CHAPTER-VI
TERRORISM IN PUNJAB- SOCIO-LEGAL ASPECTS

6.1 INTRODUCTION
This chapter is devoted to study the socio-legal aspects in regard to causes and control of terrorism in state of Punjab. Socio-Legal means the interaction of social and legal factors & its outcome. The legal factors have been discussed in detail in chapter-III. Hence to study the social factors, it was necessary to interact with the people who had directly faced the terrorism from 1978 to 1993. Though, whole of Punjab has faced the terrorism menace, yet the border area residents have suffered the most. For this, 10 most affected districts (out of 22 districts in Punjab) were selected, which were very close to border and also around Amritsar. As discussed earlier, the causes behind terrorism in Punjab were exploitation of youth on emotional grounds because of egoism; the nexus between smugglers, criminals, religious bigots and supported by the politicians; weapons from across the border touching Pakistan and abetting and financing the terrorists by the Western World. It is because of this, the districts of Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Batala, Majitha, Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Kapurthala and Ludhiana were selected for the interaction with people by questionnaires.

6.1.1 PUNJAB-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
Punjab, a Persian word for five rivers and Punjabi characterize the people, ways or things connected to either of the two Punjabs (of India & Pakistan) or both. However, Punjab signifies the subcontinent’s Punjabi speaking region as a whole. Around 1914, the Punjab area stretched from attack to the borders of Delhi. Due to great rivers flowing in the area, Punjab’s agriculture was vigorous. The Punjab history revolves around the following aspects:-

i. The flowing of five rivers, great irrigation facilities, hard working people and prosperity.
iii. The 1857 revolt and Punjab
iv. Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Punjab as the empire’s garrison state.
v. The Bhagat Singh Phenomenon during 1929-31
vi. The Muslim League’s Pakistan resolution of March, 1940
vii. The Partition of Punjab in 1947 and great loss of lives & property due to communal frenzi\(^1\).

viii. Trifurcation of Punjab in to present Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

ix. Advent of terrorism, Blue Star Operation, Black Thunder Operation and aftermath.

x. Return of peace and strengthening of democracy.

The first mention of the Sanskrit equivalent of Punjab, occurs in the great epic, the Mahabharta. Ibn Battuta mentioned the word Punjab, when he visited the region in the 14\(^{th}\) century. The word Punjab was also mentioned in the book Tarikh-e-Sher-Shah-Suri in 1580. The name Punjab was mentioned again in Ain-e-Akbari, written by Abul Fazal, who mentioned that the territory of Punjab was divided into two provinces, Lahore and Multan. The Moughal king Jahangir also mentioned the word Punjab in Tuzk-e-Jahangiri. Before the time of Akbar, the word Sapat Sindhu for Punjab finds mention in Rigveda and had been interpreted as the land of seven rivers. The most important of these was the Indus, called the Sindhu river\(^2\).

Original Punjab area was divided in to various Doabs and named by Akbar as Chej or Jech Doab i.e. area between Chenab and Jhelum; the Rachna Doab between avi and Chenab; The Bari Doab, between Beas and Ravi (now called as Majha); Bist or Bet Doab between Beas and Sutlej (now called as Doaba) and Sindhu Sagar Doab between Jhelum and Sindhu (Indus river). Outside the five rivers, the area is called Malwa. There were five divisions in British era i.e. Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Jalandhar and Ambala Divisions.

6.1.2 PUNJAB-POST AURANGZEB
After the demise of Aurangzeb, Punjab remained unstable as there was a scramble for power. Moreover being prosperous, it was under attack by Gazhnvis, Gauries, Abdalis and Mongols. All of them plundered, destroyed and indulged in mass killings. Three forces i.e. invading Afghan rulers, Moughal Governors and sons of soil Sikh Chieftains clashed for control. Lahore was important as after Delhi and Agra, it was the third capital of Delhi rulers. In 1739, Iranian Nadir Shah raided Punjab and in 1758, a Punjabi Muslim, Adina Beg ruled Punjab. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his heirs ruled over Punjab from 1799 to 1849 and thereafter the Britishers annexed it to India and ruled until 1947, when it was partitioned into East Punjab (India) and West Punjab (Pakistan).\(^3\)

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2 Kohar, Daljit Singh (Ed), *Punjab*, Arihant Publications, Mohali (Pb), 2016 p. 40
6.1.3 EVOLUTION OF SIKHISM

Sikhism evolved as a spiritual religion and Guru Nanak gave three edicts i.e. Nam Japo, Kirat Karo and Wand Chhako. The situation changed after the martyrdom of 5\textsuperscript{th} Guru, Guru Arjan Dev Ji. The Sixth Guru created the concept of Miri-Piri i.e. temporal-spiritual. He founded Sri Akal Takhat Sahib opposite Golden Temple where he installed two Nishan Sahibs as a symbol of dual authority. Henceforth, temporal and spiritual power became integral parts and pillars of Sikh religion. There were many clashes between the Jehangir Army and Sixth Guru’s Army. Ninth Guru was martyred in Delhi by Aurangzeb, in the defence of Hindu faith. Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru started the Khalsa Panth with five symbols i.e. Kesh, Kangha, Karra, Kachha and Kirpan. Thus, he gave distinct identity to the Khalsa. After tenth Guru’s demise in Nanded Sahib (South India), Baba Banda Singh Bahadur came forward to provide leadership to Khalsa Panth. His army ransacked Sirhind and killed Subedar Wazir Khan in order to avenge the bricking alive of the two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh. Since, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur tried to subvert the Khalsa Panth founded by the Tenth Guru, Tat Khalsa was formed to follow Guru’s commandments strictly. Later on, Zakariya Khan and Mir Mannu under the direction of Moughal Emperor, resorted to atrocities against the Sikhs. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia formed Dal Khalsa in 1746 and avenged the demolishing of Sri Harmander Sahib by Mir Mannu and others. He rebuilt the holy shrine and proclaimed Khalsa Raj in Lahore. In 1762, Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded India and Punjab and destroyed Sri Harmander Sahib and the Sikhs avenged the desecration by beheading Massa Rangar. By that time, twelve Sikh missals had come up and they started fighting with in themselves for supremacy. Of course, all missals’ chiefs pronounced sovereignty of Khalsa Raj in 1764 at Amritsar. They also resolved to hold Sarbat Khalsa once a year in order to resolve the differences through GurMata. Ultimately, Maharaja Ranjit Singh established the Sikh empire in 1799 with seat at Lahore but it was vanquished by the British in 1849; who were ruling in other parts of India. Under the Act in 1925, Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee came in to existence to have control over the historical Gurudwaras in the United Punjab. On partition in 1947, Punjab was partitioned into two parts i.e. East Punjab (India) and West Punjab (Pakistan). Over a million people lost their lives and crores worth of property lost during the partition. The Sikhs had to struggle lot to have Punjabi Suba on the basis of Punjabi Language and the state was trifurcated in to Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pardesh in 1966. Many burning issues like Chandigarh as capital, Punjabi speaking areas, rivers waters dispute and supremacy of Khalsa Panth were left behind. Punjabis and specially Sikhs are struggling hard to redress these grievances. It is
also alleged that the central leaders are deliberately supporting Nirankaris, Radhasoamis and Namdharis sects which are acting against the Sikh tenets.

Punjab could never be the same after the partition. It was tainted. The very core of humanity was damaged and at loss were faith, legacy and honour. It was devastated on many fronts – demographic, economic, cultural and social.

6.2 PUNJAB POST PARTITION

Post partition (1947), the period can be conveniently divided in to four periods.

i. The politics of mergers (1947-66)

ii. The reorganization of Punjab, coalition politics and Naxalism (1966-1980)

iii. From autonomy to secessionism (1980-1992)


The politics in post-independence India and partitioned Punjab was shaped by issues related to identity politics and competition for political power. The questions of separate religious identity, linguistic identity, communal and sectarian mobilization and secular class mobility factors, remained dominant in the political discourse.

6.2.1 THE POLITICS OF MERGERS (1947-66)

In this phase, two competing political parties i.e. Indian National Congress and Siromani Akali Dal merged in 1948 & again in 1956. But soon, SAD was demerged. CPI continued to agitate for the economic interests of peasants and landless labourers, while Bharatya Jan Sangh continued to agitate for the interests of urban Hindus. In India, states were reorganized in linguistic homogeneity, but in case of Punjab, it was rejected. The Punjabi Suba movement was started by Master Tara Singh, the president of SAD and Sant Fateh Singh. In 1950, apart from Punjab, Patiala and East Punjab States (PEPSU) consisting of Princely states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kapurthala, Malerkotla, Faridkot etc. was created. Some parts of Himachal Pardesh mostly consisting of princely states were made a Union Territory. In 1956 PEPSU was merged in Punjab. During this time, there was spurt in killing & dacoities in PEPSU area, which was controlled by Sh. Rao, the advisor of the Governor Punjab after neutralizing about 400 dacoits/killers. Most of the time, S. Partap Singh Kairon remained the CM of Punjab and he suppressed the agitation launched by Akali with heavy hand.

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6 Kumar, Parmod; *Punjab Electoral System*, Institute for Development and Communication, Chandigarh; 2015, p. 30
7 Ibid
6.2.2 THE REORGANIZATION OF PUNJAB, COALITION POLITICS AND NAXALISM (1966-1980)

Indira Gandhi committee recommended the trifurcation of Punjab in to Punjab, Himachal Pardesh & Haryana\(^8\), which was effected w.e.f. November 1, 1966. The Congress formed the government. In the first Vidhan Sabha of Punjab, post trifurcation, there was hung Vidhan Sabha but coalition government was formed under justice Gurnam Singh of S.A.D. with the support of BJP, CPI etc. There was no stable government as it changed hands with Sh. Lachhman Singh Gill and Sh. P.S. Badal as Chief Ministers. In 1969, there was spurt in Naxal activities, which was controlled by Sh. Ashwani Kumar IPS, IGP Punjab by neutralizing many Naxalities. In 1972, Giani Zail Singh formed the Congress Government in Punjab which lasted upto 1977. This period saw the emergency imposed by Smt Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. During 1977 elections, Janta Party came to power under Sh. Morarji Desai as P.M. S. Parkash Singh Badal formed the Government in Punjab as a coalition government of SAD and BJP, which lasted upto 1980. In 1978, an important incident of clash of Nirankari and Akhand Kirtani occurred in Amritsar on Vaisakhi day in which 14 Akhand Kirtanis and 4 Nirankaris were killed. This led to the advent of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale as he was the head of Damdami Taksal, Chowk Mehta. Some incidents of killings of Nirankaris were reported in Punjab. Akali Dal passed the Anandpur Sahib Resolution in 1978 for giving more powers to the states.

6.2.3 FROM AUTONOMY TO SECESSIONISM (1980-1992)

Indira Gandhi came to power at the centre\(^9\). Giani Zail Singh, the former CM of Punjab was made the Home Minister of India. In Punjab, S. Darbara Singh formed the Congress Government. In the meantime, Baba Gurbachan Singh, Nirankari Chief was killed in Delhi by Sikh extremists. There was spurt of Nirankari killings in Punjab. Since Giani Zail Singh and S. Darbara Singh did not see eye to eye, Giani Zail Singh projected Bhinderanwale in order to weaken Akalis. Akali Dal agitated for settling water disputes, Punjabi speaking area, Chandigarh capital issues and giving more powers to the states as per Anandpur Sahib Resolution. The political discourse moved away from autonomy to secessionism on communal basis. Competitive electoral and moderate politics suffered a severe set back and violence became the dominant mode of articulation of grievances. Popular government was dismissed. Thereafter, elections were held in 1985 and 1992 in the state An important lesson learnt was that democracy was the only antidote to terrorism. This period saw a spurt of killing of innocent people, extortions etc. and Bhinderanwale called the shots from Sri Akal

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\(^8\) Id p. 31
\(^9\) Id P. 32
Takhat. All this led to operation Blue Star and subsequently Operation Black Thunder which brought normalcy to some extent for a short period.

6.2.4 RESURGENCE OF DEMOCRACY AND A COMPOSITE PUNJABI IDENTITY – POST 1992

Year 1991 saw the maximum killings by the terrorists. Elections were held in February 1992 and S. Beant Singh took over as the Chief Minister Punjab. Sh. KPS Gill IPS was the DGP Punjab. Many families of policemen were killed. By the beginning of 1993, the terrorism was almost controlled and of course, the complete combating of terrorism by the end of 1993. This phase witnessed a major shift in the political agenda of the parties. The Akali Dal shifted its stance from Sikh identity to Punjabi identity and from state autonomy to Cooperative Federalism. Similarly, BJP moved from strong centre to greater autonomy for states. The congress apologized for Operation Blue Star and brutal riots of 1984\(^\text{10}\). The political parties entered in to pre-election alliances. In 1997 elections, Akali-BJP alliance formed the Government in Punjab. In 2002 elections, the Congress & CPI came to power under Capt. Amrinder Singh as CM Punjab. Akali-BJP alliance came to power in 2007 & 2012 and S. Parkash Singh Badal was CM both the times. This period saw drug menace, unemployment, desecration of Guru Granth Sahib and suicide by the farmers not being able to pay crop loans. In 2017, Congress government under Capt. Amrinder Singh came to power with a thumping majority.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh ascended the throne of Punjab from Khyber pass to Sutlej. Many martyrs played a great role in the freedom struggle like Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Lala Lajpat Rai, Udham Singh, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Shivram Rajguru, Sukhdev Thapar etc. They made Punjabi swell with pride. Though, Shaheed Bhagat Singh was martyred on 23\(^{rd}\) March, 1931 but he is still alive in the hearts of Indians. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Shahid Bhagat Singh and other freedom fighters taught the people of this land to fight against the wrong and injustice. The people of Punjab failed because they forgot responsibilities\(^\text{11}\).

Fighting against wrong and drinking without limits became the prominent personality traits of the Punjabis. Humour comes easily to Punjabis but they are emotional. They feel for others and would do anything to protect others. Punjabis are mostly well-dressed. Because of scenic beauty in Punjab, most of the pictures like Dilwale Dulhanian Le Jayenge, Veer Zara, Jab We Met, Mausam, Love Aaj Kal, Rang De Basanti, Bhag Milkha Bhag, Son of Sardar and several other movies have been filmed in Punjab. The film makers like Yash Chopra,

\(^{10}\) Id pp. 32-33
\(^{11}\) Gill, KPS and Khosla, Sadhavi, *Punjab, The Enemies with in*, Bookwise (India) Pvt Ltd., New Delhi, India 2017 p. 49
Subash Ghai, Ramesh Sippy, Vidhu Vinod Chopra, Karan Johar, Ekta Kapoor etc. have excelled in Bollywood. Famous actors like Dev Anand, Balraj Sahni, Dara Singh, Dharmendra, Jeetendra, Madan Puri, Sunil Dutt, Raj Babbar, Rajender Kumar, Rajesh Khanna and many more came from Punjab. The contribution of Kapoor family i.e. Prithvi Raj Kapoor, Raj Kapoor, Shashi Kapoor, Randhir Kapoor, Rishi Kapoor, Krishna Kapoor, Kareena Kapoor and Ranbir Kapoor is well known.


Most of the relatives of the Punjabis are living in U.K., U.S.A., Canada, Germany etc.

6.3 THE COMMENCEMENT OF TERRORISM IN PUNJAB

When Indira Gandhi formed the Congress Government at the Centre in 1980, the State Government of 9 states run by opposition parties including that of Sh. Badal’s Government in Punjab were dismissed. In the fresh elections held in Punjab, Congress Government under S. Darbara Singh as CM Punjab came into existence. Many of the Sikhs feared the loss of their identity. Prominent among them were Akalis. Akalis had raised the Anandpur Sahib Resolution in 1978 to come to power. Sanjay Gandhi and Giani Zail Singh invented and introduced Sant Jarnail Sing Bhinderanwale against Akalis. But they could not estimate Bhinderanwale’s fanaticism. Unknowingly, they gave India her frankenstein just to get Punjab back in control. Bhinderanwale’s followers turned Punjab into hell by resorting to manslaughter and ultimately raising the demand for Khalistan.

As a revenge of Nirankari incident on April 13, 1978 at Amritsar, Baba Gurbachan Singh, Nirankari head was killed in Delhi in 1980. This followed the spate of killings of Nirankaris in Punjab. On September 9, 1981, Lala Jagat Narian of Punjab Kesari group of Newspaper, Jalandhar was assassinated in Ludhiana. There was a proposal of Operation Sundown but was abandoned as Indira Gandhi never wanted to hurt the religious sentiments of Sikhs. This followed the mass killings,
shootouts, extortions etc. This is the story of commencement of terrorism in Punjab.

6.3.1 TERRORISM PHASE (1978-1993)

Punjabis specially Sikhs have been fighting against injustice throughout the history. They bravely faced Moughals, Pathans and Mongols and ultimately Maharaja Ranjit Singh established the Sikh empire. Punjabis faced Jallianwala massacre and S. Bhagat Singh sacrificed his young life for the sake of freedom of this country. The terrorists are somebody’s terrorists and somebody’s liberators. Post partition, the terrorism was experienced in Punjab in three phases.

i. In 1955/56, over 400 dacoits/robbers resorted to killings, extortions, lootings and rapes in PEPSU Area. This was a form of terrorism as organized crime. Mr. Rao as Advisors to the Governor Punjab took hard steps and neutralized the gangs of dacoits/robbers. Ultimately, the situation was brought under control.

ii. Second phase was naxalism during 1969 to 1971 which started as a phase for killing rich persons and politicians. A Swatantar Party MLA was killed in Patiala. The son of the then SSP Jalandhar was killed in the hostel of Punjab University. Sh. Ashwani Kumar IP was posted as IGP Punjab, who neutralized the naxalites and situation was brought under control in Punjab in 1971. Most of the naxalites were killed and many were put behind bar.

iii. Third phase of terrorism was the phase of Sikh terrorism during 1978 to 1993. When Janta Party came to power at the centre and SAD alongwith BJP came to power in Punjab, almost all the naxalites lodged in jails were released in 1977. They were on the look to join some group and ultimately, they joined Bhinderanwale group. Third phase of 1978-1993 can be further divided in to three phases:-

1. The period from 1978 to 1984 – There was a clash of Nirankaris and Akhand Kirtani Jatha on Vaisakhi day (13th April, 1978) at Amritsar, Where 14 Akhand Kirtanis and four Nirankaris were killed. This was exploited by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, who was acting as head of Damdami Taksal at Chowk Mehta (Amritsar). All the released naxalites joined him. There was a spate of Nirankaris killings in Punjab. Baba Gurbachan Singh, head Nirankari mission was killed in Delhi in 1980. The allegation was that Bhinderanwale had incited the killing. This followed with the killings of innocent persons who opposed Bhinderanwale. He had made Darbar Sahib as a hideout. Sh. A.S. Atwal IPS DIG/JR was killed at the gate of Darbar Sahib in 1983. Ultimately, the Government had to storm Golden Temple with Army called as Operation Blue Star in which Akal Takhat was completely destroyed. Bhinderanwale
and many other terrorists were killed. Many innocent persons were also killed. Searches were simultaneously carried out in important Gurudwaras in Punjab. Indira Gandhi was shot dead by her guards on 31st Oct, 1984, which followed the Delhi riots in which many innocent Sikhs were killed and also riots in other northern Indian Cities. The toll of death was estimated to be around 3000 Sikhs. Some Congress leaders were reported to have instigated the crowds indulging in killings and looting.\footnote{Id p. 43}

2. **Second phase** started with **Operation Woodrose** as Army/Security forces started searches in rural Punjab and most of the young boys crossed over to Pakistan. They got the training in arms there, returned and resorted to terrorist activities. The top terrorists Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, Manochahal and others formed the Panthic Committee & started terrorist activities in an organized manner. Again, the Golden Temple became the hub of terrorist activities and situation was brought under control in 1988 after Operation Black Thunder.

iv. The **third phase** of terrorism started in 1989\footnote{Punjab Police Records (unpublished)}, when again remnant groups joined and started terrorist activities. Year 1991 was the peak year, when around 300 persons were killed per month. 1992 elections to Punjab Vidhan Sabha brought S. Beant Singh as CM Punjab and Sh. KPS Gill was already DGP since late 1991. The will of S. Beant Singh Govt and forceful leadership of Sh. KPS Gill brought peace in Punjab, inspite of the fact, 262 families of policemen were killed in 1992. Year 1993 had only very few terrorist incidents. However, S. Beant Singh was killed by a suicide bomber in 1995, in the Civil Secretariat, Chandigarh.

**Present Position (1993-2017):** There was total peace starting with 1993, but in 1995, S. Beant Singh and 18 others were killed in fidayeen attack in Civil Secretariat, Chandigarh. This was the handiwork of Babbars and all the accused were arrested along with its leader Jagtar Singh Tara and Balwant Singh Rajoana. Ex C Dilawar Singh acted as a suicide bomber. Vidhan Sabha elections were held in 1997, when S. Parkash Singh Badal formed Akali Party coalition government alongwith BJP. There were sporadic incidents of terrorism, when blasts shocked Railway Station Jalandhar. Next Vidhan Sabha elections were held in 2002, when Congress came to power and Capt. Amrinder Singh formed the Govt. which lasted up to 2007. The situation remained peaceful but for very few incidents of terrorist violence. Next, Akalis alongwith BJP under S. Parkash Singh Badal remained in power from

Though, the terrorism was managed effectively but sporadic incidents of terrorism were reported in Punjab. Almost, all tis crime is attributed to cross-border terrorism.

1. March 1, 2001 – An 135 yards underground tunnel was detected across Indo-Pak border in Gurdaspur, suspected to be dug by the Narco-terrorist.
2. Jan 1, 2002 – Three Army Personnel were killed at a firing range in Damtal (Pathankot District)
4. March 31, 2002 – 2 Persons killed & 28 injured in a bomb blast on Ferozepur-Dhanbad Express at Doraha, 20 kms from Ludhiana. The bomb was planted by the terrorists.
5. There was a Goraya Railway track explosion in January, 2004.
7. 7 Persons killed & 40 injured in an explosion in Shingar Cinema hall in Ludhiana city on October 14, 2007
8. On 28th July, 2009, Rulda Singh President of Rashtriya Sikh Sangat, Punjab was killed in Patiala by two U.K. based terrorists. This was conspired by one Harminder Singh Mintoo of KLF (since arrested)
9. Sant Pardhan Singh, the head of Nirmal Dera Sect was killed on 16th May, 2010, with the allegation that he is spreading anti-Sikh ideology.
10. Lily Kumar of Dera Sacha Sauda was killed by KLF terrorists on 28th July, 2009
11. Dera Sacha Sauda Sect head Ram Rahim Singh was targeted a number of times in Haryana.
12. On July 27, 2015, seven persons including a Supdt. Of Police was killed by LeT in Dinanagar P.S. of Gurdaspur District. All the three militants were also killed.
14. Nabha jail break incident on 27.11.2016, where 10 persons came in three vehicles and went away with Harminder Mintoo of KLF and five other gangsters. Mintoo has been arrested.

Punjab Police Records (Unpublished)
16. On January 16, 2016, there was an attempt to assassinate Naresh Sharma of RSS in Gurdaspur.
17. On February 4, 2016, there was an attempt on the life of Amit Arora of Hindu Takhat in Ludhiana. There was attack on RSS Sakhha in Qidwai Nagar, Ludhiana also.
18. On Feb 17, 2016, Deepak Kamboj of Shiv Sena was shot dead in Jalandhar.
19. R.S.S. Leader Jagdish Gagneja was killed in Jalandhar on April 26, 2016
20. Shiv Sena Leader Durga Gupta was killed in Khanna in April 23, 2016.
21. 8 killed & over a dozen injured in Mour Mandi Blasts during elections in February, 2017. This was an attempt on the life of Congress candidate Harminder Singh Jassi, who escaped with bruises.
22. Two Sacha Sauda Dera followers Sat Pal Sharma and his son Ramesh Kumar of Ahmedgarh Mandi were killed at Nam Charcha Ghar at Jagera on25.02.2017\textsuperscript{19}.
23. Pastor Surjit Masih was killed in front of Salem Tabri area Church on 15-02-2017.
24. Ravinder Gosain, RSS Leader was killed in Ludhiana on 17.10.2017 by two motor cycle borne terrorists.

There has been all out efforts by ISI of Pakistan to revive terrorism in Punjab. The alertness of the security forces and people’s will not to give any hideout and help to the terrorists, have failed the nefarious designs of ISI and terrorists sitting in Pakistan. W.S.O. and ISYF specially in Canada are very active and many terrorist modules sponsored by them have been busted. Ghazi Baba alias Jeeshan was arrested in Jalandahr on 20\textsuperscript{th} April, 2017. Palwinder Singh and Sandip Kumar were arrested on 19\textsuperscript{th} April, 2017 who were financed by German based Shaminder Sherry. On June 4, ISYF terrorists Gurdial Singh, Jagroop Singh and Satwinder Singh of AISYF-Rode were arrested in Nawanshahar. On 21\textsuperscript{st} May, Man Singh and Sher Singh were arrested from near Pakistan border in Ramdas area. One Gurjeevan Singh from Canada was to send weapon to start terrorist activities. KZF terrorists Harbinder Singh, Jarnail Singh, Randip Singh and Amritpal Kaur were arrested by Mohali Police on 29/30 May, 2017. They were going to operate under Jatha Bir Singh. KZF module of Tarsem Singh, Manjit Singh, Mohkam Singh Babbar, Jasvir Singh and Jaswant Singh were arrested in Bhathinda on 26\textsuperscript{th} May, 2017. Gurpreet Singh and Simranjit Singh were arrested from Jiwanwal (Faridkot) and Kamalpur (Moga) on June 21, 2017 alongwith weapons. Canada based Gurjeet Cheema was financing them. They were going to target anti-Panthic persons.

\textsuperscript{19} From various press reports
One June 9, 2017, Gurjit Singh alias Guggu of Wadala Granthian (GSP) and Gurmukh Singh of Talwandi Nahar (GSP) of ISYF were arrested. One Malkiat Singh alias Fauji of Canada was helping them financially. Dashmesh Regiment of AISSF is quite active in Punjab, at present.

Present situation is not very good. Since 2015, Guru Granth Sahib has been desecrated around 150 times. Many accused person have been arrested but the controversial Behbal Kalan Guru Granth Sahib desecration case has not been solved.

First the British Raj, then partition followed by communal riots, the demand for Khalistan, Operation Blue Star, militancy, Operation Black Thunder, migration and and now drugs, cancer, aids and farmers’ suicides, the Punjab has suffered a lot. Farmers are under heavy debt. There has been a steep rise in the salaries of the Government Employees after 7th pay Commission Report. There is a slump in Industry and most of the industries have been closed or shifted out of Punjab. It is good that present government of Capt Amrinder Singh is providing cheap electricity to industries at the rate of RS. 5 per unit. Shashtari ji gave slogan of Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan in 1965. Now in Punjab, jawans have become dupes of drugs and the Kisan has fallen to poor governance. From farmers to labourers and youths, everyone is crumbling. Because of Golden Crescent, Punjab border with Pakistan is contributing to narco-terrorism.

There is scarcity of water in Punjab. Most of the rivers water is diverted to Haryana and Rajasthan. Secondly, the drinking water is contaminated and is not fit for drinking. Most of the people in Bhathinda zone are suffering from cancer, because of acute Arsenic content in water. 23 Punjab farmers died longback and its youth are dying now. As per survey, one young addict dies in every eight hours in Punjab. It is also reported that around 45% Punjab’s youth have become impotent now because of drug abuse. The well educated boys are not getting employment and out of frustration, they make use of drugs. The border with Pakistan has to be completely sealed. The nexus of drug peddlers and BSF personnel have to be broken forcefully. Civil administration, BSF, Punjab Police and intelligence agencies along with civil societies have to act in unison to route out drug menace. We need to have a good hospital for cancer patients. The patients suffering from cancer have to take Bikaner Cancer train to reach Rajashtan’s Acharya Tulsi Regional Cancer Treatment and Research Institute,

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20 Ibid
21 Gill, K.P.S. and Khosla, Sadhavi, Punjab, The Enemies with in, Bookwise (India) Pvt Ltd., New Delhi, India 2017 p. 28
22 Id p. 29
23 Id p. 102
24 Id pp. 130-131
Bikaner. The poverty stricken people have to bear costly treatment at Bikaner.\(^{25}\)

The Khalistani terrorists were responsible for killing of Smt. Gandhi, S. Beant Singh the then CM Punjab, S. Balwant Singh Ex-Finance Minster Punjab, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal President SAD, Gen A.S. Vaidya (Retd.), Lala Jagat Narain, DIG A.S. Atwal, Sh. Hit Abhilashi, the then President BJP Punjab etc. There were attempts on the lives of Sh. J.F. Ribeiro, Mrs. Riberio, Sh. D.S. Mangat IPS DGP and Sh. D.R. Bhatti, IPS, the then SSP Ludhiana. They were fatally injured by the terrorists. Around 2000 security personnel were killed which included 6 IPS officers i.e. DIGs-2, SSPs-3, SPs-5. The terrorists killed around 25000 innocent persons including 262 relatives of Policemen.

The year 1991 was the worst and the hardwork put in by the security forces under the guidance of Sh. Gill started giving results and by the beginning of 1993, the terrorism in Punjab was fully controlled. Despite motivated critiques, there is now an increasing consensus among counter-terrorism scholars and specialists regarding the soundness of the principles and operations undertaken and indeed, the utility of “Punjab Model” and the “Gill Doctrine” for counter-terrorism in other theatres around the World.\(^{26}\) William Scot Latimer of US Air Force, identified four integral strategic elements to explain the counter-terrorism success under the command of Sh. Gill. The first was the infusion of a new sense of purpose and pride in the organization; the second was strengthening military and police cooperation; the third was the development of specialized counter-terrorism training programmes and fourth was a no negotiation political approach.\(^{27}\) According to Hamish Telford, the top leaders of the terrorists were separated and pursued vigorously. Huge bounties were placed on their heads. The police was highly motivated to neutralize them. Ultimately, many of them were neutralized\(^{28}\).

According to Anna Simmos, Professor of Defence Analysis at the U.S. Naval Post Graduate School, Sh. Gill had full knowledge of Sikh faith and other religious faiths. Secondly, a life long policeman, he knew how to get the work from the police rank and file. He knew how to appeal and outwit others. According to Dr. Christine Fair of George town University, Washington, in her paper, “Lessons from India’s experience in the Punjab, 1978-93”; Mr. Gill prepared and motivated the force to fight against the terrorists. He made the police force effective to stand up against the terrorists. Fair further adds that the efforts were made to improve relations between the counter-insurgency forces and the public. Thus Public

\(^{25}\) Id p. 132  
\(^{26}\) Id p. 167  
\(^{27}\) Id  
\(^{28}\) Id P. 168
shared the intelligence and information about militants. Sh. Prem Mahadevan in his paper in 2007 lauded the efforts of the security forces to defeat terrorist movement completely when no political compromise were made and no root causes were addressed. Yet, terrorism disappeared from Punjab with a swiftness and performance that continue to surprise many 29.

The Gill doctrine offers a blue print for future counter-terrorist efforts as the issue behind terrorism is more of identity than ideology. The terrorism in any region cannot be defeated by a force from outside, neither can be appeased through conciliation. The only visible solution is to improve the quality and extent of local policing and leave the fight against terrorism to individuals recruited from the communities that the terrorists themselves claim to represent 30.

Though the terrorism is controlled but some rammants came back to Punjab. Some are in the control of ISI in Pakistan and some have taken refuge in Northern countries, specially Canada. Sporadic incidents are reported but the police is able to solve these incidents. ISI even sent Islamic terrorists to destabilize Punjab as seen in Dinanagar and Pathankot terrorists attacks. At present, Wadhawa Singh of BKI based in Pakistan; Lakhbir Singh Rode, nephew of Bhinderanwale heading ISYF operating from Western Europe and Canada, Ranjit Singh Neeta of KZF based in Pakistan and close to Babbars (Originally resident of J&K), Balbir Singh Sandhu, the leader of Council of Khalistan (companion of Bhinderanwale in Golden Temple) etc are in a bid to revive terrorism in Punjab. Rode has also established links with Islamist terrorists and often visit Pakistan. ISYF has its branches spread in 12 countries in Western Europe & Canada. Gajinder Singh of Dal Khalsa is living in Samanabad, Lahore. Kanwarpal Singh Bittuis the main person of Dal Khalsa in Punjab. Paramjit Singh Panjwar of KCF-P is also puffing up in Lahore since 1994. Jagtar Singh alias Tara of Khalistan Tiger Force (KTF) now lives in Lahore. Asia Intelligence Review notes that ISI also supports and coordinates activities with a number of active diaspora groups across the world using its Embassies and Consulates. Radicals among the Sikh diaspora also travels frequently to Pakistan to mount campaign of anti-India propaganda 31. Before terrorism, Sikhs all over the country were highly respected but terrorists have done incredible harm to the Sikhs collective social identity. Though, the terrorism is defeated but the scars it left behind have permanently altered the Sikh psyche 32.

6.4 A SOCIO-LEGAL STUDY

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29 Id p. 170
30 Id p. 171
31 Id p. 175
32 Id p. 142
Research Design and Methodology:
The socio legal study was conducted in the state of Punjab as the investigator is well versed with the various issues related to the theme of the present study. Whole of Punjab was affected by the terrorism since 1978-1993 and the border areas were worst affected. The people in general faced the terrorism and they lost their close relatives and the property during the peak days of terrorism in Punjab. **Questionnaire Method of Research was used for Socio-Legal Study.**

6.4.1 SELECTION OF THE DISTRICTS

The research was carried out in the border districts being worst affected. Bhinderanwale was also based in Chowk Mehta, headquarter of Damdami Taksal, in Amritsar district. Ten districts selected for study are Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Majitha, Batala, Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Jalandhar, Kapurthala, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana.

6.4.2 SELECTION OF SAMPLES/RESPONDENTS

Apart from above mentioned worst affected districts by terrorism in Punjab, the present study has been divided in to two major parts i.e. 1. Urban Punjab 2. Rural Punjab. Total 400 people were selected radomnly as samples. The total samples were divided into two age groups i.e. 40-60 years of age and 60-80 years of age. These groups have been selected keeping in view the peak terrorism period from 1978-1993. The first age group of 40-60 years people would be young during the terrorism period and other age group people of 60-80 years of age would be bit older. Further, the study is conducted in both men and women with equal number of samples. Thus there will be eight categories of 50 samples each, totaling 400 samples in all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male Urban</th>
<th>40-60 yrs of age</th>
<th>C-1 (Category-1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male Urban</td>
<td>60-80 yrs of age</td>
<td>C-2 (Category-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male Rural</td>
<td>40-60 yrs of age</td>
<td>C-3 (Category-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Male Rural</td>
<td>60-80 yrs of age</td>
<td>C-4 (Category-4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Female Urban</td>
<td>40-60 yrs of age</td>
<td>C-5 (Category-5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Female Urban</td>
<td>60-80 yrs of age</td>
<td>C-6 (Category-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Female Rural</td>
<td>40-60 yrs of age</td>
<td>C-7 (Category-7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Female Rural</td>
<td>60-80 yrs of age</td>
<td>C-8 (Category-8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.3 TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

The following techniques have been used for the purpose of data/ information collection:

**Interviews:**
A number of senior officers of government, IPS officers, members of general public and families of deceased police officials and general public were interacted to find out their opinion and suggestions about the terrorism in Punjab and is incorporated in the research report.

**Case studies & police records:**

Case studies have also been collected and studies particularly with reference to insurgence of terrorism, reasons behind this and steps taken for curbing this menace have been carried out. Police records regarding terrorism were perused and relevant information has been included in the thesis.

**Questionnaire for data collection:**

A questionnaire (Appendix-A) was prepared having 6 questions as below and the replies given by the selected samples as above have been recorded and tabulated.

Q. 6. Have you experienced any incident of terrorism directly/indirectly? Give brief account and your reaction?

Q. 7. What do you know about Punjab terrorism. As per you opinion what were the main causes of terrorism in Punjab?

Q. 8. What do you think about attitude, opinion and role of people of Punjab in general in regard to control and combating of terrorism in the state of Punjab?

Q. 9. What do you think about handling of terrorism in Punjab by the police, other security forces and administration?

Q. 10. What do you feel about the approach and the policies undertaken by the State Govt. of Punjab regarding the control and combating of terrorism in Punjab?

Q. 11. What is your opinion about the revival of terrorism in future in Punjab? Give your suggestions to control and combating of terrorism in Punjab during the past and future.

The questionnaire was put to persons males/females belonging to eight categories C1 to C8 as mentioned above. They were told to give free and fair replies which were recorded under their signatures. However, there were limitations in the field study.

1. The districts selected for study were highly affected during terrorism days. The people in general were hesitant to give reply to the questionnaire because of following reasons:

   i. The people in general were afraid of the remaining pro-terrorist elements or sleeper cells.

   ii. Most of them were not interested in giving reply as a matter of past and were hesitant to put up signatures.

   iii. Most of them did not want to remember the old black days as they had suffered a lot.
iv. Most of the persons did not like to interact with the ex-police officials and serving police officers.

v. It was very difficult to get reply from the women members.

vi. Most of them had only indirect experience.

vii. Though, they were assured that it is a secret study for research purpose but, still they were apprehensive that it may not be published.

2. Finding, selecting, going and interacting 400 persons was not an easy job.

3. Because of some recent incidents of Dinanagar and Pathankot shoot outs, killing of Hindu leaders and Sacha Sauda Premis, the people were not openly coming forward to reply the questionnaire. People were not still out of influence of past terrorism days.

4. Most of the people who had directly suffered had gone emotional and they gave half-hearted reply.

6.5 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data was tabulated and analysed by means of frequencies distribution, percentages and graphical presentations. The following statistical analysis technique has been employed in the study.

6.5.1 TEST OF INDEPENDENCE OF ATTRIBUTES

The Chi-square test procedure has been used to test the hypothesis of independence of two variables/attributes. The observed frequencies of two variables are entered in a two-way classification table or contingency table. A two way table with r rows and c columns contains rxc cells. Let Oy denote the observations in the ith row on the jth column, i=1,2,3…..r, j=1,2,….,c

Let C j are the columns total and Rj are the row totals. The expected value in the Yth all of the table is denoted by Ey. For an rxc table, the expected values are calculated from the marginal total using the formula.

\[ \hat{E}_{ij} = \frac{Ri \times Cj}{N} \]

Where N is the total sample size.

To test \( H_0 \), that there is no association between the attributes (i.e. the attributes are independent) a statistic called the Chi-Square statistic is calculated from the following formula.

\[ X^2 = \sum_i \sum_j \frac{(Oy - Ey)^2}{Ey} - X^2 (x - 1) (c - 1) \]

The second test which is applicable is Kruskal Wallis H-Test (for k independent samples). The Kruskal-Wallis H test (also called as Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks) is for use with k independent groups, \( K \geq 3 \). Note that because the samples
are independent, they can be of different sizes. It is assumed that the underlying distributions are continuous.

The null hypothesis is that the k samples come from the same population, or from population with identical medians. The alternative hypothesis states that not all population medians are equal. Rank of all of the observations for the K groups in a single series, assigning ranks from 1 to n (Check: The sum of ranks from 1 to n will always be equal to \([n(n+1)]/2\])

The test statistic \(H\) (sometimes also called the \(K_W\)) is based on the between groups variability in the sample mean ranks and is given by:

\[
H(\text{or} K_W) = \left[ \frac{12}{n(n+1)} \sum_{i=1}^{k} \frac{R_i^2}{n_i} \right] - 3(n+1) - \chi^2_{k-1}(\alpha)
\]

Where 
- \(K\) = the number of independent samples
- \(n\) = the total number of cases, \(n_i\)
- \(n_i\) = the number of cases in the \(i^{th}\) sample
- \(R_i\) = The sum of the ranks in \(i^{th}\) sample.

**Decision:** If calculated value of \(H \geq \chi^2_{k-1}(\alpha)\) then, reject \(H_0\)

### 6.5.2 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

On the basis of replies to the questionnaire, the trend is to be examined in case of gender, urban/rural areas and age groups. In this chi-square test is applicable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban/Rural area</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age Group</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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When Chi-Square test is applied, the computerized version is as below:-

As per Table 6.1 calculated value of 
\[ \chi^2 = 17.554 \quad P < 0.01 \]

Here the trait/trend in all the three observations in gender is dependent on each other and cannot be isolated. In these two categories of gender (male & female), the majority of people were not interested to give reply because of fear in their mind. The people had mostly indirect knowledge as compared to direct knowledge of terrorism. Men have experienced terrorism more than the women as women were less exposed.

As per table 6.2, 
\[ \chi^2 = 9.188 \quad P=0.010 \]

Hence, there is little variation in the observations in the urban/areas aspect. There is not much difference in urban & rural aspect among the non reply & indirect opinionators. Urban people has suffered less terrorism as direct but the rural people area suffered more than urban area residents. Hence P=0.010, \( \chi^2 < 10 \), here there is a very narrow difference in urban/rural areas aspect.

As per table 6.3 
\[ \chi^2 = 3.0, \quad P = 0.223 \]

In Age group, there is no dependency and connection with the age group. Here \( \chi^2 = 3.0 \) P=0.223 and this shows not much difference in age groups in all these categories. However, indirect observation is more than the direct observation. In Kruskal Wallis H-Test 
\[ H=11.34, \quad DF=2, \quad P=0.003 \]

According to this, there is an average approach and no dependency on any factor;

Hence, overall, if we analyze the data, the majority of people were not interested in giving reply. People had less experience in direct incidents as compared to indirect knowledge. Woman had lesser experience as they were not more exposed. Males & Females had almost the same indirect experience. Rural people had suffered more. In age group, there is no appreciable change in observations.

**6.5.3 ON THE BASIS OF REPLY TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE, THE DATA IS COMPILED IN EACH CATEGORY AS PER QUESTIONS.**

**Question 6:-** Have you experienced any incident of terrorism directly /indirectly? Give
brief account and your reaction.

The data compiled is as under:-

Table 6.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Indirect</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1 MU (Men Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2 MU (Men Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 MR (Men Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 MR (Men Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5 FU (Female Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6 FU (Female Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7 FR (Female Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8 FR (Female Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.4.1
From the table 6.4 & Fig 6.4.1, it is clear that the majority of the people have not opted to speak about terrorism. Men in majority have spoken about the direct experience of terrorism, whereas women have mostly spoken about indirect experiences of terrorism. In all the categories, there is no set pattern and correlation.

As per category C1, those who directly experienced had faced firing by the terrorists. Some of their relatives/friends were killed. In two cases, two of their friends/relatives were shot dead as they were Hindus. In rest of cases, they have seen the killings of other people. In one case, one faced ambush by the terrorists but escaped. In another case, a neighbour lady was killed by the terrorists. In some cases, the political leaders were shot dead. In general, the policemen, Hindus and other innocent person were killed. Some stated that they found the atmosphere of intense fear. The banks were robbed by the terrorists.

In category C2 i.e. Male Urban (60-80 years of age), the response of directly experienced, indirectly experienced and not experienced is almost same. It is because of the fact that these persons at this age had actually experienced those bad days. The people faced looting, extortions and killings of relatives and innocent persons. There was no movement of the people after the sunset. Security forces and common men were killed. Some people had seen the encounter between BSF and the terrorists in which 4 ultras were killed. There were blasts all around. CP(M) leader Ranjit Singh Sandhu in Bhikhiwind was attacked 42 times and escaped unhurt. He was awarded Shaurya Chakra. Hindus out of fear shifted to urban areas and even outside Punjab. The Youth was exploited through social media.
In category C3, Male Rural (40-60 yrs of age), the majority of the persons experienced the terrorism directly, being the rural areas as the rural areas were dominated by the terrorists. Some of the persons’ close relatives were killed by the terrorists. There was extreme fear and mostly Hindus were killed. Some expressed that the fear expressed by them still haunts them. In one case, one person saw 6 terrorists being killed by the security forces & one police jawan was also killed. Mostly comrades were killed by the terrorists and bravery award Shaurya Chakra was awarded to three person belonging to CP(M). The close relatives of the people were killed and the purpose was to make Hindus run away from rural areas/Punjab.

In Category C4 Male rural (60-80 years of age), the most of the people refused to reply as they did not want to remember the old bad days of terrorism. Very few people faced the terrorism directly. Two person narrated about their torture by the CRPF. Those of who directly experienced terrorism saw killings of innocent persons by the terrorists and also the terrorists being killed by the security forces. Some of them faced firing on them by the terrorists. Mostly Hindus were killed by the terrorists. There was intense fear in the area, which was still haunting them.

In Category C-5 Urban (40-60 years of age), only one lady experienced direct terrorism and people having indirectly experienced terrorism and not replying/experiencing is almost same. It is because of the fact that young girls mostly remained inside the houses. Mostly from border areas, women faced the indirect experience of terrorism. Many Hindu families migrated from border areas to safer places. Many women saw the people killed in blasts and most of the killed were their close relatives & friends.

In category C-6 Urban (60-80 years of age), mostly, the women either refused to reply or showed no experiencing of terrorism. However around 1/3rd of the candidates experienced the terrorism indirectly, in which innocent persons were killed. Those who had experienced directly had lost their close relatives. In one case, the bus was attacked by the terrorists, many persons were killed and the candidates had a narrow escape. In some cases, the policemen were killed. Every one experienced the extreme fear.

In Category C-7 Female Rural (40-60 years of age), the majority of the women candidates had replied that they had not experienced terrorism. It is because of the fact that the women out of fear remained confined to their houses in rural areas. Some had experienced the terrorism indirectly and the fear still haunted them. Those who have directly experienced terrorism were Hindus in border areas. 4 leaders of CP (M) faced firing by the terrorists a number of times and three of them were awarded Shaurya Chakra and cash
amount. Close relatives of some Hindus were killed in Kahnuwan area of Gurdaspur District. Innocent persons without motive were killed.

In Category C-8 Female Rural (60-80 years of age), mostly women replied that they had not experienced terrorism. Those who faced terrorists directly faced firing and killing of innocent person. Some of them directly watched the encounters between security forces and the terrorists. The close relatives of the candidates were killed. The people specially migrated to safer areas from Dera Baba Nanak. The people faced intense fear, which still haunted them.

Q. NO. 7. What do you know about the Punjab terrorism? As per your opinion, what were the causes of terrorism in Punjab?

Table 6.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Knowledge</th>
<th>Ignorance</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CI MU (Men Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2 MU (Men Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 MR (Men Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 MR (Men Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5 FU (Female Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6 FU (Female Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7 FR (Female Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8 FR (Female Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As per table 6.5 & fig 6.5.1, 373 out of 400 remembered terrorism as horrendous, worst, dangerous and the people went through an ordeal experience. Only a very insignificant number replied about ignorance or no reply. This seems that the terrorism affected the lives of people in a big way, ruining their lives & property. There is a set pattern of direct knowledge of terrorism in all the categories. In category wise from Category C-1 to C-8, nearly total number remembered terrorism as highly dangerous to the life & property of the peaceful citizens. Almost, everyone spoke of going through very bad days during terrorism.

The unanimous reply to the causes of terrorism is given as under:-

1. Exploitation of youth by Bhinderanwale on religious grounds. Youth were misguided by the political and the religious leaders.
2. The weapons from across the border. Punjabi youth have weapon fetishism.
3. Active help i.e. financial, training and weapons from the western world i.e. USA, Canada, U.K. etc.
4. Unemployment and poverty.
5. Many talked about illiteracy.
6. Very few talked about separatism.
7. Small land holdings and difficult to make both ends meet.
8. Some boys joined the terrorist groups to take revenge of their old enmities.
9. Some said that the criminals joined these terrorist groups, who indulged in rapes, lootings and unjustified killings.
10. Operation Blue Star and Delhi killings of Sikhs after Mrs. Gandhi’s assassination also motivated the youth to join the terrorist groups.
11. The political leaders exploited youth that Central Government is doing injustice to the Sikhs. Govt. policies are anti-Sikhs. SYL construction is a big injustice to Punjab.

12. Pakistan factor is very important. ISI played very dubious role. During Woodrose operation, many young Sikh boys crossed over to Pakistan. Pak ISI trained and pushed them to Punjab alongwith weapons to resort to terrorist activities.

13. Very poor political leadership & weak Govt.

14. Golden Crescent contributed to drug trafficking through Punjab, resulting in Narco-terrorism.

15. April 1978 killings of Akhand Kirtani Jatha members in Amritsar by Nirankaris. Murder of Lala Jagat Narain also aggravated the situation.

16. In the beginning, some section of the people did not oppose terrorism, rather supported the terrorists.

17. Earlier, there was no political will to control terrorism.

18. State sponsored terrorism by the security forces was retaliated by the Sikh Youth.

19. Poor education in schools & colleges. Overall fall in moral values and lack in moral education.

20. There is an increase in religious intolerance.

21. Exploitation by Pakistan social media on TV etc promising Sikhs a separate state.

22. Use of religious places as hideouts.

23. Sikh youth did not adhere to Sikh tenets.

24. Rampant corruption in the system.

25. Anandpur Sahib Resolution and aim to have a separate state.

26. Use of modern weapons like AK-47, AK-56 and explosives

27. No timely action against criminals/terrorists. Poor handling of situation at the initial stage.

28. Casteism, racism etc. were exploited by religious leaders.

Thus, most of the candidates spoke about the reasons of terrorism as Pak factor, exploitation of youth by Bhinderanwale, narco-terrorism, easy availability of dangerous weapons and unemployment.

Q. 8 What do you think about the attitude, opinions and role of people of Punjab in general in regard to control and combating of terrorism in the state of Punjab?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Attitude/Opinion Role of people +ve-</th>
<th>Not +ve</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CI MU (Men Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2 MU (Men Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 MR (Men Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 MR (Men Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5 FU (Female Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6 FU (Female Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7 FR (Female Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8 FR (Female Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>384</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As per table 6.6 and figure 6.6.1, nearly total candidates had positive attitude and opinions and appreciation towards role in regard to control of terrorism in the state of Punjab. Everyone was fed up and wanted that it should be totally controlled and curbed. The candidates of all categories spoke in one voice in favour of curbing the menace of terrorism. Only 6 persons were there, whose attitude was not supportive and they might be sympathizers of the terrorists or may be out of fear from the terrorist. In the beginning, some people were sympathetic to the terrorists but when everybody suffered, they changed their attitude. Some talked about the shifting from rural to urban areas because of fear of the terrorists. Some of them condemned the bad attitude of security forces that the way of their working was not good. Some said that jawans who sacrificed their lives were not adequately rewarded. Some candidates appreciated the role of S. Beant Singh and Sh. K.P.S. Gill in curbing the terrorism. Some said that it was movement against the injustice to the Sikhs. The fabric between Hindus and Sikhs remained in contact. The excellent police public co-operation is the cause of victory over this menace. Some mentioned that the people did not support the government and security forces out of fear from the terrorists. Some desired that the people should be educated about the menace of terrorism and drugs. Some candidates desired to have good police-public relations.
Q. No. 9. What do you think about the handling of terrorism in Punjab by the police, other security forces and the administration?

Table 6.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Handling of terrorism supported</th>
<th>Ignorance</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1 MU (Men Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2 MU (Men Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 MR (Men Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 MR (Men Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5 FU (Female Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6 FU (Female Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7 FR (Female Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8 FR (Female Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>374</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.7.1

![Bar chart showing support for terrorism handling]

As per table 6.7 and Figure 6.7.1, nearly total candidates openly supported the handling of terrorism in Punjab by the police, other security forces and the administration, only 4 did not and 22 did not reply. Those who did not support or reply, may be because of fear from the terrorists. The candidates of almost all categories supported the handling of terrorism by the security forces and the government. Some of the points which came through reply are
1. There should be full police-public cooperation.
2. Police should not be corrupt.
3. Security forces should be given modern weapons and training to handle them. They should be given bullet proof vehicles & other facilities.
4. No political interference & more powers to be given to the forces.
5. The policemen who sacrificed their lives, were not suitably rewarded.
6. Excessive use of force was done, occasionally.
7. Terrorism was a political issue, rather then a mere law & order problem.
8. Role of S. Beant Singh and Sh. KPS Gill was lauded.
9. The causes of terrorism must be addressed.
10. The police & security forces should be physically and mentally fit and balanced.
11. Black cats acted as terrorists and people did not appreciate this.
12. There was political will to curb the terrorism.
13. Recruitment of young policemen helped in curbing terrorism.
14. Intelligence should be up graded.
15. Some said that some policemen were mixed up with the terrorists.
16. In the beginning, police atrocities created the terrorists. Police should act as role model.
17. In the families of the policemen, who sacrificed their lives, should have been looked after better.

Thus overall, the terrorism was handled well and almost all appreciated the role of S. Beant Singh and Sh. K.P.S. Gill in curbing the menace of terrorism. All said that there should be no political interference and police should act as a role model. The Government should have the will to curb the terrorism.
Q. 10. What do you feel about the approach and the policies undertaken by the State Government of Punjab regarding the control and combating of terrorism in Punjab?

Table 6.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Approach and policy of State Government Supported</th>
<th>Not</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CI MU (Men Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2 MU (Men Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 MR (Men Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 MR (Men Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5 FU (Female Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6 FU (Female Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7 FR (Female Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8 FR (Female Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>315</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.8.1

As per Table 6.8 and Figure 6.8.1 – Around 80% of the candidates supported the approach and policies of state government, 14% did not & around 7% did not reply. Thus very small number who did not support, were either supporters of terrorists or they did not support out of fear of backlash from the terrorist elements. The gist of the reply of the different categories of examined candidates is as below:-

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1. Though the majority supported the approach & policies of the government, it was suggested to give employment to the youth.
2. The terrorists entering legally or illegally in to India/Punjab should not be permitted.
3. It was felt that handling of terrorism in the earlier years was poor but in the later years it was good. Earlier government lacked will & later on took strict action against the terrorists.
4. The terrorism is the gift of the political people.
5. Some of the candidates made blue star responsible for aggravation of terrorism in Punjab.
6. Many appreciated the role played by S. Beant Singh and Sh. KPS Gill in controlling & combating terrorism.
7. Many sympathized with the policemen as they have faced cases & suffered aftermath of terrorism in Punjab.
8. Many spoke that the police strength need to be increased.
9. Many said that government had no clear policy to meet such situation and even now, it is not. There is a need of strong political will to meet such situations.
10. Police need to be given free hand in handling such situations.
11. Some said that industry shifted outside caused unemployment, which had become the reason of terrorism in Punjab.
12. There should be change in attitude of police i.e. service oriented approach.
13. The state should frame strict laws against terrorism.
14. The terrorism needs to be curbed at the initial stage of the terrorism.
15. There should no leniency to the terrorists in the jails.
16. The greater public support should be sought & they should be given weapons liberally to fight terrorism.
17. The terrorists still at large should be arrested.
18. The terrorist victims should be given more help & care.
19. Action should be taken against sleeper cells.
20. Greater attention should be given to the cross-border terrorism.

Thus all categories overwhelmingly supported the approach and government policy to fight terrorism. In the rural areas, there was some resentment against the government policies in certain quarters.
Q. No. 11 What is your opinion about the revival of terrorism in future in Punjab? Give your suggestions to control and combating of terrorism in Punjab during the past & futures.

Table 6.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Revival Possible</th>
<th>No revival</th>
<th>No reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1 MU (Men Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2 MU (Men Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3 MR (Men Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4 MR (Men Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5 FU (Female Urban) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6 FU (Female Urban) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7 FR (Female Rural) 40-60yrs of age</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8 FR (Female Rural) 60-80yrs of age</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.9.1

As per Table 6.9 & Figure 6.9.1, 163 candidates said that there is a possibility of revival of terrorism in Punjab but 180 said about no possibility of revival and 57 did not reply. The elderly candidates were mostly against revival possibility. Rural candidates both men & women of all age quality replied against possibility of revival. Their suggestions to control and curb terrorism in Punjab in the past and future are given below:-
1. The Police and Security forces should be honest, upright and professional. Some officers of the police were unfair and corrupt. There should be an excellent police and public cooperation.

2. Unemployment should be checked. Youth should be given more jobs. The unemployed youth will indulge in drugs, smuggling and then terrorism.

3. Drugs should be totally controlled. Things are very bad in Punjab. Smuggling of drugs through Pakistan border should be controlled. Looting & extortions should be checked and strict action should be taken against drug mafia.

4. There is a need of value-oriented education. Standard and quality education should be given in schools & colleges. Moral values have gone down. Youth should be imparted moral values & nationalistic spirit.

5. The people have suffered heavily. External forces should be controlled. Western world should be told keep check on anti-national activities in their countries by Indian diaspora.

6. Cross-border terrorism, inflow of weapons and smuggling of drugs through Pak border should be stopped. Pakistan border should be completely sealed. The nefarious activities of ISI and non-state actors across the border should be given befitting reply.

7. Earlier some people supported the cause of the terrorists but later on they realized and supported the state authorities.

8. Financially Punjab became bankrupt. Industry went outside. Financial resources dried up. There was unemployment & boys turned towards terrorism.

9. There should be political will to curb terrorism. There should be no political interference in police working. The candidates appreciated the will of S. Beant Singh Government & Police leadership of Late Sh. K.P.S. Gill IPS, DGP of Punjab. The Police & Security forces should be immune from political interference.

10. The Police & Security forces should be equipped with modern weapons, bullet proof vehicles and other latest gadgetry. They should be properly trained. The police should be physically & mentally fit.

11. Intelligence should be upgraded.

12. Youth was misguided by political & religious leaders specially Bhinderanwale. They were emotionally exploited. Rather media should play a constructive role. Social media sites which exploit youth should be banned.

13. The people should learn the lesson from past and should not support the terrorists, specially jailed terrorists like Rajoana etc.
14. Terrorism is still there in the form of land mafia, extortionists and robber gangs, killer squads etc. The corruption is all pervading in the administration set up.

15. Illiteracy & poverty should be removed by imparting quality & skill oriented education.

16. The strength in the police stations should be improved. Police & public should have best cooperation. Rather, police should enlist public cooperation.

17. The grievances of Punjab against Centre should be redressed as the perceived injustice to Punjab like SYL, Chandigarh issue, Punjabi speaking areas etc will breed terrorism.

18. The activities of the jailed terrorists should be monitored.

19. Government & Security forces should be alert and any fresh activity by the terrorists should be nipped in the bud. If terrorism revived, it will be difficult to curb again.

20. Attention should be paid to the welfare of the fighting police forces and the people in general. Victim families of security forces should be looked after, cared & their children settled.

21. The emphasis should be on self-employment.

22. Communal harmony should be maintained at all costs.

23. There should be continuous dialogue between the hardliners & authorities. The terrorists on the margin should be brought to mainstream. The surrender policy of the terrorists has proved highly useful in curbing terrorism.

24. Special laws to meet special situation should be enacted.

25. There should be check on price-rise.


As seen above, as per observations of the candidates, terrorism revival possibility/probability in Punjab is around 40%. Government and other authorities should be conscious of this fact and take adequate steps against possibility of revival of menace of terrorism in Punjab. Pakistan/ISI and border factors are the most predominant factors regarding terrorism in Punjab. Pakistan border must be sealed completely to check inflow of trained terrorists, illicit weapons, drugs etc. Army/BSF should give a befitting reply to the cross-border activities of Pak/ISI.
6.6 CONCLUSION

Punjab, a land of five rivers happened to be a rich area and the purpose of rulers was to loot this. It was totally misruled and only Maharaja Ranjit Singh brought stability in this area. Later on the English annexed this. After partition, this truncated Punjab passed through four stages i.e. politics of mergers, the reorganization of Punjab, coalition politics and Naxalism; from autonomy to secessionism and resurgence of democracy and a composite Punjabi identity. The Sikh terrorism in Punjab ushered in the third stage. There was a colossal loss of life and property but was eradicated completely in 1993 because of strong will of the Government & the effective leadership of Sh. KPS Gill IPS, the then DPG Punjab. This chapter is devoted to Terrorism in Punjab-Socio-Legal Aspects. Terrorism in Punjab remained from 1978-1993. There was three phases of terrorism i.e. the period from 1978 to 1984, the Operation Woodrose & Operation Black Thunder, and the period post operation Black Thunder.

Punjab has 22 districts and 10 districts touching Pakistan Border, which were highly active, were selected for socio-legal study. 400 samples consisting of 8 categories of 50 samples each were randomly selected. Questionnaire method of data collection was selected. Six questions were prepared and the reply from all the samples was recorded. This was analysed by Chi-square test and Kruskal-Wallis test. The majority of the people were not interested to give reply because of still fear in the mind about terrorism. Very few persons both male & female opened their mouth about direct experience of terrorism. Men as compared to women were more vocal about the direct experience of terrorism. There was little variation in the approach to terrorism between the urban and rural participants. Regarding age group, there was no dependency or correlation with the age of the participants. As per question 6 & its reply, very few experienced the terrorism directly and mostly people narrated about the firing by the terrorists & killing of their close relatives. In all the categories, there is no set pattern or correlation. In reply to question no. 7, more than 90% participants described terrorism as dreadful, horrendous and dangerous. This affected the lives of the people and almost everybody suffered. The causes of terrorism were described as the cross-border terrorism, weapons from across the border, unemployment, narco-terrorism, exploitation of youth emotionally by the religious bigots, illiteracy and criminality. In reply to question 8, the people of Punjab wanted to get rid of terrorism at the earliest. Earlier, some sections of the people had sympathy with the terrorists, but experiencing the menace of terrorism, almost everybody turned against the terrorists. Some people even condemned the atrocities even by the security forces. In reply to question no. 9, the participants appreciated
the role of the police, the security forces, and the administration, the way the terrorism was handled by them. They appreciated the role of Late S. Beant Singh, CM Punjab & Late Sh. KPS Gill IPS DGP Punjab. Some suggested that the grievances which can be solved must be redressed. Intelligence should be upgraded. In reply to question 10, about 80% participants supported the role & policies of the state government regarding control & combating terrorism. It was also mentioned that handling of terrorism in earlier years was not up to the mark. In reply to question 11, about 40% participants have the apprehension of revival of terrorism. Majority said about non possibility of revival of terrorism in Punjab. Mostly, the participants gave suggestions to curb the future terrorism that there should be crusade against narco-terrorism, check on cross-border terrorism, employment to the youth, greater police-public cooperation, value-oriented education, check on the activities of the terrorists in western countries, strict action against Pakistan agencies helping the terrorists, political will of the government, equipping police & security forces with modern weapons, upgradation of intelligence, meeting the genuine grievances of the people etc.

Thus, it is very clear that people have suffered heavily during terrorism & they do not want its revival.