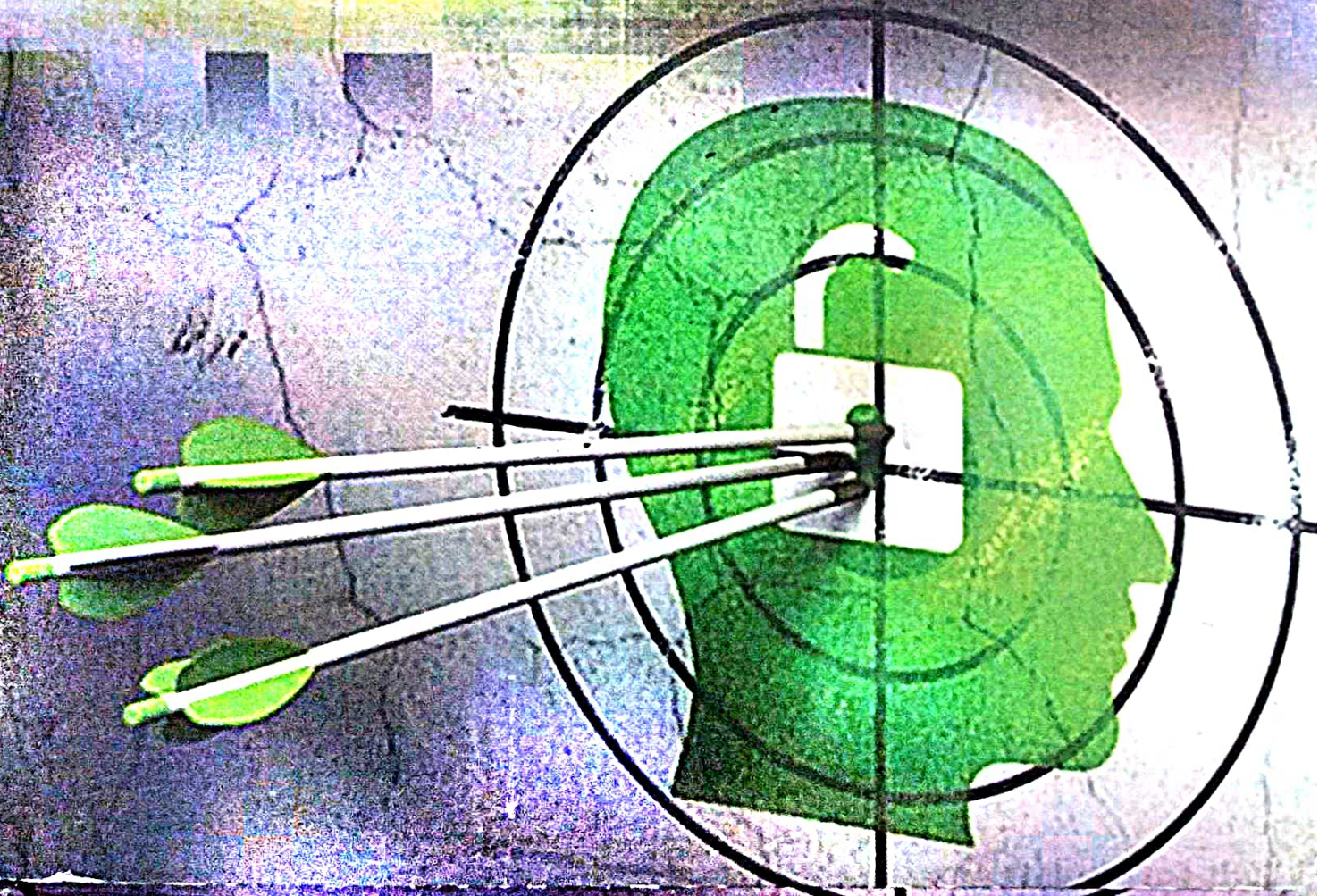


R
REGAL

STATE, MILITANCY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A Study of Punjab (1980-95)

Malkit Singh



Contents

Preface	xi
Acknowledgements	xv
1. INTRODUCTION	I
2. MAKING OF SIKH IDENTITY : A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE	76
Foundation of the Khalsa Panth: Saga of Sacrifices and Reforms	82
Inroads of Christianity: Rise of Communalism	98
Rise of Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Formation of SGPC	104
The Rise of Communalism and the Demand of Autonomy/Self-Rule by the Akalis in Late Colonial India	107
Punjab after the Independence	119
Language and Identity Politics: After the Partition of Punjab	120
Akalis Resolution on Punjabi Suba	126
The Punjabi Suba Movement and the Electro Politics	127
Towards the Formation of Punjabi Suba	146

3. IN SEARCH OF A LAND OF THEIR 'OWN' : AN ANALYSIS OF ETHNO-REGIONAL MOVEMENT IN PUNJAB	156
Immediate Background to the Rise of Autonomist Movement	162
Historic Reasons	166
Punjab Politics after the Reorganisation	168
Green Revolution and After	174
Anandpur Sahib Resolution: Identity, Economy and Centre, State Relations	180
Agriculture Crisis and Anandpur Sahib Resolution : Some Observations	181
✓ Industrial Sector and Anandpur Sahib Resolution	182
Economic Demands	183
Workers, Middle Class Employees and Agricultural Labour	183
✓ Rise of Bhindranwale	195
Militant Discourse on the Construction of Sikh Identity	196
The Government Attitude towards Punjab Problem	198
Operation Blue Star and National Security: Some Unsolved Questions	200
Operation Blue Star	201
✓ Punjab: Aftermath of Operation Blue Star	204
Punjab Crisis and the National Politics	210
✓ Rajiv-Longowal Accord a Chance for Peace: Myth and Reality	214
Dismissal of Barnala Government	215
The Declaration of Khalistan and the Operation Black Thunder	216
The Fall of the Movement and the Return of Peace : An Appraisal	220

The Elections in 1989	232
Restoration of Normalcy	238
4. STATE, MILITANCY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN PUNJAB : AN APPRAISAL	251
State Responses to Militancy in Punjab and Human Rights	254
Political Responses	254
Legislative Measures and the Human Rights	255
Judicial, Procedure and Powers of Designated Courts	258
Arrest, Investigation and Evidence	258
Point and Counterpoint : Supreme Court Upholds TADA	259
The Burden of Proof	260
The Judicial Response	262
Judicial Independence	265
Fair Trial	269
The Use and Abuse of TADA in Punjab during Militancy : A Narrative	270
Comments of the UN Human Rights Committee on the Use of Extra-ordinary Laws and International Provisions for Human Rights	272
The Field Action of the Armed Forces and Human Rights	273
Rewards, Promotion for Apprehension of Terrorists and Extra-judicial Killings	274
Setting up of the Vigilante Groups and Infiltration into Terrorist Organisation; Legal and Human Rights Concerns	275
Weapons to Individuals/Families and Religious Institutions/Groups	276
Arbitrary and Unacknowledged Arrests and Torture	278
Custodial Torture	278

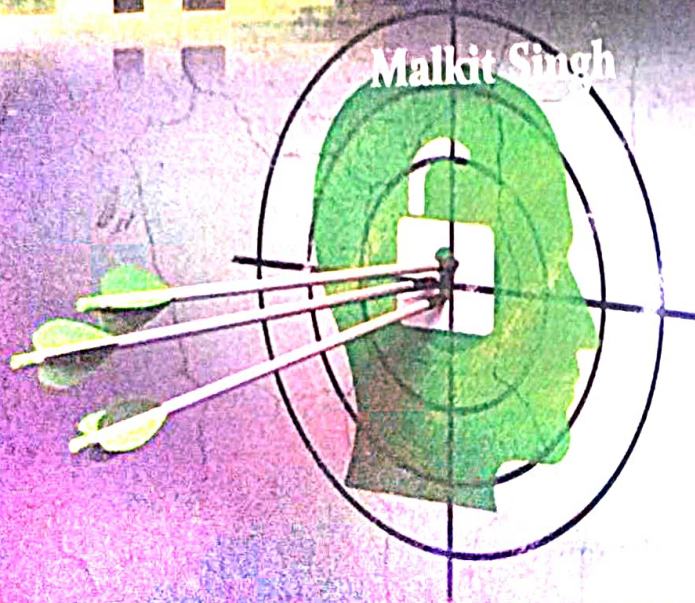
Fake Encounter and Extra-Judicial Killings	279
Human Rights Organisations and Human Rights Activists: Position and Narratives	281
The Faith of Human Rights Activists	281
Militants Ideology, Strategies and Human Rights Concerns	283
National Human Rights Commission: Forced Disappearance and State Responses	286
State v. Human Right: Politicisation of the Human Rights Issue and National Integration: Some Queries	288
Other Means of State Violence	289
Suicide by the Former SSP of Tarn Taran and the State Response	290
Compensation to the Victims: Civil Society Responses	291
Victims' Testimonies and Civil Society Responses: An Appraisal	293
5. VISITING THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS IN PUNJAB :	
A FIELD REPORT FROM TARN TARAN	309
Tarn Taran	309
Hub of Sikh Culture	310
Village Padhri	328
Brahampur	341
The Retaliation of CRPF: A Report	343
Khair-Deen-Ke	346
The Killing of Three Innocent Dalit Boys by Police : A Report	348
Amritsar	352
Mandiala	355
Iban Kalan	356
Muhawa	361

Gurdaspur	364
Shahpur Jazan	368
Gurdaspur Village Shahpurjazan	373
Shikar Machhian	374
Tibber	379
Summing Up.	382
6. IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION	386
Index	405

STATE, MILITANCY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

A Study of Punjab (1980-05)

Malkit Singh



REGAL PUBLICATIONS

F-159, Rajouri Garden, New Delhi-110027

E-mail : regalbookspub@yahoo.com

Visit us at : www.regalpublications.com

ISBN 978-81-8484-437-5



9 788184 844375

₹ 1750