of Khalistan was endorsed. Giani Kirpal, Jathedar Akal Takhat ridiculed Sarbat Khalsa convention that it is Jathedar Akal Takhat only who can call Sarbat Khalsa. On November 30, 1986, 24 Hindu bus passengers were killed & 11 injured near Khudda in Hoshiarpur District58.

On December 24, 1986, Prof Darshan Singh was appointed acting Jathedar of Akal Takhat in place of Giani Kirpal Singh since resigned. The build up in Darbar Sahib was continuing and situation was going out of control. Sh. Joginder Pal Pandey, a former Minister and senior Congress leader was gunned down in Ludhiana on January 19, 1987. Sarbat Khalsa held by radicals on January 26, 1987 endorsed the announcement of Khalistan. Operation Blue Star and Operation Wood Rose had failed to instill confidence among the members of Hindu community, who continued to feel unsecure. The Sikh clergy on February 3, 1987, dissolved all the Akali factions by the Hukamnama. On February 5, 1987, the Sikh clergy appointed S. Simranjit Singh Mann, then in jail, the President of reorganized United Akali Dal. It was meant to provide radical framework to the Akali Dal. A 13 member

57Id pp. 265-267
58Id pp. 268-269
committee was nominated to run the party affairs in the absence of Mann. The Hukamnama was rejected by Akali Dal (Longowal) and Akali Dal (Master Tara Singh) in Delhi. Barnala (CM of Punjab) affirmed on February 8, 1987 that his government stands and he has neither resigned as ruling Akali Dal President nor desolved the party. To this, Barnala was declared Tankhaiya (guilty of misconduct). Barnala was finally ex-communicated for not appearing before Akal Takhat. Akali Dal (Master Tara Singh) President Rachhpal Singh was also excommunicated on February 14, 1987. The fight between ruling Akali Dal (L) and Akal Takhat continued. On February 12, 1987, an amount of 5.7 cores was robbed from SBI Branch in Ludhiana. Senior CPI (Marxist) leader Chanan Singh Dhoot was gunned down on February 15, 1987 in Hoshiarpur District. BJP Leader Shambhu parsad was shot on March 17, 1987. Abinashi Singh, PA to SGPC chief and Dr. Baldev Singh Brar of SGPC mysteriously disappeared from Amritsar on April 1, and still their bodies have not been recovered. The peace march by Sunil Dutt MP entered Punjab on April 2, 1987. Militants enforced the social code of conduct.

The consumption of liquor and meat was banned in marriage parties and the number of marriage party was restricted to 11 persons. Panthic dress code was prescribed for the school students and the shopkeepers were directed to paint their sign board yellow and blue. The sale of Tobacco products were banned. The social code of conduct was registered by the people and more by the Sikhs. Sushil Muni, a Jain Saint started negotiations as a mediator. Barnala Government was dismissed and Punjab was put under President rule on May 11, 1987. A charred body of Tarlochan Sinh Riyasti, a former minister of Congress was found in his car in January, 1988, near Ludhiana.

The state assembly was placed under animated suspension. Barnala Government was incapable to control the deteriorating law & order situation in the state. A state wide crack down followed the imposition of President’s rule in which activists of AISSF, Damdami Taksal and Prem Singh Chandumajra were arrested. This President’s rule continued up to February, 1992. Akali Dal alleged that President rule has been imposed to enhance prospectus of Congress in ensuing Haryana Vidhan Sabha elections. Sukhminder Singh a state council member of CPI and his two sons, one daughter, a relative and a police guard were killed in village Chugawan near Moga on June 28, 1987. On July 7, 1987, 40 bus passengers were gunned down near Lalru on Chandigarh Ambala road. 36 bus passengers were killed near Hisar. Another 4 person were killed in the bus near Hisar. In the bandh protest, 4 sikhs were

59 Id pp. 287-289
60 Id pp. 291-292
lynched in Haryana as a revenge of killing Hindus in the buses. Earlier, there was spat between the DGP Mr. Ribiero and Government of Barnala. There were complaints of high handedness against the police & the security forces. Even, the judiciary in the border districts felt insecure.

4.4.4 OPERATION WOODROSE
Many terrorists & other young boys from rural areas sneaked in to Pakistan because of fear of apprehension & torture by the Army & other security forces after Blue Star Operation. There they got training and weapons and were sent back by ISI to fight against Indian Government to achieve Khalistan. Under Punjab Distrubred Area Act, the Army personnel had great power to use force. The Govt. of India’s White Paper claimed that the operation resulted in the apprehension of 4712 suspects.

4.4.5 OPERATION BLACK THUNDER
The militants adopted the policy of bullet not ballot to achieve the desired goal of Khalistan endorsed by Sarbat Khalsa on January 26, 1986; whereas the Sikh priests desired in a convention held on August 4, 1987 an area where Sikhs could experience glow of freedom. This was in tune with the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and a promise made by Pandit Nehru in July, 1946. The Panthic Committee accused Prof. Darshan Singh of killing Sikh Youth with the jugglery of his words. Sher Singh Doomsheri, President of Youth Akali Dal was gunned down in August, 1987, because of rivalry among militant groups. He was being backed by Babbar Khalsa. Militant outfit excommunicated Badal, Tohra, Prof. Darshan Singh and Kabul Singh. The killing of women, children and political leaders continued because of competitive militancy. Jasbir Singh Rode and other priests were released. SGPC appointed Rode as Akal Takhat Jathedar on March 8, 1988 whereas Prof. Darshan Singh resigned. The appointment of Rode was criticized by many sectors including Inderjit Gupta of CPI. The killings of innocent persons stepped up. KPS Gill replaced J.F. Febeiro as DGP Punjab and Ribeiro was appointed as Advisor (Security) Punjab. Due to competitive militancy, differences among militant outfits started getting more defined. Panthic Committee accused AISSF chief Gurjit Singh colluding with intelligence agencies. Rode also came under attack from KCF Chief Labh Singh on siding with the government. Rich Sikh farmers and Hindu families started migrating to urban areas specially in border areas. The idea of fencing the border was moved by the Centre. S.S. Virk DIG CRPF was fired upon from Golden Temple on May 9, 1988. What provoked the militants was the objection raised by the CRPF to the construction of bunkers

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and Mr. Virk rushed to the scene of action. Curfew was imposed in the inner wall area of Amritsar City. NSG had taken over and the operation Black Thunder started. Ceasefire was announced on May 15, 1988 but without any result. Again ceasefire was announced on 18th May, 1988. Karaj Singh Thande who consumed poison was shot and killed. Militant leaders Malkiat Singh Ajnala and Niranjan Singh surrendered. Jagir Singh was shot and killed. Nirvair Singh and Jagir Singh were the hitmen. Operation Black Thunder was in full view of the media, both national and international. A total of 46 militants surrendered, three committed suicide, while several others were killed in cross firing. None of those arrested were convicted by the court. The holiest of the holy Sikh shrine was desecrated by those who claimed to be fighting for the dignity and honour of the Sikhs. Thus the operation Blue Star was justified. There was no reaction from Sikh masses, rather they appreciated the operation. Maryada was restored and shrine was opened to devotees on May 22, 1988.

There was spate killings in Punjab. SGPC sacked Rode and appointed Harcharan Singh as new Jathedar Akal Takhat. In the meantime, IGP Border Zone Sh. Chamal Lal had the differences with KPS Gill on handling the situation and applied for repatriation to BSF. Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi survived an attack on November 29, 1988. Barnala was exonerated from ex-communication after serving religious punishment. Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh were hanged to death on the morning of January 6, 1989 at 8 AM in the Indira Gandhi assassination case. Both Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh were declared as martyrs by the SGPC. Lok Sabha elections were announced to be held in November. AISSF on October 19, 1989 announced the decision to boycott the Lok Sabha elections. 10 out of 13 candidates were elected to Lok Sabha supported by radical. Almost all were the nominees of Simranjit Singh Mann of Akal Dal (Mann), who was in jail and won from Tarn Taran and was released after victory. He never entered Parliament. The Congress returned Sukhbans Kaur Bhinder from Gurdaspur and Kamal Chaudhary from Hoshiarpur. Sh. V.P. Singhtook over as PM and he visited Darbar Sahib and addressed the congregation in front of Akal Takhat. Akali Dal (Mann) announced at Baisakhi conference at Talwandi Sabo on April 13, 1990 that they would approach UNO for plebiscite in the state whether the Sikhs wanted to live in this country. Former Finance Minster Balwant Singh was gunned down on July 10, 1990 in Chandigarh along with his two security guards and the driver. KLF took the responsibility of shooting. Tohra survived an attempt on his life on May 14, 1990 near Sahnewal in Ludhiana.

62 Id pp. 309-311
District$^{63}$.

Operation Mother Tongue was dictated by Panthic Committee i.e. to use Punjabi in Govt. Business. AIR Station Director Chandigarh RK Talib was shot dead in front of his house on December 10, 1990. Jalandhar, Chandigarh and Patiala Radio Stations were directed to use Punjabi for broadcasting the programmes. Sh. Chander Shekhar took over as P.M. after V.P. Singh submitted resignation. Army was deployed in Punjab to handle militancy. In 1990, 2429 persons were killed, the highest in any year. Even, the militants poisoned dogs to facilitate easy movement of the militants at night$^{64}$.

The things were worsening in the rural and suburban urban areas. The militants had turned criminals and many rugged criminals joined militancy. Even moderate Akali leaders started toeing the line of radicals. The Panthic Committee (Zaffarwal) and Khalistan Commando Force reiterated the resolve to carry on the fight for a state based on Sikh tenets while appealing to Akali leaders to desist from opportunistic political games. The militant groups represented by Panthic Committee included the Babbar Khalsa, Khalistan Liberation Force, Khalistan Commando Force, Bhinderanwale Tiger Force of Khalistan and AISSF (Bittu) and the parallel Panthic Committee representing Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, Gurjant Rajasthani and others welcomed the initiative for a dialogue by the Prime Minister. Mann led a delegation of 13 members for holding talks with the PM. It was conveyed to the P.M. that the militants were in command of the situation in the state. The people in general were sick of alleged social reforms and so the militants disassociated from social reforms$^{65}$. In the meantime, Panthic Committee (Dr. Sohan Singh) rejected the offer of talks by the P.M. that nothing less than Khalistan would be negotiable.

4.4.6 THE PANTHIC COMMITTEES

The Panthic Committee was formed under Gurbachan Singh Manochal in April 1986 as below$^{66}$

1. Gurbachan Singh Manochahal
2. Wassan Singh Zaffarwal
3. Gurdev Singh Usmanwala
4. Aroor Singh
5. Dhanna Singh

After some time, another Panthic Committee was formed:-

$^{63}$Id pp. 331-333
$^{64}$ Id pp. 342-344
$^{65}$ Id pp 352-353
$^{66}$ Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
1. Wassan Singh Jaffarwal
2. Gurbachan Singh Manochahal
3. Dalwinder Singh (Ex Court)
4. Kanwaljit Singh Sultanwind
5. Dalbir Singh

Its armed wing as Khalistan Commando Force was headed by Manbir Sigh Chaheru alias General Hari Singh and thereafter by Sukha Sipahi Alias General Labh Singh. Many mushroom terrorist organizations came into existence because of lack of coordination, competency in militancy, mutual suspicion and aspects of criminality. Later on Aroor Singh formed his own group as Khalistan Liberation Force. Manochahal formed its own group known as Bhinderanwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTFK). Babbars formed its own group under Sukhdev Dasuwal. Later on new Panthic Committee came into existence as follow:

1. Dr. Sohan Singh Former Director Health, Punjab
2. Satinder Pal Singh of KLF
4. Wadhawa Singh of Babbar Khalsa
5. Mehal Singh of Babbar Khalsa

Paramjit Singh Panjwar of KCF & Gurjant Singh BudhSingh Wala of KLF played the major role in the formation of this Panthic Committee. This Panthic Committee was of four groups i.e. KCF Panjwar, KLF, AISSF Bittu and Babbar Khalsa. Normally, the Babbars were comparatively cleaner in their personal lives & they resorted to selective killings. Later on five Panthic committee emerged.

1. Panthic Committee led by Dr. Sohan Singh
2. Panthic Committee led by Gurbachan Singh Manochahal
3. Panthic Committee led by Wassan Singh Jaffarwal
4. Panthic Committee led by Jassa Singh Usmanwala
5. Panthic Committee led by Kanwar Singh of Akal Federation

4.4.7 PERSONALITIES WHO CAME TO PUNJAB ON PEACE MISSION

1. Baba Amte – Visited Amritsar on 05.04.86, 15.04.86, 21.07.86 and October 1986
2. Shankra Acharya Swami Satya Mitra Nand from Haridwar came with his Jatha on

\[67\text{Id}\]
09.03.1987.


4. Acharya Sushil Muni marched up to Amritsar on 06.05.1987.


   **Terrorism** is a continuance of politics through other means. It is basically a propaganda of deeds. International dimension of Pakistan are role by Pak, role of expatriate Sikhs in foreign countries i.e. America, U.K., Canada, Germany & Norway. The requirement to deal the terrorism are people’s participation, term firm and fair governance, political will, efficient, professional and honest civil & police forces. Regional imbalances are increasing. There is a crisis of identity in Punjab & North-Eastern states. Terrorism is expression of certain urges.

### 4.4.8 PUNJAB PROBLEM- EVENTS

1. April 13, 1978 – Clash between Sikh groups and Nirankaris in Amritsar – 13 Sikhs & 4 Nirankaris killed.

2. April 25, 1982 – SAD (Longowal) starts Civil disobedient movement.

3. July 26, 1982 – SAD (Longowal) adopts agitation launched by Sant, Bhinderanwale.

4. October 6, 1983 - Congress government of Darbara Singh dismissed. President rule was imposed in Punjab.


10. April 27, 2013 – Operation Blue Star Memorial inaugurated in Amritsar in memory of Sikhs killed in Blue Star.


   On the eve of the Blue Star operation, Golden Temple Complex had been turned into an armed citadel by different militant groups i.e. Damdami Taksal, AISSF, Babbar Khalsa,
Dal Khalsa, Akhand Kirtani Jatha and the Akal Federation.\textsuperscript{68}

Khalistan module, three terrorists Harpreet Singh alias Harmeet Singh alias Pintu, Karanjit Singh alias Pamma and Sarwan Singh Shabba all from Jammu area were arrested and produced in Jalandhaur Court. They were planning strikes in Punjab under the control & direction of Ranjit Singh Neeta (KZF) and Harminder Singh Mintu of KLF (since arrested). They were supported by sympathizers in Spain, U.K. & Thailand. Pintu had arms training in Pakistan & had close links with Mintu. Pamma went to Thailand & from there he went to Pakistan for training. In 2012, Jalandhur Police had nabbed a militant Jaswant Singh Azad of Duhre village & he was engaged in activating & funding the sleeper cells. Azad had confessed to his links with outfits like B.K.I (Wadhawa Singh), KZF (Neeta), KTF (Jagtar alisas Tara) and Papinder Singh of Scotland. Religious & political personalities including Ashutosh Maharaj Ji, Sacha Sauda head of Sirsa Gurmeet Ram Rahim, Baba Bhaniarewala, KPS Gill & all those who worked in eradicating terrorism in Punjab.\textsuperscript{69}

Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohd, HM, HUJI (banned Bangladesh Islamic militant group), Jalaludin Haqqani groups etc are waging covert war of Jehad against India. Presently, about 43 terrorist training camps are reported to be running in Pak-occupied Kashmir under the supervision of ISI & Pakistan Army. More than 300 militants from various nationalities are being trained in these camps. These terrorists outfits carried out 1577 terrorist attacks across Pakistan in 2012 claiming the lives of 2050 people and injuring 3822.\textsuperscript{70}

The main problem was the religious Sikh identity and their ethnic identity as Punjabis. It is surprising that terrorism and separatism emerged in 1980s from a prosperous community of Punjab. Sikhs vehemently opposed the partition of India in 1947. The boundary of Punjab was redrafted in 1966 where the Sikhs raised their number from 40% to 60% in a new state of Punjab. Even then, they always raised the slogan of Sikh Panth in danger. It was always propagated that Sikhs were being discriminated. Socially, Sikhs are divided into various castes. The initial spark for contemporary terrorism in Punjab was provided by the charismatic Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale. Violence and Militancy have been part of the Sikh political tradition. The theme of discrimination was marked time and again by Bhinderanwale. Religious revivalism and fundamentalism were employed dynamically and violently by Bhinderanwale to further his ideology. There were some people who have faith in teachings of Guru Nanak but they are not Keshdari. Some sections like Radhasoamis&

\textsuperscript{68} Sandhu, Kanwar; \textit{Perspective – Operation Blue Star}; The Tribune, June 1, 2014 p. 10
\textsuperscript{69} Tribune dated August 5 & 6, 2014 – Pages 2 in each.
\textsuperscript{70} \textit{Aakrosh}, April 2013 Vol 16 No. 59 p. 8
Nirankaris believe in Sikhism but have the living guru where as Guru Granth Sahib is worshipped as the last guru by the Sikhs. Guru Gobind Singh Ji said, “Koi Kisi ko Raj na day, Jo lay hai nij bal say lay hai”. This was practiced by Bhinderanwale. Some groups decided an independent state consisting of Punjab, Haryana and part of Rajasthan. The majority of Sikhs believed in federalized India. The militant section of the Sikhs feel that legacy of Khalsa Raj of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the destiny of the Sikhs to rule. But Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not have Sikh state but a secular state.\footnote{Crenshaw, Martha (Ed.); \textit{Terrorism in Context}, Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, 1995 pp. 364-365}

Master Tara Singh said that Punjabi Suba was a stepping stone and our ultimate aim is a separate Sikh state, whereas Sant Fateh Singh said that our aim was Punjab State and nothing more. Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s rule established the Sikh identity. Sikhs became important component of British Army and they were synonymous to bravery. Singh Sabhas established the identity & ethnicity of Sikhs. They insisted that they may be distinguished from Hindus. The militancy returned to Sikh politics when they wanted the control of Sikh shrines by the Sikh bodies as these were controlled by Mahants who were Hindus. Shrimoni Akali Dal Party came into existence in 1920. An assembly of Sikhs elected 175 members to manage Sikh shrines. SGPC Act came into existence in 1925. SGPC was always dominated by Akali Dal party, but the Sikh Religious Parliament was challenged by Bhinderanwale & the extremists in 1984. Communal separatism was introduced in Punjab in the recruitment to government services from 1925 to 1945 in certain ratios among Muslim, Hindus and Sikhs. After partition, Sikhs were still in minority in Punjab with 64% population of Hindus. Sikhs struggled on linguistic basis with the ultimate aim of having Sikh majority province of Punjab. Master Tara Singh called for a Sikh majority state at a conference in Amritsar on October 22, 1949. Partap Singh Kairon of Congress became the first Sikh Chief Minister of Punjab in 1956. He also had a growing reputation as a decisive, strong and politically skillful nationalist oriented leader and the congress government supported him wholeheartedly. He confronted the Punjabi Suba movement as Hindu Organisation lobbied for a ‘Save Hindu Movement’. Akalis turned the Punjabi Suba movement as a Dharam Yudh. In the mean time, Master Tara Singh was replaced by Sant Fateh Singh as President of Akali Party. Partap Singh Kairon was removed for corruption charges, weakening the Punjab Congress party. Ultimately, the Central Govt. had to trifurcate the Punjab with new Punjab having 60% Sikh population. In the ensuing Punjab Vidhan Sabha election in 1969, Akalis could from
government with the support of Jan Sangh. The congress again came to power in 1972 after Indo-Pak war (1971) and Giani Zail Singh took over as CM Punjab. Emergency was imposed in 1975 and Akali Dal launched the agitation against this. In 1977, elections were held and Akali Dal under S. Parkash Singh Badal as CM came to power. After some time, Akali Dal had two lobbies i.e. moderates under Sh. Badal and hardliner under Jagdev Singh Talwandi and SGPC chief S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra. The pending issue at the time of forming Punjabi Suba i.e. Chandigarh as capital, control of Head works, distribution of rivers water and Punjabi speaking areas were the agitating issues specially among Sikhs in Akali Party. Subsequently, Akalis split into two warring factions and Union government dismissed the Badal Govt. in Punjab. Thus moderates began to loose control and hardliners/more militant Sikhs competed for Sikh Support. The institutionalized structure of political parties collapsed and the aggressive elements took charge of the parties. There were some incidents perpetrated by extremists and the movement was symbolized by the charismatic leadership of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, specially after the incident of Nirankaris/Akhand Kirtani clash on Baisakhi Day of 1978 at Amritsar. Bhinderanwale was being openly supported by the Congress party to destabilize the Akali Dal. Bhinderanwale contested SGPC elections against Akalis in 1979 and won only four seats. Giani Zail Singh as Union Home Minister was extending all help to Bhinderanwale group through DGPC president Jathedar Santokh Singh. Ganga Singh Dhillon, a US based Sikh businessman raised the demand of Khalistan at the Sikh Educational Conference held in Chandigarh in March, 1989, which was denounced by the moderates in Akali Dal i.e. Sh. Longowal and S. Parkash Singh Badal. Jagdev Singh Talwandi, a rebel Akali leader pursued a more communal militant strategy after losing the president-ship of Akali Dal and forming a dissident Akali Dal in 1980. He floated to resurrect the 1973 Anandpur Sahib Resolution. SYL (Nehar Roko) issue cropped up in 1982 and Akali Dal launched an agitation. Akali Dal (Longowal) launched an agitation for certain demands and offered arrests. Meantime, Bhinderanwale wrested control of Golden Temple. There were killings and robberies all over the state. There were killings of Hindu passengers forcibly taken out from buses. The government of Darbara Singh was dismissed in Late 1983.

A large number of people including around 100 Army men were killed in Blue Star operation. Over two dozen Gurudwara all over the state were combed. Three major leaders of the terrorist movement i.e. Bhinderanwale, Amrik Singh and Gen. Shabeg Singh (Retd.) were

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72 Id pp. 374-376
73 Id pp. 382-384
killed. The inaugural date for the terrorist campaign started with the assassination of Lala Jagat Narain, the proprietor of Hind Samachar Group of News Paper, Jalandhar. His son Ramesh Chander was also gunned down in Jalandhar in May, 1985. The unity and integrity of the country was in danger. Law & order in the state had deteriorated. After Blue Star, the ethnic identity came to the forefront in Sikhs as Sikhs reacted to destruction of their holy place. There was polarization among Sikhs and Hindus. The situation worsened after the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi on 31st October, 1984, specially when operation woodrose was launched after operation Blue Star. The Congress won the elections to Lok Sabha in 1984 with thumping majority. Rajiv Gandhi as P.M. started with humility and changed the political climate of India from one of confrontation to conciliation. The Central Govt. reached on accord “Rajiv-Longowal Punjab Accord” in July, 1985. Key elements of the Punjab Accord included:

Referral of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution to a commission on Centre-state relations, appointed in March 1983.

- Transfer of Chandigarh, the capital shared by Punjab & Haryana, to Punjab.
- Rehabilitation of Sikhs who deserted the army following operation Blue Star.
- Compensation to innocent persons killed during the Punjab agitation.
- Extension of the Judicial inquiry into Delhi riots to include Bokaro and Kanpur.
- Consideration of an All India Sikh Temples Act.
- Referral of Punjab and Haryana’s river waters dispute to a tribunal for adjudication.
- Promotion of the Punjabi language by the Central Government74.

Longowal, after the accord declared that the period of confrontation is over. The morcha stands automatically withdrawn. This did not end the terrorism. Transistor bombs exploded in Delhi killing people and heightening the terrorism. Parkash Singh Badal opposed the accord. Punjab Vidhan Sabha elections held in September, 1985 brought Akali Dal in power and Surjit Singh Barnala became C.M. of Punjab. Earlier, Sant Longowal was killed on August 20, 1985 in a Gurudwara in Longowal (Sangrur District). Two problems emerged: i.e. non implementation of major elements of the Punjab accord and renewed terrorism and revivalism. The AISSF retook the control of Golden Temple on 26th January, 1986. The action against the militants in Darbar Sahib split the Akali Dal into moderates and hardliners and there was split of Akali Dal MLAs in Vidhan Sabha. Barnala ruled for some time with the support of Congress but the increase in terrorist activities in the State, led to the imposition of

74 Id p. 389
President’s rule on May 11, 1987. On 11th February, 1988 the entire state was designated a ‘notified area’ under section 5 of TADA 1987. President’s rule continued till elections were held in Feb, 1992 and S. Beant Singh became the Chief Ministe of Punjab when Cong (I) returned to power. This election was boycotted by the Akalis.

Bhinderanwale did not leave behind any successor to lead the movement. According to Late Sh. Satya Pal Dang, the veteran CPI leader pointed out that Khalistanis were divided in to three parts. One group belonged to Damdami Taksal and AISSF and he called them victims of fundamentalism. A second group composed of unemployed and disillusioned youth. The third, largest group consisted anti-social and criminal elements. Baba Joginder Singh, the father of Bhinderanwale tried to lead the movement but was unsuccessful. The terrorists had five major groups i.e. Babbar Khalsa, the Bhinderanwale Tiger Force of Khalistan (BTF), the Khalistan Liberation Force (KLF), The Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) and Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF) and under these 167 sub group were operating. Panthic Committee was formed in 1986 in Golden Temple under Gurbachan Singh Manochahal. Its spokesman reiterated its determination to fight to the finish for the goal of Khalistan and denied that militant had anything to do with the killings of innocent persons. All the five members were carrying rewards i.e. they were confirmed terrorists. This Panthic Committee praised Zia-Ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan when he died in air crash in August, 1988. In May, 1989, it was announced that Manochahal and Wassan Singh Zaffarwal were removed from the committee, because they were responsible for incidents of looting, robbings, extortions, killings of innocent people and misappropriation of funds. The earlier Panthic Committee consisted of Baba Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, Bhai Gurdev Singh Usmanwala, Bhai Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, Bhai Dalwinder Singh alias Bhai Shabeg Singh alias Bhai Dalbir Singh and Bhai Udey Singh and first two were replaced by Bhai Jasbir Singh Chaheru and Bhai Sukhwinder Singh Ladoo of Patiala. On May 3, 1988, a new Panthic Committee called Dr. Sohan Singh Panthic Committee was announced by four of the leading terrorists groups i.e. KCF, KLF, Babbars and AISSF. Two other major groups, the BTFK & KCF (Jhamke) refused to recognize the committee. BTFK chief Karaj Singh Thande accused some members of the committee of being government agents, Avtar Singh Brahma of KLF and Manochahal of BTFK were daredevil terrorists who indulged in exortion and killings in a big way. Sukhdev Singh Babbar was eliminated on August 9, 1992. Mr. Rebiero, the then DGP Punjab had said that Babbar Khalsa was the only group with a fierce religious orientation. Thus in 1992, the goal of some terrorists including important newly developing
leaders was to emerge as key factors in any future settlement.

Operation Black Thunder in 1988 was a turning point in respect of terrorist violence. Many terrorists were killed and over 150 surrendered. This sent the reverse message among the public that the terrorists are not fighting for any cause or crusaders but are killers, criminals and extortionists. The people started keeping distance from them. Even the top terrorists got disillusioned and spoke frankly about the futility of terrorism and the militant’s demand for Khalistan. The live coverage exposed the character of the terrorists in Golden Temple, the way they desecrated the holy shrine. Jagir Singh of Panthic Committee died in the Golden Temple complex, Nirvair Singh surrendered and Karaj Thande alias Phealwan of BTFK committed suicide. Major leaders of KCF, Malkiat Ajnala, Bhag Singh, Nishan Singh and Chanchal Singh surrendered. However Gen. Labh Singh, Channi and Sukhdev Jhamke survived. Gen. Labh Singh was killed on July 1988 near Tanda (Hoshiarpur District). Factional fighting took the lives of more Sikhs than Hindus. The increased fire power specially use of AK-47 (1987) was responsible of greater killings. AK-47 figured in 1987, followed by American stinger missiles in February 1988, Rocket launchers, grenades, bombs, explosives and mines. The terrorists caught in the Golden Temple told the price of AK 47 Rs. 25,000, Rs. 45,000 for Rocket Launcher and Rs. 3,500 for an explosive charge. Even after Black Thunder, the bank robberies, extortions and ransom, smuggling (drugs & weapons) and killings were the order of the day. Sukhdev Babbar was having a luxury life style in Patiala. ISI of Pak was also providing liberal funding. CRPF, BSF, RPF, Assam Rifles, ITBP and Army were used in the peak days of terrorism in 1991/1992. Civic action programmes were planned to win the hearts and minds of the people by the Army & State Police. The medical camps were organized. The sports material was given to schools. With the change of government in Pakistan under Ms. Benazir Bhutto, she reversed the policy of providing assistance to Sikhs and the flow of weapons from Darra Khel was substantially reduced. Arms dealers commented that Ms. Bhutto has disrupted our business. Kashmir became another centre of political violence after December, 1989. The flow of weapons increased through Kashmir, Gujarat and Rajasthan Borders. 1992 was the turning point when S. Beant Singh took over as C.M. Punjab. He had political will to finish terrorism. Major leaders were killed and after the police families were killed in August, 1992, the terrorism was controlled with heavy hand by the security forces. Year 1993 was almost terrorist crime free Punjab.

Khalsa Punjabi identity was born in 1699 under Guru Gobind Singh and was revived

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75 Id pp. 395-397
in Singh Sabha and Gurudwara reform movements. This was revitalized by Bhinderanwale. Political violence and terrorism fueled the separatism. As long as religious insecurity is present, Sikhs can be mobilized through the slogan that the Panth is in danger. Sikh religious revivalism became violent only after 1978 with the emergence of Bhinderanwale. Congress Party used him against Akalis and Akalis had gone that weak that they could not check his activities in the Golden Temple. There was no alternative to operation Blue Star as there was danger to national unity and integrity of the country. Thus religious revivalism shifted to religious zeal even among the Sikhs, who were not fundamentalists. The terrorism escalated in a context where restraining moral influences were replaced by competitive groups fighting for leadership, territory and resources. Though, there was Punjab Accord but the centre could not implement it because of political constraints. Thus, the Central Govt. failed to win the moderate Sikhs, thereby leaving the Sikh dominated rural Punjab to the militants. Year 1991 was the peak year in respect of violence. Rapes, extortions and militant activities lessened the militant legitimacy. After Feb 1992 elections to Punjab Vidhan Sabha, the Congress CM of Punjab, S. Beant Singh had the political will to eliminate militancy in Punjab and he had to sacrifice his own life for the sake of peace in Punjab, when he was killed by a suicide bomber in Punjab Civil Secretariat on 31st August, 1995.

Anandpur Sahib resolution was passed by Akali Dal in 1973 to give more powers to the states. After 1977 defeat of Congress, the prominent leaders of various states like Farukh Abdullah of J&K, Jyoti Basu of West Bengal, A.K.Antony of Kerala and M. Karunanidhi of Tamilnadu advocated that the states should be given more powers and this would strengthen democracy in the country. Robert L. Hardgrave, Professor of University of Texas in America suggested that “the demand for greater state autonomy – increased financial resources, decentralization of planning, more independence in administrative areas for which states are constitutionally responsible” reflected as aspiration to bring government closer to the people.

Congress used the orthodox Sikh elements to counter Akali Dal. Bhinderanwale with his followers from Army and administrative services fancied themselves as real leaders of Punjab. In April 1978, Giani Zail Singh who later on became President of India, supported and aided the formation of political group called Dal Khalsa. The name is reminiscent of the Sikh army that had been founded in 1716 to fight for the establishment of Sikh Empire. The Dal Khalsa formed in 1978 declared its objective to be the establishment of a sovereign Sikh state. Harsimran Singh, elected as Dal Khalsa chief was the erstwhile stenographer of Prof. Kumar, Ram Narayan, *Terror in Punjab – Narrative, Knowledge and Truth*, Shipra Publications, Delhi-2008, p. 89
V.N. Tiwari, a professor at the Punjab University, Chandigarh, who was very close to Giani Zail Singh & was rewarded with the seat in the Upper House Rajya Sabha. Dal Khalsa was set up to embarrass Akali Dal. Another person who came on the scene was Jagjit Singh Chauhan, who was Finance Minister in Lachhman Singh Gill’s government and he said, “The Sikhs demand an independent state in India, the only guarantee for peace on the sub continent.” In India, he had organized a group called Panth Khalsa which was headed by Baba Santa Singh, the Nihang Leader. This group, later on, took up the cause of rebuilding Akal Takhat Sahib after Blue Star. In England, Chauhan formed National Council of Khalistan with one Balbir Singh Sandhu as General Secretary. He wrote a letter to Sant Longowal counselling him to quickly form a parallel, independent government of Punjab &criticised his peaceful agitation. Immediate after Blue Star, Chauhan spoke of terrorist action against Indira Gandhi. Chauhan’s connection with Giani Zail Singh was also figured.

Bhinderanwale & Jiwan Singh Umranangal, the Minister in Akali Government incited the Akhand Kirtani Jatha against Nirankaris, who were holding congregation in Amritsar on 13th April, 1978. A Jatha of Akhand Kirtani went to the venue and in firing by Nirankaris, 13 members of the jatha were killed. Lala Jagat Narain, the Editor in Chief of Hind Samachar Group of Newspaper was also there. The case of murder was registered which was later on shifted to Karnal for trial. Nirankari Baba, Niranjan Singh IS & other alleged accused persons were acquitted by the Session Court, Karnal. All this led to communal polarization in Punjab. Nirankari followers were targeted & killed by Sikh extremists. On 24th April, 1980; Ranjit Singh a follower of Akhand Kirtanis assassinated the Nirankari Guru. In the fresh elections to the Vidhan Sabha, Congress came to power and S. Darbara Singh was made C.M. of Punjab, which was not liked by Giani Zail Singh, who was Home Minister of India. On September 9, 1981, Lala Jagat Naraian was killed near Ludhiana & Bhinderanwale was arrested as a conspirator, who had to be released unconditionally as there was no direct evidence against him. In a daring attack at Civil Secretariat at S. Niranjan Singh, IAS, his younger brother a probationer IPS died on the spot & Niranjan Singh escaped the attempt.

Communal Frenzy was very high in Amritsar. Hindus were asked to take out Tobacco shops outside the city & heads of cows were thrown in temples in Amritsar. Hindus all over the state protested these provocative acts and it degenerated in to a street battle between Hindus and Sikhs around the Golden Temple. Dal Khalsa and others burnt down cigarette and tobacco vends in the city. Hindu communal outfits reciprocated by placing cigarettes and

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Ibid
tobacco in major Sikh shrines including Golden Temple. This pattern of sacrilege and violence continued to rock Punjab until the middle of May, 1982. Since Punjab had been recognized as a linguistic state in 1966, the political programme of the Akali Dal revolved around four main grievances; (1) The Union Govt. had usurped its right to manage its river waters appropriating and diverting them for irrigation of arid lands in Haryana and Rajasthan (2) Large tracts of Punjabi speaking areas had been given away to Haryana & Himachal Pardesh (3) The state had been deprived of Chandigarh, built to be capital of Punjab and awarded to be transferred to Punjab before January, 1975 by P.M. Indira Gandhi herself (4) The abuse of Union powers to interfere against democratically constituted governments in the State. Anandpr Sahib Resolution passed in 1973 was considered too radical in its framework of political decentralization. Though, in Akali Dal’s 18th All India Conference held in Ludhiana in October, 1978, Anandpur Sahib Resolution was modified to make it more workable within the framework of Indian Union. Union Government tried to placate SGPC powers and created DGPC and placed Jathedar Santokh Singh as its head.

Akali Dal’s Charter of 45 demands broken up in to four categories religious, political, economic and social claims, which the Akali Dal presented to Union government in 1981, remained essentially secular and achievable within the Constitutional framework of India. The religious demands included non-inference of the government in the Sikh religious matters; recognition of Amritsar as a holy city; naming of train, Delhi to Amritsar as the Golden Temple Express; the installation of radio transmitter to relay religious singing live from the temple; and the recognition of the SGPC as authority in constituting the groups of pilgrims to the Sikh shrines in Pakistan. The political demands referred to Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the transfer of Punjabi speaking territories of Haryana & HP to Punjab; of Chandigarh as its capital and Punjab’s right to manage the distribution of its river waters. The economic demands focused on the requirements of Punjab’s industrialization, increase in the procurement prices of its agricultural products and equity as a principle in the recruitment of Sikhs to the Indian Army. The social demands included enactment of a Sikh Personal Law.

Akali Dal led by Sant Longowal and other moderate leaders had a meeting with Sh. Narsimha Rao, the then Foreign Minister of Indira Gandhi Government, in October 1981. The negotiating panel of Akali Dal said that few demands had precedence i.e. transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, enactment of All India Gurdwara Act to bring all Sikh Shrines in the

78 Id p. 100
79 Id p. 102
80 Ibid
country under the control of SGPC, rights over the state’s river water resources and the status of the second official language for Punjabi in the states of Haryana, HP & Delhi. Since Haryana was facing Vidhan Sabha elections, the then CM of Haryana Chaudhary Bhajan Lal vehemently opposed the transfer of Punjabi speaking areas of Haryana to Punjab. Indira Gandhi in April, 1982 inaugurated the construction of SYL canal for irrigation in Haryana & Rajasthan. Akali Dal & CPI (M) protested against the construction of SYL. In the meantime, some close associates of Bhinderanwale were arrested & he refused to have any negotiation with the government. Akali Dal & Bhinderanwale jointly launched the agitation against the central government. Another Indian Airline plane was attempted to be hijacked in order to get released all Sikh prisoners. Thousands of Akali workers were lodged in jail in a morcha launched by Akali Dal. An agreement was almost worked out. The deal repeatedly included release of all prisoners, live transmission of religious hymns over AIR transmitter, transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab as its capital, appointment of a Judicial Commission to examine the issue of river waters and establishment of an all party committee to examine the proposals of decentralization of power included in APS resolution. But an announcement in the Parliament by Home Minister changed the accord. After this, there were many rounds of talks but nothing materialized. About 40000 volunteers courted arrest within a period of three years. Emissaries like Farukh Abdullah the CM of J&K, Amrinder Singh scion of Patiala royalty & friend of Rajiv Gandhi and Harkrishan Singh Surjit, CP (M) leader were included but nothing happened. The murder of Avtar Singh Atwal, the then DIG Jalandhar Range in Golden Temple on April 25, 1983 aggravated the things. Apart from Bhinderanwale; another outfit Akal Federation led by Kanwar Singh Dhami came on the scene which opposed all types of negotiations with the central government. After the bus massacre of Hindus on G.T. Road in Kapurthala district in Oct, 1983, Darbara Singh Govt. was dismissed on October 6, 1983. Central Government had a negotiating talk with Akali leaders and was ready to accept certain demands but of no avail. Another outfit Hindu Saurashtra Samiti led by Pawan Kumar Sharma of the Youth Congress of Patiala came into existence. The purpose was to dissuade the Central Government not to come in agreement with Akalis without first crushing the Sikh terrorists sheltered in Golden Temple. Communal clashes took place in Amritsar and the portrait of Guru Ram Dass & model of Golden Temple kept at Railway Station Amritsar was damaged. Narsimhra Rao had consultation with Badal & Tohra in Jails & offered willingness to amend Article 25. The terrorist activities of Sikhs were very alarming. Ved Paul, the then

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81 Id p. 104
Deputy Speaker of Haryana was killed. V.N. Tiwari & Harbans Lal Ex-Minister were killed. Harbans Lal Khanna in Amritsar and Inderpal Gupta, the head of Hindu Defence Sena in Chandigarh were killed by Sikh extremists. The assault against Golden Temple was launched in the first week of June, 1984. 42 Gurudwaras in the state were also searched & some weapons of terrorists were taken into custody. The Operation Blue Star lasted up to 6th July, 1984 & Bhinderanwale & his associates like Amrik Singh, Gen Shabeg Singh etc were killed. According to white paper released by Govt, 83 Army personnel killed, 249 wounded, 493 terrorists killed, 86 injured & 1542 apprehended during operation. Mark Tully estimated that approximately 4000 people may have died. The storming of Golden Temple was followed up with a mopping up operation in Punjab's countryside, code named as operation Woodrose, which resulted in thousands of young Sikhs getting picked up. Akal Takhat was totally destroyed and there was outrage in the minds of Sikhs that Indira Gandhi willingly humbled a recalcitrant minority.

In the morning of 31st October, 1984, when Indira Gandhi was going to be interviewed by Petel Vstinov, a well known Film actor, play writer and director for a BBC programme, she was gunned down by her Sikh security guards. She collapsed on the spot. Indira Gandhi's assassination was followed by Delhi Sikh riots, where hundreds of Sikhs were killed by irate mob & their property looted and destroyed. There was killing of Sikhs in Kanpur, Indore, Bokaro and some other cities in India. Nearly three thousand Sikhs died during the five day riot frenzy. PUCL & PUDR published a report saying that the attack on the members of Sikh community in Delhi far from being spontaneous expression of madness & of popular grief and anger at Mrs. Gandhi’s assassination, were orchestrated by important politicians of Congress & by authorities in the administration. The report mentioned the names of sixteen important Congress politicians, thirteen police officers and one hundred & ninety eight others accused by survivors & eye witnesses. The report by the citizens for democracy led by former Supreme Court justice V.M. Tarakunde concluded that the carnage was organized by the ruling party. Nine commissions of inquiry to investigate Delhi carnage were set up but nothing substantial was done against the culprits excepts some grants & cases against Sajjan Kumar etc.

Rajiv Gandhi came to power after the thumping majority in Lok Sabha elections. The process of negotiations began and Akali Dal President Harchand Singh Longowal was released. The then Governor Punjab, Sh. Arjun Singh started negotiations. In the meantime,
on May 10, 1985, series of bomb explosions started in Delhi & Haryana (Tiphin carrier bombs) which left around 100 persons dead. 329 persons were killed in June, 1985 in bombing of Air India jet. AISSF claimed responsibility, which did a great damage to the Sikh Political image abroad & in India. Government of India successfully used this incident to put pressure on Canada, USA & UK governments to curb the activities of Sikh groups agitating against the security agencies committing atrocities in Punjab. Rajiv Gandhi signed peace accord with Harchand Singh Longowal, Akali Dal President on 25th July, 1985. The accord was signed with the following points i.e. (a) promised to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab by 26th January, 1986 (b) to set up Tribunal presided over by Supreme Court Judges to adjudicate the river water and territorial disputes within the next three months and (c) to refer the Akali Dal resolution for provincial autonomy to a commission appointed to recommend changes in centre-state relationship to bring out the true federal characteristics of our unitary Constitution. The accord also promised a through enquiry into Delhi killings of November, 1984, to withdraw the AFSPA and to restore the rule of law and human rights in Punjab. Longowal said, “the period of confrontation between the Akalis and the centre is over. We are fully satisfied with the package. But AISSF, the faction of Akali Dal led by Bhinderanwale’s father and so called moderate leaders like Badal & Tohra rejected the accord. There was mixed reaction to the accord. Hardliner Sikhs opposed the accord tooth & nail saying that the Longowal had sold the Sikhs to the Indian Govt. On 1st August, 1985, Lalit Makan, elected Congress MP & his wife were killed by two gunmen, who escaped on motorcycle. The gunmen were Sikh extremists. Longowal was assassinatd on 20th August, 1985, twenty six days after accord with GOI in the Gurudwara of Sherpur in Sangrur district. Two of the assassins Gian Singh & Malwinder Singh were captured. Jarnail Singh, the third killer was arrested lateron. This left a great void and vacuum as he had acquired a popular image and influence in Punjab. In the coming Punjab Vidhan Sabha elections, Akali Dal led by S. Surjit Singh Barnala of Longowal faction secured 75 seats out of 177 seats and formed the government. Barnala government set up a committee under Justice Bains to examine the cases of detained Sikh extremists & a large number of these were released. There was return of terrorism because of the following reasons. Chandigarh was not transferred to Punjab as promised. The commission on water & territorial disputes under pressure from Haryana was scuttled. The guilty of 1984 November massacre of Sikhs were not punished. The people in general got enchanted with government that government is not serious to bring peace in the
state of Punjab. On 23rd January, 1986, the court in Delhi convicted all the three charged with murder of Smt. Indira Gandhi found guilty & sentenced all of them. On 26th January, 1986, Sarbat Khalsa was called in Golden Temple & formed the 1st Panthic Committee. Jasbir Singh Rode was appointed as Jathedar Akal Takhat who was in jail and Gurdev Singh Kaunke as the acting head in the absence of Rode. The five members panel i.e. Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, Aroor Singh, Dhanna Singh & Gurdev Singh Usmanwala was formed. The Sarbat Khalsa declared the killer of Indira Gandhi as the first martyr of Khalistan. It also endorsed the demolition of Akal Takhat built by the Government & to rebuild it under the supervision of Damdami Taksal.85

Arjan Singh, the Governor of Punjab an architect of Rajiv-Longowal accord was replaced by Sh. Sidhharth Shankar Ray, former C.M. of West Bengal, who had crushed the Naxalite movement in W.B. Sh. J.F. Rebeiro was appointed as DGP of Punjab. Ribeiro escaped an attempt on his life in PAP Mess Jalandhar.

On 13th April, 1986, Damdami Taksal, the United Akali Dal and the Panthic Committee convened the second Sarbat Khalsa at the Akal Takhat inside Golden Temple complex, passed a resolution called as Gurmata or the verdict of the Guru and called on the Sikhs of Punjab to break the shackles of slavery and strive for Khalsa Rule. The congregation demanded the full implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the release of all detained Sikhs, punishment to the persons responsible for November riots of 1984 Delhi carnage, the rehabilitation of Sikh Army deserters, legal action against the police officials responsible for fake encounters and an end to building of SYL canal. Sh. J.F. Ribeiro, DGP of Punjab complained to CM against the political interference in day to day police working. On 29th April, 1986, the Panthic Committee announced in the Golden Temple the establishment of sovereign Khalistan. It also announced the setting up of Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) under ex-police official Manbir Singh Chaheru alias General Hari Singh to lead the armed struggle to liberate the Khalistan from the Indian occupation. The security forces raided the Golden Temple with the code named “Operation black Thunder-I” and arrested approximately around 300 activists. Most of the ring leaders had escaped the Golden Temple after the announcement of formation of Khalistan. The operation Black Thunder-I resulted in resignation of two important ministers i.e. Capt. Amrinder Singh and S. Sukhjinder Singh. S. Parkash Singh Badal and S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra gave up the membership of Working

85 Id p. 197
86 Id p. 212
Committee of Akali Dal (L) to protest the desecration\textsuperscript{87} S. Surjit Singh Barnala had to undergo religious punishment announced by the edict of Jathedar Akal Takhat. The violence stepped up in the urban areas & there was a demand of deployment of Army in Punjab. In January, 1987, Sh. Darshan Singh Ragi was appointed as Jathedar Akal Takhat, who was committed to the concept of just peace. Darshan Singh Ragi took steps to unify all the Sikh groups under Sh. Simranjit Singh Mann, former IPS officer and five member presidency i.e. Talwandi, Thekedar, Badal, Ganga Singh of Taksal and Joginder Singh Father of Bhinderanwale to run the affairs of the party until the release of Simranjit Singh Maan. The new Akali Dal declared its goal which included the declaration of Amritsar as a holy city, the release of Sikhs detained at Jodhpur & in other jails, the rehabilitation and recruitment of Sikh Army deserters, a judicial enquiry in to the faked encounters & the withdrawal of false cases against the Sikh youths. In the meantime, Rajiv Gandhi, the PM, appointed Acharya Sushil Muni & Sunil Dutt to hold talks with Darshan Singh Ragi to hold negotiations with the activists. Mr. J.F. Rebeiro said that the only solution to the problem is to win over the moderate Sikhs, who so far have been silent in the face of violence.\textsuperscript{88} On 11\textsuperscript{th} May, 1987, the Central Government dismissed Barnala Government and dismissal was welcomed by the United Akali Dal, the Taksal, the AISSF and the Panthic Committee.

No hardliner or militant group was ready to talk to Central Government as they were fully divided. There was negotiation with Jasbir Singh Rode on these terms:-
1. To arrange the installation of Jasbir Singh Rode as Jathedar of Akal Takhat.
2. To provide adequate weapons to drive out those who oppose the deal.
3. To facilitate free movement to meet the top militant leaders.
4. To assure for the rehabilitation of surrendered militants.
5. To facilitate the holding of Sarbat Khalsa at Bhatinda on April 13, 1988 for announcing the final settlement with the government and formal scooping of the declaration of Khalistan. The formula was accepted by the Government and the top militants & Jasbir Singh Rode & ors were released on 3\textsuperscript{rd} March, 1988. Rode was crowned as Jathedar Akal Takhat on 9\textsuperscript{th} March, 1988. There was conflict in the approach of solution within IB, Punjab Police and some other channels. In the mean time, the terrorists started fortifying the Golden Temple premises. A new type of violence started in Punjab in which Sikhs were opposed to the terrorists were being eliminated. Rocket Launchers were used to attack police posts\textsuperscript{89}.

\textsuperscript{87} Id p.214
\textsuperscript{88} Id p.222
\textsuperscript{89} Id p.233
Weapons were pouring into Punjab from across the border. Rajiv Gandhi had said to Financial Times, London in an interview that the brute police force only cannot solve the problem. We have to have other channels and we are trying our best to end the terrorists violence in Punjab. Peace talks were opened with Panthic Committee members Kanwaljit Singh, Manochahal and Dalwinder Singh and no fruitful results were achieved. Mr. Ribeiro retired as DGP Punjab on April, 1988 and was made the Advisor to the Governor S.S.Ray. KPS Gill came in as DGP Punjab. When the situation worsened in the Golden Temple, security forces launched operation Black Thunder-II in the Golden Temple in May, 1988. Water and Electricity were cut off to compel the terrorists to surrender. The operation was fully televised & it was open to the press. Some militants surrendered and 10 day government blockage of the shrine ended on 18th May, 1988. The Governor of Punjab said that operation represented a victory for the Sikh Faith. The 46 Sikh extremists who occupied the shrine had left behind a stinky desolation with brimming backets of urine and excreta on the marble floors. The gold-plated Harmander Sahib was not damaged, save for one broken window. Jagir Singh and Malkiat Singh Ajnala, Panthic Committee members were killed & KPS Gill emerged as hero of Punjab. This operation had also given an idea to have a Galiara around Golden Temple so that in future, the terrorists should not be able to sneak to the holy shrine area. SGPC secretary Bhan Singh and head priest of Golden Temple Giani Sohan Singh were assassinated on 25th July, 1988 by two unknown gunmen. In August, Darshan Singh returned as the head priest of Akal Takhat on the insistance of the SGPC but he vowed to limit his functioning to religious responsibilities.

Dr. Sohan Singh, former Director, Health Services Punjab, a close relative of S. Swaran Singh, IAS was appointed as head of 2nd Panthic Committee. Dr. Sohan Sigh was close to Damdami Taksal. This Panthic Committee had its under Babbar, KLF, KCF, AISSF. Jaspal Singh & Dhanna Singh were other two members of Panthic Committee. ParmjitSingh Panjwar & Daljit Singh Bittu were other members. Bitoo played an important role of promoting Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala as KLF chief. In November, 1989, Parliamentary election, Janta Dal won the elections & Rajiv Gandhi’ congress was defeated. V.P. Singh became the P.M. In Punjab Simranjit Singh’s Party won the majority seats. Government released Simranjit Singh Mann & other Akali leaders. Mann set out the following conditions for the government fo fulfil before he could start negotiations:-

1. Expression of repentance for the army assault on the Golden Temple.

90 Id p.244
91 Id p. 258
2. Adoption of motion in both Houses of Parliament to condole the Sikhs who had been killed during the November 1984 carnage.

3. Pardon for the Sikh Soldiers who had mutinied in the wake of Operation Blue Star.


5. Repealing of the laws violating of Fundamental rights of the citizens. There was a objection in the Mann’s group of MPs on the taking oath in Parliament with the swords.

Immediately after taking over as P.M. by Sh. V.P. Singh, he visited Golden Temple in Amritsar. The gesture thrilled the Sikhs and it gave some hope of amicable solution. On 11th January, 1990, P.M. Sh. V.P. Singh again visited the state of Punjab (Ludhiana), where he walked freely among cheering crowds of Sikhs and Hindus and unveiled a package of reforms to help give peace a chance. Mann raised the demand of releasing jailed Sikhs and repealing of all emergency laws and withdrawal of all special powers given to police and paramilitary forces. On Ludhiana visit, PM announced some of the concessions and suggested the holding of Vidhan Sabha Elections. Mann demanded Quebec (Canada) type of autonomy to Sikhs in Punjab as a solution to the Punjab problem. Mann did not take oath in Parliament. Mr. V.P. Singh PM said that election in Punjab will not be held until the situation eases. In the mean time, Harminder Singh Sandhu, who was released from Jodhpur jail was killed and the responsibility was taken by the second Panthic Committee with the plea that Sandhu was planted by the government agencies to sabotage the Sikh struggle.

Now there was alignment of two Panthic Committees. one comprising of BTFK (M), KCF (Rajasthani) and AISSF (Manjit) and the second axis comprised AISSF (Bittu), KCF (Panjwar), KCF (Jaffarwal), BTFK (Rachhpal), KLF (Budh Singh Wala) and Babbar Khalsa. The second axis was close to 2nd Panthic Committee. Manochahal broke away from first Panthic Committee to form his own third one. Second Panthic Committee thwarted all the moves of Mann group accusing him to be playing in the hands of Indian agencies. Attinderpal Singh took oath of Membership of Lok Sabha. SGPC appointed Ranjit Singh killer of Nirankari Baba as Jathedar of Akal Takhat. Government of V.P. Singh fell in November 1990 through defections engineered by Chander Shekhar, the Presidnet of Janta Dal and he took over as P.M. with the help of Congress. Congress withdrew support from Chander Shekhar Government on 6th March, 1991 and he had to resign. President ordered the

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92 Id p. 274
93 Id p.282
fresh poll of Parliament on March, 1990. Though the efforts were made to resolve the crisis but no substantial result was achieved. Chander Shekhar suffered from two handicaps: misplaced self-righteousness and incapability to match intelligence and strategic inputs to his political scheme of things. In the meantime, Governor Virender Verma was replaced by Sh. O.P. Malhotra, former chief of Indian Army. The terrorist crime had gone very high. There were assassinations of innocent persons, policemen & their families and more number of Sikhs were being killed. Sh. K.P.S. Gill, the DGP of Punjab was replaced by Sh. D.S. Mangat IPS. Sh. Chandra Shekhar and Sh. S.S. Mann held parleys to settle the Punjab problem. Sh. Mann put up a condition that the militants should also be invited for talks on Punjab settlement. Ultimately, the elections to Punjab Vidhan Sabha were ordered to be held in May, 1991. Different political parties fielded their candidates except Congress which boycotted the elections. A large number of candidates were killed. On 20th May, 1991, Rajiv Gandhi was killed. In 1991 Lok Sabha elections, Congress was returned as the single largest party in Lok Sabha. Sh. Narsimha Rao, a completely loyal to Gandhi family took over as P.M.of India with the help of independent and marginal parties. Under the instructions from P.M., the elections to Vidhan Sabha were cancelled by Chief Election Commission or just 24 hrs before these were scheduled to be polled. The cancellation of elections were criticized by different political parties and Governor O.P. Malhotra resigned in protest. Sh. Surinder Nath IPS (Retd.) was appointed as Governor of Punjab and he had the experience of handling Punjab as advisor to Governor posted in February, 1984, three months before the Operation Blue Star. Sh. KPS Gill returned as DGP Punjab and paramilitary force was also strengthened by deploying Army numbering 12000. TADA was enacted and the laws against terrorists were enforced strictly. Akali leaders were totally frustrated and decided to stay away from polls, which were held on 19th February, 1992. Almost all Sikhs boycotted the poll and the percentage of voting was very low. Congress won with a huge majority and S. Beant Singh took over as CM Punjab on 25th February, 1992. There was again spate of violence in Punjab when a large number of families of policemen were killed. In the beginning of 1993, the sudden speed of normalcy returned. A large number of terrorists either killed or surrendered. The killings by the terrorists went down drastically. There was almost complete normalcy in the state barring stray incident of terrorism. No terrorist crime was reported in the border zone during 1993. Sh. Surinder Nath, Governor of Punjab died in air crash along with nine members of his family in Manali (H.P.).

94 Id p.285
95 Id p.296
On 31st August, 1995, S. Beant Singh was blown up in a car bomb explosion in the Civil Secretariat. On 11th September, 1995 Jaswant Singh Khalra, a human rights activist was abducted from his Amritsar house and reportedly killed. SSP Ajit Singh Sandhu committed suicide on 23rd May, 1997 by jumping before a train near Chandigarh.

After 10 years of wrangling and denial by the state agencies, NHRC with regard to disappearances of persons in Punjab leading to mass cremations with its order dated October 10, 2006 awarded arbitrary sum of compensation to 1245 victims. The state has rehabilitated all the protagonists of Khalistan i.e. Jagjit Singh Chauhan (Since dead), Dr. Sohan Singh (Since dead), Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, Daljit Singh Bittu, Jasbir Singh Rode, Manjit Singh and their associates.

The Sikhs in Punjab at that time, were divided in to four groups/categories:-

1. The moderates
2. Radicles
3. The democratic militants who espouse a turn strategy of Parliamentary politics and armed struggle to obtain a separate Sikh state of Khalistan.
4. The armed militants who pursue the armed struggle for Khalistan and condemn the use of Parliamentary politics.96

The things started with Sri Anandpur Sahib Resolution passed by Akali Dal in 1973. This was reiterated in 1978, which rose to much controversy. Sh. Tohara & Sh. Basant Singh Khalsa expressed that the Centre should have accepted it since it is based on logic. Some Akali leaders said that Govt. is unfair as it has gone back the pre-partition assurances given to Sikhs by Gandhi Ji and Pandit Nehru. Centre and some non-Sikh groups attributed Sri Anandpur Sahib Resolution as secessionist. Urban people felt discriminated by this resolution as it was pro-rural area people. It was generally felt that Centre should be strong. Akali Dal advocated decentralization of powers keeping in view the concept of Federal structure. The most emotive issue was water problem on the basis of riparian law. The Punjabis felt that the water of three rivers meant for Punjab is being stolen and given to Haryana and Rajasthan.

Immediately after Independence, the then Home Minister Sh. Patel authored a circular that, “Sikhs are a criminal community and should be kept under surveillance. The Sikhs felt highly aggrieved. The prudent Akali leader added that, “1947 in fact marks the beginning of a far more bitter life and assorting struggle when Sikhs were declared as Criminal class”. Bhinderanwale gave a call for Khalistan and supported a movement for freedom.

96 Id P-313
People thronged in big number to hear his speeches. The handful of terrorists with the help of foreign powers joined the chorus of Bhinderanwale, who gave them weapons, money and support. The Punjab people were totally polarized but there was no communal problem. Akalis in general agitated for the amendment of Article 25, since it identifies Sikhs as a part of Hindu religion. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, S. G.S. Tohra, S. Basant Singh Khalsa and other leaders pronounced in anguish, “When the Sikhs to their bitter experience feel their very existence short of honour, it prompted them to whip up discontentment and to show manifestive fight in an invioable self identity”. So it took them to think of their mental sufferings and consequently they took it incumbent on their part to fight for their basic birth right as human being and to get entitlement to the sharing of their rights, fruits of better civilization etc. For awakening the Govt., they adopted the recourse of agitations, though methodically. The threat of violence escalated after the assassination of Baba Gurbachan Singh head of Nirankari Mission and his personal bodyguards on April 24, 1980. It was followed by the killing of Lala Jagat Narain of Hind Samachar Group, Jalandhar. Giani Ji, the then Home Minister of India supported Bhinderanwale in order to create problem for S. Darbara Singh, who was C.M. of Punjab.

A Dharam Yudh Morcha was launched by Akalis. According to Sant Longowal and Sant Bhinderawale, the concept of Khalistan was, “It has become necessary now to carve out of the present Punjab, a separate autonomous Sikh State, which is the minimum demand of Sikh Panth as a whole and this is the only political struggle and objective we have”.

Bhinderanwale said about Khalistan, “I neither support Khalistan nor I am against it. The faith, I am not prepared to accept Hindus suppressing the Sikhs. For this, If I am given the gift of Khalistan, I will accept it.” The views of G.S. Tohra and other Akali leaders were, “The Govt. is to do something to demonstrate to the Sikh assuring to the effect that their families and their religion are safe and secure in India and they need not to worry on this issue.” They further added, “the main issue which haunts the Sikh psyche is whether in and outside the Punjab, they have the self respect and the security of religion is there”. There was a resolution which Sant Harchand Singh Longowal had put up in the General House at Teja Singh Samundari Hall on 29th March 1989, declaring that, “Sikh is a separate entity, a separate existence and has a separate identity. The senior Akali leaders like Tohra, Khalsa etc added that the priority is to bring Punjab Problem back to the political plane and the problem/disputes negotiable should have their way to more rancor and remove frustration amongst the people of Punjab. The issue of Khalistan will be reversed when frustration is
reversed\textsuperscript{97}.

Looking at the economic factor, Punjab farmer’s interest should always be protected since this state provides 60\% of the food to the remaining part of India. Hence, the Punjab Agriculture must be kept in mind from National Point of view. Punjab is not given proper share out of its central pool/funds. S. Tohra and S. Longowal felt that the Sikhs of Punjab had been discriminated in the socialistic field. According to them, “agriculture is the main profession of Punjab and 85\% of the total population depends upon this profession. But, this has been largely hit, since major portion of water of its two rivers have been unduly allotted to the adjoining states, which being non-riparian is not entitled to it. This is because of the fact when Punjab’s total requirement of water for irrigation purpose is 52 million acre feet as against of total 32 million acre feet water available from its rivers. In fact, the centre has given step motherly treatment to Punjab, even in this field, aiming to destroy the economic structure of Sikhs. The main demands of Akalis were transfer of Chandigarh and Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab, status of Punjabi language, control of head works and autonomy to the state. According to Akali leadership, Mrs. Gandhi is not bad at heart but she was being misguided by the coteri around her mainly Giani Zail Singh and S. Buta Singh.

When the Government failed to arrive at any decision, it aggravated the situation. The aggressive elements out of the terrorists turned more tough and hostile because the police had made excesses on the innocent people in the villages. It was felt that most of the Sikh terrorists were the creation of excesses by the security forces and repressive laws. The Govt. failed to study the mind of the people and remove the cordon of discrimination of the Sikhs. Punjabi Sikhs while launching morcha felt that it was because of Hindus& thus Hindus are their enemies. This phenomenon generated hatred and discrimination which led to the confrontation between Hindus & Sikhs in Punjab. Hindus felt that Punjab is not the exclusive preserve of Sikhs only. No doubt, Hindu-Sikh relations is a common phenomenon and are wedded to each other in deep affinity. The exploitation of their religious views for political ends has worsened the relation towards dangerous channels. Operation Blue Star totally alienated the Sikhs. Inspite of this, Rajiv-Longowal Accord was reached on Punjab on July 24, 1985 but Badal faction of Akali Dal did not welcome it.

Security forces launched Woodrose Operation in Punjab, which further annoyed the rural population. There were allegations of fake encounters and custodial deaths. A large numbers of Sikh youth were put in jail. The detainees were tortured. All this led to the divide

\textsuperscript{97} Minaj, Prof.; \textit{Contemporary History- India (1978-2002)}, Clinto Publication, Chandigarh-2007 pp. 305-307
between Hindus & Sikhs. Tarn-Taran area was worst affected in relation to human rights violations. It was alleged that Baba Charan Singh, Baba Hardyal Singh and Baba Resham Singh were eliminated by the security forces. The disappearance of Jaswant Singh Khalra from his house was resented even by America as he was alleged to be working for CIA. S. Tohra and PUDR took up his case. Ultimately, Supreme Court entrusted the investigation to CBI and some senior officials of Tarn Taran police were convicted for life imprisonment. The human rights organizations activists such as PHRO of justice Ajit Singh Bains, AISSF of Rajinder Singh Mehta, D.S. Gill, a human rights activist, Tapan Bose, Jaspal Dhillon etc alleged that about 3000 bodies have been burnt/buried unidentified. There was a great resentment on the implications of youth under TADA. S. Mulgaonkar, a journalist of repute also feared that some provisions of TADA could be used even against the Press. He added, “prohibiting or regulating the possession or use of any means of recording or communicating information, preventing the disclosure of officials secrets and ensuring the accuracy of any report and the Govt. could use them arbitrarily.”

4.5 HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AND PREVENTIVE DETENTION

In order to check the misuse of freedom by antisocial and subversive elements, the government usually enforces preventive detention as to put an end to it. It is seen that the politician misuse through the police i.e. detaining any person without giving any reason and putting the person in jail without any trial. The launching of Dharam Yudh Morcha by Akalis brought more human rights violations. The assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi aggravated the situation.

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer (Late), a Judge of Supreme Court during the course of his visit to Chandigarh in 1995 said, “The judicial commission must be appointed by the government with special reference to the happenings in Punajb, Delhi & other places”. He was invited to Punjab & Haryana High Court Bar Association to speak on civil liberties. He further said “what prompted the formulation of hit squads, their activities in Punjab, the incidents preceding operation Blue Star, the operation itself and the incidents following it should be looked into by the commission”98.

Justice Ranga Nath Mishra, the then chairperson of NHRC on Nov 14, 1995, expressed serious concern about dismal condition of many prison in the country. He remarked that Punjab took the law unto themselves and crossed the limit. In fact, it lost its direction.

Allahabad High Court observed on 09.01.1996 that the state agencies were prima

98 Id p. 94
facie guilty of the violation of fundamental human rights. It further added that it could be no part of the official duties of the Government servants to shoot, molest or rape unprotected citizens. Justice Ajit Singh Bains is learned to have helped about 500 people from various angles on human rights violations. It has been learnt that advocates like Ranjan Lakhan Pal and Sethi advocated about 2000 cases of torture, custodial deaths and other abuses of human rights. NHRC chairperson on his visit to Punjab from April 16 to 18, 1997 said that in the public mind, there is a prevailing feeling about the police being above the law, working on its own scheme and accountable to none. A large number of delegation that met the commission were of the view that terrorism in Punjab had only been suppressed and not totally eliminated. It said that the rights violations put up to the commission fell into 3 categories.(1) There were complaints against the police of arbitrary arrest, disappearance, custodial deaths and fake encounters resulting in killings. Besides, there were also complaints of detention by the police and non-production of detained persons before the Magistrates, abuse of preventive detention under TADA and the illegal occupation of property by the police (2) There were complaints of killings, torture, kidnappings, extortion and rape by the terrorists. Moreover, they also interrupted normal life through enforcement of ruthless code of conduct. (3) The 3rd categories of complaints related to inadequate payment of compensation to the families of victims of terrorism who met discrimination.

There was lot of reaction in US on the denial of human rights in Punjab. On May 15, 1994, 42 out of 435 members of house of representatives in Washington wrote to President Clinton protesting against denial of human rights in Punjab and urged to ask for self determination in Punjab, when he meets the Prime Minister of India, Sh. P.V. Narsimha Rao. They pointed out that even after 1992 elections, atrocities by the security forces have not stopped, instead there is an increase. The people of Punjab are facing genocide at the hands of central rulers.

It is felt that the approach of government/security forces should have been on the wise-saying of William Blackstone “it is better that 10 guilty persons escape than one innocent suffers. Do not harm an innocent even if a terrorist escapes.” Thus the government here was all failure to win hearts and minds of the people. It can be said of the security forces in Punjab, “if you do not have cause, invent one and enjoy the controversy.”

Punjab Human Rights Commission came into existence on 08-09-1998 with a seminar held in Sector 34, Chandigarh. The first convention was dedicated to the memory of Jaswant Singh Khalra, a human right activist. In the second convention presided over by Justice Kuldip Singh (SC Judge Retd.) asked the Akali government in Punjab to constitute a
truth commission since the Akalis in its manifesto had pledged to investigate all reports of human rights violations in the state. The committee for coordination on disappearance of people came in to existence in Punjab on Nov, 9 1997. The committee for information and initiative on Punjab, PHRO, IHRO, the movement against state repression, World Human Rights Protection Council, Lawyers for Human Rights, Khalra Action Committee, BKU, Akali Dal (Wadala), Akali Dal (Maan), Akali Dal (Panthic), Punjab Janta Morcha, BSP, International Democratic party, Babbar Akali Dal, Akal Federation and World Sikh Council also joined the committee for coordination on Disappearance. A socialist, Ram Narain Kumar was appointed the convener of the committee. Justice Kuldip Singh added that we are committed to do something for the hurt people of Punjab. By that time, Punjab State Human Rights Commission had started functioning effectively.

In 1983, when the situation had worsened, the Central government took some strong steps and declared Punjab as disturbed area but it was assured by the then P.M. that Army will not be sent to Punjab. Another step was the removal of Darbara Singh Ministry because it failed to cope with the situation. No proper action was taken against Bhinderanwale which led to the deterioration of the situation. The weapons used by terrorists were AK-47, explosives and low cost intensity material. Some sections of the Sikhs called the killer groups as revolutionaries fighting for some cause and in this way, both the security forces and the terrorists were at par regarding the violations of human rights. The investigation of the various cases led to the fact that the Sikh terrorists were the remains of Naxalite movement. When they were in the jail they got in touch with Akali leaders who were put in jail during emergency. The naxalites when they came out of jail flocked around Bhinderanwale. The Nirankaris clash in 1978 exhorted them to indulge in violence. The Panthic Committee under Wassan Singh Zaffarwal was formed. In 1990, five more Panthic Committee were formed but Panthic Committee of Dr. Sohan Singh was the most dreaded. KLF, BTFK, KCF and Babbars were very active and killed a number of innocent people. There were three categories of terrorists.

1. First is the crusaders who had some cause in the form of struggle for movement in support of something, believed to be good or against something believed to be bad. Babbars started virtually as crusaders.

2. Second are the quasi-crusaders or criminals, who are murderers, rapists and extortionists. In the mid period, most of the terrorists joined for lust of sex, extortions and for revenge/enmity.

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The third are crazies who are single mined and do not have any concrete objective but are widely excited or enthusiastic. They are publicity hungry to impress the people close to them.

In Punjab, most of the terrorists who were patronized by Bhinderanwale and other diehard Akali group were criminals. Punjab terrorism, in fact was a nexus of smugglers, robbers, murderers and rapists duly supported by political parties and religious bigots, which was the most unfortunate affair for the people of Punjab. On the role of police, a bulletin issued by PUCL in the year 1982 observed, “the police is taking the law in to its own hands and physically exterminating the individuals. Political and social dissent enmity misunderstanding and at times, even suspicion have activated the police to ill-treat us. In 1990s, Punjab police achieved success to divert the attempts of reviving ISI sponsored terrorism in the state and it faced a new challenge as massive pro-Khalistani propaganda on the cyber world or internet.

In 1988, there was operation Black Thunder which was seen by the whole world. The Sikh masses were so disgusted to see their activities in Darbar Sahib that they were rated as worst criminals. Year 1991 was the peak of terrorism, when a large number of families of policemen were killed. The new Govt. took over in Feb, 1992 and S. Beant Singh took over as C.M. Punjab & Sh. KPS Gill was the DGP. The terrorism breathed its last in the beginning of 1993. S. Beant Singh sacrificed his life for the sake of peace in Punjab, when he was killed in a blast in the Civil Secretariat on August 31, 1995. At present, the Sikh terrorists are lying low except Babbars, KZF and KFC (Punjwar) outfits preparing for terrorist crime under the ISI in Pakistan. However, Islamic outfits LeT & IM are quite active in whole of India.

While going deep into all aspects of terrorism and human rights, one comes to conclusion that many innocent persons were dragged into the dragnet of horror and torments. They were compelled to scream and shed tears. When the young boys saw their women folk insulted, stripped and their family members harassed, they were compelled to take revenge and join the terrorist groups. When some people were let off after taking bribe, the boys were compelled to join the various groups to arrange for the money they had paid. It is felt that the supervisory officers were more responsible. It was natural that retaliatory war started against the police and the people in general turned against the government and the security forces. At night time, the anti-social elements ruled in the state. There was no-body to listen and remove the grievances of the people. Anti-social elements, so called terrorists looted, raped and heaped insult on women folk. They killed the innocent people. They even took side of various
feuds going in the area. They were hired to take revenge, so the people were so much frustrated, that they had to push one member of the family into terrorist groups. Security forces including Army and CRPF/BSF killed the people without verifying the antecedents. Six persons including a child of 17 years were killed by BSF in village Burj Nathoke PS Patti, when they were going to have diesel from the nearby petrol pump. The retrograde character of the security forces was really apprehensive but Government supported them blindly. Army should not have been used to deal with such situation as Army shots to kill, which created more problems than solving. When basic human rights are usurped, civil disobedience takes place in human society and the reactionary forces stand up against the oppression. This complicates the situation. It is the duty of the government to give justified solution to the problems of people and help them to find a solution.

Violence is not a solution to any situation. Though, pre-partition, the violence is eulogized but ultimately, non violence pays. As per Chinese theory, kill one and frighten 1000 should be adopted. When a religious sentiment is attached, it becomes the worst and Bhinderanwale exploited this. We have to take steps to check cross-border terrorism. We have to check the exploitation of youth by religious bodies. As compared to any terrorist movement, the loss of life and property by the terrorists in Punjab is much more. It has resulted in the killing of more than 25000 persons as reported by various sources⁹⁹. The violence has left 13000 widows and has adversely affected the lives of around 1 lakh children. It has tried its best to fracture the social fabric but cudos to the Punjabis, they could not be entrapped by the nefarious designs of the terrorists. No body has tried to analyse the reasons of the background except political demogoges. Therefore, the victories of S. Beant Singh and Sh KPS Gill were celebrated and the elimination of one of them produced a fear reaction. Rather, there was need to independently probe the reasons of violence in Punjab and find out the solutions. The authority should try to redress the grievances to put an end to the menace. This approach has overlooked the latent violence. The mass focus of this approach was to target individual perpetrators of violence. The policemen focused on the elimination of the terrorists and an even judiciary punishing the individual policemen, the message sent was that this is the remedy of the violence in Punjab, which is not correct. Terrorism, is not merely a state of mind but it is a political strategy. If you want to silence the gun, it should confront the politics and ideology of terrorism. We generally feel that the terrorism is merely a law & order problem, which is not correct. It is

⁹⁹ Kumar, Parmod; Violence in Punjab-Retrospect & prognosis -2010 p.11
imperative to point out here that violence is the result of certain social conditions and is also inseparable from the existence and functioning of social and political institutions. Therefore, it is highly necessary to understand factors which have given birth to violence. In order to advance a conceptual framework, we must therefore:

a. Analyse the reasons, justification and manifestation of violence.

b. Have a correct assessment of the nature, character and longevity of violence in Punjab.

c. Suggest an alternative approach to understand and counter the violence.

Historically, violence in Punjab has been considered a legitimate mode of political discourse. Both cultural and religious practices have attributed as positive value to the user of violence for retrieving dignity and fighting evil. The Sikh religious traditions legitimize the use of violence, provided it has basis in human values. But a militancy based on humanism was subordinate to martial militancy by the vested interests.

Punjab has history of movements which used violence as a method of interest articulation and received a positive response from the people. Kuka Movement launched in 1858 by Baba Ram Singh at Bhaini Sahib in Ludhiana District was militant and anti-imperialistic in Character. Ghaddar Movement was also militant in nature. Babbar Akalis were anti-imperialist and believed in physical elimination of British agents and informers. Red communist party also used violence as mode of its course in PEPSU. These historical conditions manifested into sort of structural violence and individual violence in the state. This gave the state different identity groups which co-existed and at time competed and resulted in violence. The mobilization on communal lines resulted in to partition of Punjab in 1947 and division of Punjabi speaking people in 1966. Then came the three factions of Akali Dal. The three trends within the Akalil Dal can be indentified as i.e. (1) standing for autonomy but without unduly distorting the existing political arrangements, (2) demanding self determination within the Constitutional framework and (3) raising the slogans of Khalistan. Hence various factions could not come together because of matter of competency to outfit other groups. This provided an ideological cover for the use of violence to register claim.

Green revolution surpluses and unemployment at large scale aggravated the situation. The growth of religious fundamentalism has its roots in rapid modernization which was exploited by the like of Bhinderanwale. Thus, cultural and social development could not keep the pace with the prosperity brought about by the green revolution. This led to the social terrorism. The demand for an independent Sikh state could not find a forceful expression in political
discourse and war raised as a slogan by a marginal political leadership and the mainstream political forces did not articulate the demand for Khalistan. There was no mass support for Khalistan because of the brutal sensational killings and totally mishandling the situation politically and administratively. The most visible dimension provided support to the so called Khalistan seems to be an external stimulus. The protagonists of Khalistan hoped that the Sikhs will effectively intervene and restructure the geography of the region. The protagonists of Khalistan felt that there was danger of increasing resurgence of Hinduism and thus there would be discrimination against the Sikhs. Sikhs have sacrificed everything for the country from feeding, sharing millions to defining glory of Bharat Mata and what they got in turn was operation Blue Star and November riots”. Instead of Khalistan, there is a demand for autonomy of the state which is the central issue in Punjab politics.

The basic thrust of various ruling groups in Punjab during the last decade was (1) an appeasement of extremists sections, (2) making democratic methods of interest articulation ineffective and rendering moderate politics irrelevant, (3) negotiation with various political groups for sharing power without addressing the real issue, (4) undermining the nexus of competitive politics by dismissing the popular government and not holding elections, (5) after the Akalis boycotted the 1991 state assembly elections, they ceased to be perceived threat to the legislative politics. This brought about a qualitative shift in politics. Consensus against terrorism became a reality and (6) the excessive use of physical force and frequent misuse of PMF to resolve political and economic issues have provided legitimacy to such actions and prevented non-violent tactics, such as fast. The staged encounters and non-trial of individuals by the courts made a mockery of the judicial system. Delays in trials and the harassment caused to the innocent are examples of malfunctioning and insensitivity. The prevalence of underground economic activity and the cultural affinity of the migrant population of Punjab with the people in adjoining villages of Pakistan, accelerated the process of criminalization under communal environment which soon acquired legitimacy. In a nutshell, apprehension of deprivation, the criminalization of the politics, lack of representation in the participatory political situation and above all, the absence of progressive, social and political mobilization gave an impetus to the growth of terrorism in this region.

The strategy adopted by militants and state was the same i.e. both attempted to acquire legitimacy and out do the adversary in the process. In the certain places, the extremists derived legitimacy from Amrit Parchar and religious codes, which persisted till 1986. In the second phase, the militants used force to acquire legitimacy. A number of panthic edicts like a dress code for children, a teaching code for the teachers, language, medical,
industrial, water, election, Gurudwaras, Khalsa Panchayat, electricity, banking, revenue and civil bureaucracy codes were promulgated by the militants. This made the militants unpopular and even alienated from Sikh masses. The State on the other hand worked towards isolating the militants and appeared more legitimate in the process. Another strategy adopted by the militants was to communalize the situations. The state remained uniform and responded to the demand of stability raised by the middle class. Thirdly, the state continued successfully to build up a political consensus against terrorism. The militants on the other hand were fragmented into groups and failed to present a united front. With the fall of Russia and steep rise of Islamic fundamentalism, there was no systematic support from the Western World to the terrorists.

Ultimately, the consequences of the militants strategy were that the emphasis was on competing legitimacy and not on legitimacy acquired by involvement of the masses in politics. This alienated the militants from the people and people chose the lesser evil i.e. legitimacy of the state.

Social practices were communalized by the main actors, thereby undermining the constitutional provisions and evading secularization of social responsibility. The political consensus that emerged was forced and not revolved. The question of human rights was approached from a partisan angle. In the process, society was counter posed to the state and vice-versa.

Thus even, though, the peace has returned, the conditions which generated violence still remains. The interaction of a multicultural social reality and the mono-culture nature of the state is fraught with tensions. The recent trend of communal, ethnic or regional cover may increase tension. A transformational political discourse has been replaced by status-quoits politics, marginalizing a large section of people. All this is likely to further compound the crisis. A structural transformation of the economy is the specific need of Punjab. The revival & competitive politics and a functioning administration are important conditions for ensuring peace in Punjab. In conclusion, with the re-emergence of violent form of protest in the context of denial of cultural autonomy, distributive economic justice, non functioning democratic institution and norms of democratic politics, a greater reliance on the repressive state approaches cannot be ruled. Under these conditions, the permanent peace in Punjab will not survive\(^\text{100}\).

In the first table, the yearwise pattern of violence is given and 11752 civilians, 1783

\(^{100}\) Id p.96
security personnel, 180 families of policemen and 8094 terrorists were killed from 1981 to 1997. Table 2 gives the details of security personnel and terrorist killed in Punjab from 1981 to 1993. Table 3 gives the account of number of terrorists arrested and encounters during 1981 to 1993. Thus it is seen that 1991 was the peak year for killing of the civilians by the terrorists and killing decreased abruptly in 1993. This shows that the terrorism was managed effectively in 1993 in Punjab.

### 4.6 TABLE 1: YEAR-WISE PATTERN OF VIOLENCE IN PUNJAB\(^{101}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Civilians killed</th>
<th>Police/PMF killed</th>
<th>Family Member of Police killed</th>
<th>Terrorist Killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>78</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>1988</td>
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<td>110</td>
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<td>378</td>
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<td>1989</td>
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<td>201</td>
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<td>703</td>
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<td>1990</td>
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<td>506</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1411</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>2591</td>
<td>497</td>
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<td>2309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11833</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>8272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{101}\) Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
4.6.1 TABLE 2: NUMBER OF SECURITY PERSONNEL AND TERRORIST KILLED (1981-1993)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Civilians killed</th>
<th>Security Personnel killed</th>
<th>Terrorist Killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>1984</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>910</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>373</td>
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<td>1989</td>
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<td>703</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2591</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>2309</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1591</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>2109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11775</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>8200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

102 Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
### 4.6.2 TABLE 3: NUMBER OF TERRORISTS ARRESTED AND ENCOUNTERS (1981-1993)\(^{103}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Terrorist Arrested</th>
<th>Encounters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>109</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>3750</td>
<td>410</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>3882</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>2466</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>706</td>
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<td>1389</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20034</td>
<td>5529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blue Star Operation, in which a large number of security personnel and terrorists including civilians were killed, enraged the Sikh masses. There was revolt by Sikh Army personnel. In 1984/85, there was Woodrose operation i.e. ruthless combing operation in the villages which annoyed the people. This had totally negative effect. All this planted the seeds of secessionism in the minds of Sikhs. There was Rajiv-Longowal Punjab Accord in 1985, when Longowal said, "the era of confrontation of Sikhs with the Centre is over". After this shortly, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President Akali Dal was killed by terrorists on August 20, 1985. This followed the general elections of Punjab Vidhan Sabha in 1985, where Akali Dal got the thumping majority. S. Surjit Singh Barnala became the Chief Minister of Punjab. He set up the Bains committee to review the cases of detainees, which released a large number of terrorists detained in the jails. This further aggravated the situation in Punjab. There was severe escalation of terrorist crime in Punjab. The Panthic Committee under Manochahal declared the formation of Khalistan on 26th January, 1986 in the Golden

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\(^{103}\) Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
Temple. Because of escalation of terrorist crime in Punjab, Barnala Govt. was dismissed by the Centre. KCF led by Manbir Singh Chaheru was very active. Khalistan Liberation Force under Aroor Singh and BTFK under Manochahal went quite active. All these leaders were in touch with Pakistan.

In 1988, there was operation Black Thunder. Whole of the World saw the desecration of Golden Temple. There was some control on the terrorist activities. Black Thunder revealed that all who surrendered were criminals. Babbars founded their own Panthic Committee. This culminated into Pro-Taksal and anti-Taksal camp. Panthic Committee of Dr. Sohan Singh dominated the scene. Pakistan was playing an active role to propagate the terrorist activities in Punjab. However, there was no identifiable nucleus among the terrorists. 1990/91 was the worst period qua terrorist crime. Doaba and Malwa areas were the worst affected. There were open cells in the major towns. The supremacy of urban terrorism could be seen in Punjab. Some incidents of communal backlash were also reported in Punjab. BJP, RSS and Shiv sena leaders were the targets. There were two big Railway massacres in Ludhiana, in which 125 persons were killed. In 1991, elections were ordered but were called off due to demise of Sh. Rajiv Gandhi. Around 28 candidates were killed by the terrorists. There was again announcement of Punjab Vidhan Sabha election in 1992 and Akali boycotted. There was great threat from Pakistan to discredit the elections. With 24% of voting, Congress Govt. under S. Beant Singh as CM was formed. There was mass killing of families of policeman. Ultimately, the peace was brought in 1993. S. Beant Singh alongwith 18 others were killed in Bomb blast in Secretariat at Chandigarh in 1995.

Human Rights record of Punjab did not remain upto mark. Bains Committee released the terrorists that they will come to the main stream but it acted otherwise. All those released formed terrorist groups and indulged in massive crime of killing innocent persons. Human Rights Groups from other countries visited Delhi & then Punjab, who were all satisfied with the human rights approach by the security forces, except a few incidents. Jaswant Singh Khalra, a Human Rights activist was killed and the security personnel were prosecuted and convicted.

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer once remarked that "the full Punjab story in its veridical objectivity and dialectic perceptivity remains a challenge to nationalistic courage and holistic vision".104

Sikhs contribute only 2% of the total population of India but they are in majority in

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Punjab State. Sikhs are hard-working and enterprising. Sikh farmers have contributed a lot in food and other eatables in the central pool of India. Sikhs were the backbone in the freedom struggle of the country. They enjoyed a special place in the Army to make our borders secure. They are secular and God fearing and believe in equality and well being of everyone. Pre-partition, they were recognized as 3rd entity after Hindus and Muslims and they had the political aspirations. To achieve the political goal in governance, they started the campaign for the formation of Punjabi speaking state. Pandit J.L. Nehru and Indira Gandhi were opposed to this. A morcha was launched by Akalis to have Punjabi Suba and around 2 lac people courted arrest to form the linguistic state. Ultimately, Punjabi Suba was formed without its capital and other vital limbs. 75% of the Punjab rivers water was diverted to non-riparian states of Haryana and Rajasthan. This way, the creation of Punjabi Suba was mere an eye wash. Akali Dal Govt. in 1978 filed a case in Supreme Court challenging the validity of sections 70-80 of the Punjab reorganization Act of 1966. Indira Gandhi again coming to power dismissed the Akali Govt. New Congress Govt. under S. Darbara Singh as C.M. Punjab withdrew the case from the Supreme Court regarding water dispute leaving deep scars on the politics of Punjab.

Then came on the scene Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale openly defying alleged state tyranny. The process of oppression was started with police atrocities, alleged fake encounters, custodial deaths and free use of paramilitary and police forces to put down the democratic and non-violent movement\textsuperscript{105}. Vicious cycle of violence and vengeance were set in motion due to iniquitous steps taken by the Govt. There were retaliatory killings in Punjab. There was open use of military and paramilitary with tanks and guns in Golden Temple& other Gurudwaras where many hundred innocent civilians were killed. This left a deep scar on the Sikh psyche.

Indira Gandhi was killed by her own Sikh guards and this led to November 1984 massacre of Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of the country. This further alienated and humiliated Sikh Community. In 1985, Rajiv Longowal accord was signed and Barnala Govt. came to power in Punjab. This followed the operation Woodrose i.e. combining operation in rural areas of Punjab resulting in greater annoyance and alienation of Sikhs.

Rajiv Gandhi had said on the killing of her mother by Sikh guards that she had deep love for brave and handsome Sikhs. She thus love the Sikh security guards more for their being faithful in life than any other persons. Moreover she never knew that she would be

\textsuperscript{105} Id p. 41
betrayed by her own children. He said, “If to a religion, people start giving more preference than duty and loyalty, then in future no person or community could be trusted upon, no leader would be safe.”106

4.7 MASTER TARA SINGH - A DEMAND FOR PUNJABI SPEAKING STATE
An agitation to demand a Punjabi speaking state was launched in 1960 under the leadership of Master Tara Singh. Fifty Seven thousand Sikhs courted arrest. Ultimately, on the basis of recommendation of the committee headed by Indira Gandhi, Punjabi Suba as a separate state based on Punjabi Language was conceded by the Centre Governmet. Sharing of water, Punjabi speaking areas and control of BBMB remained soaring points. The Sikhs remained dissatisfied. Punjabi suba was not a state with Sikh majority. Sikhs felt that there has been economic injustice to the state. Whenever, the Akalis won the elections, they were not permitted to rule the state for full term. In one pretext or other, their elected Govts.Were dismissed.Kisans wree not given adequate price of their crops i.e. wheat, cotton etc. There was an open discrimination to the Sikhs in the recruitment to the defence forces i.e. recruitment to the defence forces on the basis of provincial quota. Restrictions were put on for carrying Kirpan, which is the religious symbol of the Sikhs. This was against the spirit of Article 25 of the Constitution. The right of the Sikhs to wear and carry Kirpan was also incorporated in the Indian Arms Act-1978107. The wearing or carrying of Kirpan are the very basis and foundation of Sikh psyche and ethos. As per Sri Anandpur Sahib Resolution, India should be a federal country and centre/state relations should be clearly defined. Chandigarh, the capital of Punjab should be handed over to Punjab. Punjabi speaking areas should be merged with Punjab. Control of the headworks should vest in Punjab. Present strength of 20% of Sikhs in Army should be continued. The financial relations between centre and states should be clearly defined and earmarked. Central or State Govt. should not interfere in the religious affairs of the Sikhs. It was alleged that the Central Govt. is supporting and strengthening Nirankaries and other Deras which hit the Sikh religion. Sikhs believe that Guru Granth Sahib JI is the last Guru whereas Deras believe in Dehdhari Guru. Thus Nirankaris and Deras are hurting the Sikh sentiments. Damdami Taksal and Akhand Kirtani Jatha came forward openly to confront the Nirankaris. In a clash at Amritsar on Baisakhi Day of 1978, 14 followers of Akhand Kirtani Jatha were killed. 65 Niankaris leaders were arrested and tried in Karnal but were acquitted. This followed the spate of killings of Nirankari followers. After the death of Sant Kartar Singh, Chief of Damdami Taksal, Sant Jarnail Singh

107 Id p. 120
Bhinderanwale became the head of Taksal. He geared up his activities to counter the anti-sikh activities of the Nirankaris and others. Congress was also keen to project Bhinderanwale in order to counter Akalis. Another Nirankari Sikh clash took place at Kanpur on September 26, 1978, in which more than a dozen Sikhs were killed in police firing. Ultimately, the Govt. led by S. Parkash Singh Badal was dismissed in 1980. Nirankari Chief Baba Gurbachan Singh was killed in Delhi. This followed the killing of Lala Jagat Narain of Punjab Kesari Jalandhar in September, 1981 and Bhinderanwale was named as one the accused person. He was arrested and released. This further led to the spate of killings of innocent persons and political leaders. Shiv Sena came to the scene to oppose the activities of Bhinderanwale and his men. This led to the polarization of Hindus and Sikhs in the state. The turbans of Sikhs were searched at Asiad and hurdles created by Bhajan Lal to search Sikhs crossing through Haryana to Delhi, further strengthened the feeling of alienation among the Sikh community. Dharam Yudh morcha launched by Bhinderanwale on the arrest of Bhai Amrik Singh was further adopted by Akali Dal headed by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and was spearheaded from Sri Darbar Sahib. Though the Govt. released all the agitators on October 15, 1982, yet no demand of Akali Dal was accepted by the P.M. In the meantime, fake encounters, police atrocities and killing of innocent persons by the extremists continued in big way. People started flocking Bhinderanwale. Akali Dal continued staging Dharnas, Rail rook, Rasta roko etc. agitation. The spate of killings by the terrorists forced the Blue Star operation by the security forces after broadcast speech by Indira Gandhi ending with, “do not shed blood, shed hatred”. This followed the Woodrose operation in the rural areas of Punjab. Sikh sentiments already deeply hurt by Blue Star received another jolt and all this enraged the Sikh youth, which led to assassination of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the P.M. As per FIR No. 241 PS Tughalkabad, New Delhi; two of the four accused persons, who were the guards of PM, assassinated her. This led to killing of Sikhs in Delhi, Kanpur, Panipat and other places in India.

Justice V.R. Krishana Iyer said, “if there are 25 anti-terrorist statutes and bloody thirty militia, if human rights are constitutionally murdered by the validation of emergency, if a policeman nearly legally shoot an innocent and no court remedy exists then that country is savage, not civilized. No law justifies sparaying of police bullets except genocidal justice. And yet police encounters are invoked as it were a defensive talisman. And unspeakable tortures in lock ups are so common that they make no news and report of such barbarity are shrugged off with a ‘cannot help stop’. Portions of Punjab were currently out of bound for human rights and social activists. Three thousand Sikhs men, women and children incinerated
or otherwise extinguished in the streets of Delhi did not rouse the Rajiv regime to register even a first information report.\textsuperscript{108}

It is alleged that some of the provisions in our Constitution are undermocratic. The provisions of Article 352-356 of the Constitution are blatantly used to demolish the democratic norms. The emergency was proclaimed in 1975. The operation topple of the state government was resorted to freely. The President’s rule in a state cannot be extended beyond 3 years but in Punjab, it was for 57 months. The Governor sent to Punjab had the background of Army or Police. Article 302 empowers the state to impose restrictions on inter-state trade. Article 249 empowers the centre to encroach on the State List and make inroads into the sphere of the States. Article 22 of the Constitution provides the framework for the enactment of Preventive Detention laws. Thus MISA, DIR, NSA and COEFEPUSA were enacted to browbeat the state politicians.

\textbf{4.7.1 INCREASE IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES}

In Punjab, around 25000 persons have laid down their lives, during the whole span of terrorism wave. A large number of secular minded leaders of the various parties have become victims of separatists/terrorists. The leaders/persons were keeping along the banner of India’s unity, integrity and secularism were assassinated. A large number of innocent persons were killed by the terrorists. The people had a sigh of relief when Rajiv-Longowal accord was signed in July, 1985. Of course, the terrorists denounced it and assassinated Sant Longowal in Gurudwara on August 20, 1985. Barnala Government took reign of the state after the elections were held in September, 1985. There was spate of terrorists crimes after Bains Committee released many terrorists confined in the jails. Mr. J.F. Ribeiro took over as DGP Punjab. When Manochahal declared Khalistan on 29\textsuperscript{th} April, 1986 from the Golden Temple, the security forces were permitted to enter the Golden Temple to flush out and nab the terrorists. Since the terrorists stepped up activities, Barnala government was sacked in 1987.

The following were the main reasons for increase in Terrorist activities:-

(a) The imperialist game to destabilize and even disintegrate our country
(b) Political ambitions of the rural rich.
(c) Use of religiosity and religious fundamentalism on massive scale. Attempt to fight communalism with rural communalism makes its own contribution
(d) Opportunism on the part of major political parties leading to sacrifice of long term interests of the nation and of principles for short term electoral and even factional gains. This has been a big factor in the “Punjab demands” not being implemented

\textsuperscript{108} Id p. 335
(e) Tendency on the part of centre to nibble away the autonomy which the founding fathers of the Constitution gave to the states and its tendency to misuse powers\(^{109}\).

It has been felt that Indian government has been presenting Punjab as a problem province and Sikhs as problem people. The Indian state resorted to genocide of Sikhs in 1984 in Punjab & other places in India. It is really startling that a State which within the first decade of national independence brought into being the Preventive Detention Act, revived the DIR and has since then not looked back and enacted ESMA, MISA, NSA, Disturbed Area Act, Armed Forces Special Powers Act, TADA & POTA. Indian state has never covered itself with glory in the matter of human rights. According to Amnesty International Report, during the late 60s & early 70s, 23000 political activists were killed all over the country. Torture of political persons and of suspects in criminal cases is routine. The entire north-eastern area of India is under Army occupation. Atrocities in J&K of Punjab are unparallel. With the sudden propaganda, Sikhs in Punjab have been isolated from the rest of Indian people. While going through Justice Tiwana Committee report, one finds the harrowing tale of happenings in Ladda Kothi in Sangrur District. The innocent Sikh youth were tortured there. The committee report tabled on the floor of Punjab Assembly was hushed up and no action has been taken against the guilty officers.

Ram Narayan Kumar, a freelance journalist and an active member of Committee for Information and Initiative on Punjab, toured Punjab and helped in saving number of persons by Habeas Corpus writs to Supreme Court and High Court. Justice A.S. Bains of Punjab Human Right Organization (PHRO) had cried hoarse against fake encounters. Fake encounter is an elastic term which covers deaths caused by security forces in a variety of circumstances and re-action not involved in a direct clash with persons killed as claimed by authorities. Sovereignty of state is an important principle of civilization but in Punjab, it acted on a brutish force with manipulations springing from political conspiracies in high places, using common men as their fodder, transforming might in to right and extracting allegiance by dreaded methods, the gesture of allegiance becoming an offence to crime consequences.\(^{110}\)

Since time immemorial, as soon as humans founded civilizations across the earth, men have been in search of norms of civilized behaviour which could bind everyone in his clan. Numerous guides to civilized conduct have been evolved and drawn up and to a great extent reorganized by the people all over the world. Hammurabi, the ancient ruler of Babylon

\(^{109}\) Dang, Sat Pal; *Terrorism in Punjab*, (2000) pp. 18-19

\(^{110}\) *State Terrorism in Punjab* - A report published by Committee in information and initiative on Punjab – New Delhi- 1989
(1750 BC) presided over the golden era of Semitic culture. He established one of the oldest code to establish justice across Mesopotamia. This was the earliest legal documents, which aim at creating norms, which could bind and guide society. The old Testament (1300-1200 BC) was the code of ancient Israelites and one of the most enlightening Hebrew scriptures. It is the milestone as the mosaic laws even commanded respect for the life and property of strangers & neighbours. For the first time in history, rights were seen in terms of duties. These rights to life were thus seen and expressed as a commandment, not to kill.

Confucius (551-479 BC) was a great Chinese Philosopher who propounded the Chinese way of life, in times of social and political turbulence. His philosophical techniques revolved round Yen or benevolence and was expressed in his twin quotations, “do not do unto others what you would not like unto yourself and do unto others what you wish to do unto yourself.”

Lord Rama, Jesus Christ, Prophet Mohd. and most recently Guru Nanak have all propounded universal brotherhood, release of the oppressed and equal rights for all especially the women and the poor. All the thoughts and the philosophy have evolved in the modern era to what we call the “human rights”. Human Rights are the rights, which every being is entitled to enjoy and protection. They are grounded on the notion of respect and dignity of all human beings. They are inherent to the human beings and cannot be taken away from them, as we cannot live without them. They are designed to give voice to voiceless. They belong to people simply because they are human. They do not have to be earned, bought or inherited.111

Generally, Sikhs are considered to be a branch of Hinduism but with the expansion of Arya Samaj, various Sikh sects united to have Keshdhari Sikh identity112. Sant Bhinderanwale and his disciples started fortifying Golden Temple, Amritsar and Akal Takhat anticipating attack by Indian Army. Army entered the fortified temple on 5th June and there was stiff resistance from the militants. Army had a huge loss of lives and this led the Army to take Armed tanks in the premises of Golden Temple. In the process, Akal Takhat was fully destroyed. Bhinderanwale and some of his disciples were killed. Even some innocent people were killed. This incident caused a scar on hatred against Indian Govt. & Hindus on the heart of the Sikhs. Some Sikh army personnel revolted. Many youth ran way to Pakistan after operation ‘Woodrose’ was launched by the security forces in search of the militants.

111Human Rights: A right to civilized conduct – Published in the Prespective March-2005 – Published by PPA Phillaur p.11
112Kapur, Raju A: Sikh Separatism, the politics of faith, Allen and Unwin Publications, London 1987 pp.31, 32
The Sikh Gurudwaras Act 1925 was passed by the British rules after a long struggle by the Sikh masses. In this, the Sikh is defined as one who believes in the ten Gurus and Sh. Guru Granth Sahib and also not a patit. The definition under this did not include many sects listed as Sikh sects. The Akali Dal issued a pamphlet proposing a Sikh ruled ‘Azad Punjab’. Then Akalis asked for the Sikhs, a separate state. On partition in 1947, Punjab and West Bengal suffered the worst. In Punjab about 10 lakh Hindus and Sikhs were killed and lakhs became homeless. Even Muslims also suffered. The violence was unprecedented in the history. Nehru Ji had promised the Sikhs to look after their interests. In the Constitution, no mention was made to set up an area in the north where Sikh could experience the glow of freedom. Two Sikh members of the Constituent Assembly refused to endorse the Constitution, pleading that it was against the minorities’ interest. Indian Constitution being democratic and secular has quasi federal structure. A large section of Sikhs supported the Congress being a secular party. When states were carved on linguistic basis, Akalis demanded separate state of Punjab with Punjabi as its official state language. Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh launched the Punjabi Suba agitation and present Punjab came in to existence in 1966, with Haryana and Himachal Pradesh other states out of earstwhile Punjab. Akalis with the help of other parties could form the Government in 1967 elections. There was a spate of Naxalism in Punjab in 1969, which was suppressed under the police leadership of Sh. Ashwani Kumar, the then IGP Punjab. When these naxalites which were caught and jailed, were released, they joined Bhinderanwale, who projected himself as the emerging Sikh religious leader. Lala Jagat Narain was killed by henchmen of Bhinderanwale as he had deposed in favour of Nirankaris in Karnal Court where in a clash with Nirankaris, 13 Akhand Kirtanis were killed in Amritsar on Vaisakhi day in 1978. Then there was a spate of killings of innocent persons. The parliament passed the Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Act 1984 Punjab on 23rd May, 1985 and it came in to force on 14th July, 1985. Thereafter, the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act 1985 was enacted. This Act was allowed to lapse and then TADA 1987 was enacted on 24th May, 1987. It was amended subsequently and it lapsed in 1995.

One of the members of Parliament expressing his view during the discussion on Bill on TADA-1987 stated: “... Punjab is burning. The legend goes that in the rivers of Punjab, milk used to flow but they are now drenched with blood. There is hatred all over.

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114 Id p.39
What is democratic solution for Punjab? How many women are beating their breasts every night? We feel the pinch only when our near and dear ones get killed.”

Yet another Member of Parliament speaking on the bill presented before the House said, “Today terrorism has not remained confined to Punjab only. It has rather spread to every corner of the country. The same Terrorism which exists in Punjab in making the presence felt in Delhi and Maharashtra also ....”

Another member of Parliament taking part in the debate on the Act of 1987 spoke: “.. The Honourable Members know that we are not dealing with normal peaceful times. We are dealing with extra-ordinary times. Shri Satyendra Narayan Singh has said that not only for Punjab but do something for Bihar also, because in the garb of political party etc. terrorism is prevailing there also.”

Akali Dal formed the government in 1969 with BJP. In 1975 Akali Dal launched morcha against emergency, which was highly appreciated by non-congress parties at the centre. Akali Dal formed Government under S. Parkash Singh Badal as CM in 1977. S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra SGPC chief was targeting Badal in the power struggle within the party. Bhinderanwale was insignificant and got in touch with Sh. Tohra while visiting Darbar Sahib Complex. He went close to Giani Zail Singh. He came into prominence after bloody Sikh-Nirankari confrontation in April 1978. Taksal was mainly engaged in the propagation of religion and training of priests. He came into much limelights after he was arrested in Lala Jagat Naraian murder case as conspirator, who was released later on. Jagjit Singh Chohan, a protagonist of Khalistan met Bhinderanwale in 1980, when Congress had regained power at the centre. Chohan came up with the offer to arrange arms and ammunition for him from Pakistan, thus the role of Pakistan figured indirectly. Ganga SinghDhillon, a US based Sikh leader who had set up Nankana Sahib foundation was another prominent leader active abroad having liks with Pakistian. He was also close to Zia-Ul-Haq and had complicity with Pak regime. Bhinderanwale was the first to float revenge psyche after the killings of Sikhs in Sikh-Nirankaris clash in April, 1978. Taksal was spearheading the crusade against Nirankari sect and Bhinderanwale inherited the situation115. 

4.7.2 THE SANT-NIRANKARI CLASH

The tension between the Sikh organization and the Sant Nirankari Mandal was simmering for some time. Sant Nirankari Mandal headed by a Sikh had the maximum following among lower middle classes from Sikhs and Hindus. The decision by Sant

115 Singh, Jagtar; Khalistan Struggle, A Non-Movement, Akkar Books, Mayur Vihar, Phase-1, Delhi, 2011 pp.31-32
Nirankari Mandal to organize annual Satsang at Amritsar on Baisakhi Day i.e. 13th April, 1978 became a flash point. Baisakhi is celebrated for the birth of Khalsa on Baisakhi day in 1699. The Damdami Taksal and other Sikh organization were dead set against Nirankaris for distorting and denigrating the Sikh theology. Thousands of Sikhs thronged Darbar Sahib Amritsar on this day. The tension built up in the city when Nirankari Mission took out a precession in the morning of 13th April, 1978, which culminated at the venue of the conclave. Followers of Damdami Taksal and Akhand Kirtani Jatha led by Fauja Singh demonstrated near the venue of Satsang held by Nirankaris and the clash took place resulting in the death of 13 followers of Akhand Kirtani Jatha. Lala Jagat Narain was the chief guest at the function. The roots of the militant outfits Babbar are traced to Akhand Kirtanis. Inspite of this happening of incidents of Killings, Smagam carried on and Nirankari Chief addressed the same. Some of the protestors died due to blunt weapons injuries. It was totally wrong on the part of District Administration to permit Nirankari Samagam at Amritsar on Baisakhi Day. Secondly, the protestors which started from Golden Temple should have been intercepted before reaching the venue of Samagam.

The Akal Takhat issued the Hukamnama (edict) on June 10, 1978, directing the Sikh community to boycott the Nirankaris at all levels. Of course, now the edict has been withdrawn. Some Sikhs were also killed at Kanpur (UP) while protesting against the Nirankaris. Yogi Harbhajan Singh of Sikh Dharma Brotherhood in USA organized protest and gave a call to the global Sikhs to organize protests to arrest the culprits. Thus, there was a revenge psyche support from the Sikhs settled abroad. SGPC under Sh. Tohra passed a resolution banning the Nirankari Samagam in Delhi and banning the holy books of Nirankaris e.g. Yug Pursh and Avtar Bani. Radical Sikh Organisation Dal Khalsa was dictating terms to SGPC and other Sikh organizations. All the accused persons in Amritsar killing case tried in Karnal were acquitted by the court, which propped up the revenge Sikh psyche. In the ensuing SGPC elections, Bhinderanwale put up the candidates against Akalis, which were supported by the Congress Party. Bhai Amrik Singh contested against S. Jiwan Singh Umranangal and Sh. Umranangal won. Sh. Jagjit Singh Chohan set up a new Akali Dal known as Akali Dal (revolution) in Jalandhar on May 5, 1979. He even set up the small transmitter in Golden Temple to relay Gurbani from Darbar Sahib known as Radio Golden Temple, Amritsar.

Meanwhile, Bhinderanwale emerged as a symbol of resistance against the Nirankaris

116 Id pp. 33-35
117 Id pp. 37-38
in Punjab. Another epicentre of the militant movement and revenge psyche was Canada. The revenge psyche resulted in assassination of Baba Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari chief in Delhi on April 24, 1980 by one Ranjit Singh, a young Carpenter. Licensed Carbine used in crime was provided by Sant Bhinderanwale, which belonged to his brother. Ranjit Singh’s associate Kabul Singh disappeared & was never traced. Sant Bhinderanwale was questioned by CBI but was not arrested. Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, senior Akali leader threatened to launch an agitation if Sant Bhandheranwale was arrested, thus he was on the rise. SAD in a resolution praised the killers of Nirankari Baba and flayed the harassment of Sikhs by CBI and efforts to frame Bhinderanwale in the case. The revenge psyche got the boost from the resolution. The Akal Takhats edict to Sikhs to socially boycott the Nirankaris was disapproved by the Congress, the Communist Party of India and a section of the media specially Jalndhar based non-English group. Thus, Jalandhar based media was getting divided on communal lines on the Sikh-Nirankaris confrontations, thus vitiating the atmosphere in the state. Dal Khalsa was set up in a meeting in hotel in Chandigarh on August 6, 1978 and Giani Zail Singh was reported to be behind this. The members of the apex committee of Dal Khalsa included Mohinder Singh Dili, Harsimran Singh, Satnam Singh of Paonta Sahib, Surjan Singh Thekedar and H.S. Dilgeer. Gajinder Singh later on replaced H.S. Dilgeer. Thus, AISSF under Bhinderanwale’s patronage, the Dal Khalsa and the National Council of Khalistan were emerging as main players in the Sikh radical stream. Some of the splinter groups of Akali factions were adopting the hard lines against Nirankaris.

Soviet Military Intervention in 1979 in Afghanistan coincided with the militant movement in Punjab, which gave an occasion to exploit the situation by CIA and ISI and Punjab was the potential faultline. Khalistan was envisaged as the buffer state between India & USSR. During the pre-Blue Star period, the communists were also listed as enemies by Sikh radical organizations. Chohan was reported to be arranging the supply of weapons to Bhinderanwale from Pakistan. The border was open and it was fenced later on. Smuggling was in full swing and also the weapons were being smuggled in big numbers. One Balbir Singh Sandhu, the General Secretary of National Council of Khalistan was the main conduit in Pakistan. Sophisticated weapons came later on. The dismissal of Akali government led by S. Parkash Singh Badal added to the another grievance against the Congress. There was spurt in the activities of the radical groups. Dal Khalsa in a seminar in Chandigarh on April 6, 1980 hammered the demand of Khalistan. All these provided the fertile ground for the radicals to

\[\text{Id pp. 41-42}\]
function. The Dal Khalsa gave a call to the Sikhs on Jan 2, 1981 to boycott the Republic Day Celebrations to press for the ‘Sikhs are a separate nation The National Council of Khalistan observed Republic Day as a black day in Amritsar. Radical organizations were in a competitive mode. Khalistan posters were distributed by Khalsa Mukti Dal in Patiala on Jan 15, 1981. Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid in Delhi Syed Abdullah Bukhari attended the seminar in Chandigarh organized by Dal Khalsa. Dr. Sohan Singh former Director Health Services, Punjab jumped in fray and crossed over to Pakistan after Blue Star. Hindu Organizations i.e. Arya Prahindu Sabha, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Dharam Parchar Samiti strongly opposed the move by the Sikh radicals. The protagonists of Khalistan took out a march at Anandpur Sahib on March 20, 1981

Meanwhile, Sh. Harchand Singh Longowal was re-elected President of Akali Dal on May 17, 1981. In a meeting at Amritsar, Akali Dal adopted the resolution that the Sikhs are a separate nation. The situation took a qualitative turn as the AISSF took out an anti tobacco procession on July 31, 1981, which was led by Sant Bhinderanwale. Thus Bhinderanwale took centre stage in political circles of the country. AISSF also objected the anti-sikh articles by Hind Samachar Group of Papers of Jalandhar. Lala Jagat Narain of Hind Samachar group of Jalandhar was gunned down near Ludhiana on September 9, 1981, in which Bhinderanwale was arrested as conspirator. All the Sikh organizations were up against the government for the release of Bhinderanwale, who was ultimately released by the court without the bail. There was hijacking of an Indian Air lines plane to Lahore on September 29, 1981 as a protest against the arrest of Bhinderanwale. Dal Khalsa leaders including Gajinder Singh, Satnam Singh Paonta Sahib, Tejinderpal Singh, Jasbir Singh and Karan Singh, the hijackers of Delhi-Amritsar flight were arrested in Pakistan and sentenced.

Continuing the offensive against the Nirankaris the militants targeted many important Nirankaris and killed them. Tohra was busy building up the image of Sant Bhinderanwale. Bhinderanwale was mobilizing the Sikhs though anti Hindu and anti-Indian propaganda and the response in Punjab was unprecedented. Akali leaders in a delegation consisting of Tohra, Badal, Longowal, Ravi Inder Singh and Balwant Singh met the Prime Minister on 16th October, 1981 to press for the demands put forward by Akali Dal. The violence targeting Nirankaris, Hindus, Sikhssuspected to be informers and police officials continued till the Blue Star operation. Two main militant outfits i.e. Dashmesh Regiment and Babbars were behind the killings.

119 Id pp. 43-45
120 Id pp. 48-49
Soviet intelligence agency Tass cautioned India of ill designs and instability in Punjab by CIA of USA. CIA had planned subversive operations named Gibralton and Khalistan with the aim of separating some of the territory from India. CIA activists supported the subversive activities in Punjab, J&K and North-East. Two main radical organizations active were National Council of Khalistan and Dal Khalsa in the end of 1981. Sant Bhinderanwale was creating the base for radical thought and support for militant outfits. Weapons were being smuggled in to Golden Temple. Congress was playing the Hindu card for short term gains to retain powers in next Parliamentary elections. Hindus were targeted to ignite the communal spark. Sanctity of temples & Gurudwaras was violated by throwing the flesh of cows and packets of cigarettes respectively. One Jaswant Singh Thekedar, a sikh radical threatened to close liquor, meat and tobacco shops from near the Golden Temple. Dal Khalsa and National Council of Khalistan were banned by central government on May 1, 1982. This followed the explosion in various areas of Punjab. Sh. A.S. Atwal IPS DIG/IR was assassinated in Golden Temple in April, 1982. Niranjan Singh, an IPS officer was fired in the stairs of Civil Secretariat, Chandigarh on October 9, 1982, he managed to escape while his brother was killed. Sh. Niranjan Singh is a staunch Nirankari. On November 19, 1981, there was an encounter between the police and the militants at Daheeru near Khanna of Ludhiana District, where a police inspector was killed. The group was headed by a former Naxalite Tarsem Singh. A bomb exploded killing three persons in Mehta Gurudwara of Damdami Taksal on November 29, 1982 but the security forces did not conduct the search of Gurudwara. The killing of Hindus continued in different areas of Punjab. Sacrilege of religious places also continued. Akalis & even Jathedar Akal Takhat protested on harassment of the relatives of the terrorists by the police. Tohra extended indirect support to militancy during the Jor Mela Conference at Fatehgarh Sahib on Dec 26, 1982. Sant Bhinderanwale exhorted the Sikh Officers & cops not to obey the government orders to give inhuman treatment to the Sikhs including women and children. Jathedar Akal Takhat Sh. Ajnoha was openly supporting Bhinderanwale & the activities of militants. Akalis lauched the Dharam Yudh Morcha though the Akali DAI had nothing to do with the militancy. The second hijacking of an Indian Airline plane coincided with the launching of morcha. In the end of 1983, Bhinderanwale practically took over the Akali agitation from Longowal. Bhinderanwale was at the centre stage but the Babbars tried to trim him down by gunning down Nirankaris.

Operation Blue Star was outcome of the deadly politics being played in Punjab, which

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121 Id pp. 51-52
122 Id pp. 56-57
was avoidable under normal circumstances. Congress projected that it was the only saviour of Indian nation and Indian polity. Punjab is fertile land and hence the politics of violence flamed like anything in which thousand of people lost their lives and property worth crores destroyed. The aim of Akali Dal was demand for state autonomy on the basis of Anandpur Sahib resolution which was drafted in 1973 and amended in 1978. It was at the later stage that the demand for Khalistan was supported at the behest of radical elements. Earlier slogan for Sikh homeland was raised by miniscule radical elements without any significant base. Bhinderanwale used to say that the aspirations of the Sikhs have not been fulfilled after partition and Sikhs had been discriminated. On the failure of the meeting between Akali Dal leaders and the group of Ministers of the Central Govt. On May 26, 1984; the inevitability of Army action in Darbar Sahib was clear. Akali Dal was convinced that Indira Gandhi was annoyed with them as the morcha was launched against emergency by Akali Dal. Akali dal in the meeting with Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then PM of India, had protested that the Sikhs were being maltreated after 1965 by the Government and even during ASIAD in 1982 held in Delhi, Sikhs were humiliated in Haryana. The operation Blue Star by the Army in 1984 was the culmination of this prolonged confrontation. Sikhs were dubbed as secessionists. However, the contribution of the Sikhs in Independence struggle was maximum.

Though, Akali Dal mainly constitutes the Sikhs but it had to take the support of BJP allegedly representing the Hindus to form the Government in 1967, 1997, 2007 & 2012. S. Parkash Singh Badal, known as secular knows that the Akali Dal cannot form the Government in Punjab without the active support of BJP. Though Sikhs maintain their separate identity, yet they have been clubbed with the Hindus under Article 25-B (ii) of the constitution. Radical Sikhs always feel that RSS/BJP will dilute the identity of the Sikhs. Sikhs always remind that Pandit Nehru had promised a special consideration to the Sikhs after partition wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom. Akali Dal had to launch a morcha to have Punjab on the linguistic basis which was finally reorganized in 1966. Even then, the Sikhs feel that a large part of Punjabi speaking area, riparian rights of the rivers and capital city of Chandigarh had been denied to the reorganised state of Punjab.

Different Akali Dals resorted to competitive politics. Dr. Jagjit Singh Chohan under the banner of International Council of Sikhs at Jalandhar on June 11, 1978 accused the ruling Akali Dal from backtracking from Anandpur Sahib Resolution and spelled the political goal as the sovereign Sikh State. Akali Dal Government headed by S. Parkash Singh Badal was

123 Id pp. 58-59
under attack from Sikh radicals for soft-pedalling the Nirankaris issue.

Akali Dal split in to two parts i.e. Akali Dal of Jagdev Singh Talwandi & Akali Dal of H.S. Longowal. Radical elements aggravated the situation in Punjab. In the meantime, Akali Dal submitted a list of 45 demands & grievances in Spetember 1981 to the Central Government, which was revised down to 15 next months. The demands included the release of Bhinderanwale, special rights to Sikhs as a separate nation, transfer of Chandigarh & left out Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab, adjudication of river waters disputes on riparian principle, granting of licence to Sikh Bank and increase in Agriculture produce prices. The demand for Sikh Personal Law was also mooted. In the meantime, Indira Gandhi laid the foundation stone of Satluj Yamuna Link Canal at Kapoori village to carry water to Haryana from Punjab rivers, on April 8, 1982. This added fuel to the fire providing immediate provocation to the Akalis to adopt the path of agitation. Akali Dal launched the morcha against digging SYL canal, which is uptil now maintaining the status quo. On July 24, 1982, Akali Dal who had launched morcha at Kapuri, shifted to Amritsar. Another Indian Airlines plan on Delhi-Srinagar flights via Amritsar was hijacked to Lahore. The lone hijacker Granthi Gurbax Singh surrendered at Amritsar when Pak authorities refused the landing in Pakistan. He was carrying a rubber ball. In another hijacking case, a lone hijacker Manjit Singh was shot dead at Amritsar Airport. Both Badal and Longowal opposed Khalistan.

Bhinderanwale never raised the demands of a sovereign Sikh state formally but he emphasized on the implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Second thing that he was marginizing the traditional Akali Dal but he nurtured no political ambition. This added to his creditability among Sikh masses. Thus he had emerged as a symbol of militant struggle aimed at ending the slavery of the Sikhs. At the same time, Babbar Khalsa headed by Sukhdev Singh Dasuwal had gone active resorting to target killings. Babbar Khalsa raised the demand of Khalistan few months before the operation Blue Star.

The foundation of Golden Temple was laid by Muslim Sufi Saint Sain Mian Mir standing on secular pillars with door on all the four sides open to all. The content of the Akali Dal agitation was secular but Dharam Yudh Morcha was infected by communal divide by the radical elements. The demand of Akali Dal was always confined to a special geo-political environment for the Sikhs having exclusive identity but the party did not press for it during negotiations withtheCentre. Hindus & Sikhs are closely bounded communities sharing close cultural links & families. Indira Gandhi was credited as saviour of Hindus. The Sikhs as a

124 Id pp. 82-83
community were labelled as secessionists as part of a design by the then rulers. Despite the fact, there was no communal overtones in the agitation launched by the party but it faced the distrust from the very beginning. Situation aggravated when four Akali workers were killed in police firing outside Parliament on October 11, 1982, when they were taking Shardhanjli march from Anandpur Sahib to Delhi organized in the memory of 34 party volunteers in custody who where killed when the bus carrying them collided with the train in Tarn-Taran a month back. The media was being used to portray Akalis as supporter of militants and secessionists. But Parkash Singh Badal clarified that the Akali Dal had stood for communal harmony in the state and integrity and solidarity of the country. He talked about more autonomy and powers to the states throughout the country with the real federal setup. It was felt that the radicals and centre are trying to marginize the traditional Akali Dal. At the same time, Hindus in Punjab felt insecure and wanted to have a free and decent life in the state when many Hindu leaders had been killed. Longowal wrote to all MPs regarding the demands in the Pamphlet as below:-

1. End to the state repression and the killing of the innocents.
2. End to government interference in Sikh religious affairs and enactment of all India Gurudwara legislation.
3. Holy city status for Amritsar.
5. Autonomy on the basis of Anandpur Sahib Resolution and transfer of Chandigarh and left out Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab.
6. Control of head works to Punjab and adjudication of river water dispute on riparian basis.
7. Second Language status for Punjabi in the neighbouring states. Priority to Sikhs in army recruitment and end to injustice in central services.
8. End to uprooting of Sikh settlers in Haryana and U.P.

Longowal described the morcha in the pamphlet as “Hind Punjab da Jung”, the way the Anglo-Sikh wars had been described by Shah Mohd. in his Jungnama. By mid October of 1982, Bhinderanwale had practically taken over the agitation. There was violence in various parts of the state. Longowal blamed the state government for engineering the trouble to

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125 Id pp.85- 86
126 Id pp. 87-88

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discredit the morcha. Longowal constituted 50 members Shanti Sena (Peace Corps) to patrol areas around Darbar Sahib to provide security to Hindus living around Darbar Sahib. BJP submitted the memorandum to the Chief Minister Punjab on October 23, 1982 demanding that injustice done to Punjab on the issue of Chandigarh and Punjabi speaking areas, river waters and control of head works should be undone. Thousands of jailed volunteers were released on 18th October, 1982 with an appeal from Chief Minister urging the abandoning the path of agitation and responding positively to the offer of talks by the PM. PM appointed S. Swaran Singh, the former Foreign Minister of India to hold talks with Akalis. At the same time, Haryana leaders cautioned the Central Government against the appeasement of Akalis on demands harming the interests of Haryana. S. Swaran Singh held parleys with various Akali leaders including Bhinderanwale but remained inconclusive.

Akali started sending volunteers to Delhi to offer arrest. It was also decided to gherao S. Darbara Singh, the CM Punjab. It was concluded that the volunteers will disturb the ASIAD in Delhi on November 19, 1982. The Sikhs were humiliated in Haryana & Delhi when they were searched. Bhinderanwale proposed mass action to protest against the humiliation of the Sikhs in Haryana and Delhi. He said that Indira Gandhi should come to Amritsar for any talks of settlement. PM was ready to accept all the religious demands but not the political demands. Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the then CM of J&K also tired as mediator but could not be successful. S. Darbara Singh, the then CM met PM on December 1, 1982 nad impressed upon solving the Punjab Tangle127.

By now, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale had became the pivot of Sikh struggle. He was always surrounded by armed gunmen and Gun culture had taken over the Darbar Sahib complex. Assassination of DIG Avtar Singh Atwal at the entrance of Golden Temple had shocked everyone. The security forces should have entered the Golden Temple and nab the killers. The things would have been different if the security forces would have entered the shrine that day. The build up was allowed to continue. Shiromani Akali Dal led by Longowal was becoming irrelevant. With the spate of innocent killings and looting, the situation in the state was deteriorating. The funding to the Sikh radicals by the Sikhs outside India was increasing. The centre was in no mood to accept the demands of Akali Dal. Akali Dal had threatened that all party MPs and MLAs would resign on 26th January, 1983. Bhinderanwale gave call to get armed. Retired Sikh Defence Officers had gone closer to Bhinderanwale. Major General (Retd.) Shabeg Singh, a hero of 1971 war with Pakistan in Bangladesh came

127 Id pp. 102-103
in to the inner circle of Sant Bhinderanwale. Central Government team of negotiators with Akali Dal continued. The demands came out to be 9 including four religious demands. A spurt was experienced in the militant activities. The deadlock was transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, transfer of Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab and distribution of water resources. Punjab Hindu suraksha Samiti under Sh. Pawan Kumar was opposing the demands of Akalis. Thus competitive contrast was brewing up. Akali Dal was disappointed that the PM did not want to settle the matter amicably. On the other hand, Bhinderanwale repeated his call to Sikh youth to arm themselves as a crucial battle in the offing. There was no check on taking the weapons in to Darbar Sahib. The tripartite meeting between Government, Akali and opposition parties were held on 24th January, 1983. Akalis were represented by Barnala, Balwant Singh and Ravi Inder Singh. Ten opposition parties were represented by Charan Singh (Lok Dal-C), Atal Behari Vajpayee (BJP), Inderjit Gupta (CPI), Harkrishan Singh Surjit (CPI-M), K.P. Unnikrishnanan (Cong-S), Ram Vilas Paswan (Lok Dal-K), G.M. Banatwalah (Muslim League), Harikesh Bhandari (BSP), Pilloo Modi (Janta) and Satyavani Muthu (AIADM). From the Government side were Ventakaraman, Mukherjee, Sethi , Narsimha Rao, Shiv Shankar and Bhimshma Narain Singh besides the PM but it remained inconclusive. In the meantime, MPs & MLAs of Akali Dal submitted the resignation to Longowal to pass on to the appropriate authorities to accept these. Successive round of talks also remained inconclusive. Haryana and Rajasthan opposed tooth and nail the reopening of river waters issue. Chief Minister of Punjab S. Darbara Singh reached Delhi on February 25, with a new formula. He proposed:(a) Chandigarh should be transferred to Punjab, (b) Ghaggar, a seasonal rivulet should be the dividing lines between Punjab & Haryana, (c) if Ghaggar is accepted as the natural boundary between the two states, about 75 Punjab villages would go to Haryana and these villages should be the regarded as compensation to Haryana for the loss of Chandigarh and for giving up its claim over Fazilka and Abohar. The PM rejected this too. The PM unilaterally accepted three religious demands and announced in Gurudwara Bangla Sahib on February 27, 1983. Part of Kotwali P.S. was given to the Delhi Gurudwara Management Committee. BJP in Punjab urged the PM to scrap the water agreement and in a way, supported the Akali Dal. Longowal gave a call for decisive war. Punjab Vidhan Sabha on March 27, 1983 adopted the resolution urging SGPC to hand over the criminals hiding in Darbar Sahib\textsuperscript{128}. A case in PS Kotwali Amritsar was registered against Bhinderanwale for inflammatory speeches u/s 506 IPC. His historic speech at Manji Sahib on

\textsuperscript{128} Id pp. 116-118
March 27 about Khalistan was, “If the police enters the Golden Temple, nobody will be able to stop the creation of Khalistan”. He said that we are neither in favour, nor against Khalistan, but if the queen (PM) gives it we will definitely accept it. He gave a call to Sikhs to defend Golden Temple if attacked by the government. Akali Dal gave a call of ‘Rasta Roko’ on April 4 and about two dozen persons killed and about 5 dozen injured in police firing. On April 13, 1983, about 31500 Akali workers took oath at Akal Takhat as Marjeewadas and offered services to the Panth. Communal cleavage between Hindu and Sikhs in Punjab was also felt. On April 25, 1983, DIG A.S. Atwal was shot dead at the main entrance of Darbar Sahib. Both Longowal and Bhinderanwale condemned this. Punjab Vidhan Sabha speaker rejected the resignation of 37 MLA of Vidhan Sabha. PM came out that there was foreign interference in the country and CIA is active in Punjab. Soviet Union had blamed the CIA for instigating trouble in Punjab. CPI (M-L) of S.N. Singh extended support to Akali agitation. Editor Proprietor Ramesh Chander of Hind Samachar group was gunned down in Jalandhar on 12th May, 1985 for publishing portrait of tenth Guru along with Shaheed Lala Jagat Narain. Darbar Sahib continued to be fortified. The PM announced in Parliament to constitute Sarkaria Committee under a retired SC Judge to review the Centre State relations. On June 17, 1983, Akali Dal held the Rail Roko agitation. The Government handed over the remaining portion of Kotwali of Delhi to DGPC. Even this, could not convince the Akalis about the sincerity of the Government. Central government invited the Akalis for talks on 24 June, 1983, which was rejected by the Akalis. Akalis demanded a personal law for the Sikhs in the statement issued on 20th July, 1983. Bhinderanwale urged the government recognize the Sikhs as a separate nation and provide Constitutional guarantee to that effect. Harkrishan Singh Surjit of CPI (M) attributed the situation to the conspiracy hatched by US Government to destabilize the country. At the same time, Pakistan denied any involvement in the internal affairs of India. Longowal once again distanced his party from the Khalistanis saying that SAD has never made a demand for Khalistan. On 15th August, 1983, PM from Lal Qila announced that government will not accede to noother demand of Akalis without consulting the other states. The extremists indulged in mass scale killings, hijacked two planes and looted several banks. They threw grenades on Punjab Ministers and planted time bombs in Public places. The parliament expressed concern over threat of Bhinderanwale to kill 5000 Hindus to press for the Akali demands. L.K. Advani demanded the imposition of President’s rule in Punjab. On 29th August, 1983, Akali workers gheraoed the offices of Deputy

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129 Id pp. 123-126
Commissioners all over the states as a ‘Kam Roko’ call. CPI accused Smt. Indira Gandhi for her alleged communal designs to win the next Lok Sabha elections. The targeting of Hindus increased. Six passengers of a bus were killed near Dhillwan Dist Kapurthala on October 6, 1983. This led to dismissal of Darbara Singh Government and imposition of President rule in Punjab. A.P Sharma took over as Governor of Punjab. Punjab & U.T. Chandigarh were declared as disturbed area on October 7, 1983 providing unlimited powers to the security forces. A.P. Sharma was replaced by B.D. Pande as Governor of Punjab. On October 15, the ordinance known as The Armed Forces (Pb & Chd) Special Powers Ordinance was promulgated, but the killing continued. In Rajasthan, a Gurudwara was burnt in Churu and Jai Hindu Sangh threatened the Sikhs to leave Rajasthan. Bhinderanwale retaliated against uprooting of Sikhs from other states that in that case, Hindu should be ready to leave Punjab. Home Minister, on December 5, requested Longowal and Tohra to ask Bhinderanwale to surrender to the authorities, which was turned down. Bhinderanwale shifted to Akal Takhat on December 5, 1983. Bhinderanwale was under threat from Babbaras as they were supporting Longowal. Bhinderanwale rejected peaceful struggle as his followers were being arrested and tortured. Intellectuals led by Sh. I.K Gujral gave call to:

i. Condemn all actions of terrorism, violence and communal killings

ii. Support each other in maintaining the peace of a secular society.

iii. Respect the sanctity of every place of worship and denounce any attempt by anyone to desecrate any such place.

iv. Oppose attempts by anyone to use places of worships of any community as a refuge from the law, for that is the worst form of desecration.

By the beginning of 1984, Darbar Sahib complex confrontation between Longowal led section and Bhinderanwale’s associates had come in to the open. Akali raised the demand for amendment in Article 25 (2)(b) of the Constitution which links Sikhs with Hindus. At least 14 people were killed & about 200 injured in communal clashes in Punjab. The model of Darbar Sahib at Amritsar Railway Station was smashed. Sikhs travelling in buses in Haryana were harassed and attacked. BJP leader Harbans Lal Khanna was gunned down. Sumit Singh, Editor of Preet Lari was gunned down by militants in his native village on February 22, 1984. The clash between security forces and militants from Darbar Sahib continued. CPI (M) leader Harkrishan Singh Surjeet requested Longowal to withdraw

130 Id pp. 133-159
131 Id pp. 145-150
agitation to have a good atmosphere in Punjab. There were rumours that the security forces will flush out terrorists from Golden Temple. The AISSF was finally banned on March 19, 1984 for indulging in subversive and anti-national activities. On April 3, 1984 Punjab was declared a dangerously disturbed area under section 3 of the Armed Forces (Punjab and Chandigarh) Special powers Act. The NSA was amended to extend the detention period to six months without obtaining the opinion of the Advisory Board in Punjab and Chandigarh. DGPC president Harbans Singh Manchanda was gunned down in Delhi on March 28, 1984. Prof. V.N. Tiwari was shot dead in Chandigarh on April 3, 1984. Akali dal accused the CM to take communal approach when 8 Sikhs were killed during the mourning procession taken out of Harbans Lal Khanna on April 3, 1984. Bhinderanwale accused Longowal of belittling the sacrifices made by Sikh Youth. Akali Dal was under attack from two fronts, a section of Sikh radicals as well as a large section of Hindus. The leaders of Akali Dal dubbed Bhinderanwale a Congress agent and traitors. Surinder Singh Sodhi, a close associate of Bhinderanwale was gunned down by Sukhdev Singh Chhinda at a dhaba opposite Darbar Sahib compiled on April 14, 1984. Bhinderanwale group blamed Akali Dal Secretary Gurcharan Singh for hatching conspiracy to kill the militant leaders. In retaliation Chhinda, Baljit Kaur and Gurcharan Singh were eliminated by Bhinderanwale group. Malak Singh Bhatia, a close associate of Jagdev Singh Talwandi was killed in Darbar Sahib complex on April 16, 1984. Dashmesh Regiment torched 31 Railway Stations in Punjab on April 15, 1984. The Central Government offered to refer the river water dispute to a tribunal provided there was an overall agreement to resolve the Punjab tangle.\textsuperscript{132}

After Maharaja Ranjit Singh, there was no coherent body to represent the Sikh interests. The Punjab imbroglio in the past few years was the manoeuvring for power by the Sikh masses specially radical elements. They found their icon and legendary Frankenstein in Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale. Akali felt that only they can ameliorate the problem of Sikh masses. SGPC held by Akali Dal undoubtedly is a great financial help to further the interest of the party. Darbar Sahib is the most twined place for all the people specially Hindus & Sikhs. To clear the holy temple from the seize of the professionally armed people was a stupendous task. The nation cannot repay to the sacrifices made by many soldiers for the sake of national integrity and unity of the country.\textsuperscript{133}

The people of India need to pledge that never again will a place of worship be

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize 132 Id pp. 158- 161  
\end{flushright}
permitted to become an arsenal, nor a sanctuary from whose womb violence and crime is delivered.

1. Temples must always remain bastion of faith and brotherhood, not of communal hatred for fratricidal class war.

2. Golden Temple built by fifth Guru Arjan Dev Ji in Sixteenth century is sanctit and sacrosanct to the Sikhs and Hindus like that of Mecca and Kaaba to the Meulsims.

In 1984, few radicals with Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale made it a fort with an objective to carve out a separate Sikh state, Khalistan. Bhinderanwale used Major General Shabeg Singh (Retd.) for the fortifying and fighting the security forces. Operation Blue Star hurt the Sikh Psychic badly and a large percentage of Sikh population was emotionally changed. Lepin Griffin says about Sikh character in his book Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Sikhs:

“But the Sikh is always the same – the same in peace, in war, in barracks or in the field. Ever genial, good tempered and uncomplaining, a fair horseman, a stubborn infantry soldier, a steady under fire as he is eager for a charge. However, when his self-respect or honour of the women folk is at stake. He become desperate and will not stop at nothing short of murder. He does not privet an insult, bides his opportunity for revenge and becomes quite unmindful of consequences. When aroused, he has the fury of ten elephants. It is difficult to check him. He become exacted, loses his mental equilibrium and does not care for the consequences of his action. You may break him, but you can not bend him. When he is in a desperate mood, he responds only to tactful handling, sympathetic treatment and persuasion. Any coercive measures taken against him, hardens his mood of desperation. Handled in tactful measures, he easily forgives and forgets, and is ready to side with erstwhile enemies.”

Operation Blue Star was launched in order to preserve the country’s unity and integrity. Lt. Gen K. Sunderji (who rose to become the chief of Army Staff) said “We did not go in anger, but with sadness, with a prayer on our lips and humility in our hearts.”

The early eighties were witness to rampant unemployment in Punjab. As a result, there was a wave of disgruntlement, particularly amongst the youth, who ended up facing pray to the temptation provided by “violence and terrorism” as an alternate means of “earning a living”.

134 Id p.5
135 Id p.10
136 Id p.10
There was a lurking fear in the majority of Sikhs in Punjab immediately after partition that their identity would be eroded by Hinduism and some of the leaders like Master Tara Singh Ji began propagating recognition of the Sikhs as a separate community. This started with the launching of agitation for a separate state i.e. Punjabi Suba with the state’s language in Gurmukhi script. In the earlier stages, Nehru termed this demand as communal and rejected it. In sixties, Akali Dal was split in two groups i.e. Akali Dal (Master) and Akali Dal (Sant) led by Sant Fateh Singh. In factional fighting, to outwit each other, Sant Fateh Singh started fast on December 18, 1960, which he ended on January 9, 1961. Later on Master Tara Singh went on fast on 15th August, 1961 and ended his fast on October 1, 1961. This tussle ended with the passing on leadership of Akali Dal to Sant Fateh Singh who was backed by majority of Jat Sikhs. Nehru remained firm opposing the formation of Punjabi Suba. In 1966, Indira Gandhi, gave in to the demand of Punjabi Suba on linguistic basis. There were certain heart burning demands which were not accepted i.e. Chandigarh as capital of Punjab, water share and control of Head works and certain Punjabi speaking areas. When Sant Fateh Singh vowed the self immolation for the sake of Chandigarh, Indira Gandhi gave Chandigarh to Punjab in lieu of Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana, which was never implemented. Thereafter, Akalis lied low in view of Indira’s victory over Pakistan and creation of Bangladesh. In 1978, Anandpur Sahib Resolution was reiterated by Akalis demanding more powers to the states, sharing of river waters etc. Central Government setup Sarkaria Commission to look in to various aspects of Centre-State relations and the recommendation are still to be accepted. The Nirankari clash in 1978 in Amritsar added fuel to the fire which resulted in an overnight escalation of violence and state sponsored terrorism\(^\text{137}\). There was acute unemployment in 1980s and the youths were tempted by violence and terrorism as an alternative means of earning a living. Asiad boycott of the Akalis led to overreaction of the security forces which infuriated the Sikhs. All this gave impetus to the Khalistan movement, which was actively supported by the Pakistan and its ISI. The Western Countries supported Pakistan against India.

Bhinderanwale’s own career soared. Soon he was seen as a hero who single handidly took on the Indian Government. He himself said, “the government has done more for me in a few days than what I could have achieved in years.” He was a Brar Jat Sikh boy who used to spend many hours in a day in the village Gurudwara. Later on, he joined Damdami Taksal and became the head after the demise of Sant Kartar Singh in 1977 with headquarter at

\(^{137}\)Id PP – 14, 15
Gurudwara Chowk Mehta, about 40 kms from Amritsar. Badal became CM of Punjab in 1977, Harchand Singh Longowal was President SAD and Tohra was head of SGPC. It is said that Giani Zail Singh, whom Badal replaced as CM, propped up Bhinderanwale against Trio of Akali Dal. Nirankaris and Akhand Kirtani Jatha led by Fauja Singh’s clash worsened the situation in Punjab and alienated the Sikhs further from the main stream. Nirankari Sect which is heretical sect of Sikhs did not believe in that Guru Gobind Singh is the last Guru. The Dal Khalsa and Akhand Kirtanis objected to the holding of Nirankari Samagam on Vaisakhi day (April 13, 1978) in Amritsar and the clash took the lives of 17 persons. A number of Nirankaris were arrested, tried but acquitted by Karnal Session Judge. This bore vengeance in the mind of orthodox Sikhs. Jathedar Akal Takhat issued the hukamnama to boycott the Nirankaris. On 24th April 1980, Baba Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru was assassinated in Delhi by the followers of Bhinderanwale. This followed the killing of many Nirankaris in the Punjab state. Apart from Nirankaris, Congressmen and Akali were also targeted. Lala Jagat Narain, owner of Hind Samachar Group of Newspaper at Jalandhar was shot dead on 9th September, 1981 on the outskirts of Ludhiana as he was one of the witnesses in Nirankari Clash in 1978 in Amritsar. He warned the government to take seriously the secessionist movement among Sikh radicals. Bhinderanwale was arrested, which attracted a large scale of violence in Punjab & he had to be released unconditionally. Ultimately Darbara Singh CM Punjab was asked to step down. Bhinderanwale was released with a promise that violence will stop but it aggravated more. There was killings of Hindus in the buses, shootouts in the trains and bazaars and hijacking of planes. Ramesh S/o Lala Jagat Narain was shot dead in 1985 in Jalandhar. H.S. Manchanda, Presidnet DGPC, A.S. Atwal, DIG/Jalandhar and Giani Partap Singh Retd. Jathedar Akal Takhat fell to the bullet of militants. Hindu Temples & even Gurudwara were desecrated. The police proved to be ineffective and the centre’s hope that Bhinderanwale’s release would ease tension in the state were belied138.

Bhinderanwale was on the top of the world, after the release in 1981. He spoke about discrimination and alienation of the Sikhs at the hands of Delhi Darbar and slavery of Hindu Raj. Bhinderanwale was taken as messiah i.e. the saviour of the Sikhs by the majority of the Sikhs in Punjab. Balbir Singh Sandhu, close aid of Bhinderanwale was Secretary General, Khalistan in Room No. 32, Harminder Singh Sandhu, an educated General Secretary of banned AISSF acted as Bhinderanwale interpreter and Rachhpal Singh as his personal

138Id PP- 21, 22
secretary. All of them lived in Guru Nanak Niwas and Guru Ram Das Serai was used to house the followers of Bhinderanwale. The planning and killings were done from there. Gurudwaras in Punjab became hideouts of militants. In the meantime, the babbars sided with Longowal and opposed the activities of Bhinderanwale. Bhinderanwale launched an agitation to get Bhai Amrik Singh and others released which were arrested by the police and lodged in jail. his agitation was taken over by Akalis. On December 15, 1983, Bhinderanwale shifted to Akal Takhat with a promise that the security forces will not enter Akal Takhat to arrest him lest risking the hurting of Sikh sentiments & feelings. Tohra gave the full support to Bhinderanwale keeping in view the future political aspirations. This was done inspite of the objection raised by Jathedar Akal Takhat Giani Kirpal Singh and Akali Dal President Sant Harchand Singh Logowal but they did not have the courage to get the support of Government to oust Bhinderanwale from Akal Takhat. Bhinderanwale’s speeches were venomous and he succeeded in building up hatred between Hindus & Sikhs. He was creating a condition so that Hindus should flee Punjab and there should be backlash against the Sikhs residing outside Punjab. He attracted many Army & Police officers to his fold and Major General (Retd.) Shabeg Singh became his advisor. All these officers were discontented lot. On 26th, 1984 Khalistan flag was hoisted atop a building with in the Golden Temple complex. Hindu businessmen started leaving Punjab. Bhinderanwale publically humiliated and cursed Indira Gandhi. Bhinderanwale became literally a ruler of Punjab. The weapons were stockpiled inside the Golden Temple. The police dared not search the vehicles for fear of reprisal. On the back, the parleys were going on between the Government and the Akalis. The religious demands could have been met atleast. Of course, it was difficult to accept political demands, i.e. transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab deluding Abohar & Fazilka, settlement of water dispute and more autonomy to the state. Bhinderanwale thought that the government would use Police & PMF to apprehend him & his men and they would thwart their attempt. This was his miscalculation 139.

Rajiv Gandhi, Gen Sec. AICC attributed Bhinderanwale a religious leader on his visit to Chandigarh on April 28, 1984. On April 30, 1984, top Sikh clergy issued a directive to maintain peace in Darbar Sahib Complex. Giani Bachan Singh Dy SP/Retd., his wife and daughter were gunned down in Amritsar on April 30, 1984. The spate of killing continued in Punjab. Former Akal Takhat Jathedar Giani Partap Singh was gunned down on May, 10, 1984. Akali Dal decided to launch a non co-operation agitation and block the movement of food

139 Id pp. 30-31
grains out of state from June 3, 1984. By this time, Army units which were to implement operation Blue Star had already garrisoned at Amritsar. The latest meeting on April 25, 1984 between Akali Dal and representatives of Central Government could not come in to any agreement.\footnote{Singh Jagtar; \textit{Khalistan Struggle, A non-movement}, Akkar Books, Mayur Vihar, Phase-I, Delhi-2011 p.168-169} Tohra met Governor B.D. Pande to left ban on AISSF, which was conditioned that it will be lifted if there is incident free week in Punjab. On June 1, there was exchange of firing between the CRPF and the extremists. Telephone connections were cut off. Amritsar Dy. Commissioner Gurdev Singh Brar proceeded on leave and was replaced by a young and dynamic IAS Officer Ramesh Inder Singh. Major General Kuldip Singh Brar, the local commander of Army held meeting with local commanders at Army HQ at Amritsar. Lt. General Ranjit Singh Dyal, Chief of Staff, Western Command took over as Advisor (Security) to the Punjab Governor. Army was also deployed on the second line of defence along Pakistan border. Punjab and Chandigarh were formally handed over to the Army on June 3, 1984. Army was deployed in the state. Indira Gandhi, through her broadcast recounted the situation in Punjab. At the end, she said that the sanctity of places of worship was being undermined.

\subsection*{4.7.3 PUNJAB VIDHAN SABHA ELECTIONS IN 1992}

The election to Vidhan Sabha was to be held in May, 1991, which were postponed because of assassination of Rajiv Gandhi on 21st May, 1991. Till then a number of candidates belonging to various political parties, mostly Akalis were killed by the militants as the militants had boycotted the elections. Congress Party had also boycotted the elections. 77 passengers in two trains at Baddowal and Qila Raipur were killed on July 15, 1991 in Ludhiana District. Gurjant Singh Rajasthani, a diehard militant was killed in Chandigarh on September 7, 1991. The family members of Balwinder Singh Jatana were killed in the village within hours of the attack on Sh. Sumedh Singh Saini, the then SSP of Chandigarh. Liviv Radu, Romanian Ambassador to India was kidnapped on October 9, 1991 from New Delhi by the KLF militants. The exchange of militants Harjinder Singh Jinda, Sukhdev Singh Sukha and Iqbal with Radu was the condition. Later on Radu was released unconditionally. Akali Dal (Mann) on 17th October reiterated the demand of Khalistan. Militants gunned down 52 train passengers in a train near Chaunkiman. 1991 year ended with highest killing of 2738 people. In the meanwhile, Akali gave a call to boycott the ensuing Vidhan Sabha election to be held in February, 1992. To foil the anti-poll march from Anandpur Sahib, Punjab Govt. invoked TADA and arrested the important Akali Leaders. The situation in Punjab had emerged
a dark tunnel without any end in sight. The people were sick of the terrorists as well as of the security forces. The ordinary people were caught in the grind mill. The militants alienated from people were hunted down and several of them managed to escape to other countries. The Feb, 1992 elections went peaceful and no killing was reported as compared to aborted May, 1991 elections, when 29 Akali candidates were killed. This time Akalis had boycotted the elections. The overall poll percentage was 23.82% and the Congress won 87 seats.\(^\text{141}\)

4.7.4 **S. BEANT SINGH AS CM PUNJAB**

S. Beant Singh took over as the CM of Punjab and he had polled just about 17.5% of the total votes from Jalandhar Cantonment constituency. After a little rise in crime, the total peace was brought in Punjab by the efforts of the CM, DGP and the security set up. For the Sikhs, in general, Beant Singh govt ended up as a symbol of state repression and hate. Beant Singh himself became the victim of the politics of gun. He was assassinated by the Babbar Khalsa in a bomb explosion at the main gate of the Civil Secretariat, Chandigarh on 31\(^{st}\) August, 1995. All Akali factions identified with the militants and reiterated their goal as the sovereign and independent Sikh state. Dr. D.S. Tyagi, chairman Agriculture Price Commission was shot dead in May, 1992 in Delhi by Babbars. M.L. Manchanda, State director of AIR Patiala was kidnapped and beheaded in a gruesome manner on May 27, 1992 in Delhi by Babbars. His severed head was put on display at a crossing in Patiala. This was the act of Babbar Khalsa area commander Amrik Singh Kauli. The militant had earlier gunned down AIR Station Director in Chandigarh, Sh. R.K. Talib. Babbar Khalsa Chief, Sukhdev Dasuwal was killed on August 9, 1992 in Ludhiana district. Amrik Singh Kauli, another top Babbar was also killed in Patiala. Gurdip Singh Sibia of Babbars surrendered before the police. Top militant leader Surjit Singh Behla of BTFK was killed in Tarn Taran area on June 9, 1992. Talwinder S. Parmar, a founder of Babbar Khalsa was killed near Phillaur on October 15, 1992.\(^\text{142}\)

Municipal elections were held in Punjab in September, 1992 which went totally peaceful. Sukha and Jinda killers of General Vaidya were hanged in Pune jail on October 9, 1992. Panchayat elections were held in January, 1993, which were participated by all political parties. Earlier 262 families of policemen were killed in Amritsar and Sangrur districts in the months of August, September & October 1992. Gurbachan Singh Manochahal was shot dead by the security forces in an encounter in village Rataul near TarnTaran on February 18, 1993. Dr. Sohan Singh, a top ideologue of militants was arrested in Mohali, who was let off after

\(^{141}\) Id pp. 375-376

\(^{142}\) Id pp.384-385
questioning.

When Akalis came to power in 1997, nothing was done on river water issue and it was Capt. Amrinder Singh as C.M. Punjab in 2002 had protected the interests of the state on water issue when Punjab Assembly abrogated the river water accord. Former Union Home Minister, Buta Singh presented before Akal Takhat against his ex-communication on April 2, 1985 by the high priests and he was awarded religious punishment before his readmission in Sikh Panth. Akali Dal (Badal) candidate Rattan Singh Ajnala won the by-election of Ajnala Vidhan Sabha Constituency held in 1994 and Manpreet Badal won from Gidderbaha. All Akali factions united under Parkash Singh Badal in April 1995. After the assassination of Beant Singh, Harcharan Singh Brar took over as C.M. Punjab and later on Mrs. Bhathal took over as C.M. During 1997 elections, the Congress Party was wiped out and Akalis led by Badal came to power. Akalis & BJP won 93 seats out of 117. Akali Dal bagged 74 seats. Immediately after taking over as CM by Badal in 1997, Government demanded transfer of Chandigarh and left out Punjabi speaking areas to Punjab, settlement of river water dispute on riparian principles, punishment to guilty of November 1984 carnage and judicious solution to all remaining problem faced by the people. Subsequently, the families of militants were honoured. Badal announced new working committee of Akali Dal on August 23, 1997. Tohra proposed that Badal as CM, should give up the reins of the party. Rather he suggested Sukhbir Badal to be put as C.M. Five Tohra loyalist members resigned from Badal Cabinet. Ultimately, Tohra quit SGPC as its chief &Bibi Jagir Kaur was elected as the first woman president of the SGPC on March 16, 1999. Bhai Ranjit Singh Akal Takhat Jathedar was sacked by SGPC and was replaced by Giani Puran Singh. In September 1999 Lok Sabha elections, Congress bagged 8 seats, which was a great set back to Akalis. The other group of Akalis demanded CBI enquiry for corruption in Badal Government. There were differences over issuing Nanakshahi Calendar. Canada based Purewal’s Nanakshahi calendar was rejected on January 6, 2000. BJP and other parties had also opposed the calendar that it will divide the Punjabi people. In anticipating his dismissal, Giani Puran Singh excommunicated Bibi Jagir Kaur, SGPC Chief from Panth. Giani Puran Singh Jathedar Akal Takhat was removed. The excommunication of Bibi Jagir Kaur and the three priests was revoked on March 29, 2000. RSS had brought out huge literature on the Sikh history. Akali Dal (Amritsar) and Dal Khalsa confronted the Hindu fundamental organisations for their penetration in Sikh affairs.

\[143\] Id pp.456-457
Dal Khalsa and other Sikh institutions appealed to Sh. Badal to put an end to the vicious propaganda of the RSS so that it may not repeat the Nirankari episode of 1978. On May 14, 2000, various Sikh organizations at Akal Takhat reiterated that the Sikhs are a separate nation and appealed to Akal Takhat to make efforts for incorporating this in the Constitution of the country. Badal faction of Akali Dal captured the Delhi Gurudwara Management Committee in the annual elections of the executive committee held on May 12, 2000.

On September 18, 2000, on a private member’s resolution in Vidhan Sabha that the House should strongly recommend to the state government that the state government should present to the Constitution review committee the Anandpur Sahib Resolution of 1978 for establishing a true federal polity in India. SAD refused to adopt it in the Assembly. Tohra was distancing away from SAD (Badal). In the meantime, Talwandi replaced Bibi Jagir Kaur on November 30, 2000 as she faced murder charges relating to her daughter. Akal Takhat Jathedar Vedanti and Prof. Manjit Singh, on January 13, 2001, accused the ruling coalition of Akali Dal (Badal) and BJP and police directly responsible for the widespread drug menace in the state. The Punjab assembly on March 15, 2001 adopted a resolution condemning the November 1984 carnage. The House welcomed the appointment of Nanawati Commission and required the central government and state government to take immediate steps to bring the killers to book. The house also condemned the Blue Star. SGPC at its meeting of the general house on March 5, 2001 sought the Vatican status for Amritsar. The house also condemned the killings and atrocities on Sikhs in various parts of the country. Nihang chief Baba Santa Singh was readmitted in Sikh Panth on April 4, 2001. Various Sikh organizations in a meeting on May 15, 2001 declared Bhinderanwale a martyr. Sh. Apar Singh Bajwa, the then Dy SP/city Amritsar confirmed the death of Bhinderanwale. The other Akali groups opposing the Akali Dal (Badal) set up a Panthic Morcha, which resubmitted the memorandum to Governor JFR Jacob on October 17, 2001 to dismiss the Akali/BJP government of Punjab. In the ensuing elections held on Feb 12, 2002, Congress won 62 seats and Capt Amrinder Singh took over as C.M. Punjab. Ultimately Tohra and Badal patched up. Tohra died on March 31, 2004 but he was totally dejected, disillusioned, and was betrayed and humiliated by Badal. Akalis no more raised the slogan of discrimination of Sikhs and thus, it was felt that assimilation of Sikhs in national mainstream was complete.

There has been an ambition to rule in the Sikh psyche. The Anandpur Sahib

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144 Id pp. 473–476
145 Id pp. 481–483
Resolution was not secessionist in character. The demand of Khalistan used to be voiced by some splinter groups and came to be raised forcefully for the first time after blue star and the most of the people behind were Sikhs settled abroad. The Sikhs are not only a religious group but also political people. Akal Takhat symbolizes the temporal power of the Sikh religion. Baba Banda Singh Bahadur for the first time consolidated the political identity of the community. However, it was the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which saw the ascendancy and consolidation of the Sikh power & the Sikh Raj. The partition of 1947 divided Punjab giving major portion to Pakistan. The remaining Punjab was bifurcated and Punjab was formed with majority of Sikhs\textsuperscript{146}.

Now the political dynamics of the state is dictated by the Sikh politics. The Hindu politics in this region has always been by and large the reaction of the Sikh politics. Due to this ethnic composition, the politics in the state has become highly polarized. Hindu leaders want any dignitary visiting Darbar Sahib must visit Durgiana Temple. Language issue and Punjabi suba movement also divided the state along communal lines. The river water dispute with the neighbouring non-riparian states had similar overtones, with one section in Punjab advocating that river water be treated as national asset.

Earlier, the Arya Samaj movement questioned the distinct identity of the Sikhs. Chief Khalsa Diwan and Singh Sabha movements were launched to counter the growing influence of the Arya Samaj. The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee, ultimately, became the rallying point of the Sikhism in the earlier twentieth century. The setting up of 175 members SGPC on November 15, 1920 to manage the Sikh shrines marked the watershed in the Sikh religo-political affairs under the British rule. The collective consciousness of the Sikhs came to reflected through this body\textsuperscript{147}.

Defining the political philosophy of the Akal Dal, the manifesto of SAD for 1985 Assembly elections stated that, “the party is pledged to the establishment of society based on economic, political, social and cultural justice. It is therefore committed to the society of Guru Gobind Singh’s concept”. The party demanded more powers to the state on the pattern of Anandpur Sahib Resolution. After the terror was totally controlled, Akali Dal on its 75\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary of the party on February 26, 1996 at MOGA in a resolution had said that it was essential to federalize the national party as this being the categoric imperative of pluralism of Indian society. The resolution outlined that Preamble to the Constitution should be amended so as to incorporate the expression federal to characterize the Republic of India as such

\textsuperscript{146}Id pp. 485-486
\textsuperscript{147}Id pp. 508, 511, 513
essential for highlighting and preserving the plural character of Indian Society. That the relations between the Union and the States should be drawn on federal lines. The centre should keep with itself, in the Union List, defence, foreign affairs, communication and currency. Lateron, the party also proposed amendment to Clause 25 II (B) of the Constitution to ensure distinct identity of the Sikhs. The manifesto for the 2007 Assembly elections outlined that the setting up of the true federal structure is the only way to strengthen the national unity.

Akali Dal came to power in Punjab in 2007 & 2012 Punjab Vidhan Sabha elections. Recently, Akali Dal withdrew the edict of Akal Takhat against Sacha Sauda Sect which was not welcomed by some section of the Sikhs. There was sacrilege of Guru Granth Sahib at many places in October and November, 2015. Akal Takhat again had to issue the Hukamnama against Sacha Sauda Sect that earlier Hukamnama will sustain and Sacha Sauda Sect will remain ousted from Sikh Panth. Sarbat Khalsa was held at village Chabba near Amritsar on November, 2015 where new Jathedar of Akal Takhat and other Takhats were appointed. The situation is of Stalemate now again, there is a ground set up for another cycle of violence.

4.8 CAUSES OF TERRORISM IN PUNJAB

Terrorism is a special kind of violence and special brand of Guerrilla warfare. Its armies are invisible and its objective is to wage the war of attribution and bleed the adversary white. It is a low tech, low cost and high result route to world wide audience. It is unpredictable and arbitrary and shows a total lack of sensitivity to human pain and suffering. Purity and correctness of means find no place in its calculation. Though the supporters of terrorists applaud them as freedom fighters fighting for the justice but the fundamental reality is that terrorism is a bloody and brutal phenomenon saturated with criminality. No grand design for human freedom, no moral quibbling or relativism can hide the inherent beastelity of a terrorist act. As Andrei Sakharov put it, “no matter how high the aim predicted by the terrorists, their activities are always criminal, destructive and throwing mankind back to the tune of lawlessness and chaos. Paul Wilkinson, an authority on terrorism observed that the idea that terrorism is a precise, highly controlled and almost surgical strategy is a cruel illusion. Once, a society become launched on a spiral of terror and counter terror, there is no way of stopping carnage. Further, there is nothing more fascist and nothing more authoritarian than a terrorist network. Once, an

individual gets in to it, he cannot walk out and exit is possible only through the cemetery.\footnote{Id p.15}

Puri, Judge and Sekhon (1999) in their jointly authored book “Terrorism in Punjab” – understanding the grass root reality and examine the reasons of violence in Punjab. The authors analyse the case of resistance against the terrorists by the public. According to them, the significant theoretical explanation of the reason of terrorist violence have been attempted by a number of scholars from Hannah Arendt in her classic “On Violence” (1964) and Thomas Thornton in “Terror As a Weapon Of Political Agitation” (1964) to Robert Ted Gurr, “Why Men Rebel” (1970), Martha Crenshaw in “The Causes of Terrorism” (1981) and Walter Lacquerer in “The Age of Terrorism” (1987). Whereas Arendt (1964) forcefully argued that the acquisition & exercise of power is the principal reason for all kinds of violence including terrorism, riots, revolution & greed-based crime; Thornton analyses the distinct reasons and advantages of terrorist violence in internal war situations. Ted Gurr gave a theory of “Relative Deprivation” centred in the subjective or psychological discontent which made individual and communities amenable to mobilization for a recourse to violence. Lacquerers defined terrorism as the use of covert violence by a group for political ends. Social scientists agree with lacquerer that the terrorism is part of political strategy or politics by other means. According to Walter, the persuasive argument about seeing terrorism as a social intervention and political divorce, advanced the search for a diagnostic explanation of terrorist violence. In the course of an examination of available explanations, Crenshaw (1981) focused mainly on insurgent terrorism and focused rationality as the key factor in the choice of terrorist method. Both the preconditions of social, political and economic contexts on the one hand and perceptive taking factors, immediately preceding the outset of terrorist violence on the other hand, required serious consideration in making sense of phenomenon. However her conclusion that this may not be the result of mass discontent on deep cleavage in society is particularly insightful. There may be a variety of divergent and variant combination of factors that contributed to the terrorist violence in a society. Two significant determinants according to her, were how far a society in its actual life, permitted violence & how disaffected were the communities elite who could often successfully arrogate to themselves the power and privilege to make decisions on behalf of majority. Juergens Mayer (1997) in his recent comparative study of religious terrorism finds that in certain cases, the purpose of terrorism may not be only strategic but also prominently symbolic in its effect, such as bombing of WTC in USA. Discussing what he describes as ‘purposeful violence’ invoking the ideas of
theatre in religious terrorism, he observes that they are dramatic shows, but ones that can have a transformative effect on those who commit them and those who are affected by them both directly and indirectly. Central to the understanding of such terrorism are the culture of violence, the internal logic of convictions, social support and the stamp of approval. There are cultures where violence to some extent is the way of life\textsuperscript{150}.

There have been many journalistic studies produced on the causes of terrorism in Punjab such as by Tully & Jacob (Mrs. Gandhi’s Last Battle), M.J. Akbar (The Seize Within), Narayanan (Trust With Terror) (1996), Dang (An Analytical Study of Punjab Terrorists) (1988) and KPS Gill (Knights of Falsehood) (1997). They have focussed on the ground level empirical reality tending to explain what happened and why it so happened. These studies are independent of the theoretical and methodological baggage of social scientists. Terrorism is considered a weapon of insurgents who plan to bring about a change in the existing social and political order. It acquires, by virtue of its ideology, a discriminatory character of violence identifying friends & foes in struggle. In the case of Punjab, the ideology was more or less clearly articulated in the resolutions of Panthic Committees and their armed organizations which traced its genesis from the ideology propounded by Bhinderanwale. All those who opposed to their struggle were enemies who were either silenced, compromised or liquidated.

The efforts were made to create conditions to make Hindus flee & get migrated Sikhs from other states. Prominent, Hindus & Sikhs, who were opposing this ideology were liquidated. Communities of all shades, who strongly opposed the religion based politics of separation and members of other political parties were listed in the opposite camp & some of them liquidated. The appeal of Communist ideology and the tradition of armed & popular resistance against oppression has been particularly strong in Punjab, though it is not reflected in the electoral politics\textsuperscript{151}. The people registered the plans of terrorists groups. The terrorists had announced a 13 point social reformation programme in March 1987. Sikhs were asked not to take meat, liquor & other intoxicants, not to accept dowry and to confine the marriage parties to 11 persons. However, people refused and found out ways to oppose the social reforms. Security forces ensured that the butcher shops were not shut & the meat was disbursed at the residences. There was a growth of marriage palaces in the city to counter the code of 11 party members in the marriage ceremony. The terrorists started violating the honour of womenfolk in the villages and indulged in large scale extortions in the late eighties. Troubled by regular demands of money and threat to life, the people started migrating to

\textsuperscript{150} Id p.27
\textsuperscript{151} Id p.28
cities. The terrorists targeted the rich families and people changed the life style of living in order to save from terrorist targeting. When they targeted the police families, the Jat Sikhs & police combined turned against them. 1991 was the peak of terrorist regime & thereafter it declined. The people came forward and shared the intelligence of whereabouts of the terrorist hideouts. Thus an atmosphere of resistance was built up against the terrorists. Communist party members in village Sehnsra and Ghannapur villages in Amritsar districts offered prolonged resistance by repeated exchange of firing. Comrades of Bhikiwind in T.T. district offered a tough resistance in the peak of terrorism days and he was awarded shourya chakara by the Government of India. All cases of armed resistance, effective handling by Punjab police & other security forces and the assistance of arms provided to the public & PHG/SPOs were very crucial in determining the outcome.¹⁵²

Afsir Karim (1991) in his book “Counter Terrorism – The Pakistan Factor” has analyzed the Pakistan factor in creating disturbance in Punjab. According to him, the main motivation for terrorist violence in Punjab State was from an urge for vengeance. This urge mingled with vague dreams of a separate state. In Punjab, the aims, objectives and motivation of various terrorist groups can be considered with in the following parameters:-

i. Thwart all attempts of a political solution short of a separate Sikh state. Increased violence is therefore witnessed whenever there was an effort of compromise or chances of political solution with in sight.

ii. To paralyse law & order machinery of the state and undermine administration down to the grass roots.

iii. Creation of a terrorist dominated belt on the Indo-Pak border by forcing the Hindu population to migrate. All methods were considered fair to achieve this end. Extortion, mass murders or selected assassination and threats to eliminate members of family of a suspected informer were resorted to without any compensation.

iv. Promote Hindu-Sikh alienation and distrust by a combination of horrendous acts and disinformation campaign.

v. Wreak vengeance on all those who oppose terrorism, be it individuals or the state machinery, with a view to establish the power of the gun.

vi. Pakistan had definite strategic and political advantages in supporting the terrorists in Punjab. Pakistan therefore provided sanctuaries operational basis, weapons and

¹⁵² Id p.33
training facilities to various terrorist groups operating in Punjab with the aim of creating chaos and dissatisfaction.

vii. “To keep the sword of Damocles hanging over India’s head in shape of demand for Khalistan and discredit India’s Secular credentials.

viii. To keep Indian security forces tied down within its own borders by encouraging chaos through random acts of terrorism.

ix. To disrupt or threaten lives of communication and sabotage logistic support systems in the event of a war through terrorist cum guerrilla attacks.

x. To promote Hindu Sikh alienation through various actions of the terrorist groups with a view to establishing a permanent Sikh dominated ‘Pro-Pakistan’ belt in this strategically important border state\textsuperscript{153}.

The number of villages in the state is around 12000 and about 700 villages were affected by terrorism and of them 268 villages seriously, that is about 3\% of the total number of villages. About 25000 persons have been killed by 1992.

WH McLeod, the most respected scholar of Sikhism in Western Academic circles makes the following description of the image of Sikhs: “Most people seem to have some notion of the general outlook and behaviour to be expected of Sikhs. If one is asked to describe a Sikh, the description will exclusively include beards, turbans and possibly swords, a description of Sikh attributes & behaviour, will have something to say about militant ideals and willingness to perform violent deeds”\textsuperscript{154}. Sikh militancy in Punjab was described as the most notorious and lethal of all insurgencies that India has known. It was exceptionally brutal as it took over 25000 lives whereas Northern Ireland took only 1686 lives between 1964 and 1976. Another fact is that it was one of the few insurgencies that has been systematically defeated. Khushwant Singh a noted Sikh scholar writes in the second volume of “A History of the Sikhs”,“‘The Sikhs’ self image bears little resemblances to reality. The message of goodwill towards all mankind enshrined in the Granth has been reduced to a literaly to be chanted on ceremonial occasion, Guru Gobind Singh’s exhortation to draw the sword only after all other means have failed to brig evil-doers to the right path is honoured more in breach than in observance. Bhinderanwale has become a martyr hero of a larger section of Sikh society. At times, it appears that perhaps the Khalsas (the community of Sikhs) have run the course of history prescribed for them and their Gurus in their inscrutable wisdom have

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\textsuperscript{153}Id p. 34

\textsuperscript{154}Kumar, Ram Narayan; \textit{Terror in Punjab}, Shipra Publications Delhi – 2008 p.12
given them leaders who will fulfil their death wish”. If it is so then the issues of reconciliation through accountability, truth and justice or of punishing the transgressors of human rights or of restoring the humanity of victims through attempts of collective reparation of their injuries cease to have relevance.\(^\text{155}\).

In Oct 1993, the New York Times carried an article written by Edward A Gorgan regarding the origin of separatist unrest: “The modern Punjab crisis began in 1976 when many Sikhs began feeling a threat to their identity, compounded by attempts by the Government in Delhi to divert some of the state’s river waters. Intent on weakening the political power of less militant Sikhs, who challenged the governing Congress Party, Mrs. Gandhi threw her support to a Sikh Religious militant, Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, after the congress party lost the state elections in 1977. But he turned on his patron, armed his supporters and declared an independent Sikh State, Khalistan.

In June 1984, Mrs. Gandhi subdued the rebellion by ordering the Army to storm the Golden Temple in Amritsar the holiest Sikh shrine where Sikh militants were holed up with huge amounts of arms.

4.9 IN ADDITION TO ABOVE, FOLLOWINGS ARE SOME OF THE REASONS BEHIND TERRORISM IN PUNJAB

Social causes:
A large number of educated Sikh youth began abandoning their traditional religious symbols: cutting of hairs and beards became a common fashion among them. Some of them even took to smoking. Religious leaders and fundamentalists feared that the Sikhs would be absorbed in Hindu fold. Sant Bhinderanwale, chief of Damdami Taksal of Chowk Mehta launched a movement against these evils of modernization and gained good number of followers. Simultaneously, with the education and awakening, scheduled caste youth and agrarian workers started getting alienated from Akali Party and went closer to Congress. All political parties tried to exploit situation in their favour which resulted in deterioration of the situation in Punjab.\(^\text{156}\).

Economic Causes:
Green revolution helped only the rich. Small landowners & agrarian workers suffered economically. So, this revolution widened the economic gulf between the agrarian classes which is described by Khushwant Singh as ‘rich landlords became richer, the marginal

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\(^{155}\) Id p.15

\(^{156}\) Kumar, Raj (Research Scholar) : Terrorism in Punjab – Causes, Genesis, Climax and Decline– Deptt. Of Political Science, University of Jammu, 2015 p.155
became poorer and landless unwanted on the land. The partial prosperity increased the bitterness among various sections & this was further exploited by the left forces. The landlords started looking for reactionary elements and divisive forces through chawenistic, communal or secessionist movements.

A section of the big land lords started investing in business, which contrasted with the business interests of urban population, especially Hindus. This ultimately led to the demand of Anandpur Sahib Resolution. Satya Pal Dang described the demand of Anandpur Sahib Resolution as the reflection of the very class. The blessings of Green Revolution increased the income of SGPC. There was struggle between the political parties to have control over SGPC. The Congress backed Bhinderanwale in the elections of SGPC which had the support of Dal Khalsa and Akali Dal headed by Jagjit Singh Chauhan. But the Sikh voters rejected him. Such tactics obviously encouraged the anti-national elements. Prosperity also led to proliferation of education and the new generation ignored their traditional profession and blue collar jobs. Some people went outside and get engulfed in to anti-Indian forces. Secondly, the youth which remained in Punjab was attracted towards path of extremism and terrorism advocated by Bhinderanwale. The outside labour came in a big number in to Punjab to help the farmers & also act as industrial workers. They were mostly Hindus. This all led to communal situation in Punjab vis-a-vis Akalis157.

**Political Causes:**

(a) **The establishment of Khalistan** – The violence started with the clash between Akhand Kirtani Jatha workers and Nirankaris. The first notable killing was of Baba Gurbachan Singh, Nirankari Chief. The killing of Lala Jagat Narain added Hindus astargets of the terrorists. In 1986, terrorists formally declared establishment of Khalistan, as their aim & popularised it as the solution of Sikh Problem158.

(b) **Political Manoeuvring** – Akalis&Congress, two main parties started exploiting situation in their own way to come to power. Manoeuvring of both the parties played a big role and encouraged terrorism in the state. Akalis mixed religion with politics & it worsened the situation. Congress propped up Bhinderanwale against Akalis in order to divide the Sikh masses. Congress encouraged Bhinderanwale & Dal Khalsa to contest elections against Akalis. Dal Khalsa gave the slogan of a separate sovereign Sikh state & their activists indulged in the activities of sabotage, assassinations and hijacking. Akalis who lost political power in 1980s raised some political, economic & religious demands in order to create

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157 Id pp.156-157  
158 Id pp. 157-158
trouble for the Congress Government. Akali leaders also encouraged fundamentalist and extremist elements, who were allowed to use the Golden Temple Complex. The terrorists under Bhinderanwale ran a parallel Government from Golden Temple Complex. Thus Akalis & Congress both used SantBhinderanwale for their political ends. So such type of unprincipled manoeuvring of Congress & Akalis encouraged terrorism in the state\textsuperscript{159}.

C) Weak State Government – The State Government run by S. Darbara Singh as CM Punjab failed to contain violence because of differences with Giani Zail Singh, the then Home Minister and also, indecisiveness on the part of the State administration. No action was taken against Bhinderanwale when Sh. A.S. Atwal DIG/JR was killed in the Golden Temple Complex in 1982. Arrest and release of Bhinderanwale in the case of death of Lala Jagat Narain was another drama. After Operation Blue Star, the terrorism gained momentum during the reign of S. Surjit Singh Barnala, the then CM Punjab and no effective action was taken against the terrorists. The terrorists took control of the Golden Temple Complex and started the killing of the innocent persons, which ultimately ended with Operation Black Thunder in 1988. However, under the political will of S. Beant Singh & the tough action against the terrorists by the security force under Sh. K.P.S. Gill the then D.G.P. Punjab, there was effective management of the onslaught of terrorism in Punjab\textsuperscript{160}.

(d) Wrong policies of the central government – The central government was callus towards the demands of Akalis. The Central government gave free hand to Sh. Bhajan Lal, the then CM Haryana in Asiad & harassed the common Sikhs, which strengthened the position of Bhinderanwale. Central government always used the policy of divide and rule between the fundamentalists & Akalis & this resulted in alienation of Sikhs from the mainstream. Many Thousands of Sikhs were killed in November, 1984 riots in Delhi & Rajiv Gandhi failed to control and contain the situation. It created a strong sense of insecurity among Sikhs in India & abroad. Thereafter, the situation in Punjab and adjoining states remained disturbed even during the reign of Sh. V.P. Singh, the then PM of India. All this strengthened the roots of terrorism in Punjab\textsuperscript{161}.

4.9.1 EXTERNAL FACTORS
Pakistan exploited the situation to take revenge of Bangladesh, Since we were with Russia, the Afghan take over by Russia, was considered as challenge by the Western World. USA & its allies used Pakistan to eject Russia from Afghanistan & they encouraged the anti Indian

\textsuperscript{159} Id pp.158-159
\textsuperscript{160} Id pp. 159-160
\textsuperscript{161} Id pp. 160-161
elements living in their countries against India. The ISYF, WSO, Chauhan’s Khalistan propaganda etc. was financed & helped in all manners against India. Situation in Punjab could be exploited easily as Bhinderanwale was already on the ladder against India. Moreover, weapons could be easily sent through porous border of Punjab to Punjab & J&K.

We may thus reasonably conclude that the terrorism in Punjab, which had become the greatest challenge to the unity and integrity of the country, erupted because of exploitation of socio-economic and political factors for the power struggle. Later, the weak state apparatus, wrong policies of the central government and the external support from across the border were the main causes which facilitated the terrorism in strengthening its footing. But it started losing soil due to effective policies of Beant Singh Government, diminishing flow of external aid support and social alienation of terrorists in Punjab due to their own misdeeds\textsuperscript{162}.

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru had said in the Congress Committee meeting held at Calcutta in July, 1944, “the brave Sikhs of Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set up in the North where in the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom”. These words symbolise the goodwill and understanding promised to Sikhs by the Congress\textsuperscript{163}.

During Congress Session in Lahore in 1929, Gandhi Ji, Nehru & other Congress leaders had given solemn assurance to Baba Kharak Singh, the then veteran Sikh leader that: “After India has achieved political freedom, no Constitution will be framed by the majority unless it is freely acceptable to Sikhs”\textsuperscript{164}

Only months before Independence, Nehru declared:

“The various territories of the union of India will be autonomous units with residuary powers”\textsuperscript{165} Such was the faith of the Sikhs in the sincerity of Congress assurances that the Sikh leadership stated:“Sikhs have no demands to make. They will satisfy their political rights and aspirations through the goodwill of the Congress and the majority community.” Sikhs were shocked when there were instructions that “Sikhs particularly those migrating from Pakistan should be treated like a “Criminal tribe.”\textsuperscript{166}In the Indian Constitution, Sikhs were categorized as Hindus and even the independence of their religion was not recognized. The personal laws of the Sikhs were also tampered with and Anand Marriage Act was replaced by the ‘Hindu Marriage Act’ of 1955. Of course, Anand Marriage

\textsuperscript{162}Id pp.160-161
\textsuperscript{163}Congress Committee Meeting, Calcutta, 1944
\textsuperscript{164}Congress, Lahore Session, 1929
\textsuperscript{165}Constituent Assembly, 9th December, 1946
\textsuperscript{166}Singh, Kapur (ICS) – \textit{Sachi Sakhi}.  

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Act has been passed now.

Punjab on the basis of Punjabi language was carved after a long battle between Sikhs and the Central Government. Atruncated Punjab was given as Chandigarh as capital was not given and most of the Punjabi speaking area, were kept out of Punjab. Water share was given to Haryana, Delhi & Rajasthan, when as a riparian state Punjab, other states have no locus standi to get it. The control of BBMB was also given to the centre. Whenever Nehru was reminded of promises of pre-partition to Sikhs, his reply was simply, “the circumstances & the times now changed.” The Sikhs feel betrayed167.

Sikhs felt, after partition, that their farming and agrarian interests have not been looked after by the centre. No major industry was given to Punjab. In everything, the centre interfered in the state affairs and it was against the autonomous spirit as Nehru had envisaged. It was also alleged that centre always supported the breakaway group from Sikhism. Radhasoami, Sacha Sauda, Namdharis and Nirankari sects are fundamentally opposed to Sikhism but the Central government always supported them practicing the divide and rule policy. Army quota of Sikhs in Army recruitment was reduced inspite of the fact that Sikhs are the martial race. Sikhs feel that they are not treated with equality as Indian citizens and judged on merits and dismissed as small minority168.

The demands in the present agitation are based on Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The Principal demands are as follows:

1. Redrawing the boundaries of Punjab to redress the imbalance and its deviation from linguistic and cultural principles including the return of Chandigarh to Punjab.
2. The judicious determination of river water and electricity disputes.
3. Greater autonomy for the states – Nehru declaration was that states would be autonomous units. The Indian Government will be a federal and loose central Government exercising power on only three subjects, namely communication, defence and foreign affairs.
4. The religious demands – Permission to broadcast Kirtan from Golden Temple to Sikhs living abroad, particularly in Europe and North-America. Now this demand is redundant. The second was the amendment of Constitution’s Article 25 Explanation II, not to categorise Sikhs with Hindus. Sacred city status was to be given to Amritsar

168 Id pp. 11-12
city. The Punjab problem should not have been portrayed as Sikh problem but it was purely a Punjabi Problem.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Congress at the time of partition had provided the following figures regarding Sikhs:

1. Out of 2125 martyrs, 1550 were Sikhs.
2. Out of 2696 exiled to Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 2147 were Sikhs.
3. Out of 127 Indians sent to jails/gallows, 92 of them were Sikhs.

Sikhs made the overwhelming majority of the sacrifices even though they only formed 1% of the population. Thus the Sikhs have dominated the civil rights movements in Punjab.\(^{169}\)

In the coming times, we shall be facing super-terrorism or mega terrorism or High tech terrorism i.e. Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear terrorism. The 17\(^{th}\) century was known as century of enlightenment, 18\(^{th}\) century as century of reasoning, 19\(^{th}\) century as century of progress, 20\(^{th}\) century as century of stress and strain and 21\(^{st}\) century will be known as century of disasters, panic, destructions and calamities in the form of heavy rain, floods, earthquakes, fires, diseases etc. Normally, the cause of violence in Punjab is attributed to social, political and economic causes; weak state government and the wrong policies of the Central Government. In Punjab, we have lost around 25000 people including 2000 security personnel. Various terrorist outfit i.e. Dashmesh Regiment, KLF, KCF, BTFK, KAF, Babbars, KZF etc were active in Punjab and adjoining states. They openly indulged in killings, rapes, extortions and torturing the people.

4.9.2 IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE IN PUNJAB
Following were the immediate reasons behind terrorist violence in Punjab:-

i. Emotional exploitation of youth by Bhinderanwale on the aspect of egoism and audacity.

ii. Nexus of criminals, smugglers and religious bigots supported by the politicians.

iii. Weapons from across the border.

iv. Abetment by Western World for political ends.

Now the terrorism has become a big business. Huge money is involved in Narco-terrorism. A key mobilizing factor for major movements in the past as well as in the present

\(^{169}\)Id pp.16-17
has been that the Sikh Panth (religious path) is in danger\textsuperscript{170}. At present, Babbar under Rattandeep Singh, KLF under Paramjit Singh Panjwar and KZF under Neeta are active and are trying their best under ISI to revive terrorism in Punjab.

The recent case in April, 2015 i.e. the attempt on the life of Sh. Harinder Soni, General Secretary Bal Thakre Shiv Sena group in Ludhiana is the matter of great concern. Though the accused persons have been arrested on the spot but this is not a good omen for Punjab. One good thing is that the people of Punjab are not with the terrorists.

4.9.3 **PAK SUPPORT TO PUNJAB MILITANTS**

It is a fact that terrorism in Punjab was abetted by training and providing weapons to the terrorists. By the end of 1992, it was evident that their game plans in Punjab were frustrated. Even the Western powers pressurized Pakistan to refrain from aiding and assisting terrorist activities in Punjab, failing which the country would be declared a terrorist state\textsuperscript{171}. ISI of Pakistan had all out supported the Punjab terrorists and supplied weapons through Punjab & J&K borders. ISI started the training camps in Lahore, Gujranwala, Bahawalpur and POK. Punjab terrorists were trained alongwith J&K terrorists in camps held in Baramula, Kupwara, Shopianetc. Babbars, KLF & KZF were the main beneficiaries. Kathmandu in Nepal emerged as a major nerve centre of the terrorist activities where the ISI men posted in Pak mission in Kathmandu arranged stay, travel facilities, meetings, weapons and pushing them to Indian territories. Some travel agents served as links between ISI, terrorists in Pakistan and terrorists in India. The demolition of Babri Masjid was exploited by Pak ISI which acted as proxy war with Indian authorities as was felt by Sikh terrorists after Blue Star and Woodrose Operations. Lal Singh of KLF had developed that there was close coordination of Muslim militants & Sikh militants. The operation Kashmir & Khalistan i.e. K\textsubscript{2} was named. The close coordination of all the outfits in India was named as neo-militancy. Following points are of great significane.

a. Pak/ISI extended full facilities to the top terrorists from Punjab and provided training, weapons shelter in Bungalows and entry facilities to Indian territories. Top terrorists like Punjwar, Dr. Sohan Singh (since dead), Dr. Pritam Singh Sekhon, Sukhdev Singh Parmar of Babbars, Wadhawa Singh, Mehal Singh Babbar, Narain Singh of KLF, Bablir Singh Sandhu ofCouncil of Khalistan, Wassan Singh Zafarwal, Lakhbir Singh Rode of ISYF etc. were housed in big bungalows in Lahore. Seven hijackers of Air

\textsuperscript{170}Crenshaw, Martha (Ed.), *Terrorism in Context*, Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, 1995 p.359

\textsuperscript{171}Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
India plane under Gajinder Singh were patronized by ISI. All the top terrorists were playing in the hands of ISI.
b. Muslim angle brought Dawood factor in to play and he was responsible for Bombay blasts in 1993. He arranged shipment of weapons via MHR/Gujarat coastal belt for the use of Muslim and Punjab militants. KLF was actively cooperating with Muslim militants.
c. Under neo-militancy plans, the weapons were sent through J&K border, coastal areas of Gujarat, Rajasthan border and Kutch border. Weapons were sent through Punjab border with the help of smugglers. ISI actively helped the terrorists & smugglers to carry weapons, explosives and narcotics.
d. There were reports of definite supply of explosives and weapons by Punjab militants located in UK, Dubai and Nepal. It means that ISI picked up Punjab militants for training in foreign countries. Even the unemployed boys and illegal migrants to foreign countries were picked up by ISI & leaders of various outfits living in Pakistan to impart training in field crafts, handling of weapons, assembling of bombs, carrying of sabotages and attacking other targets. Thus Pakis more active to involve disgruntled not only Sikh boys but also Muslim youth all over India.
e. Pak is indulging in subversive propaganda on media and also to Jathas visiting religious places in Pakistan. Jathas coming from Europe, America & Canada are indulging in subversive propaganda against India at the behest of Pak authorities.

Dr. Sohan Singh during interrogation had spelt out the following things:

i. Weapons can be supplied by Pakistan to the Punjab militants & other militants in any part of the country including Delhi.

ii. Since the various terrorist organizations have suffered big losses because of operations by the security forces, the terrorist organisation have been directed to attack the selected targets & Hon’ble CM Punjab (S. Beant Singh) was a primary target.

iii. ISI had directed the terrorist leaders to indulge in mass killings in trains and hit the economic targets.

iv. Terrorist organisations aimed strike beyond Punjab say in Himachal, Delhi & U.P.

v. Babbar were more active & they would receive big consignment of weapons\textsuperscript{172}.

\textsuperscript{172}Id
Pakistan was actively involved in sending narcotics along with weapons and explosives. In J&K, ISI pushed the narcotics & weapons through Sambha, R.S. Pura and Akhnoor regions in J&K and Ajnala, Bamyal, Khemkaran etc. of Punjab border. They even exploited the soft border of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Even the coastal area of Gujarat was also used. Babbars & KCF (Panjwar) used the Bikaner sector of Rajasthan. KCF Panjwar was active in Mumbai coastal area. KLF used the Muslim smugglers to smuggle weapons from Pakistan. KLF & Babbars used POK border to get weapons

The terrorists have evolved a coding system, which was used to have communication & contact with each other. Important terrorists were also codenamed by the militants to maintain their secrecy. English alphabet was used to reverse the order of merit. They used code names for explosives, assault rifles, and ammunition.173

Apart from Punjab, the terrorists were active in adjoining states and they were having hideouts & in few cases, the fresh recruits from those areas. They were active in Delhi, Haryana, U.P., J&K, Maharashtra and Gujarat. The consignment of the weapons came from Gujarat and MHR border areas. Where they killed those people, who were involved in arson and killing after the assassination of Smt. Gandhi, the terrorists had also suffered a big loss. Over 100 terrorists including half a dozen hard core terrorists were killed outside Punjab. Though over 200 killings were reported in other states but there was sharp decline in killings after 1993. KLF, Babbars & KZF outfits had hideouts in Jammu, Paonta Sahib, Ambala and Delhi. KLF created hideouts in Calcutta, Ranchi, Jharia, Giridih, Nasik, Dhulia, Nagpur, Sagar, Anand, Palampur, Indore, Bhopal, Gwalior, Delhi, Ghaziabad & Coastal areas of Gujarat & MHR. There they held meetings & dumped weapons. The Terai belt of UP emerged as a safe sanctuary to Babbars, BTFK, KCF etc. Babbars had regrouped in Delhi but important Babbars were killed in anti terrorists operations in Punjab. The terrorists had scattered to Calcutta, Bombay & Thane in the garb of truck operators and they received weapon consignments through coastal areas and the managers of Gurudwaras helped them. KCF-Panjwar & KLF Navneet group jointly struck in Delhi & Rajasthan area and resorted to killings & kidnapping for ransom. The terrorists exploited their contacts in transporters, dhaba owners and smugglers.174

### 4.9.4 ACTIVITIES OF SUBVERSIVES ABROAD

During the militancy period, the subversive activities were at the top in U.K., U.S.A., Germany, Canada, Holland & Belgium. Their governments were also supporting as India was...
closer to Russia in cold war and as a policy matter of government, they were instigating the hardliner Sikhs in their respective countries. The subversives were financed and sent to Pakistan for training to be inducted in Punjab for subversive and terrorist activities. The subversive elements in the foreign counties are again trying to revive militancy. Gurmeet Singh Aulakh & Sewa Singh Lally were associated with so called council of Khalistan. They took up the cases of human rights violations with other countries and human rights protection groups to exert pressure on authorities to stop human rights violations. This was exaggerated to bring bad name to the government & other authorities. Subversives expanded their net enormously in Canada, USA, Belgium, Holland, Germany, France, Switzerland, Singapore, Denmark and Dubai. Their activities can be categorized in to three spheres i.e. North America Countries, European Countries and South Asian Countries. Main organizations which promoted and planned subversive activities in foreign countries included council of Khalistan in USA and its branch in U.K., factions of ISYF under Lakhbir Singh Rode and Satinderpal Singh, BKI supported by government in exile headed by Sewa Singh Lalli, Gurudwara Coordination Committee in Canada, America & Germany; World Sikh Organization, Khalistan Affair Centre California, Sikh Youth of America. Sikh Youth International aligned with Babbars and Khalistan Liberation Movement headed by Buta Singh Rai (Pro-Taksal). Subversives used the vernacular magazines to express pro-militant & pro-Khalistan views. They even hired radio & TV Channels in Canada to further their pro-militant leanings.

Gurmit Singh Aulakh appealed to the European countries to:

a. Raise voice against human rights violations in India.

b. To grant full diplomatic recognition to Khalistan.

c. Support Sikh demands for self determination.

Gurmit Singh Aulakh & others were even in touch with the US Congressmen for the so called human rights violations. Aulakh even arranged demonstration at UN Head quarters against India. The council of Khalistan organized its first International conference on October 31, 1993 on the issue of Khalistan with the motive of propaganda for Khalistan and mobilization of financial resources. Apart from these, the speakers exhorted the Muslim, Naga & Tamils for struggle of independence175. Now Sikhs for the justice based in Surry (Vancouver) is highly active.

Faiz Ahmed Faiz, a great south Asian Poet had said, “Punjabis will always get together over “Daru” i.e. country liquor, for, after all a friend is a friend, whatever their

175Id
The activities of the Jujharus can be based on the following contexts. The first is the land relation and the agrarian situation. The second is the military recruitment politics of the Central Government, which had affected the employment opportunities of young people as the small land holders had always one to two young children in Army from each family. The third is the reaction to the operation Blue Star, operation Woodrose and November massacre. The fourth is the police activities in the villages, specially the families having alleged hideouts or sheltering or terrorists belonging to the families or families giving concrete help. The fifth is the religious identity and economic discrimination. 75% of the riparian water of the rivers is allotted to non-riparian states. Cost or irrigation by tubewells is around 3 time than the canal irrigation which is free now. Power supply is given only for eight hours. All this has the adverse effect on farming. Then came the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, which spoke of the autonomy and rectification of economic grievances of the Punjab as a region. The speeches of Sant Bhinderanwale gave flip to the socio-economic grievances of the Sikhs. Then the Central Government notification that the recruitment in Armed forces would be on the basis of the recruitable population in the state. This led to the unemployment in Punjab in a great number. These unemployed boys joined the various outfits & resorted looting & killings. It is a fact that actual resistance on the part of Sikhs started after Blue Star operation, operation Woodrose & massacre of Sikhs known as November riots in Delhi & other Indian cities. Every Sikh had in mind that the attack on Darbar Sahib was not to arrest the individuals but to suppress the culture of the people of Punjab. In operation Woodrose, while in mopping up operations, the security officials insulted their honour & womenfolk. Many young boys crossed over to Pakistan. During November riots, the Sikhs were indiscriminately killed in a planned manner. The senior leaders of the Congress were named who organized the killings/looting of Sikh houses. The statement of Sh. Rajiv Gandhi, the then PM of India, “When a great tree falls, the earth trembles” added fuel to the fire. After Blue Star operation, draconian laws were passed by the Centre i.e. Special Courts Act, TADA, POTA etc.

Cunningham reports that first Sarbat Khalsa was held in 1747 at Darbar Sahib. Usually, two Sarbat Khalsas are organized at Darbar Sahib in a year, one at Baisakhi & the second at Diwali. It was only during the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the importance of Akal Takhat began to decrease. PHRO & Movement against State Repression were working

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176 Pettigrew, Joyce M; Sikhs of the Punjab, ZED Books Ltd London and New Jersey, 1995 p.VII
177 Id p.4-5
178 Id pp.7-9
effectively to check atrocities against innocent people and they were in touch with Asia Watch and Amnesty International, two broadbased human rights organizations. Movement Against Repression of Sh. Ajit Singh Bains, A retd. Punjab & Haryana HighCourt Judge was quite active. Jaspal Singh of PHRO was even arrested. PHRO was very active & its members even used to attend Bhog ceremony of the slain terrorists. By 1993, the rural work of PHRO was curtailed severely as it was dangerous for them to travel to the villages.

The unrest among farmers was seen after imposition of a quota system in Army recruitment in 1974 as small farmers could have good life only after sending one or two wards in Army. The small farmers could not have advantage of green revolution. The small farmers are generally under debt. The participants in insurgency were middle class peasants. The middle class peasants refer to the peasants, who has access to his own land and cultivates himself. After Bluestar operation, the Sikh psyche was badly hurt & injured because of Sikh national problems. Mostly the followers of Bhinderanwale were exploited with emotional aspects because of egoism and they had the revenge in mind. Sukhwinder Singh Sangha, Kamaljit Singh Sultanwind, Seetal Singh Mattewal, Harbhajan Singh of Sursinghwala, were all educated & belonged to rich families but were the top terrorists.

After Sarbat Khalsa on 13th January, 1986 in Darbar Sahib, the goal of Khalistan was announced by Panthic Committee. Khalistan Commando Force, an armed wing was formed under Manbir Singh Chaheru to act as guerrilla force. After Chaheru’s death, Labh Singh, an ex-constable took over as chief of KCF. Aror Singh formed a separate group of KLF and later on Avtar Brahma was made chief of KLF. The surviving members of KCF were Gurjant Singh Rajasthani, BalwinderSingh Shahpur, Harbhajan Singh Sursingwala, Hardev Singh Kalia, Sital Singh Mattewal, Sukhdev Singh Jhamke, Pargat Singh Samra, Jarnail Singh Hoshairpuri, Sukhwinder Singh Gora etc. In 1987, Manochahal was expelled from Panthic Committee who had formed his own organisation BTFK. Later on KLF was taken over by Brahma & afterwards by Gurjant Singh Budhsinghwala. New Panthic committee headed by Dr. Sohan Singh and KCF (Zaffarwal) came face to face and killed many top terrorists in intergang rivalry. SurSinghwala, Samra, Nishan Singh Salarpur & Harminder Singh Sandhu were killed in intergang rivalry. KCF had laid down certain rules as below:

a. No innocent person should be killed.

\[179^\text{Id p. 42} \]
\[180^\text{Id pp. 44-45} \]
\[181^\text{Id pp. 82-85} \]
b. You should not consider raising your hand against children, old people, women and the sick under any circumstances.

c. Your enemy who has lost weapons and is injured should be spared. He should be treated as a prisoner of war and his rights respected.

d. You are forbidden to obtain what you require through stealing or fraudulent means.

e. You must not be partisan in village disputes.

f. You must not attack a fellow Sikh. If he is suspected of being an informer, he must be given an opportunity to present his case.

g. There can be no controversy over the “Rehat Maryada” at this point in time. This is delaying tactic

h. The political process should be promoted on the basis of Sarbat Khalsa resolution.

i. Conditions for dialogue with police & the members of security forces should be created to try and persuade them to support the independence movement.

j. It should be explained with friendliners and affection to local Hindus and non-sikhs that in Khalistan, there will be no discrimination against them\(^\text{182}\).

KCF (Jaffarwal) had Manbir Singh Chaheru, Labh Singh, Wassan Singh Jaffarwal, Sukhwinder Singh Gora, Jarnail Singh Hoshiarpur, Jassa Singh Santuwal, Rachhpal Singh Bhola, Sukhdev Singh Jhamke, Paramjit Singh Panjwar as its alleged Generals. Individual leaders associated with KCF until 1990 were Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, Sital Singh Mattewal, Balwinder Singh Shahpur, Gurjant Singh Rajasthani, Hardev Singh Kalia, Satnam Singh Chinna etc. The constitution of new Panthic or Second Panthic Committee had KLF (Budhsinghwala), KCF (Panjwar), AISSF (Bittoo), Babbar Khalsa and was headed by Dr. Sohan Singh\(^\text{183}\).

The movement suffered as no outfit protected the people & the people turned against the onslaught of the terrorist groups. Whereas the police launched the covert operations and ensured that people are not harassed. The security forces were convinceed that ISI was providing all help to the militants. Bhog ceremonies of the terrorists were secured so that the terrorists do not attend the ceremonies. The Operation Woodrose was responsible for greater recruitment & buoyancy in terrorism in Punjab. According to a top terrorist, Sukhwinder Singh Gora, a KCF Deputy; a Sikh cannot be oppressed. That is imprinted in his heart. The life of a Sikh is like a water flowing in a stream. When you try to stop the flow, its level rises

\(^{182}\text{Id p. 99}\)

\(^{183}\text{Id p. 100}\)
and it can harm. The terrorists were successful in having the support of the rural population. Whenever a terrorist was caught, he had preferred to die rather than disclosing about the other members of the group during interrogation. The other thing was their commitment to faith or sacrifice for the goal.  

Punjab has been the route of invaders/robberers on way to Delhi. The inhabitatants were the targets of annihilation by Moughal rulers and Afghan invaders. Inspite of all this, Maharaja Ranjit Singh established the Sikh Raj but British took over after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Sikhs had identity with five K’s i.e Kada, Kangha, Kachha, Kirpan & Kesh (hairs). Ultimately Punjab came to be equated with Sikhism. Though Hindus & Sikhs are inseparable. By the mid 1920s, two institutions came in to existence i.e. Akali Dal & SGPC. Now Akalis had intended a government of pure Akali Dal Party but it has joint government with BJP. Akali Dal floated Anandpur Sahib Resolution but it has dependence on Hindus to form the government in Punjab, it is adopting the secular path. Though there was green revolution which improved the economic condition of the farmers but having high living conditions, the people’s economic condition deteriorated. The recruitment quota is decreased & over 50000 ex-serviceman are unemployed in Punjab. The militancy started in Punjab and Bhinderanwale grew to become the head of the leading seminary. He was assisted by Major General Shabeg Singh of Mukti Vahini fame in 1971 and Major General Jaswant Singh Bhullar (expert on Urban Warfare). Giani Zail Singh, the then Home Minister of India exploited Bhinderanwale against Akali Dal politically. Naxalites & Criminals & drugbarons actively supported him. The weapons were stocked in Golden Temple and the violence in Punjab was very high in form of killings, kidnapping, extortions etc. Ultimately, it ended with Blue Star operation in 1984. LMG-41, Sten-57 & 303 rifles-377 were recovered from the Golden Temple. There was spate of killings in Delhi & other cities of India after the murder of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then PM of India. Because of Woodrose operation, many young boys went across the border, got training came back with weapon and started killing & extortion. This followed operation Black Thunder in 1988, which cleared the Golden Temple. There was again a spate of violence & 1991 year was the worst in terrorist crime. The terrorists adopted the following tactics.  

1. There were concerted efforts to control the border territory i.e. Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur areas.

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184Id pp. 187-192  
185Karath, Tara:Tools of Terror, Knowledge World Press, Darya Ganj, New Delhi, 1999, pp.167-169
2. The people were sick of police/security forces in day time & from terrorists at night time. Larger groups started attacking outlying police stations.

3. Increased use of explosives and longer range weapons to instil a feeling of terror.

4. Use of AK-47 rifles to have random killings.

5. Large scale bank robberies (Rs. 5.7 crores) looted from SBI bank in Ludhiana and extortion rackets.

6. Killing of Hindus to incite communal tension between two communities, specially in border areas.

7. Code of conduct for journalists, AIR, schools, social laws (marriages etc.) and banning of singing of National Anthem. This was to arrest control from the state.

8. Obstruction in development activities. Labour was killed on SYL.

9. Steady infiltration in to lower ranks of the bureaucracy.

10. Spreading their area of operation to the neighbouring states like Delhi, UP, Haryana, Rajasthan etc.

11. There was sharp increase in the number of recruits. (new terrorists)

12. Terrorists started killings for personal vendetta using the Khalistan cover.

13. There is a weapon fetishism among Punjab youth. The boys feel elated armed with guns. The youth from villages were taken away, trained & sent for killings.

14. Along with militancy, organized crime was encouraged for funding the militancy. The narco terrorism was prevalent.

To meet the militancy, Government passed the special laws like National Security Act (1980), Punjab Disturbed Areas Ordinance (1983), Terrorist Areas (Special Courts) Act (1984) and TADA (1985). Government increased the strength of the police, sophisticated weapons augmented, transport fleet increased threefold to increase mobility intelligence setup & communication improved. DGP Punjab was given overall control of PMF & Army units. Army was tasked to provide aid to the civil power by Opeation Rakshak I & II.

**4.10 ACTIVE MILITANT OUTFITS IN PUNJAB ARE**

1. Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) – Wadhawa Singh

2. Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) – Paramjit Singh Panjwar

3. International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF) – Jasbir Singh Rode

4. Dal Khalsa – Gajinder Singh

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\(^{186}\text{Id pp. 181-183}\)

\(^{187}\text{Id pp. 188-189}\)

\(^{188}\text{Id p. 191}\)
5. Khalistan Liberation Force (KLF) – Harinder Singh alisas Mintoo (Since arrested)

1991 year was the peak year in terrorists crime because of the following reasons:
1. There was release of detenues under TADA & all of them joined terrorism.
2. Increased movement of weapons & explosives.
3. Since smugglers were coopted for smuggling weapons by ISI, there was increase in movement of heroin, explosives and deadly arms.
4. There was sharp increase in violence by way of killings & robbing of banks.
5. Under new strategies where sponsored militancy gave way to sponsored terrorism.

The militancy was controlled under the leadership of Sh. KPS Gill DGP & will of Government of S. Beant Singh. S. Beant Singh sacrificed his life when he was killed in Chandigarh Secretariat on 31st August, 1995 by a suicide bomber189.

This movement for Khalistan took the lives of Smt. Gandhi, S. Beant Singh, the then CM of Punjab, Sh. A.S. Vaidya, Army Chief (Retd.) etc. Because of lack of any unified command structure, lack of mass support and lack of effective political front, it remained the non-movement. S. Harchand Singh Longowal, the president of Akali Dal also fell to the politics of violence, through he never subscribed to violence. Akali Dal always hammered the issue of creation of geo-political environment for the Sikhs in one form or the other and the struggle for Khalistan thrived on this nurtured ambition of the Sikhs, articulated by the party and the all powerful SGPC which plays a vital role in the religio-political affairs of this border state. Earlier, Sant Bhinderanwale had the tacit support of Akali Dal but later on it disassociated. Earlier, the Punjab faced the left radical Naxalite movement which had attracted the educated youth but lacked the larger public support and was contained with much efforts. The left radical movement was rooted in ideology whereas the Sikh militancy thrived on the politics of grievances and the perception of being discriminated by the authorities since the independence of the country. Left Communist Party also resorted the militant tactics. Militancy is a cyclical phenomena in this region and perhaps rooted in the psyche of the people, shaped by 190 history as this region was subjected to repeated invasions from Central Asia. Sikh militancy commenced with the Soviet intervention in Pakistan and was the first to accuse CIA & ISI for fomenting trouble in Punjab to destabilise India. Some forces wanted Khalistan as buffer state between India & Pakistan.

189Id pp. 192-193
190Singh Jagtar; Khalistan Struggle, A non-movement, Akkar Books, Mayur Vihar, Phase-I, Delhi-2011 p.2
Sri Anandpur Sahib resolution adopted by Akali Dal in 1973 was projected as threat to unity and integrity to the nation by the Congress. Akali Dal launched an agitation in 1982 for the demands and this agitation was taken over by Bhinderanwale. Lala Jagat Narain was murdered near Ludhiana in 1981. Earlier, Baba Gurbachan Singh, Nirankari chief was killed in Delhi in 1980. The demand for Khalistan was raised by the militants in 1986 in the precinctus of Darbar Sahib Complex, which almost provided legitimacy to the Blue Star operation.

By the time militancy was contained, more members of Sikh community than the Hindus had become its victims for whose liberation this struggle had been launched. Every incident of rape and extortion isolated the militants from the general public. Darbar Sahib was defiled by the Sikh militants resulting in operation Black Thunder. Longowal Accord between Sh. Rajiv Gandhi, the then PM of India and Sh. Longowal, the President of Akali Dal was signed in August 1985 and as a result, Longowal was killed by the militants. However, the ensuing elections in Punjab, brought Akali Dal in to power, a Government headed by S. Surjit Singh Barnala. After Blue Star, a large number of militants crossed over to Pakistan and it trained and equipped them with weapons. They were sent back to Punjab for proxy war with the Indian Security forces.

In 1762, Ahmed Shah Abdali, Afghan King had ruined Darbar Sahib & filled the Sarovar with earth & bones, on his eighth incursion.

As some close associates of Sant Bhinderanwale said, he somehow believed that Pakistan will come to their rescue once the Army attacks Darbar Sahib & his hope turned out to be baseless. The Sikh Psyche was bleeding.

On Blue Star, Capt. Amrinder Singh M.P. from Patiala resigned in protest. Sh. Parkash Singh Badal said that the Sikhs are in chains. It is a planned genocide of the Sikhs. The death of Bhinderanwale & his associates was glorified.

As per the police reports, four militants arrested by Amritsar Police on 26th October, 1984 provided details of Pakistan support to the militancy by way of arms, weapons and money.

The aim of Akali Dal was to have a Sikh homeland within India. There was opposition from Urban Sikhs as they have commercial relations with Hindus in the Urban areas.

Bhinderanwale had a spat with Babbar Khalsa & after this, he shifted from Guru

\[191^{Id pp. 3-4}\]
Nanak Niwas to Akal Takhat. Babbar Khalsa operated from Guru Nanak Niwas 192.

Sikh-Nirankari clash took place on 13th April, 1978 where 13 Sikhs were killed by Nirankaris as self defence. On 22nd April, the Bhog Ceremony day, Bhinderanwale gave call to have a war against Nirankaris to avenge the death of 13 Sikhs. He demanded a ban on Sant Nirankari Mandal in Punjab. He said that he will wait for the action by Akali Party, SGPC and the Government. Later, militancy was spearheaded by Bhinderanwale, Damdami Taksal, Babbar Khalsa & other militant groups with global links. Damdami Taksal was headed by Baba Deep Singh & Bhinderanwale was in 14th lineage. The action programme of killing Nirankaris came after acquittal of Nirankaris in Baisakhi incident upon the plea that the Sikhs have not got justice from the court. Bhinderanwale said that he was not in favour of Khalistan but if the Government gave us, we would not decline.

In October 1983, six Hindu passengers were taken out of bus near Dhillwan Distt. Kapurthala and were killed. He took up the agenda of implementation of Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

Punjab was the most fertile land for recruitment in Army by the English. Jarnail Singh, Major Singh, Karnail Singh etc. were named after Army ranks. Violence is rooted as revenge psyche in Sikh folklore. Violence is embedded in ethnicity. It was revenge psyche that finally shaped into movement, which was leaderless. Overwhelming victory of radical candidates in Lok Sabha in 1989 to boycott of the Vidhan Sabha elections in 1992 was quoted as support of the people for the groups fighting for the establishment of Sikh State. The killing of Smt. Indira Gandhi was a revenge psyche. The revenge psyche was initially targeted against the members of Nirankari Sect. Akali Dal has always blamed Congress Party for aiding and abetting militancy for vested political interests. However, even after normalcy, no investigation was done as to who was responsible for the militancy in Punjab 193.

The situation in Punjab triggered migration of the people from rural areas to urban centres and from Punjab to the neighbouring states.

Punjab faced naxalite movement from 1969 to 71. It was contained with in few years as it had no mass base. The police resorted to fake encounters which included committed leftists like Baba Bujha Singh and Baba Hari Singh Margind. Naxalism was an ideological movement but Sikh movement had no ideological contents. The Punjab Students Union dominated the scene for years before the Sikh radical movement took over. Bhinderanwale was born in village Rode (Dist. Moga) in 1947. He had no formal education and took over the

192Id p.22
193Id pp. 26-27
Damdami Taksal in 1977, which he joined in 1964 to study scriptures. When he took over Taksal, then religion was losing its appeal in Malwa region. His refrain was to live and die for the Sikh Panth. For most of the time, Congress ruled in the country and Sikhs felt discriminated. Akali Dal launched morchas/agitations against Congress rule. Sant Bhinderanwale used to touch this very chord saying that Sikhs were slaves in India.

Before Independence, the Sikhs had the clear assurance, that they would have an area, where they could enjoy a life of freedom and autonomy. The foregoing narration makes it clear that after 1947, the wheel of the central policies started moving exactly in the opposite direction; first by creating a unitary constitution instead of a federal one, second by declining to form a linguistic state in the Punjab and third by creating a truncated and economically crippled sub-state virtually under the current control and administration of the centre. The disillusionment of the Sikhs and their consequent loss of faith in the centre became increasingly clear from the policies, steps and measures adopted by the Central Government. In short, nationalism suffered a blow and communal interests gained strength, so often under the cloak of national interests.

In Punjab Reorganization Act 1966, Section 78 to 80 were introduced by which the control of BBMB vested with the Central Government.

4.11 CROSS BORDER TERRORISM
Punjab was affected mostly by cross-border terrorism. For terrorism in Punjab, external and internal factors were responsible. External factors were:

1. Some Sikhs have in their mind that injustice has been done to Sikhs for not earmarking Khalistan for Sikhs at the time of partition in 1947. This was exploited by Pakistan. The help from across the border came in the form of training the youth crossed over to Pakistan. Weapons were given to them. Weapons were smuggled in to India for the terrorists. The protection and brainwashing of Youth was done in Pakistan. They were given freely the hideouts. Propaganda mostly false based on distorted facts was launched. Literature in Punjabi as anti Indian was printed in Lahore. Pakistan Gurudwaras were used for Khalistan Propaganda. ISI &Pak Army used their full resources for anti India propaganda. The shooting to death of DIG Police Sh. A.S. Atwal in Golden Temple was first to come on Pakistan Radio.

\[194\text{Id p.29}\\195\text{Kumar, Ram Narayan: “Terror in Punjab, Shipra Publications”, Delhi, (2008) p. 71}\]
2. U.S. wanted to weaken India as India was close to U.S.S.R. Training camps by the private agencies to train Sikh terrorists were permitted in USA. It was ideological fight.

3. Rich Sikhs living in USA extended all help to the anti India machinery. They had close links with Pakistan. Ganga Singh Dhillon & Didar Singh Bains of USA were in close touch with Pakistan agencies to propagate terrorism in Punjab with the ultimate aim of Khalistan.

4.11.1 INTERNAL CAUSES
1. The Indian polity did not have complete federal structure. The rich people of Punjab having good land holdings wanted more powers politically. The agitation/Dharam Yudh Morchas prior to formation of Punjabi Suba sowed the seeds of dissent among Sikhs. Akali Dal passed Anandpur Sahib Resolution in 1973 to have more powers.

2. The common Punjabi felt that injustice had been done to the state on the division of water. On riparian basis, Haryana & Rajasthan have no right of water of rivers of Punjab.

3. The propaganda that there was injustice to the Sikhs helped the separatists.

4. The vote bank politics played a dirty role. Bhinderanwale hid in the Golden Temple and both Akalis & Congress workers supported him. This ultimately ended with Blue Star in 1984 causing permanent scar on the Sikh Psyche.

5. Situations were exploited by Hindu Communalists also when Cigarettes were thrown in Gurudwaras. Some Hindu Communities opposed the holy city status to Amritsar and asserted their rights to smoke. The model of Golden Temple outside Amritsar Railway Station was destroyed.

6. There was unemployment in Punjab & unemployed youth joined the terrorists ranks. Even the torture of the police alienated the Sikh youth & they joined the terrorist ranks. Earlier, mostly Sikhs were not in favour of Khalistan but operation Blue Star changed the psyche of Sikh masses and it became a Sikh religious issue.

4.11.2 ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES
Congress under S. Beant Singh as Chief Minister took stern action against the terrorists & brought peace. But in the earlier stages, the same Congress helped Bhinderanwale to grow. Akalis were playing double game. They were not decisive in approach. Left parties i.e. CPI/CP (M) opposed the terrorist violence tooth and nail and many of their leaders were killed. BJP opposed the terrorism and its leadership also suffered. The
terrorism ended when terrorists started committing rapes, extortions and indiscriminate killings. They adopted the role of mercenaries and they got alienated from the common public.196

4.11.3 SIKH ACCUSED PERSONS IN CUSTODY – SAD WANTS THEM TO BE RELEASED

There was anguish in Sikh masses that some Sikhs accused in terrorist cases have not been released, despite the fact, they had served the full sentence. SAD gave list of 13 persons it wanted to be released as below, where as one Gurbax Singh, who had gone on fast in this regard, had given the list of 7 persons, to be released.

2. Gurmeet Singh alias Meeta r/o Patiala – convicted for life imprisonment in S. Beant Singh’s assassination case.
5. Lal Singh alias Manjit Singh r/o Akalgrh (Phagwara) – Sentenced to life imprisonment in TADA for smuggling arms & ammunition & explosive substances.

196Chopra, V.D. (Ed), Rise of Terrorism and Secessionism in Eurasia, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2001 PP 153-162

SGPC has given the list of 120 persons to be released\(^\text{197}\).

4.12 **CONCLUSION**

Historically, Punjab area has remained under the attack of the invaders like Mohd. Gouri, Temur Lung, Ahmed Shah Abdali, Nadar Shah etc. This was a route through which Afghan invaders used to attack Delhi. On the way, they used to resort to killings and looting the people. All this contributed to the aggressiveness and culture of violence to the Punjabis. Later on, this area came under the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and later on under the English rulers. At the time of partition, Punjab has suffered the most and was divided into two parts i.e. real Punjab going to Pakistan. Reanming Punjab known as East Punjab was further partitioned into three parts i.e. Punjab, Haryana and Himachal pardesh. Throughout this period, Punjab has remained under struggle. The concept of violence came in to existence because of struggle to get Punjabi Suba on linguistic basis. Earlier, the Pepsu area (since merged in Punjab) faced the killing and extortion by the dacoits in 1950s. Then came the era of naxalism in 1969 to 1971. Later on in 1978 to 1993, Punjab faced the Sikh extremism. Thus Punjab has remained under violence in one form or other. The terrorism in Punjab was basically a political violence in order to achieve the political goals. Many reasons behind the violence have been discussed i.e. social, economic and political. The immediate reasons were emotional exploitation of the Sikh Youth by Bhinderanwale, the nexus of criminals, smugglers and religious bigots supported by politicians, weapons from across the border and abetment of Western World for political ends. The other demands were like merging of Chandigarh to Punjab, SYL canal issue, Punjabi speaking areas merging issue and greater autonomy to the states. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution created suspicion in the minds of the people specially Hindus. The situation was aggravated by Blue Star operation and operation Woodrose.

There was a great loss of lives and property. Very prominent political leaders like Smt. Indira Gandhi, Sh. Beant Singh etc. were killed. The situation gave the turn under the political will of S. Beant Singh, the then CM Punjab and the police leadership of Sh. K.P.S. Gill, the then DGP Punjab. The people understood the nature of the terrorists that they are not fighting for some cause, rather they have turned criminals. Operation Black Thunder also gave the lesson that the terrorists are not fighting for any religion. Pak’s ISI was giving all

help to the terrorists and the Western countries were abetting both the terrorists and Akali leaders. With the change in the International situation, the Western World stopped the pro-Sikh training terrorist activities in U.K., U.S.A. and Canada. However, ISI is still giving all out help to revive terrorism in Punjab. It is incumbent on the Central Government to sort out all pending issues relating to Punjab so that new recruits are not attracted having the reasons of perceived injustice being given to Punjab by the Central Government and Haryana State. The Central government should give some priority to Punjab being a border state and also being a Sikh majority state as the Sikhs have given the significant contribution in the freedom struggle.