INTRODUCTION

Sikh leaders and writers who contest the claim that the Sikhs are a part of the Hindu community, however, are agreed upon the point that, at the time of the arrival of the British in the Punjab, the Hindu and the Sikh communities were very close to each other and were considered as kith and kin. They inter-married, and often in the same family there were members of both faiths. The close relationship between the two communities is attributed to a number of historical causes, but this much is accepted: that the differences between the Hindus and Sikhs did not amount to very much. As one Sikh writer points out, "they worshipped the same old gods and indulged in the same old superstitious practices from which their Gurus had so heroically worked to extricate them. Their baptism and five symbols became a mere anomaly."

However, after the British conquest, several reform movements arose in Sikhism. One of the more important of these was the Singh Sabha Movement in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The purpose of this movement was "to study the original source of Sikhism, and to restore it to its pristine purity." The process of reform took the shape of "de-Hinduising" the Sikhs, since

"the only trouble with Sikhism at that time was that its doctrines and institutions had been completely Hinduised". The movement aimed "to rediscover the pure doctrine and then to preach it to the ignorant masses." Associations known as Singh Sabhas were opened in various parts of the Punjab to further the objectives of the movement. The main business of these associations was the holding of weekly meetings where "lectures were delivered against Hindus and their institutions, or debates were held to controvert the attacks of the Arya Samajists." A new literature was developed emphasizing the distinctive character of Sikhism, including the work known as Ham Hindu Nahin (We are not Hindus) by Bhai Khan Singh, which "did more to deHinduise the Sikhs than anything else." 5

As part of the reform movement, new rites and ceremonies, different from previous Hindu ones, were instituted for the Sikhs. The reformers also opened Sikh schools which provided not only education but "also served as strongholds of Sikhism wherever they were established". The spread of education brought political consciousness among the Sikhs and, together with the particular doctrines disseminated by the Singh Sabha movement, made for demands

3. Ibid. p.130.
4. Ibid. p.141.
5. Ibid. p.136.
6. Ibid. p.142.
in the political sphere for the recognition of the Sikhs as a separate community in politics and in law and the grant of rights and privileges to them on that basis.

Some leaders believe that the British encouraged separatist tendencies among the Sikhs for their own imperial interests.\(^7\) It was natural that the British should look favourably upon any Sikh attempt to assert their separate entity, since the Sikhs had helped the British quell the Indian mutiny in 1857 and thus saved the British empire in India. The growing nationalism in India in the later part of the nineteenth century also made it a political necessity for the British "that as many elements as possible should be segregated from the general body of Hindus who were responsible for the agitation for political reform in India".\(^8\) Significantly, the rules of the Singh Sabha associations required that no discussion of an anti-government nature should take place at Sabha meetings.\(^9\) Some hold that the Singh Sabha movement would have developed an anti-Hindu character in any case, because any reform of Sikhism could take place only through eliminating Hindu influences.\(^10\) Others believe that the movement itself and its anti-Hindu form took place as a result of the anti-Sikh

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\(^7\) Mangal Singh, "Hindus and Sikhs Are One", *The Tribune*, Apr 1, 1951.
propaganda by certain sections of the Hindu community, notably the Arya Samaj. 11

At any rate, the British themselves before long began to draw a distinction between Hindus and Sikhs for official purposes. The Punjab census report of 1891 mentioned, among other things, "the marked preference shown for Sikhs in many branches of government service." 12 This preference for Sikhs in government service was especially noticeable in military recruitment. Although they were less than 2 per cent of the Indian population, their proportion in the army at times went up to as high as 33 per cent. The premium on recruitment of Sikhs to the army helped in the conversion of many Hindus to Sikhism. In the case of the Sikhs, the British government even made an exception to its traditional policy of religious neutrality. It made the baptismal ceremony a condition for enlistment of the Sikhs to the army, because the separate Sikh regiments into which they were organised would then be able "to serve as important agencies for the encouragement and promotion of Sikhism." 13 Sikh soldiers were further required to keep the five external symbols of Sikhism. Even outside the military sphere, the British government tried to preserve Sikh

traditions. Positions in legislative bodies and in government offices reserved for the Sikh community were allocated to those who adhered to Sikh symbols. 14

All these measures and privileges were greatly appreciated by the Sikhs. "This friendship", comments a Sikh Scholar, "put some heart again into Sikhs and they began to enlist themselves in the British army, where they could keep their baptismal forms intact." 15 But as friendship developed between the British government and the Sikh community, so did friction between the Hindus and Sikhs; at any rate, "the Hindu-Sikh schism in its active form dates from the British annexation of the Punjab 16. On the intellectual plane, the gulf between the two communities widened, some Hindu leaders allege, as a result of the biased works on Sikh religion and history by Britishers.

The next event which further strained relations between Hindus and Sikhs brought the Sikh community into conflict with the British government, known as the Gurdwara Reform movement or the Akali movement, it superseded the Singh Sabha movement, especially in the political sphere. The leadership of the Singh Sabha movement had come from the Sikh aristocracy which was sympathetic to the British


government. This movement's influence had been confined only to the white-collar Sikhs in the towns, and had not spread to the rural areas.

At the end of World War I, certain sections of the Sikh community felt that radical changes in Sikh rites and ceremonies could be brought about only through a change in the management of Sikh shrines which were at the time, and had been for generations, by and large under the control of Sahajdhari, and not Keshdhari, priests. Furthermore, there was the economic attraction, since these shrines controlled huge properties and vast lands. The leaders of the Akali movement attempted to oust these priests and bring the management of the gurdwaras (Sikh shrines or temples) under the popular control of the Sikh community. This move created resentment among the Hindus, since it meant not only the removal of priests who served as bridge between the two communities but also the breaking of Hindu idols and elimination of Hindu elements in worship of Sikh shrines.17

In the attempt to forcibly evict the priests, the Sikhs ran into conflict with the British government which felt that it was its duty to protect the right of property and to maintain law and order.

The struggle of the Sikh community against the priests and the British government lasted for about five

17. Vasdev Verma, "Hindu Sikh Ekta" (Hindu Sikh Unity), Pratap (Jullundur), December 31, 1961.
years and developed into a mass movement which spread into the rural areas. Thousands of Sikhs came forward as volunteers to oppose the government and occupy the gurdwaras; "a semi-military organization called the "Akali Dal" (the Akali Army) was formed.\(^{18}\) The formation of the Akali Dal marked the transfer of political leadership from the landed aristocracy to the Sikh middle classes.\(^{19}\) The Akali Dal superseded the Chief Khalsa Diwan, the organizational expression of the Singh Sabha movement, which until now had attempted to be the sole political organization of the Sikhs.

The Akali movement served to widen the gulf between the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab. The Hindu feeling was that shrines, which had hitherto been sacred to and used by both Hindus and Sikhs, were being expropriated by extremist sections of the Sikh community who were anxious to drive a wedge between the two communities. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were equally insistent in separating themselves and their religious institutions from the Hindus. Referring to the question of whether Sikhs were Hindus in the debate over the gurdwaras at the time, Mehtab Singh remarked that "even if it were true, the Sikhs have obtained the rights of separate communal representation", and that "if the Sikhs do

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not wish to remain in the fold of Hinduism, why should the Hindus seek to force them to do so." He then added that "we wish to manage our own affairs and look after our own gurdwaras and are determined to do so." Eventually, the Punjab legislature passed a law giving the right of management of the Sikh historic gurdwaras to the Sikh community.

The assertion that the Sikhs are a separate political entity was and is aimed primarily at distinguishing them from the Hindus. while the Hindus continue to emphasize, outwardly at least, that the Sikhs are a part of the Hindus, the sentiment is but rarely reciprocated. On the contrary, "nothing provokes the Sikhs so much as this description of the Sikhs as merely Hindus." The Sikh considers not only that "to call him a Hindu is to insult him," but also finds that "the expression of such affection is nauseating." 22

The result of the Sikh reform movements was to put the social relations between Hindus and Sikhs on a one-sided basis. Hindus went to Sikh shrines, not Sikhs to Hindu temples; Hindus hung pictures of Sikh Gurus in their homes, not Sikhs of Rama and Krishna; Hindus became coverts to the Sikh religion, those who left Sikhism were declared

"apostates"; Sikh married Hindu girls, rarely were Sikh girls married to Hindus; Hindu families brought up some of their children as Sikhs, not the other way round. However, under the impact of more recent Sikh and Hindu agitations, even this one-sided relationship has, by and large, come to an end. Hindus, even Sahajdhari Sikhs, now refrain from going to Sikh shrines because of their highly politicized condition. 23 No more Hindus, including Harijans, become converts to Sikhism; the process of conversion to Sikhism from among Hindus in the Punjab has come to a halt. No more do Hindu families raise some of their children as Sikhs. Even Keshdhari Sikhs and Hindus in the same family have drawn further apart.

Recognizing the serious consequences that have resulted for Hindu-Sikh relations, and more especially the government-Sikh relations, from the pursuit of the ideal of the Panth as a separate political entity, some Sikh leaders have in recent years criticised this concept. They have no objection to the Sikh community having a single organisation dealing solely with religious affairs, but they feel that in the political sphere its presence will lead to dangerous consequences. The submission of Sikhs to one political ideology, they say, will mean not only the isolation and estrangement of the Sikh community from other communities, but will also work "havoc" within the Sikh community itself.

by stopping all independent thinking. Some of these leaders point out that the combination of religion and politics in Sikhism was a relevant solution in the specific times in which it was evolved, but in the changed times of today, with a secular state, it is no longer necessary to keep religion and politics together.

The regional formula had been mainly evolved to meet the Sikh demand for a full-fledged state. It was hoped that this would allay the Hindu fears and avert another division of Punjab. But the regional scheme satisfied nobody.

The Indo-Pakistan conflict in 1965 created a favourable psychological climate and the central government agreed to examine the question of the Punjabi Suba afresh "with an open mind". Sant Fateh Singh around this time emerged as the chief protagonist in the fight over Punjabi Suba.

His demand for Punjabi Suba was advanced as a case for linguistic redistribution of states. But in historical background transformed it into a demand for a state in which the Sikhs would be in a majority. This was the Hindu point of view and they opposed any such move.

A Speaker’s Committee, with Hukam Singh as the Chairman, was set up to consider the problem. The Committee’s report observed that no scheme which fell "short


of making the Regional Committees full-fledged Legislatures" would at this juncture, be "capable of solving the problem."

After the formation of the Punjabi Suba it was hoped that the Sikhs would settle down and a new era of amity would emerge. The country soon went to the polls, and for the first time the Congress was defeated in several states, including the new Punjab (1967). A coalition government under the leadership of the Akali Party was set up in the state, in which the Jana Sangh and the CPI were partners.

The years 1967-1972 were characterised by non-congress ministries, political instability and intense factional struggle within the Akali Party. In this period three Akali-led coalition ministries were formed and overthrown. None enjoyed a long spell. The first ministry was headed by Gurnam Singh, a retired High Court Judge. He was followed by Lachhman Singh Gill of the Tara Singh group who enjoyed Congress support. His ministry too did not last long. A mid-term poll followed. Again the Congress was beaten and a third coalition government was installed with Gurnam Singh as the Chief Minister. His second ministry lasted for only fourteen months.

After the formation of the Punjabi Suba the Akalis thought that they would be able to win power on their own. In the fourth general elections in 1967, the Congress was beaten in Punjab. But the Akali hopes were not fulfilled.
The Akalis won only 24 seats in a smaller House consisting of 104 members, but increased their share of votes to 20.5 per cent. A coalition government took office and a period of instability set in.

The 1969 mid-term election raised the Akali representation in the Punjab Assembly to 43. Their percentage share of the vote was 29.36. But they had to depend on their allies. The 1972 poll was a setback for the Akalis. The Congress won a majority and formed a government with Giani Zail Singh as the Chief Minister. The Akalis managed only 24 seats and 27.65 per cent votes.

There was talk of an Akali-Congress electoral understanding before the Lok Sabha Elections in 1971. The Congress offered the Akalis four out of the total of 13 Lok Sabha seats in the state. Chief Minister Badal and Union Minister Swaran Singh were in favour of this alliance. But the Akali leadership hoped to win most of the seats on their own, hence they rejected the Congress offer. The Congress-CPI alliance won 12 out of the 13 seats. Only one Akali candidate came out successful: Parkash Singh Badal's brother who contested from Fazilka. In the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, a large section of the Sikhs voted for the Congress-CPI alliance. This caused "a flutter among the rank and file of the Akali Party who blamed the Chief Minister and other party leaders for the poll reverses." 26

The 1977 Lok Sabha elections and the subsequent Assembly poll was a high watermark for the non-Congress parties. The Akalis fought the elections and almost secured a majority in the Punjab Assembly (58 out of 117 seats). An Akali-Janata coalition now took office. At the Centre they got a cabinet seat and one minister of state.

After the break-up of the Janata Party, elections were held to the Punjab Assembly in May-June 1980. The Akalis lost heavily in terms of seats. They polled only 26.9 per cent votes and secured 37 seats.

The formation of the Punjabi Suba had, it turned out, settled nothing. There were issues which needed to be settled. New issues were raised. And the list went on increasing. The first issue was regarding the Capital of the new state of Punjab. When the Suba was formed Chandigarh was not handed over to the new state. It was made a centrally-administered area and both Punjab and Haryana were allowed to establish their headquarters in the city. The Punjabis demanded that Chandigarh be handed over to them. There was a suggestion that Haryana should build a new capital of its own. But no decision was taken in this matter. The second issue pertained to the demarcation of the boundaries of the two states - Punjab and Haryana. A proper solution would have been to refer the matter to a commission with powers of delimiting the areas on the basis of majority and contiguity. This was never done in a
decisive and binding manner. The third issue was the distribution of river waters.

Despite the creation of a Punjabi-speaking Sikh majority state, the Akalis could not wield absolute power as they had hoped to do. They had to depend on other parties and had to seek their cooperation in order to form a government. This forced them to moderate their extremist attitude and water down their programmes. The Akalis and the Jana Sangh (BJP) lost ground while the Congress consolidated its position. The Congress victory was resented by the Akalis. The Akalis could have won had they cooperated with a section of the Hindus. But they did not do so. Soon thereafter extremist factions began to gain an upper hand within the Akali movement and the result was the Anandpur Resolution.

The ideological underpinning for the demand for a separate Sikh State was provided by certain members of the Sikh community in foreign countries. Secessionist activities in India were fuelled by inflammatory utterances of Sh. Amrik Singh, Shri Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and a few others. Even though the Akali Dal leadership did not put forward any specific demand of a secessionist nature, its ambiguity on the concept of Sikh separatism provided a respectable cover for subversive and anti-national forces to operate in the secure knowledge that they would not be politically disowned.
The essence of the problem in Punjab was not the demands put forward by the Akali Dal in 1981 but the maturing of a secessionist and anti-national movement, with the active support of a small number of groups operating from abroad. The Akali Dal leadership allowed the initiative and control over the agitation to pass out of their hands. The terrorists escalated their violence. With each passing day the situation worsened.

In September 1981 the Akali Dal forwarded to the Government a list of 45 demands. In October 1981 they submitted a revised list of 15 demands.

The violence associated with the sectarian-feud between some fundamentalist Sikhs and Nirankaris, was the starting point of the tragic events in Punjab. There were killings in the clashes of April 1978 and later, climaxed by the assassination of Baba Gurbachan Singh, the spiritual head of the Nirankaris on April 24, 1980. Thereafter, dogmatism and extremism, accompanied by terror and violence, were to overwhelm the political life of Punjab.

Following the arrest on July 19, 1982 of Shri Amrik Singh, President, AISSF and others in connection with a case of attempted murder, Shri Bhindranwale shifted his headquarters from Chowk Mehta to Guru Nanak Niwas within the Golden Temple complex. This move had significant implications for the developments to follow. A morcha
started for Shri Amrik Singh's unconditional release. In spite of this surcharged atmosphere, the Akali Dal intensified its morcha from August 4, 1982 describing it as a 'Dharm Yudh' (a religious battle). Two incidents of hijacking of Indian Airlines plane followed. On August 20, 1982 in Jalandhar district there was an attempt on the life of the then Chief Minister Darbara Singh. Shri Bhindranwale and others now operating directly from the Golden Temple complex began to extol and instigate violence.

A new dimension to the escalating violence was given in September 1983 with a deliberate move to kill members of the Hindu community. On September 28, 1983 there was indiscriminate firing on persons on their morning walk in Jagraon in Ludhiana district.

On June 2, 1984 Government decided to call in the Army in aid of civil authority in Punjab.

The leadership of the Sikhs in Punjab started passing from educated and moderate leaders like Parkash Singh Badal to religious zealots, like Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who shot into prominence in 1978 in the wake of the Akali-Nirankari clash at Amritsar. He had become a force to reckon with. Bhindranwale was increasingly being looked upon as saviour of the Panth. This development was as much due to the repeated failure of the moderate Akali leaders like Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, Parkash Singh Badal, Surjit Singh Barnala, Balwant Singh, Ravi Inder
Singh, Balwant Singh Ramoowalia and others who failed to get Sikh grievances redressed. These leaders were also under fire from hawks like Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of SGPC and Jagdev Singh Talwandi. The extremists were trying to force the moderates to the point of no return in the certain belief that they would grudgingly hand over the leadership of the Dal to them and quit Sikh politics. The moderate Akalis were outwitted by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and hundreds of his armed followers.

In September 1985 elections in Punjab were held in extremely abnormal circumstances. The last four years of turmoil, i.e., Operation Blue Star (entry of armed forces into the Golden Temple Complex to flush out terrorists), anti-Sikh riots outside Punjab on the eve of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi’s assassination, massive development of the armed forces in the State greatly embittered the Sikhs and alienated them from the mainstream. There had, thus, emerged a partial polarisation on communal lines. Total votes polled in September elections were 66.5 per cent of the total voters. The Akali Dal polled 38.54 per cent of the total valid votes and won 73 seats in the 117-member State Assembly. The Congress (I) secured 37.8 per cent votes polled securing 32 seats. The CPI secured 4.5 per cent of votes with 1 seat, CPI(M) secured 1.8 per cent with no seat. The BJP got 3.84 per cent votes with 4 seats. Later on, it
also won two seats where elections were countermanded earlier thereby raising its strength to 6 in the Assembly. In fact, it was for the first time that Akali Dal was able to secure a clear majority in the State Assembly. Surjit Singh Barnala became the Chief Minister on 29 September 1985. But he failed to win over the different factions of the Dal which lay in ambush waiting for the right moment to strike.

Surjit Singh Barnala was elected leader of the Akali Dal Legislature Party and became the Chief Minister.

On 29 April 1986, the Panthic Committee, an extremist organisation, declared its goal for formation of 'Khalistan' and unfurled flag of 'Khalistan' in the precincts of the Golden Temple. The Chief Minister, Mr Barnala could not be a mute spectator and after great hesitancy ordered the entry of police to perform a mini-surgical operation called, 'Operation Wood Rose' or 'Operation Search' to flush out terrorists from the precincts of the Golden Temple. The Barnala Government survived with the oxygen provided by Congress support. On 11 May, 1987 the Barnala Government was unceremoniously dismissed after a 21-month lease of life, and President's rule in Punjab was imposed.

In July 1987, the terrorists indulged in a heinous massacre. The slaughter of 70 bus passengers in Punjab and Haryana in Lalru and Fatehabad in swift succession brought terrorism into infinitely closer focus.
In September, 1989, the Director-General of Police, K.P.S.Gill said that terrorists were feeling the presence of the onslaught of the security-forces against them. He reeled out figures to show that terrorists killings in the first eight months(1989) came down by about 50 per cent as compared to the corresponding period last year(1988), whereas the number of terrorists killed were more than doubled during the same period.

The election to the State Assembly were announced for June 22, 1991 along with the general elections, but were postponed after the Congress Government headed by Shri P.V.Narsimha Rao took over at the Centre. The Narasimha Rao Government announced September 25, 1991 as the fresh date for polls but on September 16, Parliament passed a Bill cancelling it and approved extension of President’s Rule for the ninth time for another six months.

Postponement of polls resulted in a lot of resentment among various Opposition parties. Prior to the issuance of the notification, reports of Centre working out packages, economic and political, for Punjab evoked different comments from political parties particularly the Akalis. While those Akalis boycotting the poll stressed the need for "permanent solution first, poll and Government afterwards", those for the poll and CPI and CPM leaders sought transfer of Union Territory of Chandigarh, joint
capital of Punjab and Haryana, to Punjab under the Rajiv-Longowal Accord before the elections. The Centre, however, finally felt that all such disputes should be taken up with the new elected Government in Punjab. The Prime Minister made it clear that installation of popular government in the state was their first priority.

So after a long spell of about six years of President's Rule, the State of Punjab went to the polls on February 19, 1992 under unprecedented security cover. It may be recalled that the President's rule was imposed in Punjab on May 11, 1985. After much misgivings, the election process was set in motion around midnight of January 24, 1992 with the issuance of notification by the President for the 13 Lok Sabha seats. The Governor of Punjab also issued a similar notification for 117 Assembly seats.

Most of the Akali leaders and their factions which had been earlier urging the government to hold elections in the State announced their decision to boycott the poll. Out of about 17 Akali factions, only one of the Kabul group, seriously participated in the elections. After the withdrawal and scrutiny of nominations, there remained 594 candidates for the Assembly seats. Two candidates namely Captain Amrinder Singh of the Akali Dal (Kabul) and Shri Dilbagh Singh Daleke of the Congress were elected unopposed from Samana and Tarn Taran Assembly constituencies.
respectively. For the Lok Sabha seats there were only 81 candidates.

The turnout of the voters was the lowest in all elections held so far in the State. According to the preliminary figures announced by the Election Commission on the night of the polling day the overall polling was between 25 to 30 per cent.

As for violence, the Commission said there had been no major incidents in spite of widespread apprehensions on this score. There was one case of bomb blast in Ludhiana city in which one person was killed and ten others were injured.27

In about 70 per cent of the 115 Assembly constituencies (there were two unopposed returns) the polling was estimated to be as low as 15 per cent. More than 300 villages just did not vote at all. Rural areas recorded from nil to 10 per cent in the Sikh dominated areas.

Election was marked by a 48-hour 'Bandh Call' by the main Akali groups. Allegations regarding use of force by the Administration on voters in some areas to cast their votes was made by leaders of many political parties. They also alleged rigging of polls by the government.

Even though it was not a free and full election in the normal sense, the very fact that it was possible to hold the elections was an achievement for the Congress Government at the Centre. The Congress secured 50.88 per cent votes in this election and won 86 seats out of a total of 117. Beant Singh emerged as the leader of the Congress and became the Chief Minister.

K.P.S. Gill, the Director-General of the Punjab Police was given a free hand to deal with the terrorists. The armed forces provided protection and security to the Punjab Police and the Punjab Government.

We shall, now, define and explain some terms which have been frequently applied in case of the Punjab crisis.

**Terrorism**

Terrorism is defined as "use of violence for political ends including any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear". It is also defined as "the systematic use of violence or threat of violence by organized groups to achieve specific goals". Terrorist activities may be directed against individuals, organizations or governments.


Methods applied include murder, torture, kidnapping, sky-jacking, destruction of property, etc. Its activists and supporters are known as terrorists.

The prominent terrorist organizations which had been operating in the state were--- 'Babbar Khalsa', 'Dal Khalsa', 'Bhindranwale Tiger Force of Khalistan', 'Khalistan Commando Force', 'Khalistan Liberation Force', 'Khalistan Liberation Organisation', etc.

**Militancy**

It is "the condition being of militant". the term militant is applied to or adopted as a designation by the persons who sought the political or economic change by employing or advocating the use of direct action, demonstration, etc. It is frequently applied to trade union leaders who hold out for high wage settlements, refuse to take part in discussions, negotiations, etc.

**Extremism**

It is a tendency to be at extreme. It is further described as:

(i) taking a political idea to its limit, regardless of 'unfortunate' repercussions impracticalities, arguments

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30. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
and feelings to the intention not only to confront, but also to eliminate, opposition.

(ii) Intolerance towards all views other than one's own.
(iii) Adoption of means to political ends which disregard accepted standards of conduct, in particular, which show disregard for the life, liberty and human rights of others. The person who holds this tendency is known as extremist.

Extremism has been one of the grave factors which can be accused of the deterioration of the situation in the state. This tendency can be traced in a section of the Akalis. In the beginning of crisis, the extremists were undersized. Later, the delay in resolution to the Punjab crisis, strengthened the hands of the extremist forces in the state. Eventually, they started dominating the Punjab politics in general and the Akali politics in particular. The assassination of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and non-implementation of 'Punjab Accord' further enhanced the weight of extremists. In the Parliamentary elections of 1989, they emerged as a big force by sweeping the largest seats in Punjab.

**Fundamentalism**

In simple words, Fundamentalism is a movement within any religion towards its basic precepts.

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34. Roger Scruton, n.10, p.164.
Simultaneously, it refuses to acknowledge changes which cropped with the modernization.35

Fundamentalism is another factor that can be blamed for worsening the situation in the state. 'Damdami Taksal' is one of the organizations which represent this tendency.

Review of Literature


This study is a collection of research articles of prominent scholars. An attempt has been made to investigate the basic, socio-economic, political and religious causes of the Punjab problem. The book is a good piece of analytical work done on the Punjab crisis.


The book mainly deals with the Sikh history. The author contends that the current tension among Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab is not a new phenomenon. It raised its head periodically when mischievous elements in the society gained undue influence.

K.S.Duggal, Understanding the Sikh Psyche (New Delhi : Siddharth Publications).

The present collection contains two dozen odd pieces

35. Ibid. p. 184.
published in various periodicals during the turbulent times. His primary concern, "of course, has been to understand the Sikh psyche."

Much polemical literature has appeared during all these years in favour or against the demands raised in a number of Anandpur Sabib resolutions. Duggal's approach is different. In most of the articles he presents the genuine problems of Punjab, wrongly termed as the problems of the Sikhs and blames the politicians for not tackling them in right spirit.

Duggal is sore that a vocal section of Punjabi society refused to accept Punjabi as its mother tongue. That, he feels, sowed the seeds of distrust between the closely related communities.


In this study, the authors have come forward with the hypothesis that it was the unhealthy struggle for power between the Congress and the Akalis which mainly caused the turmoil. The work is enriched with the data of victims of terrorism and state terrorism. The authors convoke the masses to expose, oppose and resist the game of the ruling class.

The book is a collection of author's articles, statements and speeches in Rajya Sabha. It helps in tracing the historical roots of the Punjab problem. In the work, the writer has also put forward proposals for a democratic solution to this crisis.


This book sheds light on the problem of terrorism in Punjab. The book is fairly an attempt to examine the eruption of terrorism in the state. The study is enriched with the inclusion of life sketches of nearly three dozen hardcore terrorists. It also deals with various factors which are responsible for the emergence of the present Punjab crisis.

Paul Wallace and Surendra Chopra (eds.), Political Dynamics and Crisis in Punjab (Amritsar: GNDU, 1988).

The book is a compilation of the papers written by eminent scholars such as Paul Wallace, Surendra Chopra, Harish K. Puri, P.S. Verma, M.S. Dhami, Satya M. Rai, etc. In the introduction, the editors have made effort to trace the political developments in Punjab. The contributors have endeavoured to analyse the situation in Punjab.

The study is concerned with the evolution of separate identity and communal consciousness among the Sikhs.


This work is a significant historical analysis which throws light on the genesis of the Punjab problem. The authors try to reveal the power politics in Punjab which paved the way both for Sant Bhindranwale to become a hero and for the subsequent army action.


This study is a collection of articles of Amarjit Kaur and other eminent figures which give the details of the fast moving political events of three years in Punjab which led to Operation Blue Star.


The work provides an examination of socio-economic causes and historical factors which led to the Punjab problem. The writers have highlighted communalism.

The book throws considerable light on the various trends and patterns in Punjab politics. The main endeavour has been to describe, analyse and offer a critique of Punjab politics.

*Minority Politics in the Punjab* by Baldev Raj Nayar is an excellent background book on the present problem of Punjab. It was published in 1966 and is useful for the proper understanding of the background of the formation of the Punjabi Suba. It provides useful data on the social background of Akali and Congress political leaders. It has a useful chapter No. VI on the Political Strategies of the Akali Dal.

*Modern History of Punjab* edited by S.P. Agrawal presents useful documents on the present Punjab as well as on the earlier period.

*The Sikh Volcano* by Ghani Jafar presents a slightly different point of view on the Punjab problem. It is mostly informative but does explain to us how a Muslim looks at the problem of the Punjab.


The book focuses on the intelligentsia's perceptions of the Punjab problem between 1980 and 1984 when
terrorism had gained ascendancy and posed a serious threat to the integrity of the country.

Bikash’s thesis is that the intelligentsia played a sorry role during the Punjab crisis. It failed to understand the reality of the situation.


In the opening chapter Marwah has examined the various concepts and theoretical aspects of terrorism. He comments that terrorism in India is essentially the creation of politics.

Marwah has also observed that the secessionist nature of some of the terrorist movements in India is primarily due to the failure of our political structure to assure these agitating groups of people that their individual identity is an essential part of the Indian ethos.


This book details the genesis of the Punjab problem and traces it through the years and predicts that the nation, and the people of Punjab will not have to undergo once again the "tragedy and trauma of the 1980s." Since Mr Narayanan was himself witness to the crisis
throughout those critical years as Editor-in-Chief of the Tribune group of newspapers, the book also contains his impressions based on his meetings on Punjab with four Prime Ministers - Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, Chandra Shekhar and P.V. Narasimha Rao besides various Punjab Governors and Punjab Police Chiefs during the heights of militancy.