

THE BLEEDING PUNJAB



A REPORT TO THE NATION

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TO THE READERS

Since over a decade, Punjab has been under the shadow of guns. The gun-wielding Khalistani terrorists on the one hand and the uniformed terrorists of the state security forces on the other, in the name of fighting each other, have unleashed a bloody and reactionary war against the people of Punjab. The ruling class Parliamentary parties remain almost paralysed and restricted to mere issuing of statements for or against one or the other gun-wielding terrorist force. For the time being, it seems, it is the armed

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calling the shots in Punjab. The above two culprit camps, a people of Punjab, the body of the reactionary power--struggle also exists which has been pushed into oblivion and obscurity by the ruling class media. This booklet, written by two democratic revolutionary views and working of the a variety of organisations, reflects the utter complex nature of Punjab, its innumerable limitations in terms of time, energy and comprehensive dealing with the Punjab problem, and the simple energy of the subject was well beyond our doing. Even then if we were invited to undertake this difficult assignment, it was for the simple reason of contributing our bit in presenting and projecting to the people of India, the vision and version of inadequately heard people of Punjab and in alleviating widespread misgivings about the nature of Punjab problem and the role of people therein. The

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attempt on our part can at best be conceived as a sketchy and introductory nature made with the modest purpose of acquainting the country-men and making them feel concerned with the grave situation prevalent in Punjab.

This booklet is intended to be specifically targetted to the secular, democratic and revolutionary sections of the people of India. In so far as these sections are concerned, we have assumed that the nature and role of state violence as a reactionary and anti-people phenomenon is not controversial in these sections. Hence it is further assumed that our inadequate dealing of the phenomenon of state terrorism will not be construed as any soft-peddalling or sympathy to state terrorism. The state was and remains a sworn enemy of the people of India including Punjab.

We, in all humility invite and will appreciate any comments, criticism or suggestions from the readers. Due to our inadequate command over the English language, any distaste in language encountered by the readers is regretted.

- Publishers.

SEPT. 15, 1992

PART-I

PUNJAB TURMOIL : THE PEOPLE'S PERCEPTION

BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURMOIL

These days a reactionary turmoil dominates all walks of social life in Punjab. The twin phenomenon of Khalistani & state terrorism are playing havoc with the democratic rights of the people-the right to live being the prime target of the reactionary armed gangs of both types. Different class political forces are interpreting & explaining this turmoil according to their own class interests. The rulers in Delhi project the "extremism" in Punjab as a mischief of "foreign enemies" which has emerged as a serious danger to the "Unity & integrity of the country." They claim that the state's armed forces are performing the sacred duty of defending the nation, in Punjab. On the other hand, the other faction of ruling classes is projecting the Khalistani terrorist movement as a just fight against the oppression of Sikh religious minority and Punjabi nationality. According to them, the oppression of Sikh masses by the repressive rulers in Delhi has forced the Punjabi youth to take-up arms for restoring the lost honour of the Sikh "Quom." Events like operation Blue Star & anti-Sikh riots of November 1984 are cited as striking examples of the policy of genocide of Sikhs being pursued by Indian rulers since 1947.

The people's perception of "Punjab problem", is and must be entirely different from that of ruling classes. To understand the essence of the reactionary turmoil in Punjab, it is necessary to study the process of its emergence & growth in the context of overall political situation developing in the country as well as in Punjab in the face of the speedy and sharp growth of the all-round crisis of the semi-feudal semi colonial system as part of the world imperialist system. Here we shall try to present the chain of significant events from the socio-political scene of Punjab, through which this reac-

tionary phenomeum materialised, as an expression of the anti-people designs & manoeuvres of various ruling class factions.

BEFORE THE TURMOIL

Before, during & even after the emergency, the political scene in the country as well as in Punjab was different. No doubt, the various ruling class factions were engaged in a bitter dog fight to grab a much larger share in state-power for them., throughout this period. They were also trying their utmost to deceive & involve the people in this reactionary dog-fight. This process was creating a non-class polarisation among them. For this the ruling class forces were mainly relying on popular slogans such as 'Garibi Hatao', restoration or defence of democracy etc. Even in Punjab, these forces did not use the religious communal sentiments as the main weapon in their reactionary dog-fight. The Anandpur Sahib Resolution--though passed in 1973, did not prevent the Akali leadership from making a common cause even with the Hindu communalist forces like Jan Sangh/BJP to capture political power. The brutal state repression, unleashed during the emergency, was never presented as suppression of Sikh religious minority or Punjabi people even by the communal Akali leadership. Rather, they advocated & implemented the policy of alliance with national level opposition parties for the "restoration of democracy." The so called issues & demands of Sikhs or the Punjabi people never played a crucial role in giving shape to the polarisation among the Akali leadership & other ruling class-political groupings in Punjab.

The Phenomenon of Sikh religious fundamentalism emerged initially on the socio-political scene in Punjab, not as an offensive against the Hindu religious community but against the Nirankari sect--an offshoot of Sikhism itself.

On the eve of a big religious congregation organised by the then Nirankari Chief--Baba Gurbachan Singh -- at Amritsar on April 13, 1975 as a show of strength in the fight for religious supremacy against Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and others, a fierce armed clash took place in which more than a dozen persons were killed, most of them belonged to the Sikh fundamentalist's camp. This incident was utilised to launch a frenzied & poisonous offensive against the followers of the Nirankari sect. A Hukamnama (religious

edict) was issued from the Akal Takht, the highest religious & temporal seat of the Sikhs. It ordained the Sikhs, not to have any social relations with the Nirankaris. Almost all Nirankari Bhawans-- the places where they gathered for religious discourse, were sealed in Punjab. The Akalis, dominating the state government then, openly supported & took part in these moves-- to consolidate their communal vote-base among the traditional Sikh masses. They made openly provocative statements threatening that the Nirankaris would not be allowed to step on the soil of Punjab. Ban on their religious books was also demanded.

But these developments did not affect much the overall political scene (situation) in Punjab. The congress (I) and other national level parties were vying with each other to make alliances with & use the regional political parties against each other in their reactionary power tussel. The Akali leadership in Punjab, while continuing its honeymoon with the opposition camp, was also keeping the option for a power-sharing compromise with the congress, open.

Even in 1980, the political polarisation inside the Akali Dal took place not on the issues like the rights of the Sikhs or the Panjabis, but on the choice of election alliance partner from amongst the BJP and the so called left parties. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, the emerging champion of Sikh fundamentalism, too, did not talk in terms of enmity between the "Centre" and the Sikhs. Instead he advocated an Akali-Congress coalition in Punjab.

In early eighties, the Akali leadership made compromising gestures to the congress regime at the Centre by supporting Giani Zail Singh in the presidential elections and backing out from the people's struggle against unprecedented hike in bus fare by the state's Congress Govt. The aim was to strike a bargain with the Congress regime, ensuring better accomodation in power-structure.

A TURN IN RULING CLASS POLITICS

The decade of eighties was marked with a distinct phase in Indian ruling classes politics. With all the major & minor contradictions of Indian society getting accentuated to an unprecedented level and the treasury of popular slogans having gone bankrupt the ruling classes were left with no other alternative except to rely

almost solely on reactionary slogans, moves & manoeuvres in their fight-against each other for grabbing power and against Indian masses to keep the exploitative system intact. Congress (I) regime emerged as the most zealous & capable champion of this reactionary policy. The forces of national, regional, caste & religious chauvinism were consciously encouraged to create dissensions amongst the people. The underlying aim was to divert their just anger against the exploitative system, in a counter-productive & suicidal offensive against each other and to drag the people into the reactionary power struggle of the ruling class factions. This ruling class policy was marked with the imprints of the utter need of the world imperialist system to seek, for its survival, the unbridled growth of reactionary movements based on cast, religious, ethnic or national chauvinism every where especially the third world countries. This reactionary weapon was given particular significance by the western imperialist camp as a part of its policies for the defence of world imperialist system as well as their specific imperialist interests.

In Punjab, this reactionary & anti-people policy manifested itself in the dangerous moves to encourage Sikh communal terrorism to marginalise the Akali Dal in the dog fight for spoils of power. The Congress regime left no stone unturned in boosting the image of Sant Bhinderanwale as a parallel power centre to the traditional Akali leadership. He was openly supported by the Congress (I) to wrest control of the S.G.P.C. - the body which governs & controls the Sikh shrines in Punjab. In return, his men supported many congress (I) candidates in 1980 elections. Balbir Singh Sandhu a Sikh fundamentalist, now self styled head of the "Council of Khalistan" based abroad rendered full help to congress (I) candidate Mrs. Sukhbans Kaur Bhinder (presently a minister in central Govt) in her parliamentary election.

Beginning with a very narrow base among the Sikh masses, Bhinderanwale increased his stranglehold slowly, through his militant posture, thorough going communal propaganda and murders committed by his killing squads. He used to make fiery communal speeches against the Nirankaris & Hindus, threatening to wipe them out. Displaying huge stock of licenced & unlicenced

weapons, he led a demonstration in Amritsar demanding ban on sale of meat, wine and tobacco. It created panic among the Hindu community. He publically lauded the murders committed by his followers. When Nirankari Chief, Baba Gurbachan Singh was killed in Delhi, he offered to weigh the killers against gold. He vociferously boasted that a Sikh will have to kill just 35 Hindus to wipe them out altogether. He exhorted the Sikh youth to get armed to end the 'Hindu Raj' and to 'break the chains of slavery.' Despite these inflammatory speeches, the law-enforcing agencies of the state did not proceed against him.

In 1981, Bhinderanwale's followers killed Lala Jagat Narain-- editor & owner of a newspaper group in Punjab. His name appeared in the FIR. For a considerable time, he was not arrested. Later he was allowed to dictate the time, venue, mode & terms of his arrest. He assembled a huge gathering of his followers at chowk Mehta, near Amritsar and incited them with fiery speeches. Jathedar Santokh Singh--the man controlling the Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and a close confidant of Giani Zail Singh made the most provocative speech on this occasion. The police, which came to arrest Bhinderanwale remained a silent spectator to all this. When the crowd became furious, police resorted to firing & lathi-charge. Above a dozen persons were killed. Bhindranwale was taken in police custody, kept in a rest house at Ludhiana like a state guest and unconditionally released the very next day. Thereafter, he was allowed to take shelter in the Golden Temple and direct the operations of his killing squads from inside its precincts.

The Congress (I) regime's policy of overt & covert support to Bhindranawale was one of the prime factors in cultivating his image as a 'Sikh hero'. This policy continued till just before the operation Blue Star. He was certified as a 'religious man having no political ambitions' even by Rajiv Gandhi--Congress (I)'s general secretary at that time.

This mischievous policy was aimed to achieve definite political ends. By cultivating Bhinderanwale's image as a popular Sikh leader and a parallel political power centre to the traditional Akali leadership, the Indira Congress desired to erode the vote-bank of

Akali dal among the Sikh masses. Secondly, the rise of Sikh communal terrorism was desirable to create panic in Hindu community thus rendering the alliance of Akali Dal with other opposition parties almost impossible. It was also aimed at breaking the traditional bond of amity between the two major religious communities in Punjab and weaken the secular & class based mass movements. The frightened & terror-stricken Hindu Community was to be forced into a helpless situation and to look for protection towards the congress (I) -- one of the two major political parties in Punjab.

And last but not the least, the reactionary turmoil in Punjab was being nurtured to mischievously project it as a grave threat to the "unity & integrity of the country"; raise national chauvinistic feelings throughout the country; make loud cries for the need of a stable government at the centre--projecting congress (I) as the only viable & capable political entity to meet this challenge and then to consolidate & expand its electoral support base throughout the country. Simultaneously, the turmoil in Punjab was to be used as a pretext to enforce draconian laws and equip the state armed forces with unbridled powers to pounce upon the just struggles of the people everywhere.

AKALI DAL'S ROLE---DHARAM YUDH MORCHA.

Dissappointed at these moves of the congress (I) regime, the Akali leadership also adopted a confrontationist course to put pressure for a larger share in the state's economic resources and to keep its communal base among the Sikh masses intact. 'Dharam Yudh' morcha was a reactionary response of Akali leadership to the Congress (I)'s equally reactionary moves to corner it in the ongoing power struggle. This morcha was actually started by Sant Bhinderanwale. But at a crucial juncture, when he was faced with difficulties in running it, the Akali leadership adopted it.

For the first time, Anandpur Sahib resolution was being so enthusiastically projected as a manifesto of Sikh community to achieve dominance and supremacy of Sikhs ("Khalsa ji da bolbala") in the northern part of the country, by the Akali leadership. It was also for the first time after the re-organisation of Punjab in 1966, that issues like "discrimination with Sikh community & Punjabi nationality" were brought to the center-stage of Akali politics. A

charter of 45 demands was put forward. In order to retain its image as the sole champion of the so called Sikh cause, Akali leadership was feverishly competing with Sant Bhindranwale in arousing the Sikh sentiments. Killings of innocent people by Bhindranwale's killing squads were not condemned by the Akalis. Rather they tried to conceal the reality by projecting these killings as a conspiracy of the state government. Everybody knew about the huge armed build up & fortification done by the communal fascist gangs inside the Golden Temple complex. But the Akalis flatly denied these facts. On the other hand they termed it as a false propaganda of Congress (I) government to defame the Sikh shrines. In this way the Akalis desperately tried to hit back the Congress (I) with the same weapons of Sikh communalism & communal terrorism, that were being hurled at them, so as to extract a compromise over the sharing of the political power.

The development of Akali agitation along with the rise of communal terrorism was a big offensive against the people of Punjab. It was playing a diversionary role, by diverting people's attention from their real issues - immediate as well as basic. The Punjabi people were being sought to be divided on communal lines. Democratic rights of the masses were the target of attack by the communal terrorism, growing under Akali agitation's protective umbrella. The killing squads of Bhindranwale were pouncing upon the lives of revolutionary, secular & pro-people activists and striving to put an end to all types of pro-people political or trade union activities. Thus the Dharam Yudh morcha provided the much needed political umbrella to the Sikh fundamentalist & communal-fascist gangs of Sant Bhindranwale. It helped him immensely to establish his authority among the Sikh masses in an emotionally charged atmosphere.

On the other hand, the Congress (I) regime imposed a bundle of black-laws on the people, under the pretext of curbing the "extremism". A large number of para - military forces, with unbridled powers to trample down people's democratic rights, were deployed. The attitude of congress (I) Govt. towards the common people was in sharp contrast to its policy of appeasement towards the communal fascist gangs. The innocent common masses--espe-

cially the Sikh peasantry, had to face severe repression at the hands of the state's forces. The ever growing instances of mass - beatings, firings, torture & false police encounters provided the Akalis & communal terrorist gangs with the much needed excuse to further boost the growth of communal passions. The anti-people offensive of the state was being misinterpreted as an attempt at the genocide of the Sikhs. Thus both the monsters, communalism as well as state terrorism, gained strength from each other and ultimately emerged as a big catastrophe for the people.

Similarly, the growth of Sikh communal terrorism acted as a catalyst for speedy generation & expansion of Hindu communalist forces which on their part contributed much to strengthen it.

IMPERIALIST DESIGNS

As an essential part of their fight for supremacy in matters of imperialist domination over India, the world imperialist powers were also taking keen interest in Punjab turmoil in order to shape its development according to their specific imperialist interests. Especially, the western imperialist camp led by U.S. imperialism was encouraging the growth of communal fascist movement in Punjab, through various means, in order to use it as a weapon to blackmail and pressurise the Indian government to further bow down to its particular imperialist designs as against the designs of Soviet social-imperialism, in matters of national as well as international policies. The rulers in Pakistan were also helping the communal fascist movement as part of the usual on going reactionary tussel between them and the Indian rulers to capitalise and use any disturbance on the territory of their traditional neighbourly foes, for their reactionary ends.

OPERATION BLUE STAR

As a consequence of the reactionary power struggle, on going between the Congress & Akali Dal, Sant Bhindran Wale emerged as a force to reckon with and it was not possible to exclude him from any future compromise over power sharing amongst them. The Hindu community was sufficiently scared. The aim of creating the feeling of insecurity throughout the country was also achieved. Further continuation of communal terrorist actions by Bhindranwala's killing squads, were going to erode the authority of reac-

tionary state itself. There were two options open to the Indira govt--either to take her designs to corner Akali Dal to its logical culmination, by making an immediate compromise with Bhinderanwale for power sharing, or to crush his gangs by launching a decisive military onslaught. Considering the various probabilities & preferences in that given situation and keeping in mind the utter need of projecting itself as the sole defender of the "unity and integrity of the country," the Indira regime turned towards the latter option.

The Congress (I) regime, had allowed the communal terrorist gangs to turn the Golden Temple complex into their politico-military head quarters. It had even repeatedly declared that the security forces will not be asked to enter the Sikh shrines to flush out the terrorists hiding there, as it will injure the religious sentiments of the Sikhs. But when its narrow political interest so demanded, the same congress (I) regime did not hesitate from ordering a massive and bloody attack on the Golden Temple.

The military operation--known as 'Operation Blue star' no doubt smashed the then military strength of communal fascists, but it further flamed the communal passions and provided a more firm basis for re-emergence of such gangs in future. Thus, the people were temporarily relieved of the communal fascist menace at the heavy cost of injured sentiments of the Sikhs, and weakened communal amity. They were to be recaptured by the same menace with more sharpened paws, after a brief interval of the so-called 'era of peace & conciliation'

While charging the congress (I) with violation of the sanctity of the Golden Temple and consequently hurting the Sikh psyche, ruling class politicians of various opposition parties underplayed the nefarious role of Khalistani terrorists and Akalis in the process.

Operation Blue Star is being projected by certain quarters as an attempt to crush the sikh religion by destroying its highest seat of spiritual & temporal inspiration. But that is not the case. Its aim was to crush a rival political force, which had converted the Golden Temple Complex as its politico-military headquarters. The Communal terrorist gangs had already scuttled to a large extent the normal religious activity there, by committing such heinous crimes

as rapes, tortures and murders, in and around its premises. The entrenchment of these gangs inside the Golden Temple Complex, was in itself desecration of its sanctity. It provided the excuse for the security force's entry.

However, the occupation of Golden Temple and other Sikh Gurdwaras by the communal fascist gangs was an important component of their political strategy. By doing so, they engineered a situation where in the govt would have to pay a heavy political price, if it dared to hit them. Thus the communal terrorists were utilising the Sikh religious sentiments for their reactionary political aims.

The destruction of the highest seat of spiritual & temporal authority of the Sikhs--the Akal Takhat--situated inside the Golden Temple complex, during the operation Blue Star was no doubt extremely shocking to the Sikh masses in Punjab. But this was the logical outcome of the policy of mixing religion with politics--which was zealously pursued by the congress (I) government as well as the camp of Sikh communalists. While the Congress (I) did so in a sophisticated manner under the garb of secularism, the Akalis & Bhinderanwale practised it in its most naked & crude form. The congress (I) regime soft-pedalled, criminal activities of Bhinderanwale's gun-wielding gangs; allowed them to operate & flourish in the safe sanctuary of Golden Temple & other Sikh shrines; turned a blind eye to the massive build up of fire-arms & fortifications inside the complex (despite the presence of police & para-military pickets around it) Instead of taking decisive steps in the earlier stages to haul up the communal terrorists, it allowed the situation to reach its flash point. When after being repeatedly assured that the security forces will not enter the Golden Temple complex & other Sikh shrines to preserve their sanctity, the same congress (I) regime launched a full scale military attack on these shrines, the Sikh sentiments were bound to be hurt. Thus the Congress (I) consciously allowed the monster of Sikh communalist terrorism to grow in the first instance and thereafter projected itself as a defender of the country by decimating that monster. Even in doing so, its aim was to smash the striking capability of communal

terrorism, its social base was not only left intact, but allowed to grow manifold by pursuing narrow political ends.

The Akalis on their part, share equally the responsibility for the operation Blue Star & the damage caused by it. As they were in complete control of the SGPC, it was their moral as well as statutory responsibility to maintain the religious sanctity of the Sikh Gurudwaras. They not only turned a blind eye towards the inhuman and criminal deeds of the terrorists inside these shrines but termed all news about these as Congress (I) propaganda. They extended all hospitality to the terrorist gangs inside the Golden Temple complex & other shrines and white washed their nefarious activities by issuing blatantly false press statements. They allowed these Sikh shrines to be used by the terrorists as battle ground in their reactionary fight against the security forces. Thus the Akalis are also equally responsible for the Operation blue star and the hurt it caused to the Sikh-psyche.

Viewed in this context, the murder of Indira Gandhi, which is being projected as a symbolic expression of the fury of injured Sikh sentiments, was indeed an expression of injured Sikh feelings--distorted, communalised & biased under the shadow of one sided & deceptive propaganda offensive launched by the sikh communalist forces.

The Operation Blue Star was not merely aimed at crushing the emerging rival reactionary ruling class power centre in Punjab, but was an essential part of a bigger reactionary design to unleash a wave of national chauvinism throughout the country. The success of operation Blue Star was eulogised as a living proof of the unconquerable might of the 'nation' which while put to action could so leisurely trample under its feet any conspiracy of foreign powers to disintegrate the 'great Indian state.' The frenzy of national chauvinism, thus promoted was further transformed into a communalised blind national chauvinist offensive against the Sikh community, which got expressed through the wholesale massacre of Sikhs in Delhi & other places, immediately after the murder of Indira Gandhi. Subjected to the unprecedented violence organised, regulated & directed from the high echelons of power, inside the ruling party & govt., with the active connivance of the state machinery,

the Sikh community passed through the gravest mental agony ever faced by any religious community in the post-partition era. This unparalleled & most heart-rendering traumatic experience faced by the Sikh community was gleefully & shamelessly relished by the top congressmen like Rajiv Gandhi himself by giving it the now infamous proverbial expression, "The earth is shaken when a big tree falls."

Thus the multiedged weapon of communal chauvinism in the hands of ruling congress party--which had been playing havoc with the lives of Hindus in Punjab, was now directed massively against the Sikh community. The horrifying tales of anti-Sikh violence blessed the Sikh communal terrorists with an everlasting store of gunpowder of communal passions.

RAJEEV--LONGOWAL ACCORD

The landslide victory of Congress (I) in 1985 parliamentary election was achieved due to an atmosphere surcharged with communalised national chauvinist feelings, further accentuated with the murder of Indira Gandhi. Then came Rajeev Gandhi's search for the so-called "era of peace and reconciliation." To further establish its image as the sole capable defender of "unity and integrity of the country", the Cong (I), now was to demonstrate her capability to get the conflicting interests of ruling class factions in different parts of the country, especially the most disturbed states, reconciled. So, in Punjab the sails were set for the birth of Rajeev-Longowal accord which was to ensure a bigger share, in spoils of power, for the dominating faction of Akali Dal, on the condition of faithfully following the dictates of rulers in New Delhi in matters of dealing with "extremism." The conclusion of accord was acclaimed as a "great achievement" with which the "era of confrontation" had "come to an end." Akali Dal president Sant Harchand Singh Longowal who had been put behind bars labelling him as a traitor to the nation, was now being highly appreciated by the Cong. govt. as a staunch defender of the unity and integrity of the country. Similarly Rajeev Gandhi was now being projected as a man capable of comprehending the agony of sikh minds by the same Akali leadership which had been making fiery propaganda against the "tyrannical rulers in New Delhi." The issues claimed to be settled

through the accord were being demonstrated just for public consumption. The real essence of the accord was the division of state-economic resources between Cong (i) and Akali Dal behind the backs of people.

RE-EMERGENCE OF COMMUNAL TERRORISM

The phase of brief relative respite for the people of Punjab from the reactionary turmoil, during and, for a short time, after the assembly elections, came to an end very soon. The reason was that the dog fight for bigger share in power among various factions of ruling class political forces proved to be much stronger than their attempts at a hardly managed show of "reconciliation". Unable to shape the process of settlement according to their particular factional interests, the Badal-Tohra faction of Akali leadership felt let down and very soon returned to the path of confrontation with the same weapon of communalism and terrorism resharpened on the much extended basis of "injured sikh feelings" boosting the process of speedy re-emergence of communal terrorist offensive.

Using the protective umbrella provided by the rivals of Baranala leadership inside and outside the Akali Dal and its ministry, the communal terrorists were able to re-enter the Golden Temple complex with the active connivance of SGPC, the body governing the affairs of sikh shrines (Gurudawaras) which was then dominated by Badal-Tohra faction of Akali Dal. The virtual alliance of a part of the Akali leadership and communal terrorists was able to snatch the control of Akal Takhat--the highest religious-temporal seat of sikhs--by appointing Darshan Singh Ragi as Jathedar and use its authority for their motives. The combine was also successful in managing the sanction of "Sarbat Khalsa" for their political moves. A New Akali Dal named as United Akali Dal came into existence with Simaranjeet Singh Maan as president with the sanction of Akal Takhat. And later a "Panthak Committee" was floated by communal terrorist sections with the sanction of so called "Sarbat Khalsa". Punjab again became a land of communal terrorist violence and Golden Temple a place of highly criminalised military-political activity.

Thus the deployment of the political forces of a section of Akali Dal for communalising the political atmosphere in the state boosted

the morale and strength of the communal terrorist forces to such an extent that the so called Panthak Committee could dare openly put forward the slogan of Khalistan as its declared aim from inside the Golden Temple complex itself. The following unproductive police action by Barnala govt. to clear the Golden Temple of the communal terrorist gangs resulted in an inner jolt for Barnala ministry, some prominent figures of the Akali politics resigning in protest.

DEATH OF ACCORD AND BARNALA MINISTRY

On the other hand because of the compulsions of its narrow political interests, the Cong (i) regime in New Delhi virtually turned the Rajeev-Longowal accord into a mere piece of paper and threw the Barnala govt. into a pitiable and helpless state. The faithful implementation on its part, of the dictates of rulers in New-Delhi in matters of dealing with "extremism" as well as the people of Punjab, with the mighty forces of state power, including measures like use of paramilitary forces, draconian black laws and fake police encounters etc. eroded its credibility to a great extent. Defamed as a puppet govt., the Barnala ministry, at the same time, was empty handed to point out any achievement as far as the clauses of much eulogized Rajeev-Longowal accord were concerned. Later the Cong (i) regime even betrayed the real understanding of the Rajeev Longowal accord i.e. the guaranteed share of power for Barnala faction of Akali Dal. Keeping in view its stakes in Haryana assembly elections, it unhesitatingly terminated the Barnala ministry under the pretext of its incapability to enforce "law and order" in the state. The step was gleefully welcomed by the other factions of Akali Dal in a hope for a fresh power settlement suitable to their interests.

TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP SIDELINED

But the sharp rivalry within Akali Khalistani camp expressed through desperate moves of various factions to corner each other, thwarted the attempts of Badal-Tohra faction to re-emerge as the governors of affairs in the so called sikh politics. Darshan Singh Ragi, the man picked up by that faction for Jathedar of Akal Takhat, was soon forced to withdraw from the scene, after his short lived attempts to carry major sections of Akali-- Khalistani camp with him for a power settlement with the rulers in New Delhi. The events

indicated the further weakening of the authority of traditional Akali leadership in so called panthak politics, under the increasing pressure of Khalistani forces.

AFTER THE "BLACK-THUNDER"

The success of operation "black thunder" held under presidential rule to remove the communal terrorist gangs from Golden Temple complex came as a severe blow to the prestige of Khalistani terrorists. The revelation of horrifying tales of inhuman killings, rapes, tortures and other crimes committed inside the complex eroded their image among the sikh masses to such an extent that the SGPC controlled by Badal-Tohra faction of Akali Dal had to go for an open apology from the sikh masses, owning responsibility for the gross violation of the sanctity of Golden Temple.

The occasion was also used to remove, as a part of faction fight, the newly appointed Jathedar of Akal Takhat, Jasbir Singh Rode, a known terrorist behind bars and a close relative of Bhinderanwale, who had replaced Darshan Singh Ragi with the support of a section of Khalistanis and Akalis. However the opportunist policy of Congress regime betrayed its posture at that very juncture, through the act of releasing him from jail and putting pressure on SGPC to accept him as the Jathedar of Akal Takhat. Infact, it was the same old policy of artfully combining repression with appeasement which betrayed intention to avoid any political offensive against Khalistani terrorism even at much favourable occasions.

GOVERNMENTS REPLACED-NOT THE POLICY

The policy later pursued by the governments of V.P. Singh and Chandar Shekhar had nothing different in essence from the policy implemented by the Cong. government. Both these governments kept themselves busy in exercising the repressive measures and at the same time, boosting one or the other section of communal terrorist camp, keeping in mind their own specific narrow political compulsions. The fast changing contours of the complex political scene in Punjab were coloured with dramatic developments including swift rise and fall of some self-styled heroes of the so called sikh cause, Simranjeet Singh Maan presenting the glaring example. In such a situation, the attempt at installing the so called political process through parliamentary or the aborted assembly

elections proved itself to be a process of further curtailment of the democratic rights of people at the hands of communal, chauvinist and terrorist forces of Khalistani fascists as well as the state. The Khalistani terrorists killed a large number of innocent people during the election process.

COUNTER PRODUCTIVE HONEY MOON

The honeymoon of different Akali factions with Khalistani terrorists proved counter productive in the sense that the rise of Khalistani terrorist forces to an unexpected and unmanageable proportion rendered the whole Akali leadership, traditional as well as newly emerged, politically irrelevant in the concrete situation. In such a situation, nothing could stop the Congress regime from imposing the so called popular government in Punjab, inspite of the poll boycott by major sections of Akali politics. Dizzy with its success in artfully driving the challenge of Akali rivals away from the parliamentary field, at least for the time being, the newly formed Congress (i) ministry in Punjab has now launched an all out assault to crush the armed challenge posed by the Khalistani forces. The attempt is again aimed at proving its claim to solely control the spoils of power in Punjab.

However this very process is going to further intensify the contradictions among major ruling class factions in Punjab and strengthen the compulsions for their repeatedly resorting to the same manoeuvres and mischiefs. The ghosts of reactionary violence, communalism and chauvinism are not going to leave the soil of Punjab unless they are forced to flee away by the forces of people.

CONCEALING REAL CONTENT : THE MISLEADING PRESENTATION OF PUNJAB PROBLEM AS STRUGGLE AGAINST RELIGIOUS OR NATIONALISTIC OPRESSION

The above discussion vividly shows that the present turmoil in Punjab is the creation of reactionary, communalised power struggle among the various ruling class factions. Its depiction as a struggle of the oppressed Sikh community or Punjabi nationality against the "Hindu chauvinist" Indian state is the wholesale distortion of the

reality. Neither political behaviour of the leadership of the so-called Sikh struggle nor the objective facts of social, economic, political and cultural life of the Sikh community or Punjabi people prove this assertion. The Sikhs are said to be oppressed as a religious community ever since 1947. But the so-called champions of Sikh cause from prominent Khalistanis like Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan to various Akali leaders enjoyed the spoils of power, at one time or the other, with the blessing of the so-called "Hindu Raj" in New Delhi.

Although the Sikh masses are oppressed by the feudal-compradore state power, like the people of any other community residing in India, yet they are not oppressed as a religious community. The most striking proof of this assertion is the demand charter of "Dharam Yudh Morcha" launched by Sikh communalists of all shades in 1982. The "religious demands" put forward in the said demand charter pitifully failed to throw light on any fact of religious discrimination within the Sikh community. The demands like the installation of a radio transmitter in the Golden Temple Complex for the live relay of Gurbani, permission for carrying a large-sized sword during air journey, declaration of Amritsar as a holy city, banning of the use of tobacco, meat and alcoholic beverages in Amritsar city, naming the train running in between Amritsar and New Delhi as Golden Temple Express and further increase in the already out-proportional representation to Sikhs in Indian armed forces were not the demands for removal of any religious discrimination but for special privileges for the Sikhs. The manifesto of "Dharam Yudh Morcha" i.e. the Anandpur Sahib resolution also did not pinpoint any manifestation of oppression or inequality, sought to be removed by its implementation but put forward the aim of an autonomous state with the supremacy of Sikh religion and special privileged status for the Sikhs in all walks of life which meant denigrating the people of other communities inhabiting in this autonomous state to the status of second rate citizens.

The day-to-day social, economic, cultural or religious life of Sikhs in Punjab (or in any part of India) does not reveal any signs of underprivileged status as a religious community. The writ of Sikh landlords runs in rural Punjab. The Sikh ruling class dominates the

state structure and administration in Punjab and is well represented in the state-administrative structure of the country as a whole. The Sikhs were more than adequately represented in the highest echelons of armed forces of India and held important portfolios in central government like home minister, foreign affairs minister, agricultural minister, etc. as well as in many other boards and commissions. A Sikh was elected to the highest office of the President of India. They faced no discrimination or restriction in the conduct of their religious affairs. At least, till the launching of "Dharam Yudh Morcha" in 1982, there was nothing to point out the existence of a social problem such as the discrimination with Sikhs.

The huge suffering faced by the Sikh masses after the launching of "Dharam Yudh Morcha" at the hands of the rulers in New Delhi, was not a part of any policy specifically aimed at genocide of the Sikhs. The Sikh masses just like the masses of any other community in the country or in Punjab, were made victims by the reactionary ruling class political forces, of their policy of trampling underfoot the honour and self-respect of the people in their blind thirst for unchallenged and unmeted socio-political power. The sanctity of Sikh shrines like Golden Temple was sacrificed in the reactionary power-struggle among ruling class factions and not in any thrust aimed at wiping out the Sikh religion. The anti-Sikh violence organised in 1984 after the murder of Indira Gandhi in Delhi and other places in India was also the result of a policy of using communal violence as a political weapon. The same policy was responsible for huge suffering undergone by the Hindu community in Punjab at the hands of communal-fascist gangs encouraged by the same congress govt.

Just like the oppression of Sikh religious community, the loud talk about the oppression of Punjabi nationality is also baseless. Although the Punjabi nationality is oppressed like any other nationality in the country at the hands of imperialist masters of Indian state, yet it is not an oppressed nationality in relation to the other nationalities in India. It does not face even the relative discrimination being faced by some nationalities in north-eastern states of India. In Punjab, the state-administrative posts are not controlled by non-Punjabi's as they are controlled by non-As-

samees in Assam. An insignificant share of means of production is controlled by non- Punjabi's in Punjab whereas Punjabis own thousands of acres of land and other means of production in other non-Punjabi areas. The Punjabis generally go to other states of India not to work as underdogs or under-privileged labourers but to settle as big landlords, transporters or businessmen with much higher social- status as compared to the local population living around. The contrary is true in the case of people coming to Punjab from other parts of the country to labour in most inhuman conditions as agricultural labourers, contract or industrial labourers or rickshaw pullers etc. The socio-economic life and standard of living of the Punjabis is much higher, if not the highest, in relation to the people of many parts of India.

A few democratic and just demands of secondary nature concerning Punjab, included in the "Dharmayudh Morcha" demand charter were never seriously bothered by the Akali leadership itself. Actually, these issues like redivision of river waters, transfer of Punjabi-speaking areas and Chandigarh to Punjab etc. were never the real issues of the actual power struggle being communalised at the hands of Akali Leadership, these issues were playing the role of dividing the Punjabi nationality itself. Late Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale pooh-poohed these demands by saying that the "Sikh Struggle" is being reduced into a struggle "For a few buckets of water." Later in numerous statements, the Khalistani organisations "warned" in no unclear terms that their struggle for the supremacy of Sikhs must not be presented as a struggle of the Punjabis. The Akali Leaders also made similar assertions in a little bit different way at many occasions. The latest example is the recent statement issued by the bigwig of Akali politics, Sh. Gurcharan Singh Tohra asserting that the Punjab problem now is not a problem of getting river waters or Punjabi speaking areas but has turned into a problem of "restoring the honour of the Sikhs."

On the other hand, the loud and deceptive talk of threat to the unity and integrity of the nation' posed by the Punjab turmoil actually means the threat to the reactionary Indian state and narrow power interests of a section of the Indian ruling classes. The menace

of extremism in Punjab now being presented as a grave danger to the nation is a self creation of the rulers in Delhi.

As for as the fate of Punjabi people is concerned, their basic problems can be solved not through the reactionary and diversionary power fight imposed on them but through class struggle against the feudal-compradore Indian state and its imperialist masters which will culminate in the establishment of a new democratic state in India. To pave the way for the speedy development of such a class struggle, they will have to fight against the challenge of reactionary violence and diversion posed by the ruling class forces. They will have to direct their struggle against both the phenomenon i.e. communal-fascist terrorism as well as state terrorism.

A POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR WHAT ?

A political solution to "Punjab Problems" is an issue being hotly debated among various political circles. The ruling class political forces (including Cong. (I), communal Akali factions, Khalistani-forces and other opportunist ruling class parties) have their own perception of Punjab problem and a solution to it which is diametrically opposite to the people's perception.

For people, the "Punjab Problem" means a problem of defending their lives and democratic rights from the reactionary onslaught of Khalistani terrorism and state terrorism. It also means the problem of defending communal peace and people's class unity from the infection of communal tension and hatred being spread by the ruling class forces.

In their dog-fight for re-division of spoils of state power in Punjab, the armed and unarmed forces of ruling classes have thrown people into the jaws of reactionary violence and communalism and have snatched the peace and security of their lives. Although the people have not stakes in this dog-fight at all, yet they are being made the prime sufferers and victims of this fight. Ruling class forces are leaving no stone unturned in their attempts to mislead people and drag them into this fight.

Division s and dissensions are being created in their ranks. They are being instigated to join this fight in the name of fighting for "the rights of sikhs", "the rights of Punjabis" or "the unity and integrity of the country". They are being used as cannon fodder in this fight.

They are the victims of a policy aimed at blackmailing them for getting their support to one or the other faction of the ruling class forces.

In such a situation, the fight for the real economic democratic, and political rights and basic demands of people has got marginalised. The reactionary terrorism and communal and diversionary atmosphere has largely come in their way to block the activities of class based and section based organisations. The attempts are going on to paralyse their secular activity with the might of communal fascist violence as well as state violence. An offensive is launched to communalise and divide the people's trade union organisations.

The "Punjab problem" for people means to fight against and overcome these peculiarities of the situation to make a way for the speedy growth of class struggle. They are to fight against and repel the reactionary onslaught which is playing havoc with their lives and democratic rights. They are to strive for the restoration of the atmosphere congenial to the advancement of the struggles on their basic and burning economic and democratic rights and issues and bring this fight to the center stage of the political scene in Punjab.

But when the anti-people ruling class forces talk about a "solution to Punjab Problem" they mean to solve their dog fight through a bargain for spoils of state power. Some ruling class forces plead for a "political solution" within the framework of Indian constitution, some assert and put the demand for reshaping it as a pre-condition and some ask to keep it aside during a negotiation for power bargaining. They are demanding that people must support the solution of their dog-fight favourable to the interests of one or the other section of the ruling class forces, otherwise they will be further condemned to bear the enormous sufferings imposed on them.

A bleeding decade is over in Punjab. This has been also a decade of secret compromises or attempts for such compromises behind the backs of people amongst various ruling class factions. The criteria for their claims in spoils of power is their relative domination on people achieved through armed strength and, or communalised reactionary moves and manoeuvres. When they ask people to sanction a compromise or support a particular

"solution", it means forcing the people for accepting their domination. People are being forced to accept this domination because of their helplessness. They are sought to sanction a compromise or "solution" on the basis of their need to get rid of the present agony at any cost and their state of being at the mercy of ruling class forces in this matter.

Rajeev-Longowal accord was an example of such an insult to people's honour. The so called people's verdict for the accord, during 1985 elections was extracted under the virtual threat that their confiscated peace and normalcy was not going to be restored, if they would not support the power compromise between the Cong (i) and the dominating faction of Akali Dal. People were helpless spectators when the guardians of the accord themselves buried the accord and condemned people to a new phase of agony.

All the armed or "democratic" forms of dog fight among various ruling class factions as well their attempts at compromises on "solutions" are aimed at strengthening their domination on the people and to multiply their sufferings. It is not the people's headache how the reactionary dog fight among ruling class factions is solved. People must assert that none of the ruling class factions has the right to pounce upon people's democratic rights and make them victims of reactionary violence and communal poison for their anti people designs. Punjab problem for people means to win the unconditional right to live without the dark shadow of these monsters. It means to win the guaranteed security of communal peace and democratic rights without linking it with the fate of the real or fake issues of contention among the various ruling class factions.

Viewing from people's interests, the key to the solution of Punjab problem is to build the people's democratic movement as a force to reckon with, independent of the ruling class forces. To achieve that aim, people need to challenge in practice the ideological political and armed hegemony of the ruling classes, especially the main culprits of the "Punjab Problem"

PART II

THE MENACE OF KHALISTANI TERRORISM AND STATE TERRORISM

The people of Punjab are passing through very tough and trying times under the most severe onslaught of the two-pronged oppression and repression by communal fascist Khalistani terrorism on the one hand and that of the state terrorism on the other. Apparently, both of these monsters seem to be fighting each other. But, actually, they are the twin monsters who develop and grow, each in the name of fighting the other. While state terrorism provides the basis for the communalist Khalistani propaganda to click and Khalistani terrorists justify all their brutalities in the name of fighting state terrorism, the Khalistani terrorism serves as a pretext for the state to equip itself with ever more draconian repressive laws and other instruments of repression. In the process, both are becoming more and more repressive and oppressive for the people of Punjab. The class character and role of both the varieties of terrorism are identical in many a crucial respects. Both serve as weapons in the hands of different reactionary ruling class political forces fighting for the division of the state-power and resources in Punjab. The main thrust of both is against the people in general--playing havoc with their lives, properties and democratic rights. While the reactionary Indian state has imposed this bloody and unjust war on the people of Punjab in the name of preserving the 'unity and integrity of India' from the divisive and separatist forces working at the behest of Pakistan and some imperialist countries, the Khalistani terrorists flaunt the slogan of 'Supremacy of Khalsa' and freeing Sikhs from the clutches of slavery of brahmnical rulers of India. Both of them are aggressively chauvinist and communal. Both are creating conditions where other evils are raising their head adding, there by, to the sufferings of the ordinary people of Punjab. For example, the atmosphere of terror created by the activities of Khalistani terrorists has unleashed the criminal and lumpen elements to carry on unhesitatingly and on a large scale their nefarious activities of thefts, dacoities and other various sorts of antisocial activities. The reactionary onslaught of state terrorism has given the security forces of various hues, highly repressive powers which they often misuse against the ordinary people for oppressing, looting and insulting them through illegal arrests, bribery and other

forms of extortions. Thus, both of them, had made the life of the people of Punjab a living hell, wherein dozens of people are done to death daily for the simple reasons to show as to whose writ runs in Punjab i.e. of the Khalistanies or that of the state.

KHALISTANI TERRORISM

The Khalistani terrorists and their apologists, in a bid to hoodwink the masses, often keep on harping that "their sikh struggle is not directed against any race, religion or community" but it is for "smashing the chains of slavery from around the necks of sikhs" and is directed against "the tyrannical brahmanical rulers at the centre". But as the saying goes: 'the deeds are stronger than the words', the hundreds of cold-blooded mass murders of Hindus and ordinary toiling masses, their venomous communal tirade against the Hindus and Nirankaris (an offshoot of Sikhism), the forcible closure of all Nirankari Bhawans through out the state, a spree of lootings, extortions, rapes and beatings let loose on the common people, the various fascist edicts aimed at crippling the democratic rights, aspirations and the lives of people of Punjab and numerous such other acts, all deride their pious exhortations. Let us examine them, albeit briefly, through their own words and deeds.

A) THOROUGH GOING COMMUNALISTS:

Contrary to their loud claims, the Khalistani terrorists have nothing to do with the aspirations or interests of ordinary Punjabi people or even the Sikh masses. Instead, they are out and out and die-hard Sikh communal fundamentalists who are using communalism as a weapon in their reactionary power-struggle to grab the throne and resources of Punjab.

The various differences, dissensions and intergang warfare among different Khalistani factions rot with standing, all of them adhere to the ideology of late Jarnal Singh Bhindranwale and draw inspiration from his life and works. So it will be quite worthwhile to examine the preachings and practice of this rustic preacher turned politician in order to grasp the thinking and practice of Khalistani terrorists. Let us see what Bhindranwale has to say:

Bhindranwale, issuing a clarion call to the sikhs to get armed in order to confront the Hindus, says:

".....Get armed. There is no need of getting licences. If the son of a Hindu needs no licence for possessing a grenade, if this off-spring of sheep and goats needs no licences for arms, why the son of a lion (Singh) should ever bow and plead, "Please, give me a weapon." Can't confront a policeman.... understandable, they possess too many weapons. But if you Sikhs get thrashing from a shopkeeper, from a topiwala (i.e. a Hindu-editor), if the son of a lion gets a kick from the sheep and keeps quiet, he should rather die in shame..... Are we singhs upto this much...?"

Bhindranwale, not only stubbornly refused to condemn the murders of innocent Hindus, but at times he himself advocated them. When, in the wake of a murder of some police inspector by terrorists, suspected to be Bhindranwale's men, the police detained a bus sent by Bhindranwale to bring some of his men, he, red with rage, immediately issued a warning to the police:

"If the vehicle is not released by 5 P.M. and unconditionally, I will slaughter 5000 Hindus in just one hour."

Justifying his threat of slaughtering Hindus en masse, he propounded his thesis:

"If a Hindu dies, the centre is shaken to its very roots. One must strike where it pinches most. Why to strike at a place where it hardly pinches?"

A blatant Sikh communalist robed inside a pious and priestly-looking Bhindranwale, is laid bare in all its nakedness when, in a tape-recorded and widely circulated message to the Sikhs, he unleashes an all-out open war against the Hindu community:

"I humbly requested and got this detail from an educated person. Each one of us (sikhs-edit) is upto 35 (Hindus). Just 35 and not a hundred. They are mere 66 crore. Each sikh has to take upon just 35 and no more, not even 36."

Inheriting, implementing and emulating Bhindranwale's these venomous communal preachings, the Khalistani terrorists throughout their counter-revolutionary onslaught against the people of Punjab, kept on enacting the mass murders of innocent Hindus. They tried their every bit to incite Hindu-Sikh communal pogroms. The Khalistani terrorists issued numerous threatening calls to the Hindus to flee Punjab, Hindu students were killed

enmasse and the college authorities were issued instructions to admit only Sikh students in the professional colleges of the state. As per Khalistani commandments, all top posts in the administration, departments, universities should be filled with sikhs, only sikhs should be recruited as TV and radio announcers. Fleeing Hindus were forbidden to take their property along. Any sikh, found guilty of taking care of a Hindu's property or of tilling his land, was to be punished. According to the Khalistani's, only those Hindus could stay back in Punjab who had reconciled to the supremacy of sikhs and wholeheartedly supported the Khalistani struggle. Numerous such other communal dictates were issued from time to time to the Hindus residing in Punjab.

COMMUNAL APPROACH ON PUNJABI LANGUAGE

One pertinent example of the communal mentality of Khalistani terrorists which they and their apologists flaunt as the credentials of their being true Punjabi nationalists viz. the drive for enforcing Punjabi, needs to be discussed. Many democratic sections, too, have been taken in by their this gimmick.

The language issue in Punjab has been communalised ever since the struggle for reorganisation of Punjab on linguistic basis was unfurled. The communalists of both the main communities residing in Punjab, in their communal diatribes against each other, had vitiated the atmosphere of Punjab and sown seeds of discord between the two communities. The Khalistani outlook on language question is neither secular nor nationalistic. They do not conceive Punjabi as the language of Punjabi people but as a language of Sikhs. Their communal approach on the language question is evident when they warn against any attempts at portraying their struggle as a struggle of the Punjabi nationality. Their demand of appointing Sikh V.C's in all the universities of Punjab instead of Punjabi V.C's, Sikh announcers on TV instead of Punjabi nationals etc. corroborates their above communal bias.

Their diatribe against Hindi also has to do more with their communal outlook than any real threat to Punjabi language and culture from Hindi. The real threat to Punjabi language and culture is not from Hindi or Hindu culture but from English and decadent imperialist culture. They not only overlook this imperialist threat

but even advocate the teaching of English as a compulsory language from the very beginning of schooling. They even advocate the use of English as a link language. We do not mean to imply that the attempts of Hindi fanatics to impose Hindi as a national or a link language be overlooked or underestimated but the crux of the matter is that the Khalistani opposition to Hindi is communalistic in content and diverts attention from the major threat to Punjabi language and culture.

The way the Khalistani terrorists sought to push their Punjabi language drive at the point of a gun and burnt many dozen of vehicles and killed innumerable people for not complying with their dictates in connection with the implementation of Punjabi only proves that this popular issue was just another handle in their hands to brow beat and bully the people into their submission.

The bond of communal amity between the masses of the Hindus and the Sikhs is so strong that despite repeated attempts of the terrorists to incite communal Hindu-Sikh riots, not a single riot took place. Actually the broad masses of the Sikhs never reconciled themselves to the communal tirade of Khalistani terrorists against Hindus. Forced by this and some other factors, the Khalistani terrorists at times issued contradictory statements about Hindus, but the communal outlook has struck so deep in them that within days of publication of such a statement endearing Hindus, they killed another batch of Hindus. This in-built communal hatred towards the Hindus is intact even to this day.

B) AN AVOWED ANTI-PEOPLE FORCE:

The Khalistani terrorists are guilty of committing innumerable crimes against the innocent ordinary people of Punjab-Hindus and Sikhs alike. Brandishing AK 47's and other sophisticated weapons, they let loose a reign of terror against the people of Punjab, making their lives a living hell. As a result of a spate of killings, mass beatings, tortures, extortions, rapes, insults and other intimidating tactics, a large number of Hindus, well-to-do Sikh peasants employees and many sections of self-respecting populace had to flee their houses in the villages to more safer places inside the adjoining cities or even states. People hesitate even to whisper against the Khalistani terrorists. Even then, hundreds of horror

stories of Khalistani brutalities are widely known. Here is a brief description of Khalistani crimes against the people :

(i) Killings of Innocent People:

Starting from 1982, throughout the decade, the Khalistani terrorists continued gunning down mercilessly the innocent people of Punjab, both Hindus and Sikhs, without any let up. The people were blasted to bits by planting and exploding bombs in crowded bazars, public places, trains and buses, cinema houses and other busy places. According to a most conservative estimate, the Khalistani terrorists have butchered more than 20, 000 people in the past ten years on the self-presumed pretext of their being police informers, anti-Sikh or defying their dictates. Even women, breast-sucking infants, children or aged people were not spared. There are very fewer villages in Punjab where someone or the other has not fallen prey to Khalistani bullets.

Hindu passengers were alighted from the buses and trains and mercilessly murdered. Gruesome mass murders were committed for avenging the fake police encounters of the Khalistani terrorists. Whenever the Khalistani terrorists came under the intense pressure of the state security forces, the Khalistani invariably resorted to mass killings to loosen up the pressure. Again, the Khalistani terrorists took to mass murders to divert the attention of the people and for sabotaging a negotiated settlement among the various reactionary ruling class factions in Punjab, whenever the opportunity arose. They even enacted massacres for just recording their presence and killing potential. Most often, the victims of Khalistani wrath, without exception, were the innocent toiling masses of Punjab.

The terrorists, inhuman and beastly as they are, often resorted to threats of eliminating their purported enemies alongwith their entire families. Hundreds of such families were completely wiped out. Apart from killing by raining volleys from assault rifles and through bomb blasts, they at times hanged the people to death, burnt them alive or dragged them behind vehicles till death. In some cases, even properties were not spared. The farm houses, standing crops and livestock of the victims were burnt or destroyed. Many women were gang raped before killing them in a most ignominious fashion. More than 300 relatives of police personnel, mostly constables and home guard jawans, were brutally killed.

BRUTAL MASS-KILLINGS BY KHALISTANI TERRORISTS

(This tabulation of ghastly massacres at the hands of Khalistani terrorists is incomplete, to a large extent.)

Date	Place	Description of the incident
Oct. 1983	Dhilwan	6. Hindu bus passangers killed.
Oct. 21, 83	Gobindgarh	massacre of rail passengers
Sep. 12, 84	Batala	8. hindu bus passengers killed
June 22, 84	Irish sea	Air India boling 747 blasted by bomb, all 329 passengers killed.
Feb. 86	Nakodar	15. persons killed and many injured in indiscriminate firing.
March 6, 86	Kapurthala	Many innocent persons killed in indiscriminate firing.
March 28, 1986	Ludhiana	13. people (hindus) killed in indiscriminate firing in Dresi ground
March 29, 1986	Mallian (Jalandhar)	20 innocent labourers killed
July 25, 1986	Mukatsar	15 hindu bus passengers gunned down.
Oct. 31, 1986	Ludhiana	8 migrant and local industrail workers, all hindus, gunned down in indiscriminate firing on Daba road.
Nov. 30, 1986	Khudda	24 hindu bus passengers gunned down.
July 87	Lalru Fatehabad	80 bus pessengers killed in three Haryana Roadways buses.
Aug. 6, 1987	Jagdev Kalan (Majitha)	13 hindus gunned down.

Sep. 28, 1987	Alawalpur (Jalandhar)	5 killed and 8 injured, firing near Geeta Bhawan.
Oct. 20, 1987	Delhi	12 persons shot dead at various places in Delhi on Diwali day.
Jan. 15, 1988	Dhadial Nijhran	8 members of a family including 2 women and 3 children killed in this village near Batala.
Feb. 19, 1988		Bombs exploded by Babbar Khalsa at Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Patiala. 12 person killed, over 50 injured. 8 members of a family killed.
March 2, 1988	Bhaian (Verowal)	
March 3, 1988	Kahri sahari (Hoshiarpur)	35 persons shot dead, 50 others injured, indiscriminate firing at a festival gathering.
March 31, 1988	Theh Rajbah (Patti)	18 members of a Rajput family shot dead at village theh Rajbah under police station Harike, Sub- division Patti in Amritsar distt.
April 2, 88	Ramgarh (Amritsar)	6 persons masssacred in this village under P.S. Gharinda. 18 more persons killed in other parts of Punjab.
May 15, 88		40 persons gunned down, 100 others injured in different incidents at Samana, Patiala, Jaiandhar and Mukerian
May 16, 1988		26 killed (3 member of a family, 3 bus passengers and 20 others) in Amritsar, Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Gurdaspur.
May 17, 1988	Kharar	35 labourers killed
May 24, 1988	Dhaliwal (Nakodar)	6 members of a family massacred.

June 19, 1988	Kurukshetra	15 persons blown to pieces when a bomb exploded at a TV shop during the TV serial Ramayana's telecast.
June 25, 1988	Moga	26 RSS volunteers killed, 22 injured in an indiscriminate firing in Nehru Park.
Sept. 7, 1988	Rure Aasal	15 rail passengers killed, 25 injured at Rure Aasal Rly. Station near Khem Karan in Amritsar district.
Nov. 1, 1988	Pathankot	Bomb blast in a Jammu-bound bus, many killed or injured.
Nov. 1988	Majaat	32 Migrant labourers working on SYL Canal gunned down.
Nov. 3, 1988	Sufianwala	11 bus passengers killed by a BTFK gang. alighting them from a Dera Baba Nanak bound bus, killed all hindus.
Nov. 4, 1988	Lodhuwal (Ludhiana)	19 labourers shot dead at Govt. seed farm Lodhuwal.
Nov. 1988	Batala	25 persons killed in a bomb blast in Chakkri bazar.
	Sirhind (Pathankot)	indiscriminate firing in bazar, many killed. bomb blast near a tempo overloaded with passengers. Many including a woman were killed.
Nov. 22, 1988	Kaithal (Haryana)	25 persons massacred, 37 others injured
Nov. 22, 1988	Batala	22 persons killed, many injured in indiscriminate firing in bazar on the eve of Guru Nanak birthday.
Dec., 1988	Makhu	7 hindu passengers kidnapped from a chandigarh bound bus and killed.

Dec. 7, 1988	Gujran	5 members of a marriage party killed in indiscriminate firing at Gujran on Zeera-Makhu road.
May 21, 1989	Chakk Kania	7 members of a family, including a CPI (M) leader com. Dalip Singh massacred.
Aug. 27, 1989	Bagga Kalan Kabarwala (Abohar)	4 members of a family killed. indiscriminate firing for 50 minutes on a train at Kabarwala station, dozens shot dead.
Oct. 5, 1989	Kandhwala (Fazilka)	5 members of a family shot dead.
Nov. 1989	Patiala	19 hindu students massacred in Thapar Engg. College who had come from other states to participate in a youth festival.
Jan. 19, 1990	Bahmanval (Majitha)	8 massacred including 6 hindus
March 7, 1990	Abohar	32 shot dead in indiscriminate firing in crowded bazar.
March 19, 1990	Talwandi Bhai	14 persons shot dead.
March 19, 1990	Chandigarh	6 persons killed, 27 injured in a bomb blast.
April 3, 1990	Nawan Shahar	11 persons killed in a bomb blast
April 19, 1990	Batala	36 persons killed in a bomb blast
April 19, 1990	Pathankot	15 passengers killed, 40 injured in a bomb blast in a bus.
May 28, 1990	Ferozepur	13 Bihari labourers shot dead
May 30, 1990	Talwandi Bhai	10 persons massacred
June 4, 1990	Patiala	8 including 6 children killed in a bomb explosion, 30 injured.
July 15, 1990	Taredan (Mamdot)	8 members of a family gunned down in village Taredan under Mamdot police station.
July 30, 1990	Bidar (Karnataka)	35 killed, 30 injured in a bomb explosion in a local cinema hall.
Aug. 8, 1990	Ludhiana	9 gunned down in indiscriminate

Nov. 5, 1990	Batala	firing. 9 hindu passengers shot dead in a Batala-Jalandhar bus.
Nov. 9, 1990	Batala	5 hindus shot dead after alighting them from vehicles on Batala-Pathankot highway.
Nov. 12, 1990	Kothe Lal Singh (Bathinda)	8 hindus killed by KCF (Zafarwal) gang.
Nov. 15, 1990	Ferozepur	7 hindu passengers of a bus going from Ferozepur to Dharamkot shot dead.
Nov. 17, 1990	Killianwali (Dabwali)	11 RSS workers killed in indiscriminate firing on morning assembly.
Nov. 20, 1990	Amritsar	12 killed in a massacre
Nov. 22, 1990	Chandigarh	16 hindus killed after alighting from two buses near Parhol.
Nov. 24, 1990	Patti	5 hindus shot dead
Nov. 25, 1990	Jalandhar	15 shot dead in indiscriminate firing.
Nov. 26, 1990	Ludhiana	5 members of a hindu family shot dead on Daba road.
Dec. 13, 1991	Sedeke	5 hindu passengers shot dead in Sedeke village near Guru Harsahai
Jan. 8, 1991	Gill	14 hindu kidnapped from different places, shot dead at village Gill near Ludhiana.
March 22, 1991	Chandigarh	30 employees of Punjab Tractors Ltd. Foundry, all hindus, shot dead.
April, 9, 1991	Sewewala	18 activists shot dead 22 injured, indiscriminate firing on front gathering.
June 15, 1991	Baddowal, Kila Raipur	75 train passengers shot dead by KLF.
Nov. 9, 1991	Sirsa	16 persons, all hindus, shot dead

Nov, 9, 1991	Faridkot	7 family members shot dead in a village in Faridkot district.
Nov. 17, 1991	Rudarpur (U.P.)	12 persons shot dead.
Dec. 19, 1991	Ludhiana	12 killed in a bomb blast in Bharat Nagar Chowk
Dec. 26, 1991	Sohian	32 rail passengers shot dead at Sohian railway crossing in Ludhiana district.
Jan. 8, 1992	Kharar, Kup Kalar	21 industrial workers shot to death.
Jan. 15, 1992	Dhanaula	5 electricity employees gunned down at grid station
Jan. 17, 92	Samana	7 persons killed in a bomb blast
March 10-20	Ghabdan Ludhiana, Ahmedgarh	75 persons gunned down in 4 seprate incidents, factory workers from outside state at Ghabadan, general people in indiscriminate shoot out twice in Ludhiana and once in Mandi Ahmedgarh.
June 25, 1992	Kila Raipur	9 hindus gunned down
July 13, 1992	Bassian	7 hindus, gunned down.
July 14, 1992	Bathinda	7 Hindus, 5 Sweepers and 2 migrant workers gunned down in sporadic shoot out.
* May 2, 1992	Kadarvaad	7 members of a family among 8 killed in village Kadarvaad, police district Majitha.
** May 3, 1992	Sadarpur (Haryana)	10 persons killed, 3 injured in village Sadar pur, district Karnal.

Some whole families were decimated. Thousands of people, had to flee, leaving their homes and hearth's behind, to the cities just for escaping the wrath of Khalistani terrorists.

The victims, that fell prey to the Khalistani bullets included eminent revolutionary Punjabi poets, writers, academecians, engineers, trade union and political leaders, intellectuals and dozens of other worthy sons of Punjab. Their loss is an irreparable damage to Punjab.

To sum up, one can hardly come across a Punjabi, be it Hindu or a Sikh who most confidently feels secure from the Khalistani terrorists. Even Khalistani terrorists feel equally insecure from the rival terrorists or their own companions. Scores of them have perished in inter-gang and inner-gang warfare. Insecurity and terror haunts the whole of Punjab.

(ii) EXTORTIONS :

All Khalistani terrorist organisations, without exception, indulged in indiscriminate and huge extortions. The people are kidnapped at the point of a gun and ransom money, at most of times inproportionate with their capacity to pay, is demanded for the victim's safe release. The ransom money demanded ranged from the plus side of fifty thouand to couple of lakh of rupees, the highest known being Rs. 75 lakh extorted from an industrialist of Ferozepur district. The victims often included well-to-do peasants, brick kiln owners, rice-sheller owners, industrialists, business men and people from other income-groups.

Of late, kidnappings for extortions grew into a major activity of the various terrorist groups. Avinash Singh, the reporter of Hindustan Times, while commenting on this phenomenon prevalent in Ludhiana city, the industrial hub of Punjab, and its surrounding areas, quoting knowledgeable sources, disclosed, "three kidnappings a week have been the average in 1991." The business of extortions had become so lucrative for the terrorist organisations that, according to some press reports, the two contending Khalstani organisations reached a negotiated settlement by which one of the organisations assigned "all rights" of extortions from Ludhiana city to the other for a 'paltry' sum of Rs. 60 crore.

The Khalistani organisations, already abounding in with people of dubious character, were overwhelmed with the influx of anti social elements in the lure of making easy money through extortions. Many lumpen and criminal elements, too, began writing threatening letters for extortions, taking advantage of the wide-spread terror and fear psychosis among the people.

A part of the extorted money was spent on procuring new arms and ammunition but a major portion was diverted to amass moveable and immovable property, in and outside the state, often in the name of terrorist's kins. For example, Bhindranwale's family, a lower- middle peasant household prior to this wave of terrorism, now owns 4 cars or other vehicles, a share in the Jalandhar based newspaper, more than 100 acres of benami land and a huge bank balance. The family members are alleged to have misappropriated crores of rupees of Khalistani funds coming from abroad, the allegations coming openly from none other than a section of the Khalistanis themselves. Manochahal, another self-styled Khalistani chieftain, is alleged to have bought many acres of cultivable land, a convoy of trucks and shares in finance companies, Similar charges have been levelled against many other Khalistani leaders and activists. The huge luxurious kothis owned by a Babar Khalsa chieftain and his lavish living style, revealed after his arrest and subsequent killing, provide a substance to these charges. So much so that the so-called supreme command of some Khalistani organisations viz. panthic committee, had to admit publically that certain sections of the Khalistani movement do have amassed huge wealth and properties but conveniently postponed tackling with such elements to some future appropriate timing. The irony is that lootings, extortions and misappropriations are an innate characteristic of such anti- people terrorist outfits and whatever be their intentions, the Khalistani organisations will neither be in a position to put a stop to the extortions nor take any action against the erring.

(iii) The Raping Spree:

The hordes of armed Khalistani terrorists often forcibly take shelter in people's homes, force them to feed and store their weapons and ammunition. More than that, at most of such places, they rape the women of the household at gun point. The male

members are generally herded into a separate room and ordered to bear with all this quietly or face the elimination of entire family, the women, sometimes even minor girls, are subjected to most in-human and repeated rapes. The isolated farmhouses, scattered in the fields, suffered this ignominy the most.

Although, the fear of social stigma prevented many victims of the terrorist's sexual lust from reporting the incident to the police yet hundreds of such irrefutable and heinous instances of rape and molestation of women at the hands of 'Khalistani crusaders', many of them in the form of horrible narration by the rape victims themselves, are a common knowledge in Punjab and have appeared in the press. A Ludhiana based sikh foundation "Guru Nanak Parchar sanstha" in a series of publications has listed more than hundred such rapes committed by Khalistani terrorists in a span of about one year. Some of these hapless women victims of terrorists' lust were killed after committing most brutal and repeated gang rapes. A few examples being given below will suffice to show the ghastly nature of these crimes of the terrorists.

A widow, Aakash Kaur, resident of village Ramdas and a mother of two daughters aged 14 and 11 and a minor son was somehow pulling on. A terrorist Balwinder Singh, belonging to Khalistan commando force and a resident of the same village, started visiting their house. After some time, one day, he raped the 14 year old girl at a gun point. He threatened the family to keep quiet or the entire family would be wiped out. All the pleadings of the family went in vain. Day after day, he repeated the same story. The helpless mother sent the daughter to a relative's place. This enraged the terrorist and he pounced upon the other minor girl to satisfy his lust. The terrorist used to tie the hands of the girl behind her back and then rape her repeatedly every night. The girl wailed and whined in pain every night but to no avail. The helpless mother could do nothing but sob. This went on till terrorist's death.

Biram is a village in Majitha police district. Harjit Singh, an aged farmer, lives in this village, A notorious Khalistani terrorist, Major Singh Khatrai Kalan, on seeing Parmjit, daughter of Harjit Singh, came to the house at night and raped Parmjit at gun point. The

father resisted it and he was severely thrashed till he fainted. The terrorist often visited the house at night and raped Paramjit.

The helpless father married the girl in some village. The terrorist started visiting the girl's in-laws and repeated the same story there. The mother-in-law of Paramjit died of the shock. Some how the police came to know of Major Singh's visit to Paramjit's in-laws. The police booked Paramjit and her husband on charges of giving shelter to terrorists. For many months, they remained behind bars. Later, the police finding them innocent, released from custody.

The terrorist along with his gang again visited the house, raped Paramjit and beat Paramjit and her husband on the charges of their being police informers. The arm of Paramjit's husband was broken. The family could only heave a sigh of relief when Major Singh was killed in an encounter with the police.

Hundreds of such harrowing tales of brutal rapes can be recounted. Many more remain unrevealed. Raping and killing of young girls and women went on unabated. Yet there is not a single instance when despite the irrefutable evidence of rapes on the part of Khalistani terrorists, any Khalistani terrorist organisation had ever expelled a Khalistani rapist from its ranks, let alone punish him. This speaks volumes of the degeneration and criminalisation of Khalistani ranks.

(iv) Attitude towards Dalits

Apart from shooting down hundreds of industrial workers, most of them dalits, in cold-blooded mass killings at Chandigarh, Kharar Kup Kalan, Ahmedgarh, Barnala, Ghabdan and several other places, the lower rungs of toiling sections especially the dalits, were made targets of the Khalistani wrath. After committing grue some massacre at Sewewala, where 12 out of the 18 killed were dalits, the Khalistani terrorists left a special note warning them against supporting the "Front". During the election campaign of Feb. 92 and after it, the Khalistani terrorists made rural dalits a special target of their killings to teach them a lesson for not boycotting the poll. Dozens of dalits were massacred in chosen strikes against them. The so-called social-reform movement of the Khalistani terrorists was biased against the dalits where in barbar and meat shops, mostly run by dalits, were ordered to be closed, the axe of one-

Gurdwara campaign of terrorists also fell on dalit gurdwaras and their other places of worship and belief were demolished. The social basis of support of the communal Akali Khalistani combine is in the communal and social chauvinist landed sections which are the main vehicle of social oppression of the rural dalit. As a social-strata, dalits never constituted the social support base of communal, social, chauvinist and the exploitative Akali-Khalistani politics, opposed to land reform.

C) THE FASCIST-DESPOTS:

The promised state of Khalistan, the cherished goal of all Khalistani terrorists, is in no way different from the present autocratic Indian State except in its being a theocratic Sikh state manned by rapacious Sikh landlords and other exploiters. Having nothing new to offer and win over the Sikh masses, the Khalistani terrorists resort invariably to dictate everything at the point of a gun. The fundamentalist and totalitarian Khalistani despots are bent upon imposing their will on the people of Punjab, crippling their life and liberties. Some of their most glaring anti-democratic moves are listed below.

(I) The so-called Social-Reform Movement:

Armed Khalistani gangs, in the name of a "social reform movement", unfolded a major onslaught on the lives and liberties of the people of Punjab. Various commandments issued by the terrorists in the wake of "social-reform movement" banned consumption and sale of meat, eggs and alcoholic drinks. All meat shops, poultry and liquor vendors were ordered to be closed; all hair dressing saloons, beauty parlours, tobacco and paan shops, were ordered to be shut down as cutting and dressing of hair and use of tobacco in all its forms, even for the non-Sikhs, was declared strictly forbidden; women were ordered to be shackled in the chains of medieval slavery--wearing of sarees, blouses, skirts, jeans, jewellery and ornaments, bangles and bindies and use of cosmetics was prohibited, schooling of girls beyond fifth standard was forbidden, the women's traditional folk-festivities like Giddha etc. were banned, the women were to keep their heads covered and remain, most often, confined to their houses; the traditional gatherings on occasions such as weddings and funerals were curtailed, various

ceremonies connected with these occasions and a part and parcel of the cultural heritage of Punjabi people were declared forbidden; recital of national anthem as well as certain folk songs were also forbidden; special Khalistani dresses were prescribed for the school going children as well as other sections of the populace; the farmers were instructed to sow sugarcane in one-fifth of their cultivable land, kill dogs and keep their lights off at night. A host of such other sundry commands were also issued. In a most sacrilegious manner the Khalistani terrorists demolished many places of peoples, worship and belief, hurting their religious sentiments and beliefs. The Sikhs were ordered to have just one Gurdwara (a sikh temple) per village, the axe of closure most often fell on the gurdwaras belonging to the dalits and other socially oppressed and deprived sections. There can hardly be any field of social life where the Khalistani terrorists did not meddle into.

The quintessence of "social-reform movement" launched by Khalistani terrorists amounted to a whole-sale and complete denial of the rights and liberties of the people to live according to their beliefs and customs. What the people should eat and drink, what to wear or not, what the peasants should sow and how to live and die etc., was not to be determined by the people themselves but depended only on the whims and fancies of the fascist Khalistani despots. Even the Hitlerite fascists would not have dared do it.

The punishment for defying any of the above "social reform" dictat was death at the hands of the Khalistani tyrants. Hundreds of people were killed for enforcing the so-called social reform, the liquor vends destroyed and their vendors killed and many kiosks selling meat were gutted.

(ii) Gagging the Press:

The Khalistani fascists are not akin to tolerate any criticism, constructive or otherwise. Having no pro-people policy or programme, they thrive on sheer bullying for the total and unquestioned subjugation of the people to their dictates. In a bid to suppress all dissent and criticism of their paranoiac moves, they resorted to their own version of censorship for gagging the mouth of the print and electronic media.

By declaring "anti-sikh", the newspapers belonging to Hindu chauvinist Hind Samachar Group and communists were ordered to cease publication. Nearly hundred journalists agents, hawkers, including the two chief editors of Hind Samachar group were gunned down by the terrorists. Many other journalists were also done to death for disobeying the Khalistani dictates.

The Khalistani terrorists, through a "code of conduct" issued for the print and electronic media, imposed their own rules and regulations on the media. The "Code" demanded from the media persons to address them as "militants" or "Khalistani crusaders" instead of terrorists, their press statements, threats to the people, statements owning responsibility for killings, reports of their meetings and gatherings etc. were to be carried unedited and in toto. What was to be published and what not was not to be decided by the editors but depended on the sweet will of gun-wielding terrorists. The journalists and editors were instructed to eulogise the Khalistani struggle and any defamatory material to the Khalistanis or their struggle was proscribed for publication. Defiance of this "code of conduct" or any of its provisions was to be punished with death. By and large, the entire ruling class print and electronic media, barring a few worthy exceptions, succumbed to this bullying by the Khalistanis, even without a murmur. It was the democratic revolutionary press which refused to yield to the Khalistani bullying and kept high the glorious tradition of free and fair journalism.

(iii) Bulldozing the Political Dissent:

The Khalistani terrorists appropriated to themselves the sole right of representing the interests and aspirations of the people of Punjab. They declared in no uncertain terms that none else but they had the right to negotiate the destiny of Punjabi people.

The assault-wielding terrorists sent the opportunist ruling class parties into political hibernation, curtailing their activities to mere issuing of statements from well-guarded cosy offices or residences of the leaders of these parties. Scared by the terrorist's bullets, most of the ruling class politicians including different Akali leaders, the shameful apologists of Khalistani terrorists, sought state security cover to ward off Khalistani attacks leaving their cadres and supporters at the mercy of terrorists. Even then, many scores of leaders

and activists of Akali Dals, BJP, CPI and CPM were killed by the terrorists. The activity of these parties, other than supporting the one or the other gun-wielding terrorist force of the state or of Khalistanis, was almost totally paralysed.

During the aborted elections of May-June 91 in Punjab, while a section of the Khalistani terrorists participated in election-process, coercing the people to give huge donations or for outright extortions, the other section forced the people at gun point to boycott the elections. Holding of election meetings and rallies was rendered virtually impossible and nearly two dozen election candidates were slain by the terrorists. During the poll held later on, while all shades of terrorists and a majority of Akali factions boycotted the poll, the innumerable number of terrorists covertly supported this or that politician of the ruling class parties. Election rallies were attacked by Khalistani terrorists and many a people were killed in the terrorist violence.

The terrorists, to intimidate the poll-conducting staff, killed many innocent teachers who were being forcibly deployed by the government on poll duty, even before they undertook any such assignment.

The secular, democratic and revolutionary forces of Punjab came under heavy onslaught of the Khalistani terrorists. The Khalistani terrorists had at the very outset of their counter-revolutionary terrorist offensive declared the atheists and communists as their sworn enemies. The secular and democratic revolutionary forces, led by communist revolutionaries, by virtue of their being the most persistent, staunch and vocal opponents of the politics of communalism and coercion and being foremost in organising resistance against both the varieties of terrorism, became a target of frenzied attacks of the Khalistani terrorists. The democratic revolutionary forces of Punjab had to pay very dearly for opposing and resisting the menace of twin terrorism.

The Khalistani terrorists killed hundreds of employees and trade union leaders and activists, the heaviest toll being from the teachers and electricity workers. A vast majority of teachers and electricity employees being under the influence of secular, and democratic forces, opposed to Khalistani terrorism, the trade union

activists of these organisation became the target of Khalistani wrath. The Technical Services Union of the skilled and semi-skilled worker-employees of the electricity board, which gave an important placing to the task of fighting communalism and terrorism in its over all struggle against board management and its other enemies, became the chosen target of Khalistani terrorists. The Khalistani terrorists ordered its all communist office bearers at all levels to resign, appear on the Akal Takhat (the highest religious and temporal authority of the sikhs) to plead forgiveness or face death at their hands. Many trade union activists and leaders of other democratic revolutionary mass organisations were also on Khalistani hit lists.

"The Front against repression and communalism", another platform floated by democratic revolutionary forces of Punjab to oppose and resist communalism, terrorism and repression of various hues, became an eye-sore to the terrorists. Almost all "Front" leaders and important activists were put on Khalistani hit lists. The terrorists killed many activists and supporters of the "Front", 18 of them, including two of its top leaders, in just one go. But the Khalistani terrorists failed in intimidating the front people into submission.

In its unrelenting and courageous struggle against terrorism and communalism, the revolutionary democratic movement made huge sacrifices, Eminent revolutionary Punjabi poet Pash, the popular revolutionary mass leaders Baldev Maan, Jaimal Padda, com. Nidhan Singh Ghudani Kalan, Meghraj Bhagtuana, Jagpal Singh, Sarabjit Bhittewadh and many other beloved sons of the toiling masses fell prey to Khalistani terrorists' bullets. Their sacrifices tempered the revolutionary forces to persist in a more determined and daring struggle against the menace of twin terrorism.

Many leaders and cadres of the CPI and CPM and other secular and democratic sections laid down their lives while opposing the divisive communal politics and criminal acts of Khalistani terrorism. This resistance to the beastly acts of Khalistani terrorists by the secular, democratic and revolutionary forces and the Khalistani vengeance towards them continues unabated, even to this day.

KHALISTANI ATTACK ON PRO-PEOPLE FORCES

- * Khalistani terrorists had killed more than 200 revolutionary, democratic, secular workers, leaders, poets, journalists, writers, stage artists and other activists like Avtaar Pash, Dr. Ravinder Ravi, Baldev Singh Mann, Comrade Nidhan Singh, Megh Raj Bhagtuana, Malkiat Singh and many others.
- * On April 11, 1984 they had killed comrade Sukhraj Khaddar (district Gurdaspur), editor of journal "CHANGAARI".
- * Rattan Singh Patwari, reporter of "Surukh Rekha" was killed on May 10, 1986. Comrade Baldev Singh Maan, editor of "Hirawal Dasta" and a leader of "Naujawan Bharat Sabha," was killed on Sept. 26, 1986 in his village Bagga Kalan, (Distt. Amritsar)
- * On May 2, 1987 Comrade Balwant Singh, another leader of "Kirti Kisaan Union" was killed in his village Lalla afgana, (Distt. Amritsar)
- * In June 1987 Comrade Lal Inder Singh Lali, an activist of "Anti Repression and communalism Front" was killed in Moga (distt. Faridkot)
- * Comrade Jaimal Padda a leader of "Kirti Kisaan Union" and the editor of "Hirawal Dasta" a leader of C.P.I. (M.L.) Pulla Reddy Group, was killed on March, 17, 1988 in village Lakhan Ke Padda" (distt. Kapurthala)
- * Avtaar Paash, a leading revolutionary poet was shot dead on March 23, 1988 along with Hans Raj in his native village Talwandi Salem, (distt. Jalandhar)
- * Sarpanch Jasbir Singh of Bhoenpur village (distt. Ludhiana) was killed in Sept. 1988. He was Sympathiser of Revolutionary movement.
- * Comrade Satbir Singh, an activist of revolutionary democratic movement, was shot dead on the night of Feb. 20, 1988 at village Kaloya under police station Tanda, distt. Hoshiarpur.

- * Comrade Hardev Singh Cheena, an activist of "Kirti Kisaan Union" was also killed in April 1990. Sarabjeet Bittewind (distt. Amritsar) another leader of "Kirti Kisaan union" was killed in May 1990.
- * Comrade Amrik Singh, an activist of C.P.I. (M.L.) P.R. group was killed in Amritsar distt.
- * Khalistani terrorist ambushed at village charhi in Ludhiana distt. on Feb. 17, 1991 and opened fire on Shahidi conference which was organised in the memory of comrade Rounak Singh, a prominent naxalite martyre, who was killed in the so called police encounter in 1971. In this indiscriminate firing Mohinder Kaur of Punjab Kisan Union and Menterpal Singh alias Sukhpal (U.P.) were killed.
- * 5 active members of a "Punjab Dihati Majdoor Union" Bhama Kalan (distt. Ludhiana), were kidnapped from their houses and later killed on March 27.
- * On April 9, a group of Khalistani terrorists opened indiscriminately firing on a function held at village seewal (distt. Faridkot) This function was organised by "Anti repression and communalism Front." 18 persons were killed and 24 persons were injured. Front leader comrade Megh Raj Bhagtuana, comrade Jagpal, com. Gurjant Singh and Mata Sadda Kaur were also killed in this firing who were the activists of C.R.I.
- * Darshan Singh, his sister Iqbal Kaur Pal and another Sukhdev Singh activist of "Punjab Kisan Union" of village Panjeta (distt. Ludhiana), were killed on May 28, 1991. They were sympathisers of C.T. C.P.I. (M.L.)
- * Parmjeet Parmma and Gurmail Singh Of village Nal and Jamsheer of distt. Jalandhar, were killed in Dec. 1990. Both were the activists of "Punjab Kisan Union".
- * Comrade Malkiat Singh, an active member of R.C.C.I.M.L., state organising secretary of Punjab Students Union (P.S.U.)

was also killed during the night of 24-25th December 1990 in his village Mallah (Distt. Faridkot)

- * Comrade Surjeet Singh Uppali, an active member of C.T.C.P.I. (M.L.) and cashier of "Punjab Dihati Mazdoor Union was kidnapped and tortured to death by Khalistani terrorists on May 11, 1992 in his native village Uppali (Sangrur)
- * Comrade Nidhan Singh, an active member of C.T.C.P.I. (M.L.) Ghudani Kalan (Distt. Ludhiana) the father of Comrade. Nazar Singh Boparai, Printer, Publisher and owner of "Surukh Rekha" was kidnapped by Khalistani terrorists and tortured mercilessly. They were trying to investigate the secrets of "Surukh Rekha" and C.P.I. (M.L.) When comrade Nidhan Singh refused to disclose anything at any cost, then he was hanged to death. The Former President of "Punjab Kisaan Union", At the time of his sacrifice, he was working as the president of "Kisan Sangharash Committee" Ropar.
- * Comrade Narinderjeet Singh 'Nindi' an activist of Communist League of India, member of Shaheedi Yaadgaar Committee, samrala, was also killed on March 12, 1992 at village Ghungrali Sikhan in distt, Ludhiana.
- * Comrade Amar Singh Acharwal (65), one of the founder member of Naxalite movement in Punjab, was shot dead by terrorists on Sept. 12, 1992 in Ludhiana distt.

PROMINENT MEMBER'S OF CPI & CPM AND OTHER SECULARS AND DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES KILLED BY KHALISTANI TERRORISTS.

Gurbachan Kaur of Nyamatpura distt. Sangrur, was shot dead by the terrorists during the encounter against terrorists at her house.

- * An oldman and prominent farmer's leader comrade Darshan Singh Canadian and an activist of C.P.I. who was struggling for the rights of people, was killed by terrorists.

- * Arjun Singh Mastana, an active worker of C.P.I. was also shot dead by terrorists.
- * Comrade Malkiat Chand Mehli, member state council of C.P.I. was shot dead on May 23, 1988.
- * Comrade Nachatar Singh Dhaliwal, a popular leader of roadways employees, member state council of C.P.I. and vice-President of Punjab State Union of A.I.T.U.C. was shot dead at village Badni Khurad, near Moga on October 21, 1988.
- * Gursewak Singh, a leader of United Communist Party of India was shot dead.
- * Comrade Amolak Singh of Faridkot was also shot dead.
- * Family members of comrade Balwant Singh Chela killed by Khalistani terrorist in July 1991 in Amritsar distt. The terrorist did not spare even one and a half month old girl, Inder Kaur and one and half year old son who were also killed.
- * A Senior fighter comrade Jagir Singh Kolsaheri, who fought for the rights of people throughout his whole life, was shot dead.
- * Deepak Dhawan of C.P.I. (M) also sacrificed his life in this battle against "Anti people forces".
- * Prof. Darbara Singh, who was professor in a college of Patiala, was also shot dead because he was continuedly opposing the terrorism of communal forces.
- * Sohan Singh Dhesi, a senior leader of democratic youth Federation of India (D.Y.F.I.) was shot dead alongwith Ashwani Kumar near Goraya (Jalandhar).
- * Comrade Sarwan Singh Cheema, a senior leader of C.P.I. (M) was shot dead by Khalistani terrorists.
- * Comrade Pakhar Singh (70) Sarpanch, An activist of C.P.M. his son Balbir Singh and daughter-in-law Sukhwinder Kaur were

shot dead by Khalistani terrorists on July 26, 1992 at village Gunachaur, Distt. Jalandhar.

* Dr. Vishavnath Tiwari, the top most Punjabi Writer was also shot dead at his home in Punjab University, Chandigarh.

* A prominent intellectual Dr. Ravinder Ravi, was a professor in Punjabi University Patiala, and actively contributing to the Punjabi literature. He was logically opposing the crimes committed by terrorists. He was the General Secretary of "Kendari Punjabi Lekhak Sabha", was shot dead at his residence at Patiala on May 18, 1989.

* Bhag Singh Khela, the Jagraon based prominent reporter and a progressive poet was also shot dead at his village Kothe near Jagraon distt. Ludhiana.

* An artist and state Committee member of Punjab Lok Sahityacharak Munch (PLS March) Sukhdevpreet Singh and his wife Ranjit Kaur were hanged to death on Oct. 10, 1991 at village Khurmanian near Khasa in Amritsar distt.

IN CONCLUSION

The Khalistani terrorists have been waging a violent struggle for a separate sovereign Sikh state of Khalistan. In its very essence, this struggle denotes an attempt on the part of a section of the reactionary ruling classes to restructure the Indian state in such a manner so as to ensure a guaranteed share in state power to the section of ruling classes owing allegiance to the sikh religion. Be it the slogan of more powers for the states and autonomy to Sikhs as envisaged in the 1973 Anandpur Sahib resolution of Akalis, or special rights for the Sikhs or a slogan of Sikh raj, the underlying thrust is common to all viz. ensuring a better share in state power for the Sikh ruling class sections. To achieve their aim, they are exploiting the religious sentiments of the Sikh masses in their reactionary power-struggle, are using communalism as a weapon to pressurise and force the Indian state to accede to their demand. The interests and aspirations of the sikh toiling masses have nothing in common with this reactionary power struggle among the sections of ruling classes.

The envisaged state of Khalistan could not be any thing else but a medieval sikh theocracy, subservient to imperialism. In class terms, this state shall not be essentially different from the present autocratic, semi-feudal, semi-colonial Indian state. This is corroborated by the entire conduct of communal-fascist Khalistani gangs in their present day diversionary onslaught on the communal amity, democratic rights and social life of the people. Their entire conduct is a living testimony to the fact that Khalistani terrorism is mainly directed against the ordinary people of Punjab, especially the toiling masses. Only by defeating this diversionary phenomenon of Khalistani terrorism along with its twin state terrorism, the Punjabi people will be able to further sharpen and advance their class struggle ushering in a bright future.

STATE TERRORISM

State terrorism, like communal-fascist khalistani terrorism and as an inseparable part of it, has acquired menacing proportions in Punjab. No longer confined to isolated instances of police repression, it has grown into a full-fledged political phenomenon. The uniformed gangs of state security forces have been completely let loose to pounce upon the people. Just like Khalistani terrorism, it is also, in the main, directed against the people of Punjab and is equally violent, inhuman and corrupt.

DIMENSION AND FORMS:

Under the pretext of fighting Khalistani terrorism, the Indian rulers have set up a vast machine of legal as well as illegal violence armed with draconian repressive laws and sophisticated weaponry. Apart from 50 to 60 thousand regular armed jawans of police, special police officers (SPO's) and homeguards, nearly 300 companies of paramilitary forces such as CRP, BSF, ITBP, NSG etc. have been deployed in Punjab almost on a regular basis. Nearly 1 lakh jawans of Indian army are assisting the state police in combing operations, night patrols and even combat operations. New recruitment to the state police is also going on. The expenditure on state security forces has crossed a gigantic figure of Rs. 300 crore per annum.

Armed with a variety of draconian repressive and other black laws, the armed forces operating in the state are empowered to enter any place, search it, occupy or demolish it. Any person can be arrested and interrogated even without producing arrest warrants, detained for years without producing in the courts or even can be killed. The entire state has been and remains declared disturbed for the past so many years.

The phenomenon of unlawful or extra-judicial violence by the state police has acquired still more menacing proportions and has out-surpassed the legal violence. The state machinery rather than adhering to its own laws, is quite often prone to trample them under its own feet. The police has appropriated unto itself the role of a judge as well as an executioner. Certain prevalent forms and

facets of this unlawful violence on the part of Punjab police can be listed as below:

(i) FAKE POLICE ENCOUNTERS:

The elimination by police of suspected terrorists and other unwanted men through stage-managed fake police encounters has come to stay as an undeclared law in Punjab. Thousands of sikh youth, suspected to be Khalistani terrorists or their active sympathisers, have been eliminated in this fashion. Many an innocent people, too, have been done to death through these encounters.

The issue of elimination of sikh youths through fake police encounters has become most sensitive and touchy issue for a vast majority of sikh masses. It is a constant grist to the communal mill of various sikh communal organisations who portray it as a conspiracy to annihilate the "sikh quom" (sikh community). (Interestingly enough, the various factions of the Akali Dal, who are clamouring about the genocide of Sikhs through fake encounters and are most vociferous in demanding their stoppage, were the ones in whose regime led by Parkash Singh Badal, the phenomenon of fake police encounters was first introduced in Punjab in 1969-70. The Akali Dal government assassinated dozens of communist revolutionaries (Naxalbaris) at that time.)

The modus operandi is familiar one. The accused is arrested by the police in broad daylight in the presence of hundreds of people. No arrest is recorded. The accused is severely interrogated using third degree methods. Afterwards, he is declared killed in an encounter with the police. The story for all such encounters is, too familiar one which runs as: "the police had set up a Naka (check post) at such a place. In the darkness of night, it saw some suspicious looking people approaching in a vehicle. The police signalled them to stop. Instead of stopping, the suspected terrorists started firing on the police. The police returned the fire. As a result, some suspected terrorists got killed while others fled away taking advantage of the darkness. The police recovered a huge quantity of arms and ammunition from the site of the encounter."

The police of late, has introduced the practice of killing unwanted people lodged in jails. It has invented quite a few methods for this. The jailed person is brought for interrogation from the jail

in a fresh case and is then declared that he has escaped from the police custody. Later on, he is either clandestinely liquidated or shown killed in some encounter. Another method used is to declare him killed in cross-fire between the police and the terrorists waiting in an ambush when the accused was being taken for recovery of arms.

The police is so overzealous and much less afraid in staging such false encounters that it hardly bothers for an adverse public opinion. An unlimited number of instances can be recounted when a wanted person was produced before the police by the village panchayat in the presence of eminent publicmen but he was declared killed in an encounter by the police a few days later. The police persons, these days, openly threaten those opposing the unlawful activities of the police with killing them in a police encounter. Not a single instance can be cited when any police official guilty of false encounter was ever punished. Instead, the instances to the contrary, galore when such police official were handsomely rewarded and promoted.

As a result of this undeclared policy of fake police encounters, the incidence of such killings has sky-rocketed in the last few years. Such killings fluctuated from a few scores to a couple of hundreds throughout the eighties but a big spurt was recorded with the onset of nineties. According to a PTI release (Punjabi Tribune, 21 Dec. 91) whereas 2400 terrorists were killed in 1990, the corresponding figure for 1991 was 4500. The director-general of Punjab police, in a self-congratulatory mood disclosed to the pressmen (Punjabi Tribune, 23 July 92) that the police eliminated 939 terrorists in the first six months of 1992, including 81 class A terrorists. Half or even two-third of these killed were killed in fake police encounters. Many of those killed were not terrorists or hardened criminals but innocent persons or misled supporters of terrorists who either gave them shelter or food.

The utter contempt of the state police for the rule of law and their enchantment with encounters, fake or real, is best revealed by the following statement of an erstwhile DGP of Punjab police, J.F. Robiero :

"In Punjab, we are waging an undeclared war. In this war, what matters most is not law but the elimination of killers".

(India To-day, September 15,88)

The said DGP, Punjab police, went a step further when he can be seen openly justifying, even advocating, such extra-judicial killings :

"I hardly find anything wrong in it when somebody says that the terrorists should be shot at sight".

(The Illustrated weekly, 22 oct.89).

The above - quoted statements of the erst while police chief and later on security adviser to the Punjab governer, are a self-indictment of the way, the Punjab police is functioning. This is an open advocacy of state terrorism, nothing less. The present incumbment in the post of DGP, Sh. K.P.S. Gill is a known votary of strong-arm measures including fake encounters against the terrorists. He has unleashed the police to go to any length in dealing with the terrorists. No wonder the number of fake police encounters has enormously risen in the past few years. The fake police encounters are not only a total negation of the rule of law, in contravention with all universally accepted human values and moral-ethical code for a civilised society but they are also counter-productive. The fear of fake encounters is one of the prime factors responsible for-giving new recruits to the terrorist orgnaisation, thus ever swelling their otherwise depleting ranks. It is an indisputeable fact, as came out of the confessional statements of some terrorists, that they would not have taken to terrorism, but for the police harassment and fear of fake encounters. The irony is, the state police on the pretext of countering and fighting terrorism, is generating ever newer terrorists.

(II) THE CLANDESTINE ASSASSINATION SQUADS

In the ongoing bloody war between the police and Khalistani terrorists, the police has set-up various clandestine assassination squads known as "black-cats". These "black-cats" are either drawn from the erstwhile terrorists now in league with the police or known criminals from inside or outside the police. Generally, they are said to be on the police pay-roll.

These black cats are equipped with AK 47's or other type of weapons that the terrorists most often use. They very much resemble the terrorists, wear terrorist-like clothes, carry the letter-pad of Khalistani organisations. They generally roam in vehicles which have blackish front and side glasses so that no one can recognise them while they can see everything. These black cats chase, most often, the specific targets, keep track of their movement and when confronted, either kidnap him or finish him on the spot and disappear.

Such clandestine hit squads were first employed on an experimental basis at the fag end of eighties, in worst hit border district of Amritsar by the then notorious police SSP Izhar Aalm. After their efficacy was proved, they were organised and employed throughout the state. Now every police district has a number of such secret squads.

The state police chief, Sh. K.P.S. Gill, has on a number of occasions confessed the deployment of such clandestine killer-squads. Advocating the indispensability of such secret hit-squads in the disturbed conditions of trouble-torn Punjab, he, long way back, justified the deployment of such secret squads in an interview with "India Today" (Sept. 15,88) in the following words :

" In Punjab, the state security forces are upto nothing without the secret squads. There is no question of disbanding such squads."

These unlawful terrorist squads, paid and patronised by the state police, exercised a wide array of arbitrary powers against the suspected terrorists or ordinary people. They let loose a reign of terror in their areas of operation by kidnapping people at will, torturing them, mass beating of the people, extortions and through, killing of suspected terrorists, their supporters or even-family member's. They being quite similar to the Khalistani terrorists not only in appearance and weapons but also in style of functioning, their terrorist activities could easily be passed off as terrorist violence and killings by these state-sponsored hit squads were given the name of intergang warfare among the terrorists.

Due to unbridled and arbitrary powers enjoyed by these squads and their conspiratorial style of functioning, most of these squads

degenerated into notorious anti social gangs, causing wide resentment and utter hatred among the people. The black-cats began to operate as hired assassins or even collaborated with Khalistani and other anti-social gangs. Some of these black cats became so notorious and unmanageable that the police itself had to liquidate them.

The existence and deployment of these extra judicial secret killer squads by the police is a glaring testimony to the sordid state of affairs prevailing in the state police which is supposed to enforce the rule of law. Instead, it has turned out to be a wholesale violator of these laws and resorted to terrorist like crimes. This sort of state terrorism is in no way less dangerous than the terrorism of Khalistani or any other terrorist force.

(iii) THE TORTURE-CHAMBERS

Apart from torture in police stations, the security forces operating in Punjab have set up a number of unauthorised interrogation and torture chambers throughout Punjab where suspected youth and other people, mostly abducted or held in custody without formal arrest are severely beaten or tortured to extort confessions. The victim brought to these torture-chambers is subjected to most cruel repression.

Very inhuman, crude and third degree methods and torture-techniques are used in these repressive chambers. Tearing apart legs, inserting a roller in between the thigh and the lower leg bent backwards to pull out the knee joint, rubbing salt on raw wounds, inserting a wooden piece or chilli powder in rectum, tying up human excreta on victim's mouth, pricking of pins underneath the nails, hanging upside down, electric shocks or burning of victim's skin by a lighter or a lighted cigarette are some of the common methods used to torture the victims. Torture is also inflicted in many other forms to extort confessions, fake or real. The victims of such a brutal and horrible torture are crippled for their entire remaining life and succumb to the severe repression inflicted during interrogation. The number of people tortured to death in these torture chambers is quite alarming. The police generally secretly disposes of the dead bodies.

The most severe and inhuman torture inflicted on the people is one of the prime factors that makes the "accused" to flee his home and join the terrorists rather than appear before the police. Hundreds of terrorists operating in Punjab were forced to abscond in this way because of repeated police repression on them.

(iv) BEATING PEOPLE TO DEATH

A vast array of unbridled repressive powers vested in the police and many more arbitrarily usurped by it in the name of fighting the menace of Khalistani terrorism are playing havoc with the lives of ordinary people, especially the poor toiling masses. The rulers have let loose the reigns of police bullies completely and they are pouncing upon the people like mad dogs. The policemen may beat any person, caught in such an ordinary and trivial crime as theft, to pulp, maim him or even kill him, the policemen easily go scot free. Every sin is pardonable in the case of policemen in the name of "keeping high the morale of police force". Hundreds of instances of police barbarism and high handedness can be cited which go to show that the police in Punjab has run amuck, making the lives of the people of Punjab hellish. We are citing just some glaring examples of police terrorism, most of them pertaining to two months of July and August 1992.

- * A dalit woman, Balbir Kaur, serving as a servant in the home of a SDO of Ropar thermal plant, was handed over to the Ropar police in a concocted up case of theft. The butcher policemen beat her and her minor son so mercilessly that she died in the police custody. The fingers of her minor son were also broken. This heinous murder sparked off a widespread resentment and resistance among the justice-loving people and dalits. The policemen wanted to secretly dispose of her dead body. The enraged people gheraoed the police station and forced the police to release the minor and handover the dead body to the family. The people demanded the arrest of guilty police personnel. When for 15 days, no police person was arrested, a huge demonstration was taken out and the dalit scavengers piled up a huge heap of refuse before the police station. The police resorted to severe lathicharge and even fired in the air to

disperse a crowd of the people demanding the arrest of guilty police officials. 50 men and women were severely injured.

The movement demanding the arrest of killers of Balbir kaur got further momentum. In many parts of the state, rallies and demonstration took place. The dalit scavengers through out the state went on an indefinite strike resulting in piling up huge heaps of refuse in the cities. The authorities at long last had to bow and arrest the guilty police officials under charges of murder.

- * Yet another harrowing tale of brutal police repression on hapless Harjinder Kaur of Latala village (Ludhiana district) leading to her painful death came on August 11, 1992. On the morrow of August 11, a big police party raided her house and started beating indiscriminately her and her husband Hardeep Singh. The policemen pulled Harjinder by her hair, a heavy policeman wearing police boots climbed on her breast. Her legs were mercilessly torn apart, sex organ crushed with rifle butts. Wailing in utter pain, Harjinder fainted. The village people were watching all this happen from their roof tops. The police officer, heading the party, ordered them to come down or else he will shoot them down. The police bullies, leaving Harjinder to die, entered the house of her neighbour Amarjit and beat Amarjit, and his wife Nasib Kaur indiscriminately. Then they threw Hardeep, Amarjit and Nasib Kaur in a police van and sped away. They were put behind bars in police lock up in Sudhar police station. Brutally tortured Harjinder succumbed to her grievous injuries. When the police came to know of Harjinder's death, they took possession of her dead body and later cremated her under the shadow of police bayonets. Harjinder's husband, too, never returned from the police custody. He has also been killed.

- * A police party killed three persons including a child of 3 years of age of village Dhulkot. They were travelling in a car when a police party, suspecting them to be terrorists, opened fire and killed them on the spot.

- * A glaring testimony to the utter brutalisation and degeneration of Punjab police is the heinous way in which a shop servant Karnail Singh was first beaten into pulp and then by sprinkling Kerosene oil burnt to death.
- The unfortunate Karnail, after a row with a sweetshop owner for whom he was working at Mangli Tanda village, was handed over to the police after bribing the police by the shop owner. The dead-drunk police brutes tortured him and when his condition deteriorated, to cover the wounds inflicted by the police, the policemen sprinkled oil and lighted it. Half burnt Karnail was then admitted in the Ludhiana civil hospital as an unknown person. The police then fled away and he succumbed to his injuries.
- * **July 26, 1992-** Sanjay Chauhan- a salesman at a liquor shop in Ludhiana, was mercilessly beaten with rifle butts by dead drunk policemen for not giving them liquor, free of cost, at late hours of the night. He died on way to a local hospital.
- * **August 6 (Nakodar)** Twenty six years old Zail Singh, a labourer and a father of two small children, was picked up and beaten severely for five days by the police of Noor Mahil P.S. Then the Jalandhar police arrested and tortured him to death. The police attempted to get him admitted in a local civil hospital on the pretext of illness, but the doctor refused to admit the dead patient. The police left the dead body in the corridors of civil hospital and it remained there unclaimed for two days.
- * **Lalru** - Police inspector Balkar Singh and sub-inspector Bahadur Singh of Lalru police station, tortured one Baljit Ram to death. He was arrested by the police on a false case of kidnapping at the behest of another policeman Babu Lal-posted as ASI at Ambala CIA. Babu Lal was in dispute with Baljit Ram over the question of some boundary wall.
- * **August 16 (Sangrur)** According to Dhanwant Singh, advocate and local MLA, the police declared absconding one Pal Singh, a blind man, charging him with the crime of snatching a rifle and committing crimes on a scooter. He was presented before the

S.S.P. who finding him blind, chided the local police and ordered the release of Pal Singh. Infuriated at this, the police, a few days later, again picked him up and since then he is missing. Police has denied his arrest. The people suspect that he has been killed by the police.

- * **Goraya** - A Tamil youth named Pachiappa, was tortured to death by Goraya police. He, along with two other Tamil youth, was handed over to the police on August 7 by the people of Mahila village on the suspicion of theft. His father many days later found him in gruesome condition in the police lock-up at Goraya. The SHO assured him to release all the three boys when their condition improved. The father gave Rs. 200 for medicines. The people of the area demonstrated before the police station on August 23 for the release of the boys. A policeman disclosed that he had died in police custody and his dead body has been thrown in the river Satluj. It was known later that the SHO slapped the constable for disclosing the news of Pachiappa's death. Later, the constable was transferred to Jalandhar police lines on the charge of drinking while on duty.
- * **August 24 (Dirba)**- A village youth was seriously wounded in an indiscriminate firing resorted to by a head constable of Dirba P.S. in Sangrur district under the heavy influence of liquor. The head constable was released after detaining him for few hours. The condition of the youth is precarious in civil hospital at Sangrur.
- * **August 18 (Barnala)**- 5 home guard jawans, under the influence of liquor, molested a woman on the way while going to receive their "monthly" from gamblers. The woman raised the alarm. The assembled people caught hold of one home guard. The others fired to get him released. Later, the local police hushed up the case and the incident of firing was attributed to the terrorists.
- * **August 14 (Jalandhar)**- A police party of the Phagwara police, raided the house of Sarpanch Mohinder Singh of Village Puranpur under P.S. Sadar Jalandhar. The sarpanch took the

raiding party as terrorists and refused to open the gate. Despite the warning by the Sarpanch to fire on the intruding persons, the policeman tried to scale the walls. The Sarpanch fired from his licenced rifle killing the policeman on the spot. The police retreated and came with reinforcements. The wife of the Sarpanch was beaten by the DSP and the case of murder was registered against the sarpanch.

* **July 4 (Samana)**- A police party killed a person of village Rurkee Majra near Samana in district Patiala while he was returning from his fields. The enraged mob of the people gathered on the spot, immediately gheraoed the guilty policeman there and then, beat them up severely and released only when a case under section 302 was registered against the policemen.

* **July 16 (Amritsar)** - A Sikh youth, Narinder Singh was injured in a bomb blast near chowk Attari. The police took him as a terrorist and did not allow the injured Narinder to be taken to a hospital. The police even beat his family members. The injured youth succumbed to his injuries.

The instances of police brutality given above vividly show that not only the liberties but the very lives of the people are not secure at the hands of the state security forces. The given instances refer to a short span of just two months and even for that period, they do not present an exhaustive picture of police highhandedness. For example, dozens of people have been abducted by the police whose whereabouts remain unknown. Similarly reports of beating, insults and extortions are not included here. The instances quoted above present a glimpse of the phenomenon of state terrorism. The complete picture is much dark and grave.

TERRORISM A GOLD MINE

The phenomenon of terrorism has turned out to be gold mine for the police officials in Punjab. They are minting money and amassing wealth and properties on a huge scale. The people, innocent or not-so innocent, are hauled up in police stations, brutally tortured and made to pay huge bribes for their release. These extortions have assumed menacing proportions. Some

police personnel at the level of police stations are in league with the terrorists or other criminal elements and share the booty of lootings and extortions made by them.

The police officers are outright cornering or misusing the public funds and resources meant for fighting terrorism. Lakhs of rupees worth money goes in the pocket of police officers in the name of prizes for capturing terrorists. These prizes are very huge, often announced after the terrorist is slain and invariably pocketed by the police officers.

In the name of fighting terrorism, the police have grabbed unlimited powers and facilities which are being misused on a large scale to build their private fortunes. With the vast extension of police forces, the police officials have unlimited channels of swift promotions etc. No wonder, the police has vested interest in keeping the pot boiling in Punjab.

MASS BEATINGS, INSULTS ETC.

The rural people, in the terrorism-torn Punjab, are caught in the jaws of a pincer. If on the one hand, the terrorists are killing looting and bullying them in many ways, then on the other hand, the security forces are not less harsh either. Not only the terrorists are tortured, and killed but the entire villages are subjected to mass beatings, insults and terror.

It is generally seen that whenever security forces suffer at the hands of terrorists, either their vehicles are blown in bomb-blasts or the jawans are ambushed and get killed, the security forces go berserk and avenge their humiliation at the hands of terrorists from the people of the surrounding villages. The security forces often behave with the rural people like occupying enemy forces. The villagers are herded together beaten enmasse, humiliated, insulted and tortured. Their utensils and other wares are broken, women are molested. A few examples being given below shall be enough to expose the real face of state-sponsored terrorism.

Brahmpura, a native village of the then dreaded Khalistani terrorist Avtar Singh Brahma, came into headlines in the press in December 1986 because of excesses committed by the security forces on the villagers.

Brahmpura, being in terrorist-affected area, had a security forces picket to defend the village. The CRP jawans, manning the security picket, often misbehaved with the people of the village. Many people resisted it. They were an eye-sore to the CRP men and they were awaiting opportunity to teach them a lesson.

One night, the dreaded terrorist came to the village at night with his fully armed gang. He abused and challenged the CRP jawans to confront him. For two three hours, he kept on abusing and challenging through a loud speaker, his gang fired from the rifles but the CRP men did not come out, shut their gates, trembling with fear of the terrorists.

After the terrorist gang left the village, came the turn of the uniformed state sponsored terrorists. The CRP personnel, to avenge their humiliation at the hands of the Khalistani terrorist gang, went berserk, entered the village and beat the people with rifle butts. They broke the legs of 50 years old Gurdev Kaur. Gurmit, an armyman on a short leave to the village had his wrist fractured. The arm of one Harjinder Kaur, a victim of the 1984 anti-Sikh riots of Delhi, was broken and her sister was raped by the CRP brutes. 15 other women of the village were raped or molested. A crippled Balwant Singh was severely thrashed. Headmaster Sadha Singh, who had complained to the higher authorities about the obscenities of the CRP men, was beaten with rifle butts. Many others were beaten, dragged and insulted. Utensils, cots and other articles were broken in many houses. The village sarpach, too, was not spared. The CRP men rounded up 28 villagers and kept them standing in the cold throughout the wintry night.

The orgy of violence, let loose on Brahmpura symbolised the revengeful, violent and predatory attitude of the security forces towards the people. Many more Brahmpura's enacted later on further corroborated this attitude of the security forces.

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The people of the villages like Chachowali, Talwandi Ghuman, Mararhi, Bhangali, Gujarpura etc lying in the Kathu Nangal area of Amritsar district too, had to under go a similar violence and humiliation at the hands of para-military forces as was faced by the people of Brahmpura.

On August 29, 1990 a gang of Khalistani terrorists attempted at blasting a CRP vehicle by a mine-explosion. No CRP personnel was injured while the vehicle was damaged to some extent. It was more than enough for the CRP men to get enraged and teach the people of surrounding villages a lesson.

Next morning, truck loads of CRP men, raided these villages and rounded up all male members in the age group of 17 to 65 years. They were taken to a CRP camp at Thariawal village and mercilessly beaten without exception. More than 50 aged men narrated their horrible experience to the then Jalandhar range commissioner Sh. N.K. Arora, appointed by the government to enquire into the complaints of excesses by the CRP. More than 200 people suffered at the hands of CRP.

According to Express News service dated Nov. 11, 1990 "Harjinder Singh, Harbhajan Singh and Sarabjit Singh were very severely tortured. They were given incision's on their thighs and chilli powder was sprinkled on the wounds. Electric shocks were given at places of raw wounds. The finger-nails of Randhir Singh and Jaswinder Singh were pulled. Amrik Singh was so severely beaten that he had his wrist bone fractured. Partap Singh was lashed with leather belts and his jaw was broken by inserting a wooden roller in his mouth. Karaj Singh, a priest in the Gurdwara, was thrashed with leather belts, then dragged behind a jeep. His entire body got severely scratched and skin peeled off. Then his legs were fastened in a wooden frame and the heels of his feet were beaten. Even deaf and dumb Mohan and a minor Kulbir Singh (10) were not spared." According to the report, the pressmen encountered 18 such cases who were subjected to a very cruel torture.

According to the villagers, the CRP personnel heaped abuses on women folk, using a very foul and objectionable language. When the people of village and Panchayats went to the CRP camp to plead the release of detained persons, they were abused, insulted and some of them were detained and kept in unlawful custody for many days.

According to the news agency report, many a Sikh youth explicitly told the members of an enquiry team that "instead of being

tortured and humiliated at the hands of custodians of law and order, they would prefer to join the ranks of militants." And indeed, such an attitude of the security forces is swelling the ranks of militants day in and day out.

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The wounds inflicted by the security forces on the people of Kathu Nangal area had scarcely healed when the horrible tales of excesses committed on the people of Hargobindpur area by the security forces appeared in the press. The people of many villages in this area like cheema Khudi, Aulakh, Bham, Bharath etc. became victims of highhandedness of the security forces.

S.M.A. Kazmi, a correspondent of Express News Services, after visiting these villages, filed up a report in the Indian Express which brings out the brutalities of the police forces.

According to the report, the police on September 3, 1990 arrested 33 youth from the cheema khudi village and kept them in illegal custody for three days. These youth, while in unlawful custody, were brutally tortured. One of these youth included Hardev Singh Son of Rattan Singh whose harrowing experience is given below.

Hardev was arrested along with other youth on Sept. 3 and after keeping him along with others in unlawful custody for three days, he was released. On September 15, Hardev was rearrested while asleep in his house. He was taken to Sri Hargobindpur police station, tortured brutally for four days and then released.

When the newspapermen visited him in his house, he was in such a precarious condition that he could not properly talk. He was mercilessly beaten, hanged upside down and subjected to a wooden roller treatment on the legs and arms. During the interrogation, he often wet his clothes. He was not in a position to eat by himself. His mother who had come to settle here after being uprooted from Delhi during the 1984 anti Sikh riots and whose another son had died in a road accident sometimes erst while, was weepingly asking the newsmen about the crime of his son who had been so severely tortured for.

According to Hardev Singh, Dilbagh Singh of Dhariwal and Nirmal Singh and his two brothers were similarly brutally tortured during the period of his police custody.

Another youth of the same village, Gurpal Singh (17) was arrested and tortured similarly. His father Bhinder Singh, a poor peasant, disclosed to the press that all his pleadings with the police went in vain and he was abused and insulted by the police. Dharam Singh S/o Channan Singh and Bhupinder Singh S/o Sant Ram were also taken to a BSF camp at Harchowal and brutally tortured there before releasing them.

The conditions of one Surinder Singh alias Chhinda of village Bham is very grave. He was so badly beaten while in custody that he had to be admitted in a hospital for treatment. He is unable to walk. Similarly was the fate of Gurmit Singh Meeta of the same village. The village Sarpach disclosed that one dozen youth of his village were rounded up by security forces. Contrary to the statements daily churned out by the spokesmen of the government of giving due respect to the village elders and Panchayts they were abused insulted and threatened by the police and para-military forces. Whenever they went to see the DC and SSP of the districts they were not allowed to enter their offices, let alone listen them with due respect.

What happened in village Aulakh, is even more horrible.

According to a report in "The Punjabi Tribune" (Oct 7, 1990) a BSF party on September 9 visited the village in the evening, went to a farmhouse arounded 7.15 PM, ordered one Didar Singh to raise hands and fired at killing him there and then. His family members were severely beaten up. The BSF men belonging to Khujala post were saying that they are to avenge the Khalistani bomb attack on a naka party at Udhanwal village. According to the report, Didar Singh's girl, who is a tenth class school student placed her chunni (head cover) at the feet of BSF inspector to spare the life of her father, but in vain. The whole family was not allowed to sleep and the beatings went on throughout the night.

Similarly 70 year old Dalip Singh, an uncle of Dr. Kashmir Singh of village Sohian in Dhariwal area was gunned down. Two ex-

sarpanchs of these small clusters of villages, were so severely tortured that they can hardly walk.

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On the night of September 30 what happened with the hapless residents of village Sohal, situated on the G.T. Road 8 Kms. from Gurdaspur, a detailed account of that appeared in the newspaper.

According to the reports, the villagers heard, the sound of firing quite a distance away from the village on that night. Immediately after, the BSF surrounded the village and ordered all male members to come out of the village with their hands up. They were so severely beaten with rifle butts that nearly two dozen people got their arms and legs broken. A youth lost his one eye. Many villagers received serious injuries. Many women were dragged by their hair. The people belonging to all communities became victims to this wrath.

Natha Singh (52) a school teacher, whose one arm was badly crushed and broken, head injured and with many signs of internal injuries on his body and whose two sons Gurinder Singh (26) and Barjinder Singh (24) were also a prey to BSF brutality disclosed that at around 8.40 in the night, 5 to 6 BSF men entered his house by breaking open the door and without saying or asking them, they started beating. After the beating was over, they tied the hands of his sons behind their backs and ordered them to sit on the road. His wife was abused and thrown out of the house. A watch and a transistor was also missing.

The BSF Jawans similarly entered Tejinder's (34) house, an employee of electricity board, by breaking open the doors and abused and misbehaved with the women. Preet, an 18 year old girl, was dragged by her hair, Sukhvinder Kaur was beaten then Tejinder and his brother Karamjit were ordered to move out with their hands up. They were beaten up. Tejinder's leg was broken. A youth Jaswinder Singh received rifle butts in his belly. Kuldeep Singh (32) returning from Dhariwal after buying his medicines, was brutally beaten on entering the village. He lost his one eye. An aged man Bawa Das told that when on hearing the noises, he came out of his house, the BSF men ordered him to raise hands and started

beating him. His body wore many signs of injuries. Bawa Dass lamented, "It is better to die than face this cruelty."

Chaman Lal, Dharampal and Rama Mitra disclosed that their doors were flung open by breaking by the BSF personnel, women were abused and beaten. A BSF jawan on leave who showed his identity card, was not spared either. Another youth was so indiscriminately beaten that he can not digest anything even to this day.

Later, the BSF men forced 50-60 youths and people of the village to catch each others, hand and walk in the fields ahead of BSF to trace out any terrorists hiding in the fields. They were again taken to G.T. Road, lavishly abused and took 15 of them to Dhariwal police station.

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The people of village Rure Aasal, few kilometers from Taran Taran, had to face the beatings, humiliation, indignities at the hands of a station house officer of the Sadar P.S. Taran tarn, Mr. Swaran Singh.

In the morning of July 28, 1992, the said SHO with a huge contingent of armed men, surrounded the village. The people were ordered to gather at a place in the village. Who so ever came was insulted and abused by the SHO. When a resident of the village, Mr. Chatar Singh, a head teacher in a nearby primary school was going to the school, the SHO enquired from him. "Where are you going?" "To my School", the teacher replied. Bang! came the slap and the turban flew off. Abusing and insulting the SHO roared. "Today, your school will be conducted here." When Jathedar Inder Singh (70) opposed such a insulting behaviour of the police officer, he was also slapped on the face. His spectacles broke into pieces. Another elderly, Subedar Jaswant Singh (75) was also slapped. Others who faced the similar wrath of SHO included Budh Singh (70) Bant Singh (74) Jagjit Singh Nambardar, Balbir Singh (45) Lakha Singh, Kundan Singh and a host of other people.

Nearly three dozen elderly people of the village were ordered to roll on the ground to the fro. The weeping and sobing elders asked the members of a Kisan Sabha delegation, on a visit to enquire into the police atrocities. "Is this our age to get insulted and humiliated this way?" A lady, Balbir Kaur, was also subjected

to rough treatment. Baktawar Singh (40) working in a rice sheller at Kapurthala, was beaten with lathis by the SHO and his wrist bone was broken.

When the SHO went on and on, the tormented villagers had to say, "Kill us, let us see how many will you shoot to death? The CRPF men took positions and aimed their guns at the villagers. At this juncture, another SHO intervened and told Swarn Singh that the situation had become precarious. Only then the police officer relented.

When the village sarpanch approached the SHO in the police station to plead the release of arrested persons, the SHO threatened him. "Have you not read in the newspapers how I set right 40 panchayats in Khadoor Sahib area?" It is worth mentioning that about four months prior to this incident, the said SHO had beaten and tortured many panchs and Sarpanchs of the Khadoor Sahib Verowal area. The Panchayats enmasse resigned and the incident was widely discussed in the press.

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The incidents of atrocities committed on the rural people given above are but just a glimpse of the far more gloomy scene. Hundreds of villages were similarly humiliated in a most atrocious and insulting way. The people's nightmare is not over. In the name of searching for the terrorists, the whole villages are surrounded, people are ordered out and beaten and searches made. The people are often made to sit in the sun or cold for hours without allowing them to eat, drink or relieve themselves. Just like the terrorists, the security forces also resort to mass terrorisation to intimidate the people into submission.

STATE TERRORISM--A.N.I ANTI-PEOPLE PHENOMENON

The deployment of lakhs of armed personnel in Punjab, the conversion of Punjab in a huge military conglomeration and a combat zone, promulgation of dozens of atrocious black laws etc. is justified by the reactionary Indian rulers in the name of defending

the people from the Khalistani terrorists. The reactionary ruling classes and their government hypocritically assert that the people's interest, lie in the 'Unity and integrity of the country', that Khalistani terrorist at the behest of some enemy foreign forces have posed a grave threat to this unity and integrity of the country and infighting out this threat, they are fighting to safeguard the people's interests. This is nothing but a white lie.

The reactionary Indian rulers are not fighting for the interests of people in Punjab, as they so loudly claim. The bloody war going on in Punjab between the Khalistani terrorists and the Indian rulers is not a just war on either side but an unjust and reactionary war. This reactionary war is being waged to determine as to who has the exclusive right of exploiting and oppressing the people of Punjab. This war is directed against the people of Punjab. Both the warring sides are culprits of the people, responsible for pushing Punjab and its people to the brink of disaster.

The fake police encounters, torturing people to death, mass beatings, humiliations, arrests, extortions and police atrocities in many other forms are not only directed at innocent and ordinary people of Punjab but are also helpful in sustaining and strengthening the Khalistani terrorism. The acute and intensified state repression is standing in good stead to the Khalistani terrorism. Alienated and oppressed at the hands of police, more and more people are forced to join the ranks of Khalistani terrorists. The people of Punjab are a witness to the bitter reality that with the intensification and extension of state repression, the forces of Khalistani terrorism instead of weakening, have gained in strength and striking power. Hence the claim of the government is totally ridiculous that onslaught of state terrorism is containing and decimating khalistani terrorism.

Just like Khalistani terrorism, the state terrorism is also contributing to communal discord and weakening of fraternal solidarity and class unity. The umpteen black laws, bans and restrictions on strikes etc. are a boon to the exploiting classes and are helping them in exploiting and repressing the working class and other toiling sections. Bandhs, curfews etc. have made the lives of daily earners a hell.

More over, state terrorism is not only proving counter productive in containing and countering the other terrorism but is also playing a negative role in people's resistance against Khalistani terrorism. The counter-revolutionary licencing policy of the state has rendered vast masses of the people unarmed in face of highly armed Khalistani gangs. Wherever, a few licenced arms have been given to the people, they are being deposited in police stations. The authorities are denying licences to their political foes who are resisting both types of terrorism. A case in point is the denial of arms licence to the supporters and sympathisers of Front against repression and communalism. Whenever the people get organised to resist terrorism, the authorities very often than not take it as a challenge to them and at the very first opportunity, resort to crushing it. Many democratic revolutionary leaders and activists are not only on Khalistani hit lists but are also an eye-sore to the authorities and they continuously keep hounding them. The state authorities openly exhibited their disdain against such leaders when the beloved hero of the toiling masses and a veteran of resistance to terrorism, Megh Raj Bhagtiwana, was martyred by khalistani terrorists.

THE TWIN TERRORISM--EXCELLING EACH OTHER

Both the variants of terrorism--the Khalistani terrorism as well as uniformed terrorism of the state--are identical in their many essential features in many respects. Apparently fighting each other, in the name of each paying in the same coin of even excelling the other, they are falling heavy on the people. It is the ordinary people who are most invariably the victims of their bullying and intimidations.

If the Khalistani terrorists kill, maim or humiliate the people in the name of fighting the state, the state terrorist forces do the same in the name of fighting the menace of Khalistani terrorism.

If the Khalistani terrorists force the people to observe bands in their sympathy and support and gun down those disobeying them as they have demonstrated by gunning down to death a restaurant owner and his 5-6 servants at Mullar pur as well as at numerous other places, the state-sponsored terrorists coerce the people to

open shops and establishments at gun point as demonstrated by them by forcibly breaking open the shops at Faridkot, Kotkapura and many other places.

If the Khalistani terrorists impose their own rules and regulations on the press and encroach upon the freedom of expression in one way, the state does the same by imposing censorship, seizing the newspapers or harassing and arresting the media persons in another way.

If the uniformed terrorists avenge a Khalistani attack on them by gunning down the innocent family members of the terrorists as they have done in village Jatana by killing grand parents and children of a terrorist and burning their house to cinders, the Khalistani terrorists have excelled them by slaughtering more than 300 innocent relatives of the police personnel and burning their homes and hearths throughout the state."

If the khalistani terrorists threaten the people not to hold bhog ceremonies of their victims, as they did at Bashnandi village (Faridkot) and several other places, so do the state terrorists by not handing over dead bodies of slain terrorists for final rites to their relatives, not allowing gatherings and even going to the extent of uprooting pandals and mixing sand in food etc.

The terrorists extort money from the people through huge ransoms for the safe release of kidnapped persons, the police does the same by coercing and torturing people to cough out huge bribes.

The Khalistani terrorists snatch people's arms and disarm them, the police achieves the same goal through the anti-people licencing policy by denying licences to their political foes and forcing the people to deposit their weapons with the police.

The Khalistani terrorists kill, loot and harass innocent hindus to foment communal riots and discord, the state security forces do the same by harassing and killing the sikhs.

So on and so forth. Both the variants of terrorism are anti-democratic, anti-people and communal in conduct and hence the common enemies of all the people.

RESIST AND DEFEAT THE TWIN TERRORISM

Khalistani terrorism and state terrorism are an inseparable phenomenon, two faces of the same coin. Each variety of terrorism helps sustain and reinforce the other one. Any one of them cannot be defeated without struggling simultaneously for the defeat of the other one as well. To get rid of this menace of twin terrorism, the people will have to rely on their own strength, struggle and resources.

The people of Punjab have been opposing and resisting the onslaught of terrorist forces of various hues. At times, they have successfully fought back making the terrorists either to flee or pay with their lives. But this resistance is often sporadic, spontaneous or on a small scale. Consistent conscious and organised resistance is also there. It needs to be strengthened and extended.

If the people of Punjab dare come forward on a large scale and in an organised way, oppose and resist both the hues of terrorism from a democratic and secular stand point, persevere in this struggle they can defeat both the varieties of terrorism and certainly they will.

PART III

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PUNJAB PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE AGAINST KHALISTANI AS WELL AS STATE TERRORISM

The brief account of the menace of twin terrorism given in the earlier parts may tempt the reader to ask a question "In the prevalent terror-stricken atmosphere as that of Punjab, is there any ray of hope for ushering in a better situation?" Of course, there is. The earlier account is a narration of one aspect of the situation, a dark side of it. "Where there is repression there is resistance." This holds good in Punjab as well. There is a brighter side also.

The people of Punjab are not taking it lying down and suffering silently. They are not subjugating fully and finally before these monsters. On the contrary, they are resisting this reactionary onslaught of terrorism of both the hues in various forms individually, collectively, spontaneously or in an organised way. We are putting here a brief account of their resistance to show that the present history in Punjab is not only the history of oppression and repression of both hues but also a history of glorious resistance by the people of Punjab, especially the people of labouring sections.

The people, in this fight of theirs, against both types of terrorism are receiving little help from the ruling class political parties who have become quite irrelevant so far as the people's interests are concerned. Their whole political activity has been reduced to formal press statements against major incidents of Khalistani or state terrorism or to their parliamentary bickerings against each other. None of them dare go to the people, not even for their electoral interests, which they cherish above everything, what to speak of going to the people for mobilising them against Khalistani and state terrorism. Rather they are impeding the pace and sweep of the anti-terrorist movement of the people by sowing seeds of political confusion—the Akalies in the favour of Khalistani-terrorism and the CPI, CPM and BJP in favour of state-terrorism. So, it is left only to

the genuinely democratic and revolutionary forces, to shoulder the heavy responsibility of supporting and leading the people in their fight against these twin-monsters. No doubt, the prevalent situation in Punjab is extremely tough. Not only the ruling class political parties have become irrelevant, rather the state-administration is bowing, in many respects, against the communal fascist dictates of the Khalistanies, for example, the TV stations in Punjab do not use the word "extremists" or "terrorists" (rather are forced to use the word "militants" for the Khalistanies) and the women announcers are bound to cover their heads while reading the news-bulletins under the orders of the Khalistanies. Almost none of the highest officers of state departments dare disobey the Khalistani commandments on the issue of use of Punjabi, in their offices and even houses (name plate etc.) And what is more, even the highest authorities, (including the governor) and political leaders do conceal their identities, in various forms (as removing of emblems or flags from their vehicles), while travelling in Punjab, despite their bulletproof vehicles and heavy security covers. All these things add greatly to the fear psychosis already created by the communal fascist activities of the Khalistani brutes. On the other hand, the state security forces are abundantly misusing the highly repressive powers given to them for curbing the democratic and political activities of the democratic and revolutionary forces. But notwithstanding all these odds against them, the democratic and revolutionary forces are courageously going to the masses. They are exposing, through painstaking ideological-political work the real character and mutual relationship of both types of terrorism; are exposing the real reactionary motives of the political culprits (Akalies and Cong.) behind Khalistani terrorism and state terrorism as well as the opportunist and anti-people role being played by other ruling class parties; and thus educating and mobilizing the people against both types of terrorism and the culprits behind them, the democratic and revolutionary forces are preparing for, revolutionary mass resistance against them. By doing so, the real democratic and revolutionary forces have played a highly significant role in the making of the situation in Punjab, what it is today, in respect of the positive, progressive and optimistic aspect of the

situation. Especially important is the role, in this respect, of the communist revolutionary forces representing the correct trend in this fight against both types of terrorism.

This account is not only brief but also highly incomplete. To present a full view of the resistance going on against reactionary terrorism in Punjab, much more time, energy and labour is needed. Because of many limitations the following brief account of the resistance activity remains a random collection and selection of the incidents. It does not include in it the routine and formal forms of protest against both types of terrorism. The widespread intensive and extensive propaganda activity, though a very significant part of the struggle, could not be included for the simple reason of lack of space. Although the communist revolutionary organisations are acting as a core of this mass resistance movement, yet their activity from their own platforms is not included. What this account includes in it, is simply the incidents of people's resistance that are the result of people's spontaneous reaction to incidents of state or Khalistani terrorism or the result of the conscious and organised efforts of the democratic forces.

RESISTANCE: AGAINST STATE TERRORISM

Some incidents pertaining to the resistance of people of Punjab to state terrorism are being given below. Actually the magnitude of resistance activity is much larger than being presented here. For example the widespread propaganda and oppositional activity through many intensive and extensive campaigns by various mass organisations and platforms is not at all included. Similarly, the routine protest activities on concrete incidents of repression is also not included for want of space. Only those incidents of resistance activity are included here which resulted in the success of the people in the sense that either the people could punish the guilty through direct action of the masses or got them punished through mass pressure or at least made them to bow down in one or the other form. Even this sort of resistance activity is so abundant that the account presented here gives just a glimpse of it. Moreover, the

incidents given here are not the result of a thorough and conscious selection but a random collection and selection leaving adequate scope for some important resistance activity remaining obscured.

To appreciate the real significance of this resistance activity, one has to keep in view the prevailing situation in Punjab. The state security forces are equipped with sweeping and draconian powers to pounce upon the people and stifle their resistance. Ban on protests and demonstrations in any form is in vogue throughout the state. Moreover, many mass leaders and activists are on Khalistani hit lists making their operation of mobilisation of the masses extremely difficult. In such a difficult situation, putting up such a resistance is a daunting task. Moreover, the communal elements try their utmost to divert the resentment against state terrorism for their nefarious ends. The resistance activity given here is also significant because it is secular democratic activity, free of any sort of communal bias and is an embodiment of their democratic unity against the enemies of the people.

The resistance activity against state terrorism covered in this chapter does not bring into sharp focus the otherwise prevalent prominent significant features of these activities. For example, the resistance activities covered here do not fully reflect the militant mood and the tendency of united resistance crossing the narrow sectional boundaries. In some employees sections like roadways and electricity employees, the tendency of reacting to each and every act of police atrocity immediately and in a mass militant way is so prominent that it usually leads to indefinite strikes and traffic blockades for hours and even for days and at times throughout the state. The militant mass actions of these sections have many a times forced the formidable state machinery to relent and bow down. The electricity workers, led by their organisation- Technical Services Union have exhibited a high level of consciousness by immediately and sharply reacting even against the police atrocities on other sections of the people. Another prevalent feature of the resistance movement is that people from almost every walk of life have acted against the state repression in one way or the other, but their activity is not covered here for want of space.

A. INSTANCES OF FIGHT AGAINST STATE-TERRORISM

- * **Kokari Kalan (Faridkot April, 87):** The CRP contingent in the village was harrasing the people under one pretext or the other. The Sarpanch (head of the Panchayt) along with some other people went to the police station to lodge a protest, but the Sarpanch was detained there and implicated in a false case. 6 trollies (tractor trolly) of the enraged people of the village gheraoed the police station and got the sarpanch released and the case withdrawn.
- * **Badhni Kalan (Faridkot) Oct., 87:** A porter was beaten by the police; the porters immediately started sit-in before the police station. Next day porters from nearby towns (Moga, Nihalsingh wala) and other mass organisation of the area came to support them. The Front organisation of the town came forward to help them. An action committee was formed and a decision was made to intensify the struggle. This made the authorities to yield and the S.H.O. of the police station begged pardon publically.
- * **Lehra Gagaa (Sangrur) Jan., 88.** Two innocent youths- Balbir and Babu- were arrested on the pretext of dacoity case that took place in the area. People of Laclal and Kishangarh rallied in (6-7 trollies)(one trolly full of men means about 35 people) and got them released.
- * **Kokri Kalan (Faridkot) Dec., 88:** Police post here was situated in the temple, where they used to drink wine, beat up people and insult them. The people were full of resentment. So they took away their whole luggage etc. and locked in some other room. The police got furious at it and started threatening the people. But the people remained determined. The police had to shift the post from there.
- * **Doraha (Ludhiana) Sept., 88.** CRP men were harrasing a young man and asking for a wine bottle from him. The village Front workers and a member panchyat gathered to oppose them. At this the CRP men threatened to open fire on them.

When the people heard the Front slogans being raised, they started assembling. Sensing the mood of the people, the CRP men fled away in their jeep. Next day people went to the CRP post in a deputaion, The incharge apologized for the incident and assured good behaviour in future.

- * **Sultanpur (Kapurthala) June, 89:** A youth Jaswinder was arrested by the police, 1500 people gheraoed the police station and got the innocent released.
- * **Delhon (Ludhiana), Aug. 89:** Police abducted Jagroop Singh, area level leader of a democratic mass organisation. Different mass-organisations immediately started a sit-in and continued it the whole day long, then they gheraoed the police station. The police had to release him.
- * **Machhiwara (Ludhiana), July 90:** Two young boys were arrested by the police, simply because a theft had been committed nearby their home. After three days 800 people gheraoed the police station and got him released. But it did not satisfy the people, because the same sub-inspector had beaten up a woman earlier. Also he had to ask for forgiveness under mass-pressure: Now the people wanted him to be punished for his atrocities. But the higher authorities were not responsive to their demand. Then the mass organisations of different sections of workers, peasants, rural workers, youth, electricity workers, taxi-drivers, hawkers sweepers etc. formed an action committee and organised a rally and demonstration and a Bandh of the city on 28th of July, 90. Consequently the main culprit was transferred, though others were not punished.
- * **Khanori (Sangur): Sept., 90:** The wife of ex-I.G. police, known as Bibi ji, wanted the worker Kala Ram to be given some thrashing by the police, simply for the 'crime' that he would go to other places as a wage earner instead of working at Bibi Ji's house. Though Kala Ram was given a certificate for his bravery in capturing a terrorist two years ago, even then he was arrested to fulfill the Bibiji's wish, and beaten to death in the police station

itself. At this the democratic mass organisations of the area started a sit-in before the police station with 2000 people participating in it. The sit-in was lifted only when assurance was given by the authorities that a case under 302 will be registered against the guilty, after receiving the postmortem report.

- * **GND University (Amritsar) Jan, 91:** The black cats (of the security forces) were gheraoed by the students of the GND University when they were forcibly picking up a student. The black cats fired but the students were not frightened, they tore away their masks. Only further reinforcements of the police forces could get them released from the students.
- * **Khanna (Ludhiana), Jan. 91:** A truck driver was fired and killed by the body-guard of a prominent Cong. (I) leader simply for not giving side to his car to overtake the truck. People, enraged at this, jammed the traffic on the highway. The police fired upon them resulting in the killing of another three men and injuring some others, But the people continued the struggle. As a result a murder case against the Cong. leader and his bodyguard had to be registered.
- * **Medical college (Patilala), Aug. 91:** There was a CRP post in the medical college hostel. One of the CRP men of this post tried to molest the wife of a mess servant. She raised hue and cry. Mess servants assembled and beat up him severely. But when he managed to run away to the post and the servants also reached there chasing him, the CRP men started beating the servants. When the students assembled to intervene, they were also beaten up with lathies and some of them were injured. They even did not allow the students to go to the hostel warden or the principal for complaining. Next day, the enraged students went on strike. Sensing the mood of the students, the authorities had to concede the students demand for abolishing the CRP post from the hostel.
- * **Moonak (Sangur) Dec. 85-Jan., 86:** Balwinder, an electricity worker was arrested by the police and extorted of Rs. 5200. People (including several democratic mass- organisations)

formed an action committee and started struggle. 5000 people gathered before the police station and got the SHO hand cuffed.

- * **Lehra Gaga (Sangur) Feb., 86:** The police arrested Tahil Singh from his house at Daska and killed him. People gheraoed the police station and got the guilty arrested under murder case.
- * **Bahlolpur (Ludhiana) May, 87:** The head constable of the BSF post at Bahlolpur was got suspended by the organised strength of the people for bullying the people of the area, Bribery worth Rs. 2500 taken by him from three doctors were made to be returned to them.
- * **Machhiwara (Ludhiana), April, 89:** The wireless operator of Machhiwara, Kuldeep Singh, instigated by the local chieftains, made ruthless repression on the workers of the Bhorle Bet. Dehati Majdoor Union started action. The SHO and the operators lost their wits and got prepared to accept any condition of the union's. According to the union decision, he was made to apologize publically and pay Rs. 1000 as fine. The decision was made in a village gathering.
- * **Pandori (Kapurthala), Aug., 89:** The BSF arrested one Jaswinder singh near Pandory. People were apprehensive of his being killed through a false police encounter. So they went to the concerned post. But they spotted the BSF jeep carrying Jaswinder. They gheraoed the jeep and asked the reason for his arrest. The BSF threatened to fire and managed to get away the jeep. But the people continued the chase and went to the police station, and warned the incharge that if anything happens to Jaswinder, he will be held responsible for it. But the BSF incharge demanded one lakh rupees for releasing him. People refused to pay and came back after warning the incharge. People sent a delegation to higher authorities. Meanwhile the BSF men took the boy to a place near the bank of river Beas with his eyes and hands tied, and wanted to finish him off there. But, perchance, there was a gathering of the people nearby, who thought that this jeep belongs to the officers whom they were expecting for receiving the recompensation for the loss by

floods, so they ran towards the jeep. The BSF people thought them to be the people chasing them, so they left the boy there and fled away. People saw the boy and could sense the whole plan. All this enraged the whole of the area and resultantly, 1500 people assembled before the BSF post. The terrified officer-in-charge told the people that the in charge of the concerned post had been suspended and others transferred.

- * **Lohian (Kapurthala), Jan., 90:** Drunken policemen tried to terrorise the workers on a Lohri (a festival) day. Workers beat up the policemen in retaliation and gheraoed the police station at night themselves, and compelled the policemen to seek forgiveness.
- * **Nakodar (Jullundur), Jan., 90:** Police beat up some workers, who retaliated by beating the police. Police abducted one of their worker, the workers chased and battered the police station with brickbats and stones. More police came in, but the higher authorities had to yield before the public pressure.
- * **Nakodar (Jullundur) Oct., 90:** Police tried to implicate Jathedar of Mattanwali village, Mohinder Singh, in a false case. So, it came to the village to arrest him. People resisted. The police started threatening people. People took them to be Khalistanis in police uniform, so they challenged the police. The police fired and the people retaliated through counter firing. So, the police ran away, but could manage to pick up Mohinder Singh with them. Later on, people got him released through mass-pressure.
- * **Mooman (Snagrur) July, 90:** A drunk policeman killed a youngman at Mooman. Enraged people gheraoed the police post. The police man threatened the people with his gun. More police came to save the policeman, but the people snatched the policeman from the officers and killed him.
- * **Jallalabad. Aug., 90 (Ferozepur):** A police inspector started shouting in a colony of Bihari workers near railway station. People gathered and made him run from there, but while going

he fired upon them. As a result one worker was killed. People got enraged, beat up the inspector and killed him with lathies and brickbats.

- * **Malout (Faridkot) Aug., 90:** 5 PAP men went to a wine shop, and there was some altercation, because they wanted wine free of cost. They opened fire. One worker was killed. The enraged people beat up the policeman, and later on, gheraoed the police station, and got him arrested in murder case.
- * **Jagraon (Ludhiana), Sept, 91. :** Some men from Gurpreet Nagar Mohalla were on guard duty (voluntarily arranged by the people for security) A suspected jeep arrived and they stopped them, 3 police-men in the jeep were found along with 3 strangers, people wanted to know about them, but the policemen could not give satisfying answer. So, they all were detained in a Gurudwara. It was 1 AM, none of the authorities came till 4 AM to satisfy the people and take them away. Meanwhile the people from whole of the city gathered there. When the officers came, they instead of satisfying the people, started threatening the people. But people remained determined ; the officers opened fire killing two youngmen. The police of the whole district was called in but people continued the jam on the railway track and the road. Ultimately the authorities had to concede to their demand of registering murder cases against the guilty policemen and give compensation on the police pattern to the families of the killed youngmen. People on their own part gave 20 thousand rupees, collected as fund for the struggle, to both of the families.
- * **Machhiwara (Ludhiana) June, 90. :** Punjab Dehati Majdoor Union president Sohan Singh and some other workers were implicated in false cases and beaten up by Bela police. The mass organisations of the area struggled and got him released and also got the SHO and the ASI transferred.
- * **Jallalabad (Ferozepur) Oct., 90. :** One sub Inspector of police tried to molest a woman ; She raised hue and cry ; Bihari workers assembled ; he fired killing one and injuring a woman and

another worker. The people caught hold of him and beat him to death.

- * **Badhani Kalan (Faridkot) July, 91** : On 29th July, the local police beat up a choukidar (watchman giving a guard duty ; and the police had been firing from within the police station continuously. Next day on knowing it the people held a bandh in the bazars and started gathering before the police station and jammed the traffic. Police lathicharged, broke the speaker ; held three men and beat them. It further enraged the people. An action committee, based on different mass organisations, was formed, 500 strong demonstration was organised and a convention (anti-repression) was also organised. Sensing the mood of the people the SHO yielded and begged a public pardon.
- * **Kochar market (Ludhiana) Sept., 91** : A brother and his sister were arrested by the police when they were coming out of a restaurant. They disclosed their identity and it was also verified by the ASI. Even then they were harassed. Thousands of enraged people gheraoed the police station and lifted it only when the case against the ASI got registered.
- * **Khirkian wala (Faridkot) Jan. 92** : One homeguard constable tried to abduct a woman, who was living with her husband at her relatives there. The husband of that lady resisted the effort and people started gathering. The homeguard men had to retreat. They were made to apologize next day before the gathering of the village. In retaliation the homeguard men tried to implicate the man in a false case that the man harbours the extremists. Another try was made to implicate him in the illicit liquor case, But both of these attempts were foiled by the people, rather the police post had to be removed from there under public pressure.
- * **Punjab Agriculture University (Ludhiana) Jan., 92** : On 19 January 8-10 policemen of the local post came to a hostel and started beating two students Harwinder Singh and Dinesh Kumar. One watchman tried to intervene, he was also beaten and some more students were beaten. Next day students

showed their resentment through a mass-rally and demanded action against the police men. But the university authority did not do anything. Students held a strike of all colleges related to the Punjab Agriculture University ; 500 students held a rally and demonstration on the campus, 4th class employees also supported them. With this the authorities had to come into action ; as a result the DSP came to the campus and apologized the apology was read publically and he assured the students of not allowing such a thing to happen in the campus.

- * **Amritsar, Jan., 86** : Kashmira Singh, an electricity worker, was shot dead by Buta Singh, a police man. The workers of TSU (Technical services union) of Nagoke, Butari, Rayia divisions jammed the road traffic and got the murder case registered against the police man.
- * **Jullundur., March., 86** : A bus conductor of the night bus was beaten up by the security guards of the bus. The workers organised a chakka jam even at night. Next day the bus stand remained totally closed and the jam was lifted only when the case was registered against the guilty police men and they were handcuffed before the people.
- * **Harike Patan (Amritsar) March, 86** : CRP men, while searching the bus, slapped the conductor. The workers got enraged at this and stopped traffic there and then. The CRP men were made to mount the roof of the bus and ask for forgiveness in full public view.
- * **Ropar (Ropar)** : A conductor was killed (July, 87) by the police. Pepsu Roadway union and Punjab Roadways Union jammed the wheel that lasted for three days and was lifted only when the guilty policemen were arrested under murder case.
- * **Samrala (Ludhiana) Aug., 87** : A junior engineer was detained and harassed by the police for nothing, The TSU workers struck work and 400 workers went to the police station and gheraoed it till the JE was released and the SHO duly warned.

- * **Phagwara (Kapurthala) Jan., 88** : A driver was beaten up by the CRP. The Roadways workers jammed the wheel. Police lathicharged to lift the jam and arrested 19 drivers, the bus services in Punjab remained closed for five days; ultimately in this prestigious struggle the drivers had to be released and cases withdrawn.
- * **Bagha Purana (Faridkot), Sept.,88** ; SSP Faridkot Gobind Ram was one of the most notorious police chiefs of the districts, in respect of repressing and terrorising the people. One day in Sept. 88, he met some electricity workers and beat them up then and there in the field. That led to a very prestigious and two month long militant struggle led by the TSU circle of Faridkot and supported by the TSU at state level. The struggle was given a vigorous support by the front and other democratic mass organisations, of the area-There were many rallies, demonstrations, lathicharges, arrests, and so many other things on the way. The end result of the long-drawn militant movement was the transfer of Gobind Ram from the distt.
- * **Talwan (Gurdaspur) Sept., '89**: The same notorious Gobind Ram had joined as SSP Gurdaspur distt., and here, again he beat up two workers and arrested them. TSU gave a call for the gherao of the circle offices of Electricity Board from 4 to 7th of Sept. Fearing the experience of Faridkot distt., Gobind Ram yielded and released the workers.
- * **Talwara (Ropar) Oct., '88**: Gurmail Singh, who fired at the Khalistani terrorists who were committing a big bank robbery, made them run leaving behind one of their companions, was given a gallantary reward by the govt. in oct. '86. In Oct., '88, he was arrested by the police and tortured as severely as the notorious terrorists are tortured by the police. He was given all the psychological shock of going to be killed in a false encounter while asking him to give his last wish etc. The only crime of his was that he did not agree to give witness, in the bank robbery case as the police wanted to, on the plea, "why were you given a reward, if you do not do as the police wants. " That led to a

struggle against the police repression by the hydral project empolyees union, Bhakra board employees union, supported by TSU, AITUC, IPF, and others. An all party delegation met the police chief who promised to hold an inquiry into the case, with this the political parties of the ruling classes were satisfied but the mass-organisations continued the struggle.

- * **Chari (Ludhiana) April, 89**: Brick-klin workers of Chari were picked up by the police. Brick-kiln workers union, assited by other democratic unions, struggled and got them released.
- * **Delhon (Ludhiana) Aug., 89**: Workers of Punjab Dehati Mazdoor Union, celebratering black indepdance day were arrested from Falewal village. The democratic organisations of the area, got them released by gheraoing the police station.
- * **Morinda (Ropar) Oct., 89**: Ranjit Singh, an electricity worker, was arrested by the Morinda police. The local workers struck work under the leadership of TSU, for three consecutive days from 23 to 25 of Oct., and got them released.
- * **Muktsar (Faridkot) May, 90**: An employee of the Punjab Roadways was arrested; workers jammed the bus stand immediately, and lifted the jam only after getting the employee released.
- * **Bagha Purana (Faridkot) Dec. 90**: Inspector Kashmiria Bhinder was quite notorious for his atrocities on the people, wherever he went. He contiuned doing so in Baghapurana also. All sections of the town, and the area we.e resentful against his atrocities and taking of bribery, under one pretext or the other. One day he beat up some electricity workers but had to ask for forgiveness under mass-pressure. TSU launched a struggle against his exeesses which was given enthusiastic support by the people of the town apart from the Front and other mass-organisation of the area. On 15th January, 91 a bandh was observed in the town which became a complete success despite the terror tactics and frantic efforts of Kashmiria Bhinder. A rally was organised, and at the end of the rally a deputaion of the

people went to the inspector. Sensing the mood of the people, he had to assure them of good behaviour in future.

- * **Ropar, Jan., 91:** Three conductors going to their village after doing their duty, were shot by the CRP men for not stopping at their nod, while the conductors told that it was darkness and they did not notice their signal. The roadways employees jammed the wheel of the buses that continued for three days and was lifted only when the guilty were arrested in the murder case (one conductor was killed and two injured in the incident) and other cases, and police-pattern compensation for the deceased person was announced.

EVEN SUSPICION SPARKS

OFF A FIGHT AGAINST STATE-TERRORISM

A unique proxy fight took place against terrorism in the Malwa belt of Punjab. A rumour became so wide spread in this region of the state, that every body in the region took it to be true. The rumour was that some strangers come at night, wearing black underwears only, armed with traditional weapons, who commit marauderies and kill whomsoever they see. The rumour was multiplied by other rumours that it created terror in the region, which led the peasants of the area to arrange for their collective security. Part of the rumour was that police jeeps come at night and drop these men and the same jeeps pick them up in the morning. This last part of the rumour made the wrath of the people against these strangers and police. Here are some examples:

1. Being Suspicious that some strangers are hiding in the fields, people of Village Daraj (Bathinda) encircled the fields. Hundreds of men, including one horse-rider, 3-4 with licenced guns, and others with spears and choppers kept the night long vigil. Message was also sent to nearby villages so in the morning people from other villages started pouring in through trollies and other means. The first among the people from Jethuke village, seeing a police van, encircled it and made them to lead in the search for the strangers. One head constable tried to run by firing but within a moment his revolver was in the hands of an ex-soldier peasant and the head constable lay on the ground

injured at the head with the chopper. While people were demanding to kill him, leaders of the peasants saved him from being killed and locked him in a Gurdwara. In the morning reinforcements of the police (150) came in. People deflated DSP's jeep, which he didn't mind sensing the mood of the people. In the end, DSP announced that it was the mistake of his men; in future police will come through prominent persons of the village and there will be no case against the peasants who injured the head constable.

2. The same type of encirclement of fields and the night vigil was there in the nearby village Jeond, the next day. Though nothing was found in the search, but a police jeep came to see the situation people gheroad the jeep thinking that they have come to help the strangers. SI was abused, his jeep was battered with choppers, he went to the Gurdawara and asked for forgiveness.
3. The police felt insulted in both of these incidents, and wanted to avenge. It raided two or three villages in the morning and picked up some men, women and children from these villages. The news and the message to reach the police station concerned spread like a wild-fire and by 11 am. 4000 people were there before the PS, and all enraged. So they got all the arrested freed in no time.
4. Two youth were detained by the CRP people on the way at night, for questioning. At this about 100 youth of the village (Jethuke) came there and asked the reason for their detention. Security men threatened to open fire but they were not frightened, and remained determined, and ultimately succeeded in getting them released.
5. All these incidents occurred in the villages of Bathinda district, that is a stronghold of the Bharti Kisan Union and Jhanda Singh is undisputed leader in this pocket of the villages. In all these incidents, Jhanda Singh played a prominent role. So police wanted to implicate him in some false case, so it sent a message to him to come to the Police station on a fixed date, But on the fixed date 1000 men and women accompanied Jhanda Singh who went to PS. The people sat in a sit-in for the whole day long, but when they were returning the police came into their midst,

divided them into two and caught hold of Jhanda Singh who was snatched back by the enraged women and men. Ultimately, the police had to leave the idea of arresting him.

* **Moga 1988:** Two students belonging to sikh students federation were kidnapped by the police. Their whereabouts were not revealed. Suspecting an attempt to take their lives, in false police encounters, the students, cutting across religious lines came forward for protest under the leadership of some students having links with PSU. A large number of students participated in actions like road-block for hours. Peasants from villages also joined in the protest. As a result, the attempt to kill the arrested federation activists was foiled. The significant feature was that sikh communalist forces were not allowed to interfere in the struggle.

* **Ropar (1992):** Balbir Kaur, a woman belonging to sweeper community and working as a maid servant was taken into custody by the police and tortured to death. The incident caused a very strong wave of anger and resentment among the dalit community through out the state. A call for strike was given and the sweeping activity in many big cities and towns came to a stand still. Angry demonstration and rallies were made at various places, dead bodies of some dogs were hanged at various places in the city, labelling them with the names of the policemen responsible for the murder of Balbir Kaur. The cheif Minister, through a press statement, said that demands of sweepers would not be accepted unless they withdraw the strike but the sweepers pooh-poohed his statement. At last, the state govt, had to bow down and arrest all the policemen under section 302. Only then the strike was withdrawn.

* **Bathinda:-** A rikshaw puller was killed by Khalistanis in front of the sub-division office of the Punjab state electricity Board. Immediately the news spread throughout the city but the police reached the spot after many hours. They took an official of the electricity Board into custody under the pretext that he did not report the incident to the police.

The TSU workers immediately reached, assembled in front of the police station and got him released. Next day, a home guard official trespassed into the house of another employee and manhandled the family members. Against these atrocities, the electricity employees of the division held a massive demonstration raising angry slogans against both types of terrorism. The police officials were forced to bow down and apologize.

* **School Teachers:** The govt. school teachers were forced to perform various duties during Assembly elections. The Khalistanis had threatened to kill the employees who joined the elections duties. They implemented the threat by killing a number of teachers. The school teachers made protest against the inadequate security arrangements made by the government, held rallies at various places and boycotted the election duty at some places. The government announced a service break as a measure of punishment. The Democratic Teachers front gave a call for a demonstration in the state capital. Thousands of teachers from the state participated. The government could not implement its decision because of the mass pressure.

RESISTANCE AGAINST KHALISTANI TERRORISM

Fed up of with senseless killings and other nefarious activities of the Khalistani gang or pushed to the wall by these terrorists gangs, a large number of people are coming forward to oppose and resist the Khalistani terrorists. To safeguard their honour and lives, ever-increasing number of people, individually or collectively, with whatever arms they can lay hand on or even empty-handed, are taking on the invading terrorists, grapple with them and catch or kill them or get killed themselves in the process. The might of invincibility of the terrorists has been shattered by the courageous and death defying people themselves. Hundreds of such instances of individual or collective valour shown by the people can be cited but for want of space, we are giving some of them as a glimpse of this welcome phenomenon.

More conscious and even organised resistance against the terrorist menace is gaining ground. A number of families or a collective of them have taken to arms to defend themselves. This trend is, for the time being, remains restricted to generally more advanced sections among the people like the cadres of communist parties or other secular and advanced sections. The leaders of CPI and CPM generally discourage the organisation of such resistance but pressed by the harsh realities of life, more and more people at lower levels are not in a mood to entertain their sermons or are outrightly defying them and coming forward to put up resistance with arms, mostly licenced ones. This trend is gaining ground and many dozens of such families, if not in hundreds, have taken to the path of resistance. A few instances given here point to this ever-increasing tendency among the people.

A still more conscious, well organised, mass resistance by the various mass organisations or the rural people, led by the communist revolutionaries or democratic revolutionary forces is shaping up. At many places the people have built up a defence and resistance mechanism on the village scale, night vigils are kept and armed volunteers take turns to foil any terrorist attack. The

people through their own experience have come to the conclusion that they will have to defend themselves on their own and they can defend themselves.

Resistance to the Khalistani terrorists is building up in many other forms as well. This is a very positive and welcome development and needs to be encouraged and emulated.

A. SOME INSTANCES WHEREIN REMARKABLE INDIVIDUAL VALOUR WAS SHOWN

* **Moga (Faridkot) Oct, '87'**- A supporter of the Front, Rakesh Kumar (a leanly built young boy of 18) saw an extremist moving at the bus-stand Moga; he went to the police station (a few yards away from the stand) but the police did not bother, then he went to the CRP men on duty there; they were also hesitant but Rakesh insisted and told them that he definitely knew that notorious terrorists of the area (as he and his gang had made Rakesh and his family shift to Moga from the village nearby sometimes back) and also offered to capture the terrorist; at that the security person went with him unwillingly; enthusiastic Rakesh ran ahead of them; found out the terrorist and caught him (the well-built terrorist) from back side, who threw his revolver to his companion terrorist, but he thought it better to run away with the revolver, meanwhile the security men reached and formally arrested the terrorist. Next day, some of the Front activists went to the Sub Divisional Magistrate with the demand that Rakesh should be provided security, at least he should be given a licence to by some weapon, they also demanded that the extremist should not be killed in a false encounter. But, despite the assurance by the SDM Rakesh Kumar was never provided security, and the terrorist was killed in an encounter/falsly enacted by the police.

* **Haripura Basti (Ferozepore)** : Salwinder Kaur of the Basti single-handedly fought back a marauder, and killed him with brick-bats only.

- * **Balo (Bathinda) Jan 88** : Two marauders came to Hans Raj shopkeeper of the village Balo, but Hans Raj grappled with them, they were baffled and ran away leaving their turbans and shoes behind.
- * **Mukerian (Hoshiarpur) July 88** : Three extremists went to a house for the purpose of looting the family, but the family resisted them bravely, captured them and beat them up to death.
- * **Malsian (Jalandhar) July, 88** : Marauders came to Ram Piari's house, the family resisted them, Ram piari caught the naked sword of one of the marauders while her son snatched the pistol of the other. At this the marauder ran in panic, though Ram Piari suffered deep wounds at her hands.
- * **Bootawala (Ferozepur)** Four terrorists went to Sarpanch Kar Singh's house and tried to snatch the weapons (licenced) of the sarpanch but the sarpanch fired at them; one of them was killed and others ran away.
- * **Kotha (Gurdaspur) July 88** : Four armed persons went to Baldev Singh's house and asked him to hand over his cash and gold, but Baldev Singh responded to their demand by opening fire, killing one and making other run.
- * **Amritsar July 88** : Two Khalistanies went to sarpanch Harchand Singh's house and demanded Rs. 2 Lacs from him. His son went in on the pretext of bringing the cash, but returned with the gun and instantly killed both of them on the spot. Later one was indentified as an proclaimed offender and a known Khalistani terrorist of the area. Incident occured at Bhurekarim (ASR.)
- * **Khalra (Amritsar) Aug. 88** In the nearby village three extremists came to attack Mohinder Singh and his son Jaswinder Singh, They were courageously resisted by the father and the

son. One of the terrorists was beaten to death while the other two had to run.

- * **Khottha Guru (Bathinda) May '89'**: Three extremists came to the village and killed one old shoepkeeper; then his son came and grappled with one of the extremists who fired at him in the chest and injured him, Meanwhile a passerby came and captured the extremist. Both Rajinder (son of the shopkeeper and the passerby beat the extremist severely. Then the extremist who was standing at the back door of the shop came firing with his pistol, but could not free his companion untill the third extremist with the scooter came in and both of them managed to get their companion released at the pistol point, but as the people had started assembling hearing the noise and firing, the extremists thought it better to run away, leaving their shoes and a turban behind.
- * **Sikhwala (Faridkot) Jan 90** : The so called area commander Pasha, wanted to forcibly take away the scooter of a rich peasant from Sikhwala village, the son of the peasant grappled with him, but was killed when the terrorist fired at him, then the two sisters of the boy, pounced upon Pasha and captured him, but suddenly when they say their brother dead, they got nervous and their hold was losened. The so called area commander saved his life by running away from there while leaving his turban behind.
- * **Muktsar (Faridkot) Dec. 89** : Three terrorists came armed with an AK-54 rifle, lathi and a hockey stick. Mohinder Singh the owner of the house captured the man with the rifle, the women of the house started fighting others with lathies, the terrorists had to run away.
- * **Rauke Kalan (Faridkot) Feb. 90** : Three terrorists came with the intention of snatching the licenced revolver of a person in the village, two of them entered the house while the third remained posted at the gate. The owner of the house killed one with his revolver, while his wife grappled with the other, untill the third terrorist entered and injured her. Finally the terrorists had

to run, though while running, they shot the brother of the owner of the house.

- * **Jaito (Faridkot) Feb. 91** : Two terrorists came to a nearby village with the intention to kill Master Mohinder Singh who is a block level leader of Democratic Teachers Front and an active worker of the front. On reaching the school, they asked Mohinder Singh the address of some of his friends, and before he could say something, the terrorists aimed their revolvers at his head, the enraged teacher pounced upon them, their aims missed, though one fire struck Mohinder Singh in his arm. The injured teacher again pounced on them baffled one of them, ran to the gate and the other got entangled in setting right his pistol. The injured teacher took position behind a bunian tree and started battering brickbats at them. The Khalistani cowards dare not come near the teacher again and went away after firing three rounds in the air. The injured teacher himself went to the police station at Jaito for lodging a protest and then, himself went to the hospital. On Feb 5, 300 teachers assembled in a rally at Jaito despite the warning of the Khalistanies against participating in it.
- * **Daudhar (Faridkot) June 90** : Three terrorists came to Dr. Jagdish's clinic at Daudhar fired upon him, (he was associated with the CPM and was on the hit list of the terrorists) the Doctor fired at them in retaliation though the doctor was killed, one of the terrorists was also killed on the spot while another among the two was also injured.
- * **Ludhiana, June '90'** : Two Khalistani-terrorists came to Guru Nanak Nagar colony and attacked an old man, Nachhatar Singh, with a pistol, but the old man mounted a counter attack and struck one of the terrorists at the head with the piece of wood lying nearby. At this the terrorists got baffled and ran away leaving their scooter behind, though the old man was also injured in this incident.
- * **Bhagta Bhai Ka (Bathinda) July 90** : Two terrorists came to a teacher's house asked the family to form a queue; sensing the

situation, the teacher whispered to the family members they are only two, at this the family members raised hue and cry on the one hand and started grappling with the terrorists on the other, though a 7 year child was killed in the incident, the terrorists were made to run. The family also chased them to some distance.

- * **Jaito (Bathinda) July 90** : Two terrorists came to a shop in Jaito town, and asked the owner to hand over the entire cash, the shopkeeper took courage and punched the terrorist so severely that he fell baffled. The other ran away bewildered; while the former somehow struggled out of the grip of the shopkeeper and ran away firing in the air.
- * **Kathunangal (Amritsar) June 89** : Two Sikh youths travelling in a bus enroute from Amritsar to Pathankot, showed exemplary courage and made a glorious sacrifice for the cause of Hindu-Sikh Communal Amity in Punjab in the first week of June 89. Terrorists abducted this bus which was full of passengers and took it to a secluded place, where they ordered the Hindu Passengers to come down and make a queue with the intention of killing them, but Rajwant a 21 year young Sikh opposed them and warned them against such misdeeds, at this the terrorists fired him in the head and killed him, then another Sikh youngman - Avtar (23 years) came forward to oppose them equally determinedly. The terrorists fired and killed him also, But after doing this, the terrorists got so demoralised and frustrated that they ran away from the scene firing aimlessly, thus though two Hindu passengers were injured seriously, a big massacre was averted by the courageous intervention and exemplary sacrifice of the two Sikh youths.
- * **Himatpura (Faridkot) Feb 91** : Two terrorists came to a Harijan's house, who showing great alertness succeeded in striking at the head of one of the terrorist with the chopper and captured him, the other ran away.
- * **Jalian Kalan (Ropar) Aug. 91** : Three Khalistanies came to this village and ordered a family to send their young daughter

with them because their Jathedar wanted to inquire about some complaints about the girl the family opposed it but were helpless against their guns when the Khalistanies were taking away the girl with guns in their hands. A young man in the fields saw them and got apprehensive, and when he saw the terrorists leading the girl to a sugarcane field, he was filled with contempt and rage against these so-called militants. He came running to his home, took his brother and some hounds with him and encircled the fields, For fear of getting recognised the terrorists tried to run, but the brothers captured one of them, while the other was caught by the hound, though the third could manage to escape, the two were brought to the village and beaten severely by the people. They were identified as known Khalistanies.

* **Bhagtuana (Faridkot) :** Aug 91 A marauder came to a family and ordered them to prepare food for him, Suddenly a young boy of the house pounced upon him and he was captured by the family. The people of the village assembled and beat him severely and handed him over to the police.

* **Canal colony (Ferozepore) Dec. 90 :** One night a marauder jumped the wall of Magat Ram's house at 11 P.M. and asked Magat Ram and his wife to hand over all valuable goods in the house. Though he was waving his pistol at them Magat Ram and his wife pounced upon the marauder and captured him. The other marauder sitting on the wall ran away. Then the neighbours came in and severely beat the marauder who was later identified as homeguard jawan and confessed his involvement in several cases of thefts and dacoities.

* **Tarn tarn (Amritsar) Nov. 91 :** In one of the villages of the areas, which was till now considered to be the fortress of the Khalistanies, two youngmen were coming on scooter, Khalistan commando Force's so-called Lt. General Balwinder Singh Ghora with one more terrorists followed them. The youngmen hurriedly entered the house and took positions on the roof; but the extremists had also entered the home. In the mean while

the terrorists compelled the family members to que up and warned the youngmen on the roof to comedown, otherwise they will kill all the members of their family. The enraged youngmen replied with shooting. Ghora was so terrified with the sudden and unexpected fire, that AK-47 rifle fell from his hand. Then he and his companion ran away and started firing from some distance. The youngmen also continued firing. After some time, the so-called Lt. general asked for his rifle; the youngmen said that he may come with his hands up and take the rifle. The terrorist said that the rifle may be sent through the mother of the house, to which the youngmen retorted "you go and send your mother, she will take away the rifle and will also be able to see the deeds of her son. Ultimately, the terrorists had to come with his hands up and took away his rifle. The whole drama was seen by the people of the village standing on their roofs.

Bhatinda Jan. 92 : Two terrorists came at noon to a telephone employee's house. Only children were there, so they were able to loot some cash as well as some ornaments by frightening the children. While leaving the house they told the children that the family should keep Rs. 50,000 ready within a week and if they did not do so or informed the police, the entire family will be killed. The leaders of the democratic mass organisation of the telephone employees, despite the employee being associated with a rival union, assured him all sort of help, and instead of going to the police made arrangements for the security of the house. After ten days the two terrorists came again, while one stood at the gate, the other jumped in from above the gate and started threatening the lady of the house who is also a telephone employee, by brandshing his pistol at her. The lady got enraged and pounced upon the terrorists, she by gripping his hand holding the pistol with her one hand catching him by the collars with another hand started dragging him towards a room. The other terroristes seeing the plight of his companion ran away while the family beat the culprit severely and handed him over to the police. In the process of the

struggle the pistol of the terrorists had went off slightly injuring one volunteer, who had come for the security of the house. An interesting feature is that the police took the credit for the arrest of the culprit, and it is doubted that after a few days killed him in a false encounter.

B-SOME INSTANCES WHEREIN TERRORISTS OR MARAUDERS WERE ENCIRCLED, BEATEN OR KILLED BY THE PEOPLE COLLECTIVELY.

- * **Jalajan (Ludhiana) : May 89** : Two Khalistanis came to a peasant Jeeta's house and asked for Rs. 5, 500. They handed over a chit to the ladies giving an address for handing over the money before 20th of May. Front workers, on knowing this, became active and got prepared to arrest them if they happened to come again. On 24th of May the Khalistanis again came at about 9 A.M., A message was sent to all people and they started gathering armed with whatever they could get hold of. 150 people gathered and captured the Khalistanis, they were beaten up and later handed over to the BSF.
- * **Pirkot (Bathinda) Jan 90** : 3 terrorists came to loot the cooperative society of the village. The people of the village chased them up to several miles and ultimately two of them were killed and one was caught alive.
- * **Sikhanwala (Faridkot) Jan 90** : 4 terrorists mounted the roof of the house in this village and when one of them jumped into the house, the women of the house raised hue and cry. The three who were still on the roof, ran away, and the one who had jumped in tried to run by crossing a wall, while firing to frighten away the people but he did not succeed and was encircled by the people. Then he ran for some shelter but could not find any. Ultimately he jumped into a pond to save himself but was encircled, captured and killed by the people.

- * **Salina (Faridkot) Feb 90** : The terrorists were on a killing spree in the area, One night they killed two workers of wine shop at Salina village and then went to Khosa Pando village, where some youngmen were guarding the village. When the terrorists asked for food, the youngmen took them to one of the houses on the outskirts of the village, and started collecting people for capturing them. The people of village gathered and advanced towards the terrorist shouting and firing. Sensing the trouble, the terrorists opened fire, killed two men from that house and escaped making heavy firing and throwing grenades. Later, the front issued a leaflet, educating and preparing the people to be better prepared in future.
- * **Moga (Faridkot) Feb. 90** : On Feb. 14, two terrorists came for collecting ransom from a commission agent (Rs. 2 Lacs.) The commission agent made them sit in the upper storey of his shop and informed the police. Next day two men came to get them released from the police, one of them was recognised by the commission agent as being the one who had come some days ago with a threat for the ransom. So the commission agent wanted that he should also be arrested, the other told himself to be a leader of Maan Dal, any how both were detained, Later the commission agents came to know that the two terrorists were being released for Rs. 50,000 as bribery. So, they sat in a sit-in before the courts, the front knew about it and told other mass organisations as well. As a result there were almost 300/350 people in the sit-in. A city action committee was formed, Moga bandh was held on 16th of Feb. A mass deputation in hundreds of the commission agents supported by other organisations went to the governor who was to come to a nearby town. So the struggle continued for quite long; in the form of rallies, demonstrations, and Bandhs.
- * **Bhangali Khurd (Ferozepore) April 90** : Five terrorists armed with AK-47s and hand-grenades, came to this village for snatching arms from the arms-holders but could not face the

furious resistance by the people and had to run leaving their shoes and car behind.

- * **Surkhpur (Kapurthala) May 90** : Three terrorists came to the village for snatching Dr. Harjinder's scooter, but were encircled by the people, Firing from the terrorists failed in frightening the people and saving them from the wrath of the people, Though one of them could manage to escape, the other two were beaten to death by the enraged people. Later the police took away the corpses and showed them as killed in a police encounter.
- * **Rajeana (Faridkot) June 90** : Two terrorist coming back after killing the Mahant (priest) of the Dera, were encircled by the people of the village, and beaten to death with simple lathies, though the terrorists were armed with fire arms.
- * **Dhirkot (Amritsar) June 90** : One Balwinder Singh who had come for collecting ransom was encircled by the people and beaten to death.
- * **Bathinda, June 90** : Terrorists came to a dairy owner for taking Rs. one lac as ransom, but could take only 6000 on that day and ordered him to keep the cash ready in a few days. On the fixed day the dairy owner gathered his supporters and got prepared for resisting them. Four terrorists came in a car but sensing the situation, did not stop there. The vigilant dairy owner and his supporters succeeded in capturing them with the help of the police from a nearby hotel.
- * **Lohar Ke (Amritsar) June 90** : A terrorist armed with a pistol and dozens of cartridges, was moving in the area threatening people. On June 27, the people of the village of Lohar Ke took courage and captured him. Though two of his companions could succeed in escaping, the caught terrorist was beaten to death by the people.
- * **Sarabha Nagar, (Ludhiana) Aug. 90** : A terrorist who came for collecting ransom, was beaten by the people of this locality of Ludhiana City.

- * **Pheruman (Amritsar) July 90** : Some terrorists came to Mohinder Singh's house at mid-night. No male member was at home, so they ordered the ladies, at Pistol Point, to hand over the ornaments, But showing great courage Joginder Kaur wife of Mohinder Singh pounced upon one of the terrorists, and caught hold of him, while her daughters raised alarm calling for the people from neighbourhood, Neighbouring women assembled and started beating the caught terrorist with bricks and killed him while others had run away.
- * **Kheri Naudh Singh (Amritsar) June 90** : Two Khalistanies came to kill migrated labourers at village Kheri, but the labourers resisted them and killed both of them.
- * **Lehra Dhurkot (Bathinda) Dec. 90** : Khalistani terrorists came to kill Front worker Bhagwant Singh, who was not at home, so they abducted his uncle and tortured him. The Front arranged for the security of the worker and his family. One day the Khalistanies again came, but sensing the arrangements of the Front, could not dare go to the house and went back, after abusing some people sitting at a common place near Bhagwant Singh's house, Later the village people took the responsibility for the security of the family so the Front volunteers were withdrawn.
- * **Mahuana (Ferozepur) Jan 91** : Two armed men came to Inder Singh's house here and asked for the torch and some cash. A few days earlier, some men had similarly taken money from them. So, the family this time was alert. The wife said, "we do not have a torch so I am going to the Sarpanch's house and borrow it from them." But actually she went there to inform sarpanch and other people. The terrorists got apprehensive and thought it better to leave the place. Meanwhile 400 people of the village had gathered and chased the terrorists. One terrorist and a woman accomplice were caught by the people and beaten while the other one escaped due to darkness.

- * **Gobindgarh (Patiala) March 91** : 3 terrorists with AK-47s came to a factory in this steel city of Punjab. They were aiming at the owners and asking for a huge sum. When the workers came out finishing their day's work, they saw the terrorists; and pounced upon them en masse. Two of the terrorists were beaten to death while the third ran away in an injured condition.
- * **Gill Chowk (Ludhiana) March 91** : Three terrorists came to a shop in Gill Chowk on a motor cycle and asked for the cash. The shopkeeper gave them the cash, but when they were about to leave after firing to frighten the people, the shopkeeper all of a sudden grappled with one of them and captured him. Meanwhile the people started gathering and shopkeeper did not loosen the grip even at being injured in the head. So, the other two had to run, leaving the caught one behind, who was later beaten to death by the people.
- * **Jeond (Bathinda) March 91** : Two terrorists came to a peasant's house and asked for a huge sum. The peasant made them sit on some pretext and in the meanwhile, sent a message in the village. People of the village gathered immediately and seeing the people one terrorist fired at them but the peasant caught him from the back. Ultimately one terrorist was killed, while the other was caught alive by the people.
- * **Khokhar (Bathinda) March 91** : Terrorists came to kill Sarpanch Boggar Singh of the village, but he opened counter fire, while the village people gathered at the scene with their choppers and spears etc. So the terrorists had to run for saving their lives. After that the village people started village guard at night and the Front became active in the village.
- * **Rampura (Bathinda) March 91** : Two armed men snatched a cash bag from some shopkeeper with 18,000 rupees in the bag, but the people of the town gathered instantly and captured them, beat them up and handed them over to police. The town is a strong hold of the Front, so it abounds in such instances of instant collective actions by the people of the town.

- * **Kukranwala (Hoshiarpur) March 91** : There was a religious fair here; some folk singers sang some defamatory songs about the martyrs of the anti-terrorist movement and especially Com. Bhitewadh (CPIML). The village people were resentful. They gathered and decided to track down singers. When the singers found that the people of the area were searching for them and were in a very angry mood, they themselves contacted the village people, and agreed not only to ask for forgiveness from the village gathering but from the same platform and gathering where they had sang such defamatory songs.
- * **Doraha (Ludhiana) Aug. 91** : The terrorists had looted golden ornaments and cash and other valuable goods from several houses just in one night from the villages of Gurditpura and Chankoa. With this the people of those villages realised the importance of collective security and people of the three villages arranged for it. Night guard and vigil was started. One day they noticed the movement of four terrorists on two scooters. Announcement was made through the loudspeakers about remaining vigilant, the children and women of a village saw the terrorists coming to the village through side-ways, leaving aside the main road and raised alarm, People of the village encircled the terrorists, who first tried to escape by firing at them but seeing encircled from all sides, they left the scooter and ran away through the crops, though they could escape taking advantage of darkness, their scooters, letterpads (of BTF) turbans and other clothes were brought to the Gurdwara by the people. These were enough to prove that the escaped one were Khalistanis and marauders at the same time.
- * **Sarhind (Patiala) Aug. 91** : Three terrorists came to village Bhamarsi and tried to forcibly snatch Karam Singh's scooter, who raised an alarm. At this the people of the Village came for help. They captured one, while other two ran away, the caught one was beaten by the people and handed over to police. Later the SSP (Police Chief) of Patiala district told the press that,

within a short period of time, this was the 10th incident of people's resistance to Khalistani terrorism and 8 had already been killed.

* **Fata Kera (Faridkot) Dec 90** : Three terrorists came and snatched away the gun of an ex-militaryman. His gun was painted in such a way by him that everyone in the village knew about it. So the next day when the man with the same gun came to the village and asked a family to hand over all valuable goods to him, the family members recognised the gun and pounced upon the terrorist and raised a hue and cry. He ran away firing, people chased him and he continued firing upon the people. While retreating when he had fired 9 cartridges the ex-military man, the owner of the gun shouted that the culprit had exhausted all the 9 cartridges snatched yesterday. So go ahead and capture him. The people caught him, beat him and handed over to the police. His other accomplice was caught in the nearby village.

* **Punjab Mata Nagar (Ludhiana) Aug. 91** : A Child was abducted from this part of the city. The people of the locality got themselves prepared to capture the person who would come for ransom; and a few days later, they did it successfully. The people beat him up and interrogated him and were able to know from him the place (that happened to be a nearby farm-house in village dhadra) where the child was kept. Then they killed him and with the help of police raided the Farm-house, the abductor was arrested and the child recovered. Later the police killed the abductor by enacting a false encounter.

* **Jethuke (Bathinda) Oct. 91** : 6 armed men came to village Daraj (BTI) at night and asked the people, through the loud-speaker of the village Gurdwara, to put off their lights, proclaiming themselves to be "Singhs" (i.e. the militant sikhs). Then, they went to Mohinder Singh's house, abducted him; fired in the air to scare the people and later came to Jethuke, beat up some youngmen who were on village guard and kidnapped a person with his tractor. The enraged youngmen went to BKU leader

Jhanda Singh's house; told him about the incident. An announcement was made from the loudspeaker to chase the gang. About 40-50 youngmen gathered with spears, choppers and other arms in their hands. Within two hours this militant band under the leadership of the BKU leader and front supporter Jhanda Singh came back to the village with both the abducted persons freed and two of the abductors with their hands tied behind. Next day people from nearby villages gathered; the captured terrorists were handed over to the police in front of a gathering. Even then the police later killed them in false encounter. The press reporters of the area were given all the details of the incident in full public view, but they published only the police version of the incident. So, both police and the press stood fully exposed among the people of the area.

* **Chhajli (Sangrur) Jan 92** : Three terrorists abducted Sant Singh, president of Democratic Naujwan Sabha and took him to a drain nearby and started beating him, compelling him to give up his communist views and become baptized sikh as well as to hand over his arms to them. The villagers were hesitating to chase the abductors, but the women of the village took courage and within minutes, 60 of them armed with lathies went to the spot where the abductors were beating Sant Singh. Seeing the wrath of the women the abductors fled away leaving behind the abducted. Earlier too, (in 1980 at the time of bus fare agitation) the women of Chhajli had not only faced the police repression amidst heavy firing, only with brick-bats, but were also able to make the police run away.

C. SOME INSTANCES OF MORE CONSCIOUS AND ORGANISED RESISTANCE BY MASS ORGANISATIONS AND PLATFORMS

(i) FRONT AGAINST COMMUNALISM AND REPRESSION, PUNJAB

Organised in August, 1986 by the secular, democratic and revolutionary forces of Punjab to oppose and resist on a mass scale

scale, the menace of communalism, repression and various hues of terrorism the front did a signal service to the cause of promoting communal amity and building up of mass militant resistance to terrorism, of various hues. Exposing the nefarious power struggle among the reactionary congress rulers and various Akali Dals and Khalistani factions, the chief culprits of the Punjab problem, and various other reactionary parties, communalists of various hues and other trouble-shooters, it exhorted the people to oppose communal and divisive politics and resist all repression and terrorist activities relying on their own strength and from a secular and democratic stand-point. The "Front" not only itself organised many educative and mobilisation campaigns and put up resistance in concrete cases of terrorism and other anti-people acts, but also inspired many other sections of the people to dare oppose and resist the terrorists of both the varieties and others fomenting trouble. A very brief account of its activities is being given below :

Moga (July 88) : The "Front" after its formation in August 1986, kept on educating and encouraging the people of Punjab through its various propaganda and mobilisation campaigns and activities, to come forward and resist the terrorists of various hues. Its sway and strength was reflected quite obviously and convincingly, through the July 10, 87 demonstration at Moga. This state-level demonstration was organised when the Khalistani-terrorists were at their peak (under the Branala government) and did not allow even the democratic cultural activities to be held without being prepared to have a clash with them, and on the other hand when the security forces were disallowing any assembly of the people, under the pretext of curbing terrorist activities. And particularly, in the area where this demonstration was held, the Khalistani-terrorists had not only killed a prominent Front worker at Moga, but had also liquidated the entire family of a local CPI worker. So, a great deal of terror prevailed in the area. But despite all these odds about 10,000 people from the state assembled in a militant rally at Moga, where front's understanding and perspective regarding the fight against Khalistani and state terrorism was placed before the people. Later a vigorous and militant demonstration was held in the city. In respect of projecting the basically correct

revolutionary perspective of the resistance against terrorism of both hues; in respect of reflecting the militant mood and fighting spirit of the people in Punjab against both Khalistani and state terrorism, and in respect of raising positive hopes among the people of Punjab and lending vigour and enthusiasm to the fighting forces, the demonstration was a great success.

- * **Lehra Gagaa (Sangrur) Oct. 88 :** The Khalistani terrorists issued a threat to a local Front leader Balbir Singh, because he had opposed the local Khalistani activists from harrasing a wine shop worker. The front started the campaign in the form of rallies and flag marches for mobilising the people against Khalistanis and their threat. The Local Khalistani Sikh Students Fedreation Workers begged pardon, sensing the mood and tempo of opposition to them.
- * **Moga (Faridkot) June 89 :** Khalistanies attacked the RSS shakha at Moga on June 25, killing 27 and injuring 30 people. Front gave a Bandh call in Moga on 26th, as well as in the nearby towns like Baghapurana, Nihal Singh Wala and Badhni, all fully successful. Some of the Hindu communal organisations tried to use the situation for their communal ends. Taking serious notice of it, the front issued a leaflet alerting the people against such attempts. A campaign, in the form of leaflets, posters, mass-meetings and mass-rallies in the nearby villages and different colonies of the town was launched for the sake of exposing the nefarious game of different ruling class forces and for mobilising the people to come forward to defend themselves through collective and organised efforts. The campaign culminated in a shok-smagam (morning assembly) on July 3, in the form of a public rally.
- * **Moga, July 89:** On July 18, a state-level demonstration was organised at Moga, by the CPI (ML) in memory of Lalinder Lali, a Local Front worker, Prithipal Randhawa and Avtar Dhudike (a revolutionary activist). This demonstration,

among other things, had a very good impact on the people of Moga, in a situation that existed after the Moga massacre.

- * **Khanna (Ludhiana) :Sept. 89** : A fortnight campaign for educating and mobilising the people against state-terrorism and Khalistani- terrorism was undertaken by Front of the area that culminated in a public rally and demonstration at Khanna.
- * **Saido (Faridkot) Dec. 89** : Khalistani-terrorists came to the village and snatched rifles from some men (licenced guns), beat up and insulted several men and women and killed two men of the village. Three among the terrorists were doubted to be from the village itself, because they were with covered faces and were instrumental in identifying the houses of the licence-holders. The suspected men from the village were left by the police without any investigation. This created a sense of resentment among the village people. The front became active and took up a campaign in the village and the area for making them realise the need for getting organised for their own self-defence. It proved quite purposeful, in respect of the positive response from the people.
- * **Malout (Faridkot) :April 90** : During this period, the area committee Malout of the Front did quite a purposeful activity, in various ways, One day a gang of robbers robbed a goldsmith of one kilogram gold and some cash. People of the area woke up and in time informed the police but police did not come in time though the robbers remained engaged in their misdeeds for about one and a half hour. Next day 250 people formed a city defence committee, including two members of the Front. The Committee gave a call for the bandh in the city and after the successful bandh and a sit-in demonstration, the committee went to the CRP commander for complaining about the poor performance of the CRP. He assured them of better performance and help in getting

the arms licences to the persons recommended by the committee.

- But the Front leaders in the committee campaigned among the people for making realise the importance of self defence, and of not pinning their hopes on the state machinery, as a result, defence committees were formed in half a dozen localities of this small town and night guards were organised by the people.

- 35 people were killed by Khalistani-terrorists in the nearby town Abohar. The Malout Front committee organised a bandh in the city and organised rallies at many places in the city.

Aulakh : One day in the nearby village Aulakh, some marauders at night came to the village and looted a peasant of 60 grams of gold, 8,000 rupees and 1,000 rupees from another peasant, besides 2000 rupees and ear rings from a labourer house; one day, people of the village (300 in number) encircled a marauder, but let him go, because they were not mentally prepared to face the consequences. Front Workers organised the meeting of the people in the village and ultimately succeeded in making them mentally prepared by clarifying and resolving all the questions and doubts in their minds. In the meanwhile one of the marauder was identified, so a huge group of village people went to the marauder's village, 60 gms. of gold and other looted property was recovered. The marauder was brought to Aulakh, beaten severely by the village people and ultimately handed over to the police. The police arrested the other two marauders.

- On May 28 Khalistani terrorists murdered 13 migrant labourers in some other village of the district, as a result 9-10 migrant labourers also decided to go back and packed their luggage. When the front came to know about it, they went to the labourers and successfully convinced them as to why they should stay in Malout and fight against terrorism as a part of the people here.

- * **Bagli Kalan (Ludhiana) May 90** : Master Kulwant Singh is a district level leader of a wing of the teachers (Democratic Teachers Union), a leader of the Front in Machhiwara area, and a district-level leader of the Association for Democratic Rights, Punjab. And because of all these reasons, he is on

the hit-list of the Khalistanis. One day, on 14th of May, 90 two Khalistani terrorists came to kill him; no sooner did they fired at him they found Kulwant grappling with them and even though injured, Kulwant had one of the attacker beneath his knees. The teachers of the school ran for shelter and shut themselves into a room, so Kulwant was left alone, unarmed and injured as he was but even then, the baffled attackers ran out of the school as if they were freed out of the jaws of death. It is not only that the terrorists could not kill Kulwant because of his brave resistance, rather it boosted the anti-terrorist movement in the area. In the evening, there was a militant demonstration in his village in Ludhiana district. Teachers of the area went on strike just on receiving the news, different teachers organisations formed an action committee and gave a call for pendown strike on May 15, many other mass-organisations of the area came forward in support. There was a public rally (comprising 300 people, all enraged); and a militant demonstration at Samrala (the nearby town) on my 28th organised by many mass organisations including the Front, the Moulder and steel workers union and others.

- * **Rampura (Bathinda) June 90** : The Khalistanies and some of the Akali factions had been imposing forced bandhs on the people, under the threat of killing those who would not observe. Actually they killed some persons on this pretext. The local unit of the front decided to oppose this highhanded attitude. On June 7, there was a bandh call by terrorists. The Front issued leaflets exposing the high handed attitude and actually came forward to resist any attempt at forcing anybody for observing a bandh. 50-60 workers of the Front armed with lathies visited the bazaars. The local police opposed them for doing so, saying "You are functioning like a parallel govt." When the Front Workers said why don't you stop Khalistanies from functioning as a parallel govt, the police men manhandled some workers. The Front organised a rally against this high handedness (250 people participated). The whole city observed 2 hour bandh on the call by the Front on the same issue and a rally was also

organised on the bandh day (450 participation). So it happened to be an action against both types of terrorism starting from the one end ending with the other. A similar action was organised against forced bandh in Jaito (Faridkot) on June 7th.

- * **Rampura Phul (May 1990)** : A gang of Khalistani terrorists abducted an industrialist Nohar Chand of Rampura Phul and demanded a ransom of Rs. 5 Lakh for his release. The Local Front men contacted the victim family and tried to impress upon them not to pay ransom but help in catching the terrorists. The "front" people offered to lead and assist in every way. Worried for the safe release of their brothers, the other brothers declined the front advice and offer and arranged to pay the ransom money. But when they went to pay ransom money, they, too, were detained and later on all the three brothers were found killed. A Wave of anger and gloom overtook the town. The "front" people led the angry people. A complete bandh, was observed on the front's call against this gruesome incident. More than five hundred enraged youth blocked rail and road traffic. The town remained completely closed for four days and mass militant actions like rail and road blockade, demonstration and sit-ins in front of the police station, with the massive participation of the people, continued. The people attentively listened to the front leaders and were all praise for the role played by them. The front leaders, after an enquiry, revealed the names of the culprits belonging to nearby villages. The people were so enraged that they wanted to attack their families and properties. The front people handled the grave situation most skillfully and prevailed upon them not to do it as it would lead to town vs. village communal and diversionary confrontation.
- * **Samrala (1987)** : In the wake of "social-reform movement" of the Khalistani terrorists, barbars and meat sellers of Samrala and Khanna towns were threatened by terrorists

to wind up their shops. Some Shops were burnt in Samrala. The "front" mobilised the barbers and meat & cigarette sellers and organised a militant demonstration. A collective decision was taken to defy the threats and resistance measure to foil the Khalistani attack were taken.

(ii) TECHNICAL SERVICES UNION

The TSU, a militant mass organisation of electricity workers, played a distinctive role and exhibited a higher level of consciousness and organisation, in opposing and resisting the menace of Khalistani terrorism. Taking the fight against terrorism as an important special task, it linked this task with its overall struggle. Not only it reacted very sharply and in a mass militant way when the terrorists struck at electricity workers but also against terrorists strikes against other sections of the people. Apart from continuous and consistent propaganda against the monster of Khalistani terrorism, it organised innumerable militant actions against the terrorists including at least five tool-down and general state-level strikes. Just a glimpse of their anti-terrorist activities is given here.

* **Samrala (Ludhiana) May 90** : Two electricity workers were issued threatening letters by the Khalistanies, warning them for speaking against them. Instead of being-terrorised the TSU division committee organised a militant demonstration, which was opposed by a small section of Paigampanthies (section of revolutionary renegades turned pro-Khalistani) on the shameful plea that the Khalistanies are fighting against the state.

* **Pato Hira Singh (Faridkot)** : Tilak Raj an electricity employee was killed by Khalistanies, Sub-division Pato went on strike immediately; followed by the whole of Baghapuran a division. Next day Moga and Baghapurana divisions observed strike and 500 workers reached at the cremation, while others organised militant demonstration at Moga (700 participation). Again on the next day (March 1) the entire technical and official staff of the circle Faridkot observed pendown/tool down strike for two days while there was a militant demonstration at Moga and a rally at Faridkot.

* **State-level threat** : The Khalistanies had issued a state level threat to the entire TSU leaders to resign and come to Akal Takhat (the religious shrine of the Sikhs) for forgiveness. The TSU organised protest rallies at the state-level against this threat. It occurred in April '90'.

* **Bagha Purana (Faridkot) April 90** : The porters union here expelled two of its members for irregularities in funds; some of their followers also resigned. The expelled ones instead of rectifying their behaviour went to Budh Singh wala (chief of Khaistan liberation Force)'s brother, who accompanied by two vans of men and armed with revolvers, came thrice to threaten the union leaders, but in vain the union remained firm against threats for taking the expelled porters back. Other democratic unions of the town also supported the union against this highhandedness.

(iii) OTHER ORGANISATION AND PLATFORMS

Countless other organisations and platforms contributed their worth, to a varying extent, in opposing and resisting the monster of terrorism.

"Inkalabi Ektā Kendar", a democratic revolutionary platform, during its brief span of existence the revolutionary did a good job in mobilising public opinion against the terrorists nefarious activities. Apart from several conferences rallies and seminars and other activities, it took out a man march from Khatkar Kalan (Martyr Bhagat Singh's birth place) to Hussainiwala the cremation place of above revolutionary and his companions) spanning a large distance in many terrorist-affected areas.

Association for Democratic Rights, Punjab issued various booklets and pamphlets exposing and opposing the terrorists.

"Punjab Lok Sabhiachark Manch," a cultural and theatre platform, staged innumerable plays throughout Punjab to oppose communalism and terrorism. Many poets, writers, artists associated with it, and even outside it, played a positive role in building public opinion against the terrorists of both varieties.

Many other progressive organisations of the teachers, bank employees, industrial workers, railway men, FCI workers, etc.

opposed the terrorists and organised mass actions against the concrete cases of terrorist brutalities. but not the least, the democratic revolutionary papers like Surkh Rekha, Inkalabi Jantak Leeh, Hirawal Dasta, Parcham, Disha and Lal Tara and many other secular and democratic publications made a significant contribution to promote resistance. The democratic revolutionary papers listed above not only consistently and unflinchingly opposed and exposed the nefarious designs and various moves of the terrorists forces but also put up a glorious defiance to the so-called code of conduct" issued by the terrorists for imposition on the print and electronic media. The various organs and organisations of CPI and CPM also opposed and resisted the monster of terrorism though at times they colluded with the state.

* **Punjab Agriculture University (Ludhiana) Dec 88:** The Khalistani gangs in the PAU lobbed a bomb there, one person was injured. Punjab Student union issued a poster opposing the dastardly act of the Khalistanies. The Local activists of Federation (Sikh Stud.) felt offended at this and they tore away all posters of the PSU. Enraged at this, the PSU prepared a very big poster, and pasted it at such a place, where everybody in the university may have the occasion to read it, and they themselves stood there to protect it. Sensing the mood and preparation of the PSU workers, the Fed. activists dare not come to tear it. Some days later one more poster was issued by the PSU which was pasted all over the university, but this time none of the poster was torn.

* **PAU (Ludhiana) Aug. '89':** A professor of veterinary college of this university was beaten by some 'Sikh Students' Federation gangs, on the pretext that he did not mark them present on strike days. PSU gave a call for strike on July 3, that was a complete success. Desperate Federation goondas came armed with swords/rods and lathies, with the intention of forcibly breaking the strike and tearing the PSU posters, but had to retreat helplessly, because the PSU

worker, who knew their character, were already fully prepared. Inspired by the success of this mass action of the students, veterinary students also gave a call for strike demanding action against Federation goondas, for their act of goondagardi earlier. Immediately after, the teachers association of the teachers also gave a call for indefinite boycott of classes. The Employees of the University also came forward in support. So atleast for once, the driving of goondas away terror of the Khalistanies in the university was smashed.

* **Ludhiana Aug. 91 :** Two Officers of Banks -- assistant general manager of Punjab National Bank, and regional manager respectively were killed by the terrorists in Ludhiana on 4th of August, 91. The Bank employees throughout the state closed the clearing house for two days. All of the Industrial area banks observed a strike, the employees in the rest of the city protested wearing black badges; PNB Ludhiana region observed strike for two days; rallies demonstration were held by the banking employees in Jullundur, Bathinda, Patiala. In Chandigarh the employees held rally apart from closing the clear house for the day.

(IV) THE BEFITTING REPLIES

* **Jaito:** The Khalistani murderers by assassinating 18 activists of the "Front against Repression and Communalism" along with the most-revered Front leaders like Megh Raj Bhagtuana and Jagpal at Sewawala village and issuing a stern warning to repeat many more "Sewewalas" if anybody dared oppose. The Khalistani killer gangs, must have nurtured the illusion of silencing the front workers once for all. But they had to taste a very ignominious political defeat. The very next day, after the Sewewala massacre thousands of people assembled at Bhagtuana, Dhilwan Kalan, Selbrah, Rampura etc. villages and raising angry slogans against the Khalistani terrorists bade a befitting farewell to their beloved

martyrs. Almost a week later, homage paying conferences were arranged at almost all these villages where people in hundreds and thousands participated, Huge meetings and processions were organised at several places throughout the state to condemn this cowardly Khalistani attack and as a show of defiance to the Khalistani terrorists.

At the Culmination of a state-wide propaganda and mobilisation campaign jointly organised by different democratic revolutionary organisations against the twin menace of terrorism, a state-level homage paying conference in memory of Sewewala martyrs was organised at Jaito town (near Sewewala village) five weeks after the Sewewala massacre. This gathering of more than seven thousand people, armed with rifles, spears and other available traditional weapons was an open defiance of and a challenge to the Khalistani killers. They dared not confront the fearless participants.

In the first quarter of 1992, the Khalistani terrorists in superbly executed bomb-explosions and ambushes, killed many a policemen including some senior police officials, thereby striking deep fear even in heavily armed and well escorted civil and security personnel and forced them to restrict their movement by road. In such a panic stricken atmosphere the first anniversary of Sewewala martyrs was organised. The revolutionary forces, relying on their own sources, made elaborate security arrangements, Necessary precautionary and retaliatory arrangements were made to foil the terrorists suspected moves and machinations, Nearly four Thousand people participated, in this challenging and terror-ridden atmosphere, in this conference.

By undertaking huge mobilisation campaigns and organising numerous gatherings and procession in such a trying circumstances, the rev. democratic forces of Punjab vividly showed that they are not ones who could be tamed so easily. None, not even the awe-inspiring and heavily-armed Khalistani terrorists, can succeed in terrorising the revolutionary people of Punjab.

* **Charhi:** On 17 February, 1991, a gang of Khalistani terrorists ambushed a procession being taken out by democratic revolutionary forces of the area to celebrate the martyrdom day of naxalite martyr Raunak Singh charhi at his native village. A boy

and a recently married girl was killed by the bullets. Sprayed through AK-47 by the terrorists. The volunteers immediately retaliated firing on them but taking advantage of the cover, the Khalistani assassins immediately took to their heels.

Braving the threats of terrorists, a well attended function was organised to pay homage to the martyrs and to give vent to the wrath and hatred of the participants directed at the Khalistani communal fascist gangs.

The Khalistani gangs in a yet another dastardly and revengeful act surreptitiously tore down the red flag from the memorial of com. Raunak Singh. The revolutionary forces challenged them dare do it overtly. The martyrdom conference was again organised this year and the red flag was again put fluttering.

* **Taiwandi Salem:** After murdering the renowned revolutionary Punjabi poet Pash and his companion Hans Raj on March 23, 1988, the terrorist outfit-Khalistani commando Force issued a warning that who so ever dared till the land of Pash's family, shall be eliminated. The revolutionary forces of the area took up this challenge. On September 3, 1988, a multi-hundreds strong contingent of the supporters and sympathisers of democratic revolutionary movement, equipped with tractors and tillers, took up the tilling operation, The contingent remained in the fields throughout the day. None dared stop them. The birth and death anniversaries of Pash continue to be celebrated each year on a mass scale but the terrorists neither dare disrupt them nor they could stop the tilling of the land.

* **Shaheedi Conferences:** The Khalistani fascists struck against the communist revolutionary and other democratic revolutionary leaders and cadres at different occasions. The prominent among them, who fell martyrs to the glorious cause of defending the peoples lives, liberties, honour and self-respect, include CPI(M.L.) (Rama Chandran) state leaders like Baldev Maan, Jaimal Padda, Sarabjit Bhattewadh etc. prominent revolutionary poet Pash. Kisan leader and a revolutionary com. Nidhan Singh Ghudani Kalan and many others. The motive of Khalistani terrorists behind each of these killings was to silence all opposition to their heinous misdeeds and strike deep terror in the minds of the people to desist them from the path of opposing

the Khalistani terrorists revolutionary forces and they became evermore in achieving this goal.

After each such killings, the revolutionary ranks gave befitting replies to terrorists by organising massive shaheedi conferences attended at each place by several thousands of people. Each such gruesome murder further steeled the revolutionary forces and they became evermore determined to oppose and resist Khalistani barbarism. The conferences acted as open defiance of Khalistani dictates and derided their threats.

D. Some instances of families resisting with arms

* Comrade Balwinder Singh is a resident of Bhikhiwind a small town known, just 2 1/2 kms. away from Indo-Pak border in Amritsar Distt.

On 31st January 1991, Balwinder was attacked by Khalistanis, to force him to leave his native home and hearth. But he refused to yield and instead decided to fight. On 3rd February, that year, his house was again attacked by a large number of terrorists belonging to KCF (Panjwar) They came in a truck & opened indiscriminate firing. Balwinder's family retaliated. Ultimately the terrorists ran away, threatening to strike again. Balwinder's house was attacked eleven times upto September 91. The twelfth attack which occurred on Sept. 20, 1991 was most severe. The terrorists used rocket launchers, hand grenades, assault rifles, LMG etc and nearly 30-40 thousands rounds were fired. The house was attacked from all sides. But comrade Balwinder & his family fought valiantly. Finally the Khalistanis were forced to retreat.

In this fight against Khalistani terrorists Balwinder is not alone. His wife, children, family members, friends, comrades & co-villagers are with him. They have helped him morally as well as materially. Balwinder's wife says gleefully "The Khalistani terrorists are cowards if some body dares to challenge them, they run away."

* Manjit Kaur is a teacher of village Kot in Amritsar Distt. Her husband Gurdial Singh is also a teacher. One night in April 1991, 3 terrorists entered her house by scaling the walls. One of them demanded money from Gurdial Singh on gun point. While Gurdial went inside the house to bring money Manjit Kaur was attacked by a terrorist with a Chopper. Although her arm was severely injured. She was quick to retaliate. She snatched the chopper and hit him with full force. He ran away profusely bleeding. In the meantime Gurdial also caught hold of one terrorist. Enraged as Manjit was, she pierced him with the chopper. In the meantime, many villagers, armed with traditional weapons came to Manjit's house & fully backed her up. They decided to hand over the injured terrorist to the police. The terrorists regrouped & came again to release their injured companion from the villagers. But the people were fully prepared to face them. All five of them were nabbed & given severe thrashing before being handed over to the police. However within 3 months all of these were released on bail by the court.

* The family of 65 years old comrade Bhagwan Singh, a poor peasant owning just 5 acres of land in village Umarpura of Ludhiana Distt. has been attacked thrice between Feb. and August, 1991, just because theirs is a communist family-opposing the fascist dictates of Khalistanis. On February 18, 1991 a gang of 30-35 terrorists attacked com. Bhagwan Singh house in the night. They forced, on gun point, the migrant labourer working with this family to get the door opened. Put though of old age, com. Bhagwan Singh was very alert. He pulled in the migrant labourer but immediately closed the door. He took up his 12-bore gun and started firing indiscriminately. An H.E-36 hand grenade was also thrown but it did not explode. The attack continued for about 1 1/2 hour. The old man single handedly engaged them and ultimately forced them to run away. Next morning 400 empties of Ak-47 rifles were collected from the courtyard of the house. In the second attack which took place on August 21, 1991 the Khalistanis fleeing after the attack were hotly chased by the family members & their companions in a jeep. Even buses were searched by them. But the terrorists had

escaped. When the other family members were chasing the terrorists, the old man (Com Ehagwan Singh) & his grand daughter were guarding the house from the especially constructed bunkers on the roof. The whole family including women folk have learned to handle all available weapons and takes turn on guard duty. They are being assured & helped by their friends & comrades. They have sold half acre of their land to construct cemented bunkers and to purchase a jeep. They cannot undertake agriculture operations properly as last year the harvest combine operator refused to harvest their paddy because of the terrorist's threats. This year their standing wheat crop was completely damaged with tractors and tillers by the terrorists. But still this valiant family's resolve to fight against Khalistani fascist gangs is unshaken.

* Born in a dalit agricultural labour family com Narang Singh of village chhappar in Sangrur district is waging a determined struggle against the Khalistani terrorists. The terrorists attacked his small house three times, but they had to run away every time. On the first occasion they managed to enter the house through deception, but seeing the terrorists enter, the son of Com. Narang Singh grappled with a terrorist and threw away his assault rifle with a kick with his foot. The barrel of the gun of another terrorist was diverted away by kicking it. Immediately, Comrade Narang opened fire from his rifle. The terrorists somehow managed to escape. He was again attacked two times but the terrorists could not stand upto him. Com Narang and family are determined to carry on this resistance against the Khalistani terrorists even at the risk of their lives.

* Pritam Singh is a communist activist of village Niamat pura in Sangrur Distt. His wife Gurbachan Kaur was also a communist & Distt. committee member of Istri Sat ha & Khet Mazdoor union, He has been twice elected as Sarpanch of the village Panchayat unanimously. On January 4, 1991 when Com. Pritam Singh & his family was just preparing to sleep a gang of 10-15 terrorists attacked their house. They were armed with AK-47 & 315 bore rifles. They started firing indiscriminately. Pritam had a 12-bore gun with 25 cartridges. While Pritam was taking aims & firing at the terrorists, Gurbachan Kaur was helping him in reloading the

gun. The terrorists switched off the lights of the house. In the darkness Pritam & Gurbachan were separated & some bullets pierced through the heart of Gurbachan Kaur. Thus she was martyred. After a fierce encounter when com. Pritam successfully repulsed the Khalistani attack and he called her to tell the good news, she had already breathed her last.

After this 3 more attempts were made by the terrorists to liquidate this family, but every time they got hot reception & had to flee. The only source of com. Pritam Singh's income was a shop which is now closed. His Co-villagers provided food grains to his family & fodder for his cattle. His daughter Balwinder takes charge of the security of the house in his absence. His grand children too are eagerly learning to handle the fire arms.

* 7-8 brick-kiln workers of Ghanaur Kalan village in Sangrur Distt. are fighting valiantly against Khalistani terrorist of 'Azad Babbar Khalsa' gang. Their school going children say, "we will also take up the guns. If there are no guns we will fight with lathis. If there are no lathis, we will arm our selves with brick-bats. And even if there are no brick-bats we will bite the enemy with our teeth. Their women folk guard their lives & honour with guns in their hands.

On March 10, this year 4-5 terrorists attacked their houses. They retaliated. After about 1 1/2 hours gun-battle the terrorists got away. There after on the All Fools Day (April 1) the terrorists launched their attack with full preparations. They came on vehicles armed with Assault Rifles & SLRs. A fierce encounter ensued lasting for 2 hours. The third attack came on 5th April. The terrorists encircled their houses from all sides. They were being led personally by a notorious terrorist Sukhwinder Singh Bholā, who claims himself to be an Area commander of Babbar Khalsa. The terrorists had to beat a retreat after a 2 1/2 hour long encounter.

A significant aspect of the situation in these families is the militant mood of their women. They are trained to handle the fire arms and frequently take turns on guard duty. One of the women says, pointing towards her husband, "I have asked him to bring a gun capable of firing many cartridges at a time for me. Then I will not allow any so called militant to escape unscathed."

* Alam pur is another village in Sangrur Distt where comrade Bhim Singh & his family are fighting the Khalistani fascist gangs. Armed volunteers guard their house day & night even in scorching heat. Although the Khalistani gangs have never dared to attack this house, but they have made some attempts on Com. Bhim Singh's life. The people of the area raised funds to help him purchase a jeep. Local unit of CPM, whose Tehsil Secretary he is, has also helped. Some youth from the village offered to become his armed body guards. Whenever any suspicious person comes to the village, information about him is immediately conveyed to Com. Bhim Singh's family. Even if the terrorists pass through the village, the people raise an alarm in a concerted manner.

Although, CPM leadership at the state & Central level does not favour it, but even then Com. Bhim Singh has organised village defence committees against the Khalistani terrorists. In this regard, he says, "It is not always necessary for the party to device the line, sometimes the people do so. We have developed this line (of forming village defence committees) out of our own necessity & have implemented it first in our Tehsil of Sangrur Distt."

When Khalistanis ordained the school children to wear a special type of dress, Com. Bhim Singh's daughters refused to oblige, his 6 year old son, primming with excitement says, "I will also fire from the gun. I will kill the dacoits & terrorists." His 3 daughters & wife are fully conversant with the available fire arms. They remain ever ready to hit back the terrorists, if attacked.

* Sawaran Singh, Sarpanch of village Ghora Nab of Sangrur Distt. is successfully repulsing the Khalistanis attacks on his house, along with his 6 brothers. His only fault is that when an absconding terrorist Sawan Singh of Babbar Khalsa threatened him to pay Rs. 6000/= or face liquidation, he grappled with him & thrashed him thoroughly, before handing over to the police. While being thrashed, the terrorist admitted many crimes of murder, extortion & looting. In retaliation to this, the terrorists killed his nephew on march 12, 1992. There after they attacked his house on may 6 & 26 this year. Every time the family

repulsed the attack with the help of their 6 guns, after fierce encounters lasting 1 1/2--2 hours.

Sawarn Singh was a member of CPI for about 10 years. But now he has left that party as he is dejected by its weak-kneed policy against Khalistani terrorists. He is particularly sore over the attitude of CPI's state Astd. Secy Joginder Bhasin, who outrightly rejected any retaliatory move against the terrorist attacks

Although, in the beginning, their co-villagers were afraid to side with them. But now the situation has changed.

E. SOME INSTANCES WHERE IN VILLAGERS HAVE ORGANISED RESISTANCE WITH ARMS

Bhagtuana and Bhoenpur villages are the two representative examples where under the inspiring impact of the "Front", resistance struggle against both types of terrorism was built up and raised to a higher level through conscious, and sustained efforts and struggle activity. The people of these two villages, under the leadership of democratic revolutionary forces, rather than bowing to the dictates of dark forces of terrorism, daringly chose to confront them thus exhibiting a sense of determination and self-confidence.

Bhagtuana : This small village in Jaito area of Faridkot district has a long fighting tradition ever since the days of pepsu tenant movement for land. The village since then has remained in the front ranks of almost all democratic revolutionary struggles waged in the area or over a broader scale. The people of this village, during these struggles, went through many trials and tribulations, suffered severe police repression but never gave in. Bhagtuana has the proud distinction of being one of those rare villages in Punjab where the Khalistani terrorists could dare commit neither any crime nor make or cultivate any links.

When terrorism and communal frenzy began to engulf Punjab in the beginning of 80's, the people of Bhagtuana, led by their leader Com. Megh Raj Bhagtuana, took to opposing and resisting it. A sikh communalist Nihang gang usurped a dera (a temple) on the outskirts of village Bhagtuana and attempted to convert it into a Gurudwara. The people resisted it. The attempt of the Nihang gang to enter the village and terrorise the people was repulsed. The women rained a volley of brick-bats, the men pounced upon with lathis and swords. The Nihang gang immediately fled

away. A militant demonstration was organised at Jaito by mobilising the people of the area. A Nihang intruding into the demonstration was severely beaten up. Finally, the people through their resistance were able to defeat the nefarious design of the Nihangs.

During the sway of social-reform movement of the Khalistani terrorists, the Khalistani camp organised a conference on the outskirts of the village under the pretext of observing Baisakhi festival. A gang of Sikh Student Federation activist entered the village and threatened the shopkeepers not to sell cigarettes and tobacco. The people, especially the women, resisted their bullying tactics. A confrontation ensued. The angry people, including women, pounced upon them and made them run away leaving their turbans and shoes behind.

Open threats were issued by the Khalistani terrorists to eliminate Megh Raj within a week. The people chose to resist and elaborate security and resisting arrangements were made. On the other hand, mobilisation of the people to resist terrorist bullying continued. A 2000 strong militant armed demonstration was organised at Jaito in reply to the threats of taking away the life of "Front" leader Megh Raj Bhagtuana. The terrorist never dared enter the village. The "Front" led by Megh Raj kept mobilising the people against fake encounters and police repression. Many front activists also suffered at the hands of the police.

A Khalistani gang operating in the area issued fresh threats to the life of Com. Megh Raj and smash the resistance of the front. A demonstration was immediately planned. The Khalistani terrorist put up threatening posters to eliminate him who so ever participated in the demonstration. Braving these threats, more than 600 people participated in the demonstration. Round-the-night vigil and fortifications resorted to by the armed volunteers to counter any Khalistani attack. These fortifications and night vigil continue. More than that a large number of people are determined to resist the Khalistani terrorist or marauders.

The Khalistani gang, operating in the area, killed the ex-sarpanch of a nearby village—a stronghold of the terrorists and ordered not to hold his bhog (final rites ceremony). The front workers of Bhagtuana, on learning it, determined to resist this bullying. An armed contingent of the front went to the bereaved family, consoled them and offered to protect them. Even an offer

was made to hold the final rites ceremony at Bhagtuana. The family got courageous and held the samagam. A large contingent from Bhagtuana participated in the Bhog Samagam.

Even after Com. Megh Raj Bhagtuana and other brave soldiers of the front sacrificed their lives fighting out the cowardly attack on a cultural programme of the front at Sewewala, the people of Bhagtuana did not give in. They gave befitting replies to the terrorists by organising many militant gatherings after the martyrdom of their revered leader and his companion. (see report elsewhere)

Many months after the martyrdom of front activists, a gang of terrorists tried to sneak in the village at night. The vigilant volunteers noticed them, challenged them and opened fire on them. They fled away taking advantage of the darkness. A large number of people, fearing a Khalistani attack, immediately came out equipped with whatever weapons they could lay hands on. The fields, were searched but the terrorists had fled away.

The glorious resistance being put up by the people of Bhagtuana in a most determined and persistent way is a living testimony to the fact that of the people's courage to rise and struggle, no tyrant, how so ever powerful, can make them bow down to his dictates.

Bhoenpur - The people of Bhoenpur, a village in machhiwara, area of Ludhiana district have been waging a determined struggle against the Khalistani terrorists since many years. Nothing could deter them from the glorious path of resistance to terrorism.

The Khalistani terrorist gangs gunned down com. Jasbir Singh, the sarpanch of village Bhoenpur and a devoted revolutionary, for his 'crime' of opposing the communalist and nefarious misdoings of the Khalistani terrorists and organising mass resistance. The Khalistani gangs threatened to teach them another lesson.

The people of Bhoenpur, under the leadership of the democratic revolutionary forces, persisted in their resistance struggle unflinchingly. To beat back any terrorist attack, they armed themselves with rifles and other available weapons, fortified the vantage points of defense and kept 24 hour vigil. Even when

the frontworkers and other revolutionary went to the fields for work, they remained prepared to beat back any Khalistani attack.

In March 1991, a gang of Khalistani terrorists again attacked the house of com. Jasbir to create terror among the forces continuing resistance struggle against the Khalistani terrorists. But their nefarious designs remained unfulfilled because of the resistance they had to face. The sister of com. Jasbir in no time climbed up on the roof and started showering brick bat from above. The people from inside fired on the terrorists. The terrorists fearing danger, immediately took to their heels firing heavily to scare away the people. Within minutes, the whole village was up in arms, equipped with rifles, swords, spears etc. and chased the terrorist for quite long. More attempts by terrorists were made but they were foiled. The terrorists never dared enter the village.

In April 1992, a Khalistani terrorist intruded in a house in village Bhoenpur and demanded a set of clothes for changing his dress. The alert owner got suspicious and he signalled his son to call the members of village volunteer force. The terrorist was overpowered. Then he was severely interrogated by the volunteers. He confessed all his crimes before the volunteers.

The terrorist's confession revealed that he was a member of the Khalistani Liberation Force, a deadly Khalistani terrorist organisation. He confessed having killed a girl working in a nearby cotton factory, a man and his dumb wife of neighbouring village Marhewal and the priest of a temple. He further disclosed that his gang was responsible for bomb blasts in Machhiwara and Samrala towns and they were planning a mass killing of the factory workers when the suspicion of police raid made him and his other companions to flee in panic and land in this village. He confessed a lot more.

Next morning, the terrorist was produced before a huge gathering of the village people as well as people of nearby villages. The terrorist confessed his crimes before the people and with folded hands begged pardon. The hands which never trembled while showering bullets on innocents, were trembling. The assembly found him guilty of serious crimes and awarded a

death sentence which was given there and then by shooting him down with a bullet.

The terrorists threatened to avenge this murder but this did not terrorise the people of the village. They are ever ready to confront the terrorists and teach them a lesson. This daring and determined action of the Bhoenpur people has enthused the people all around.

Manjh: The people of Manjh, a village of 60 families, and situated a few kilometers away from the Indo-Pak border in the bastion of Khalistani terrorists in Gurdaspur district, have refused to bow down before the terrorists and have taken to guns to defend the village from terrorist attacks.

The terrorist attacked the village at night at least on ten different occasions but every time the vigilant and armed villagers repulsed their attacks. The villagers are relying on their own defence and do not trust the mercenary police forces. Whenever many Hindu families from the area fled to the cities to evade death at the hands of Khalistani terrorists, the people of Manjh are determined not to migrate and they dared challenge the terrorists to live or die in the very village.

F. THE "BULLET FOR BULLET" RETALIATORY STRIKES

Some clandestine armed groups named after nationalist revolutionaries like "Shaheed Kartar Singh Sarabha Brigade", "Shaheed Bhagat Singh Brigade" and "Red Guards" etc. floated by various groups of CPI (M.L.) carried retaliatory armed strikes against the Khalistani terrorists and their supporters responsible for conspiring in the killings of democratic revolutionary leaders and cadres. Thus, they in their own way, resisted the onslaught of Khalistani terrorists.

In nearly a dozen such armed strikes, these armed groups eliminated nearly as much Khalistani terrorists or their supporters. "Red Guard" and "Shaheed Kartar Singh Sarabha Brigade" were the most active of these groups and are said to be operating jointly. They eliminated a Khalistani killer Ranjit Singh, said to be a participant in gruesome massacre of rail passengers at Baddowal, Surinder Pal alias "Chhida", responsible for getting killed com. Nidhan Singh Ghudani Kalan, Joginder Vakil, an active members of the dreaded Khalistani outfit, Bhindranwale Tigers Forces of

Khalistan allegedly responsible for killing com. Tehal Singh and
killing many women. Similarly, killings of Pash, Jasbir Singh
Heonpur, Jaimal Padda and indiscriminate firing at charhi village
were avenged by killing the supporters of terrorists allegedly respon-
sible for conspiring and assisting in Khalistani crimes.

CONCLUDING

The various reactionary ruling class factions feuding in Punjab to grab its resources and throne have pushed Punjab in the dark alley of destruction. The monsters of Khalistani and state terrorism have already taken a very heavy toll of the lives and living of the people of Punjab. The peace and security of the people have been snatched. The economy of Punjab has been badly bruised and communal amity impaired. If Punjab still survives it is not because of but inspite of the efforts of ruling class politicians.

Not with standing the huge sufferings and sacrifices extracted from the people of Punjab during the bygone decade, the reactionary ruling class parties, especially and Congress rulers, seem to be in no mood to call a halt to this bloodshed and ruin in Punjab. The reactionary sectarian, factional fight is still on amidst hypocritical talk of political solution to the Punjab tangle.

The people of Punjab, having gone through the bitter and harrowing experience of the past decade have seen through the sectarian and reactionary moves and machinations of the various ruling class political forces, ever increasing number of them is coming forward to oppose and resist this deception of the ruling class forces, especially the onslaught of twin terrorism, imposed on them by the feuding ruling class factors. Although this resistance is still weak, sporadic and spontaneous yet it is bound to grow and develop into a well-knit and organised resistance movement with the consistent and untiring efforts of the secular, democratic and revolutionary forces of Punjab.

The reverberations of this reactionary phenomenon of terrorism in Punjab, are already being felt in far and wide areas of the country. The neighbouring states of Punjab are already feeling the severe pinch of terrorism emanating from Punjab. With a large number of Punjabis, especially the Sikhs, settled throughout the length and breadth of the country and linked with Punjab in an inseparable way, the happenings in Punjab will continue to create ripples and

tremors in different parts of the country. The catastrophe, through which Punjab is passing, has been effecting the people in other parts of the country in innumerable different ways. The reactionary rulers of the country are using this diversionary and reactionary turmoil to divert the attention of the people of India from their real issues and the governmental misrule. More importantly, the disturbed conditions in Punjab are standing in good stead to the reactionary Indian rulers to further strengthen their noose around the necks of people of the country by imposing a host of draconian repressive laws and through the strengthening of repressive state machine.

The broad masses of the people of India, residing outside Punjab, especially their advanced and conscious sections, can no longer afford to remain aloof and unconcerned with the happenings in Punjab. They should come forward in a more conscious and active way and lend a shoulder to the fighting people of Punjab in exposing, opposing and resisting the nefarious games of the reactionary ruling classes of India. This is the crying need of the hour.

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—Ever-ready to resist "bullet for bullet"—a family of village Umarpura in Ludhiana district.

—A view of the gathering of martyrdom conference at village Bhagtuana (distt. Fridkot) in memory of martyrs of Sewewala massacre (9 April, 1992)

—A view of gathering of the Punjab Lok Sabhacharak Manch programme at Malsian (Jalandhar) (Dec. 91)