# 1984 WHEN INDIA BACKSTABBED AND BETRAYED THE SIKH NATION

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### **Foreword**



This article was created as a series of 28 blogs by Ajmer Singh in October 2014.

With Ajmer Singh's kind permission we have collated the blogs into a single volume so that it may be preserved for the future.

Although Ajmer has not asked for any recognition, we are very grateful and inspired by his service to the Sikh nation.

Sikhs have never received justice for Indian government led atrocities during 1984-94.

Hundreds of thousands of Sikhs died. The world turned a blind eye because money and trade was more important than Sikh lives.

Some countries like the UK, covertly supported India to plan genocide.

### Part 1



In 1984 Indira Gandhi received Justice

Radio BBC announced a news on 31st October 1984 that Indira was no more, she had been assassinated by her two Sikh body guards and a clean shaved person to-day in the morning in a shoot-out at her residence.

It was easy to know that there were two Sikhs in her assassination but the Indian security agencies are silent till date about the identity of this third clean shaved person?

The Indian embassies all over the world were informed by a telex message at 11.00 am that two Sikhs and a clean shaved person was involved in assassination of Indira Gandhi. The identity of these two Sikh persons was disclosed but who was that third person? Why any official information of his identity is never revealed? This question was raised at number one in its list of questionnaire, consisting 38 questions sent to Nanavati commission formed officially on 08-05-2000 to probe on Sikh riots by former justice R S Narula of Punjab and Haryana High Court.

Both these Sikh body guards were Beant Singh and Satwant Singh. Both were from Delhi police. Beant Singh was a Sub-Inspector and he was appointed in security staff of Indira Gandhi since 1980. Satwant Singh was a new recruit. And only a few days ago, he was transferred in the security staff of Indira Gandhi. Beant Singh shot from his service revolver whereas Satwant Singh fired from his carbine. There is not any official information available on this third person involved in assassination.

### We have found another evidence in a website



Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, 1917-1984
As daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, politics was always a part of Indira Gandhi's world. After her father's death, Indira was elected as India's third prime minister. As the leader of the world's most populous democracy, Indira became an influential figure for Indian women, as well as for others around the world. Indira continued many of her father's policies, such as pressing for land reform and the nationalization of banks. However, India endured great economic troubles during this time. Political opponents were jailed and the press censored. In 1977, she lost her election and faced charges of corruption. Expelled from Parliament, and briefly jailed, she reorganized her party and won re-election as Prime Minister in 1980. Sadly, in 1984, she was assassinated in her New Delhi home by 3 of her bodyguards. 'If I die a violent death, as some fear and a few are plotting, I know that the violence will be in the thought and the action of the assassins, not in my dying.' - Indira Gandhi

# It also reveals that there were three assassins who killed Indira Gandhi and all these three were her bodyguards

After killing Indira Gandhi on the spot, both these assassins handed over themselves to other security staff personals on duty. They were then taken into custody by ITBP (INDO TIBETAN BORDER POLICE) personals. Without any protest, both of them surrendered and spoke in a loud voice..."we have done whatever we wanted to do, now you do whatever you want to do". But the ITBP staff lost their patience on looking Indira fallen on ground and in a pool of blood, they opened fire on both of these unarmed men who were in their custody. Beant Singh was killed on the spot whereas Satwant Singh received bullets in his backbone and was seriously injured but alive. They were actually killed to wipe out the evidences of involvement of other influential persons in this assassination, the third clean shaved person was given the opportunity to run away from the spot.

### So far his identity is not disclosed.

A former President of USA—the John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas. Lee Harvey Oswald arrested that evening, was accused of the crime but was shot and killed by Jack Ruby two days later, before a trial could take place. The FBI and the Warren Commission officially concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. However, the United States House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) concluded that those investigations were flawed and that Kennedy was probably assassinated as the result of a conspiracy. Thus all the hooks of the chain of evidences in assassination were wiped out.

Indira Gandhi was herself master to wipe out evidences. Once she called the main branch of State Bank of India at Parliament Street in Delhi. The call was made to the Chief cashier Mr. Malhotra. He was asked to pay Rs. 50 lacs (Five million) at once without completion of any formality. He was also informed of a person who was to visit there and to collect the money. He was Major Nagarwala. He arrived, collected the said amount and left.

Now this Major Nagarwala had disappeared. When Indira didn't receive the cash, she called again and when she was informed of the person had collected money. She disconnected the phone. Now a FIR was lodged in police, when she was asked if she had demanded the money, as per the expectations, she refused of having any such information or of any such demand of money or to made any call to bank. Now police begun in search of Major Nagarwala.

# It was propagated that somebody practiced to speak in her voice and he/she had cheated the bank.

After the search of few days, Major Nagarwala was arrested. He had hidden some money in a spare Tyre of a scooter whereas he had no scooter. He was tortured, ultimately due to torture of police one day he wished to record his statement in the Court next day but unfortunately he had a cardiac arrest on the same night and died. His statement could never be recorded. He was killed in Police Lock-up.

The investigation of this case was given to a Sub-inspector DD Kashyap. After a few days, his motor cycle was collided with his departmental jeep and he died in this accident.

The driver of this said police Jeep was also died after a few days, thus all the chain evidences were destroyed. Now there was nothing to held Indira guilty of her involvement in this scandal. So the Indian National Congress was fully aware of this game to wipe out chain of evidences.

Hence an attempt was made on lives of both assassinators of Indira Gandhi to wipe out the involvement of others or any influential person. Beant Singh was martyred on the spot but Satwant Singh was seriously injured but alive. Police couldn't get much information from him as he was only provoked by Beant Singh and was not a main organizer in this assassination.

Indira Gandhi was very upset in her last four days of her life. She was feared of her death. This is evident from her last speech given in Bhuvneshwar (Odissa). And then she feared the same with the Governer BN Pande in her supper hosted in her honor. All these thoughts kept on swirling in her mind until she

didn't come back to Delhi on 30th October. She was not a religious lady so she couldn't regret on her wrong deeds.

She had appointed her loyal officers on higher posts in administration and in police. She prepared a diabolical plan to eliminate Sikhs in India with the help of these loyal officers appointed by her. She had come to know that Sikhs are very religious people and they give a higher importance to religion in their life. She had already experienced this by army attack on the sanctum sactorum place of Sikh religion in early June the same year on martyrdom day of fifth Guru of Sikh religion. She knew Sikhs pay a visit to Gurudwaras with their families on the important days of Sikh faith and are generally unarmed and negligent, careless of any attack upon them. They generally keep their traditional weapons at home and could easily be targeted and killed, they shall not be able to retaliate. So she drafted a dangerous plan (Code name-Operation Shanti) to kill Sikhs on coming birth day of founder of Sikh religion—Guru Nanak Dev ji which was falling on 8th November in 1984.

According to this plan, the border districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Batala, Sri Ganganagar etc. the Sikh dominated areas were to be hit by air strikes of Indian Air Force and she could hit two targets with one arrow, the false propaganda department of India— the All India Radio and the Door Darshan TV Channel had to air the news of attack by Pakistan and then to provoke Hindus that Sikhs have supported Pakistan and are favoring this attack. And then the murders of Sikhs in every village and town of India were to be started.

Beant Singh, who was a sub-inspector in Delhi Police and was posted in security staff of Indira Gandhi, somehow came to know about this dangerous plan. To save the Sikhs from defamation and black-spot of treachery on the forehead of Sikh nation, he decided to destroy the root cause. To fail this plan, he took Satwant Singh in his plan.

On 31st October at 8.30 in the morning, Beant Singh pumped his all the six bullets in the abdomen of Indira Gandhi and then ordered Satwant Singh to open fire. He too emptied the magazine of his service weapon and pumped all the 28 bullets in the chest and abdomen of Indira leaving no chance of her survival. Though only one bullet could be sufficient to take her life if aimed at her head but she was being followed by 5-6 persons and they didn't want to take life of any other innocent person as the fire could miss the target and hit someone else. Therefore they pumped all the bullets in her chest and abdomen only. They were sure that Indira might be without her bullet proof jacket on that day. Satwant Singh had already been given instructions by Beant Singh to be careful as no bullet should hit Dhawan as he was his close friend. Dhawan was also walking with Indira on that day. This was the only reason as

no other person was hit in this firing other then a police officer who received bullets as he tried to save Indira who was following her. This precaution was taken by both these brave men.

After firing on Indira and killing her, they threw away their empty weapons and shouted loudly, "we have done whatever we wanted to do, now you do whatever you want to".

The BBC correspondent SatishJacob was on his way, it was only co-incidence that he passed though Safdarjang Road in front of Indira's residence that day, he noticed some unfamiliar movements that day. He saw an Ambassador Car moved fast from the gate and he could only see the face of Indira lying in the Car and Sonia Gandhi holding her. He immediately turned his scooter and chased the car. The fast moving car then entered in All India Medical Institute. By the time Jacob could reach there, she had already been taken to operation theater. Now he used his sharp brain of an investigative reporter and shot an arrow in dark by asking the attendant there, "How is she now? Is she alright?" He got a prompt reply as expected, "She is not fine, she has received bullets".

By getting this news, he immediately booked a trunk call to his London office and requested the operator to connect soon. He also gave his identity as a Press reporter and requested for an urgent call. His request was accepted and connected to his London office. He forwarded the whole information to BBC office which immediately aired it on Radio and its TV Channels.

On that day, Peter Ustinov was there at 8.30 in the morning to shoot a documentary film on Indira Gandhi, he was given the time t 8.30 am. Indira had begun to dress up before his visit. Her hair designer Kishan Nigam was already present in her dressing room. But soon a message sent by Peter Ustinov was received that his time of appointment may be delayed as his staff had not arrived. It was re-scheduled to 9.20 am.

### Now at this given time at 9.20 A M.

Indira moved out of her residence and walked towards her office in adjoining building 1, Akbar road which was connected through a small gate from her residence. Satwant Singh was on guard duty (Saintry duty) at that gate on that day, Beant Singh too had managed to shift his duty at the same gate on that day. So both were on their duty there on that day.

As Indira Gandhi approached at the gate, Beant Singh took out his service revolver and took her on it's aim. She was amused and asked him, "Beant what are you doing?" instead of any answer Beant Singh fired from his service revolver and pumped all six bullets in her abdomen. Then he shout and

ordered Satwant Singh to open fire. He too opened fire from his service weapon and pierced the abdomen and chest of Indira by inserting all the 28 bullets from his service weapon. It was like he was mesmerized and obeyed blindly the orders of Beant singh.

Here peter Ustinov also comes under doubts. Whether his request to postpone the time of shooting was just a co-incidence or preplanned as part of game? So far no evidence is found to establish his involvement.

Both the assassins then surrendered themselves to the other guards presented there on duty after they had killed Indira and threw away their empty weapons. An attempt on their lives was also made by security staff by firing on these unarmed captives who were already in their custody. Both of them received bullet shots. Beant Singh got martyred on the spot whereas Satwant Singh was seriously injured. Though he was treated at All India Medical Institute but doctors deliberately left a bullet in his back-bone which always teased him. Neither he could sleep well nor he could walk easily.

♣ One day when all his requests to remove the bullet were turned down and he couldn't bear the pain. He inserted his finger in the wound and took out that bullet himself. Doctors were amazed to see his courage.



The bullet then was sent to his home by Satwant Singh which is kept as a memoire of brave man.

The brave Satwant Singh never pleaded mercy in any court of law or from President of India. In a statement given in court, he said valiantly that if he is given hundred more births, he will be happy to die gracefully by avenging the attack on sanctum sactorum of his Sikh religion by killing the person responsible for attack. He was executed on 6th January 1989 at Tihar jail along with another Sikh Inspector Kihar singh who was also executed on charges of conspiracy. In fact Kihar Singh was innocent and had no role in conspiracy or the assassination of Indira Gandhi. He was just framed on a fabricated story of conspiracy by Police. He was friend of Beant Singh and a religious Sikh. He encouraged Beant Singh to initiate into Khalsa by taking Amrit at Gurudwara Bangla Sahib and he accompanied him in this ceremony. He was punished for encouraging Beant Singh to be a Khalsa.

### THE DEDICATION OF BIBI SURINDER KAUR

Bhai Satwant Singh was kept in Tihar jail in Delhi. His family and his fiancée, Bibi Surinder kaur were only allowed to meet him 3 times. The bullet near his spine was still causing him great pain. The authorities would not allow doctors to see him. So one day he used his own finger nail to cut his skin and remove the bullet. After the bullet was removed, he regained his health and was in a state of Chardi Kala (High spirit).

The authorities witnessing his better health and shining face, thought of new methods to affect him and his family. They stopped his fiancée from visiting him, stating that she can only visit once they have married. Bibi Surinder Kaur decided she would marry a photo of Satwant Singh, so that they could not use this excuse. Their relatives were unhappy with this decision. Bhai Satwant Singh's father, Sardar Tarlok Singh stated, "Dear daughter, we will marry you to our youngest son Swaran Singh. The Khalsa Panth has had to deal with this brutal Indian Government. How can you ever expect any justice from such a brutal regime? Even courts are just pawns in the hands of Rajiv Gandhi. There is no hope that Satwant Singh will ever be free!"

Bibi Surinder kaur replied, "Bapu ji, a woman only ever loves one man. I have already accepted Satwant Singh as my beloved husband. He is my husband, and I am his wife. That is how it shall remain. The brother of Satwant Singh, will be my brother."

Bibi Surinder kaur's father, Sardar Virsa Singh said, "Daughter, if you do not change your decision to marry the photo of Satwant Singh, then I will commit suicide by taking poison!"

Bibi Surinder Kaur replied, "Dear Father ji, Gurbani states, Marran Lekiaee Mandal Mae Ayee, every person has their death written by Akaal Purkh Waheguru before they are born on this earth. Waheguru has already written your last breath, and in the same way the decision on my marriage to Satwant Singh cannot change either. If it is written that he is going to die by hanging, then that will happen also. I am ready to face whatever comes my way in the future. Until my last breath, I will never let any stain come on respect due to the dastaar of Satwant Singh, your dastaar father, and the dastaar of my father-in-law."

It was now the year 1988, the role of Siri Akal Thakht Jathedar was held by the dubious Jasvir Singh Rode. Due to the fact that Bibi Surinder Kaur would not change her mind to marry the photo of Satwant Singh, both families decided to take her to the Jathedar so he could convince her. Jasvir Singh said to her, "Bibi, do not rush to make such a big decision. There is no hope that the authorities will not give Satwant Singh a sentence of hanging. So do not make such a big life decision, without thinking it through..."

Bibi Surinder kaur replied, "Singh Sahib ji, you are right. The authorities will give Satwant Singh the hangmans noose. Both our families had decided to marry me and Satwant Singh. Due to Satwant Singh not getting holidays, the wedding was delayed at the last moment. However if Satwant Singh killed Indira Gandhi after our marriage, then he would have been sentenced to hanging as well. I, as Satwant Singhs wife would have had to see every hard time in the future. My husband, Satwant Singh did a Great and brave task! The integrity of the Sikh Nation, its dastaar, was ripped off by Indira Gandhi and she stamped on it with her feet in June 1984. My husband took the dastaar of the Sikh Nation and replaced it on its head. Even in my worst dreams, I could never turn my back on such a Great man. It can never happen! I have accepted Satwant Singh as my husband. I will never let a stain come on his Dastaar. I will spend my whole life as the widow of Satwant Singh!"



A historical picture of wedding ceremony of Surinder Kaur marrying with the picture of Satwant Singh as he was lodged in Jail.

Akal Thakht Jathedar Jasvir Singh Rode said to both fathers of Satwant Singh and Bibi Surinder Kaur, that due to the strength of will of Bibi Surinder kaur, we should allow her to marry the photo of Satwant Singh, in the presence of Siri Guru Granth Sahib ji. According to the hukam of Singh Sahib, on 2nd May 1988, Satwant Singhs father, Bapu Tarlok Singh, his mother, elder brother and wife, left their house with a picture of Satwant Singh for the house of Sardar Virsa Singh. In the presence of Sahib Siri Guru Granth Sahib ji, Bibi Surinder kaur married the photo of Satwant Singh. In the afternoon, the Doli of Bibi Surinder kaur left the residence of Sardar Virsa Singh for the house of Bhai Satwant Singh.

But the security agencies of India are tight lipped since then about this third clean shaved person. Possibly if it's revealed in future but the chances are that the evidence of his involvement may be destroyed forever.

### Part 2



The pogrom of Sikhs was well organized after death of Indira. The killing by Sikh body guards was aired in every news by All India Radio and Door darshan—the govt. owned TV Channel to provoke Hindus and spread violence against Sikhs in a planned manner. So that there may be maximum killing of Sikhs in every part of India, and that was the only reason that the govt. had hidden the identity or involvement of this third clean shaved person and only Sikhs were accused of assassination of Indira. How this genocide was planned and orchestrated shall be disclosed ahead with detail in this book for our readers.

Before this Indira was in Odissa on her official tour. In her speech there in it's capitol Bhuvneshwar, she had claimed that each and every drop of her blood shall give more strength to nation but whether the Sikhs shall ever forget the tyrannies faced by them and whether they will forget the killing of more then 20,000 innocent Sikh brothers throughout India and whether they shall ever call this nation as their? I do not see this even after 28 years are gone by. Though there may a few sold out selfish Sikhs who may agree but if voting is done on self determination, the truth will come out. Now Sikhs are more interested in having their own homeland as they do not trust the Indian govt and feared if their coming generations may not go through same betrayals by govt and majority Hindus of this nation.

She addressed the public at 6.30 in the evening at Bhuvneshwar. This Bhuvneshwar never proved lucky for her family. Her late father Jawaharlal Nehru—the first Prime Minister of India also had his cardiac arrest here and the died on 27th may 1964. She herself had to face the anger of public when a protesting mob pelted stones on her car and a bone of her nose was broken in this incident and now again this was going to fatal in her life as her this speech was proved her last speech.

She got a message in Bhuvneshwar that the car in which her grand children Rahul and Priyanka were traveling had met with an accident. She immediately cancelled her tour and returned to Delhi the same night on 30th October. She was not aware that death God Yama was taking her to her destiny where she was going to breath last.

Indira was then taken to All India Medical Institute of Sciences where the doctors had made all arrangements before her arrival. Therefore she was taken to operation theater without any delay.

Doctors did their best to save her life but she could not saved as all the internal organs in her body were badly damaged. They even couldn't remove all bullets from her body. Though All India Radio had aired the news of attack on her life and wounded but the news of her death was not given until her brain didn't stop functioning. At 2.20 pm the news of her death was aired.

Rajiv Gandhi was on tour to West Bengal for one week. He cancelled all his appointments and returned to Delhi. He was directly taken to All India institute from Air port.

The grand children of Indira Gandhi Priyanka and Rahul were given in custody of her close friend Teji Bacchan who was mother of famous cine actor of Bollywood, the Amitabh bacchan.

### Thakkar commission on probe death of Indira Gandhi;

Justice M P Thakkar, a sitting judge of the Supreme Court was appointed as Commission of Inquiry on 20th November 1984 to inquire into Indira Gandhi's assassination on 31st October. He submitted an Interim Report on 19 November 1985 and a Final Report on 27 February 1986. Both were tabled in Parliament on 27 March 1989 with an Action Taken Report. The Annexures have not been published. Some 214 of the 312 pages of the Final Report dealt with the late P M's Special Assistant, R K Dhawan, implicating him with a wealth of metaphors – "Needle of suspicion" et. al.

While the report was under wraps, Dhawan, who had been edged out on 2 January 1985, was brought back in the PM's office by Rajiv Gandhi on 18 February 1989. Even after the publication of the report, Rajiv had no qualms about alleging on 4 April 1989:

"All those who are now talking about her safety are those who had conspired in attempts at her life in earlier days", a lie which even the disgraceful Thakkar Report did not support.

Spread all over Thakkar J's Interim Report is his distrust of the Sikhs. Operation Blue Star had created resentment "in the Sikh community including elements which were considered "moderate" (p.11). The implications are laid bare as the Report continues: "If a Sikh guard of the Central Cabinet Minister could become disloyal and engage himself in terrorist and anti-national activities, so could a Sikh security guard at the PM House" (pp. 44 and 59). One of the hijackers of an Indian Airlines plane was a police constable who had been deputed for guard duty at Law Minister J N Kaushal's residence in Chandigarh.

Thakkar J ended by finding 21 officials remiss in the discharge of their duties reflecting "failure on the part of almost every one, at all levels, in the security set up, with perhaps no honourable exception".

The Thakkar Report indicates its target at the very outset. It is R K Dhawan. After recording that it would proceed on the basis that Beant Singh and Satwant Singh were the ones who fired the fatal shots at the late PM, it says, in the very next para, that "there are reasonable grounds to suspect the involvement of Shri R K Dhawan". His profile is sketched. Newspapers and magazine articles are quoted on his clout.

As the Report wends its way, the "reasonable grounds" (p. 27) are elaborated into as many as 25 "suspicion indicators" (p. 36). They firm up to "an unwavering finger of guilt at the complicity or involvement of Dhawan in the crime" (p. 49). If one circumstance "emits a signal of suspicion" (p. 72), another forms "a spoke in the wheel of suspicion" (p. 76). There is "an accusing finger" at one place (p. 86) and "the cloud of suspicion" (p. 92) at another. The CIA is not neglected. "The suspicion arises whether Dhawan was close to some one having close clandestine connection with the American Intelligence Agency CIA" (p. 111). Finally, there is no escape from the conclusion that there are weighty reasons to suspect the complicity or involvement of Shri Dhawan in the crime" (p. 126).

These findings were submitted to Rajiv Gandhi on 27 February 1986. On 18 February 1989, he reinducted Dhawan into his office, ending his four years' exile. It was this which led some one to leak the secret Report and expose Rajiv's duplicity. A judicial verdict had been procured to damn Dhawan, only to be discarded later. The ATR explained that the Special Investigation Team had concluded that Dhawan "had no hand in the conspiracy for the assassination" of Indira Gandhi. But until Rajiv's hands were forced, the censures of Thakkar as well as the "exoneration" by SIT were kept secret.

R K Dhawan has acquired deserved notoriety as a singularly revolting operator. But he was faithful to Indira Gandhi like a dog; albeit not without a keen eye

for the bones he could pick up. Not even a fool could suspect him of complicity in the crime. Justice Thakkar was no fool, either. Surely if he was right in his censure on Dhawan, as the brain behind the crime, Kehar Singh's execution was a monstrous wrong. (It is another matter that his conviction was wrong on other grounds also as the late H M Seervai ably demonstrated). If the Judge could be so wildly wrong while serving on a Commission of Inquiry, what must have been the quality of justice he dispensed from the Bench?

Ritu Saran's book The Assassination of Indira Gandhi, based on hundreds of interviews and official documents, explains why Thakkar believed as he did. "It was not as if Justice Thakkar was working in isolation. The Commission was born out of political necessity and the judge heading it was never short of advice. He was in regular contact with Arun Singh and Arun Nehru, the two closest confidants of Rajiv Gandhi even when Indira Gandhi was alive".

Thakkar J held consultations with Arun Singh "almost every other day". He also "frequently met Arun Nehru as well as two men who had been close to Indira Gandhi, her principal Secretary, P C Alexander, and a senior member of her Secretariat, V S Tripathi. In course of time, the Thakkar Commission became something of a political exercise, susceptible to palace intrigues and internecine manoeuvring"

The shoddy product reflected the perverted process. The aftermath was as bizarre. The SIT was asked to wind up by March 1989. Publication of the Thakkar Report led to its revival and the filing of a second charge sheet, on 7 April, implicating, among others, Simranjit Singh Mann. On 28 November 1989 as electoral debacle stared him in the face, Rajiv Gandhi ordered its withdrawal.

Mann became an MP. Dhawan became a Union Minister and is now a member of the Congress Working Committee. So much for the sanctity of Reports of Commissions of Inquiry. The Thakkar episode reveals the depths to which proximity claims to power can drag a judge. He readily becomes assassin of character. All rules of evidence are flouted. Thakkar's claims were not overlooked on his retirement. He was made chairman of the Law Commission.

Ritu Saran writes: "A myth exploded by the Indira Gandhi assassination was about the independence of the India Judiciary... The contents of the report showed that from its very inception the entire investigation was compromised by the coterie of politicians surrounding the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi... The Thakkar Commission episode will remain a permanent pointer towards the pliability of even the higher echelons of judiciary in the hands of the party in power."

### Part 3

### Disgusting attempt by congress to avenge death of Indira from Sikhs:

There were headlines in newspaper next day on attack and death of Indira and then newly sworn in Prime Minister of India—the Rajiv Gandhi but there was not any news of any untoward incident of attack on any Sikh in any part of India. Though on the left first column of Hindi Hindustan, there was a short news of disturbance and some clashes with Sikhs in outer Delhi and Ghaziabad but no report of any killing of Sikhs.

Then what went wrong and the reason of pogrom in Delhi the next day which was organized by the then congress govt.?

The Delhi Door Darshan TV aired the news of arrival of congress leaders and workers from all parts of India to Delhi. In the evening, I noticed a news in which these congressmen were directed to go back to their constituencies and districts to maintain peace and harmony in both the communities.

I was amazed to see this news as I had not received any news of disturbance from anywhere. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were roaming in markets without any fear. I didn't see any feared person though I was moving in market in my hometown at Dehra Dun but it was all calm and quite. Markets got closed a bit early in the evening but people were still roaming in streets and markets and were trying to get more news. Late in the evening at 7 o'clock, I was going through a bye lane at Chakrata Road with my cousin when we noticed a gathering of about 200-250 people on busy road. Someone among the crowd threw a stone upon us, we stopped and watched towards crowd but nothing happened and we returned to our home safely.

Rajiv Gandhi had arrived in Delhi and President Giani Zail Singh was not in India. There was not any such leader to control the situation as there was no President and not the Prime Minister. People were confused and in suspense.

The hidden agenda behind the call to send back the leaders and workers of congress to their respected constituencies was revealed next day only when reports of attack on lives of Sikhs and loot of their property started to receive in. In fact these congressmen were directed to kill Sikhs mercilessly after their return to their constituencies, loot their houses and to set their moveable and immoveable properties on fire and to disrespect their women.

S.No.	Name of District	Figures as per police record of Sikhs killed in Nov. 84	Cases registered for killing or violence against person or property of Sikhs.	Cases sent for Trial.	Cases Sent Untraced.	Cases ended in Conviction	Cases pending Trial.	Cases ended in Acquittals.	Number of Gurudwara attacked in Delhi.
1.	South District	13	- 55	16	38	9	9	23	5
2.	South-west District	310	55	35	21	- 5	1	29	2
2	West District	51	54	28	26	2	3	22	18
4	Crime & Railways  i. New Delhi (8)/2, Stn -85  ii. Old Delhi (8)/2 Stn -25	90	7		7	20			
5.	Central District	24	58	26	22	,	7	18	4
6.	East District	387	55	47	16	- 6	9	27	12
7.	New Delhi District	4	5	4	1	- 1		2	
8.	South-east District	2	23	- 11	12	1		10	2
9.	North-west District	37	19	12	11	1		11	3
10.	Outer District	175	36	18	17	2	4	11	5
11.	Anti-Riot Cell	326	255	128	115	7	2	119	
12.	North-east District	163	83	55	27	- 5	4	47	- 8
13.	North District	33	33	22	11	2	4	16	- 5
_	TOTAL	1605	740	403	324	48	43	335	64

As per the information received from the Ministry of Home Affairs, the total killings of Sikhs after the assassination of the then Prime Minister Smt. Indica Gandhi. in whole of India in Nov. 1984, were 3323, out of which 2733 were in Delhi, the Capital of India. However as per the information received from yarious police districts of Delhi under Right to Information Act the total number of Sikhs killed is 1605.

### The statistics of Sikh genocide in Delhi

S.No.	State	Sikhs killed as per police records	Cases registered for killing or violence	Cases sent for trial	Cases sent untraced/ cancellation	Cases ended in conviction	Cases pending trial	Cases Ended in acquittal	Gurudwaras attacked
1.	Delhi	1605	740	403	324	48	43	335	64
2.	Jharkhand	79	460	129	130		13	-	1
3.	Orissa	4	143	43	100	4	10	29	1
4.	Uttarkhand		201	58	109	8	6	40	15
5.	West Bengal	1	38	14	18	-	1		3
6.	Bihar	-	168	45	121	3	-	1	
7.	Haryana	51	65	36	29	4	-	28	4
8.	Jammu & Kashmir	17	44	14	30		5	7-	4
9.	Uttar Pradesh	260	Fresh RTI filed						
10.	Madhya Pradesh	Denied as being secret	Fresh RTI filed						
11.	Chhattis- garh	Awaited	Fresh RTI filed						
12.	Maharashtra		Fresh RTI Filed						
13.	Himachal Pradesh	1	78	26	56	1	-	20	8
	Total	2018	1937	768	917	68	78	460	100

THIS DATA HAS BEEN COLLECTED BY ME AND IS BEING COLLECTED FOR HELPING "SIKHS FOR JUSTICE" NAVKIRAN SINGH ADVOCATE CHANDIGARH INDIA E: MAIL: NAVKIRAN@SINGHLAWYERS.COM.

These statistics are provided by the famous advocate and activist of LFHRI Sardar Navkiran Singih ji.

# **Who's Statistics are Correct?**

	Police (Official)	Police (Unofficial)	Punjab Congress	Akali Dal	Human Rights	State Magistracy
Killings in Punjab	21,119	27,000	39,387	145,000	80,000	200,000
Disappearances		20,000	-	-	50,000	
Sub total		47,000	-	145,000	130,000	200,000
Hindi-belt States		-	-		10,000	
		-			5,000	
Bluestar		-	-	-	10,000	
Woodrose	5	-	-		8,000	
November 1984		-	-	-	20,000	
Grand Total	21,119	47,000	39,387	145,000	188,000	200,000

Source: Inderject Singh Jaijee, Politics of Genocide: Punjab 1984-1994

These are the statistics collected in between 1984-1994, these also proves the casualities of Sikhs massacred in genocide is disclosed to 20,000 which is found similar with other statistics.

Data of the States of India in which violence took place against the Sikhs in November, 1984

State	Sikhs killed as per police records	Cases registered for killing or violence	Cases sent for trial	Cases sent untraced/ cancellation	Cases ended in conviction	Cases pending trial	Cases ended in acquittal	proper	ara/personal ty attacked
Delhi	1605	740	403	324	48	43	335	64	
Jharkhand	79	460	129	130		13		1	312
Orissa	4	143	43	100	4	10	29	1	
Uttarkhand		201	58	109	8	6	40	15	31
West Bengal	1	38	14	18		1		3	
Bihar		168	45	121	3	-	1		
Haryana	51	65	36	29	4		28	4	
Total	1740	1815	728	831	67	73	433	88	343
	Delhi Jharkhand Orissa Uttarkhand West Bengal Bihar Haryana	as per police records   1605	as per police records   for killing or violence	as per police records   for trial to the life or	as per police records   for killing or violence   for trial   untraced/ cancellation   1605   740   403   324     Jharkhand   79   460   129   130     Orissa   4   143   43   100     Uttarkhand   -   201   58   109     West Bengal   1   38   14   18     Bihar   -   168   45   121     Haryana   51   65   36   29	as per police records   for killing or violence   for trial   untraced/ cancellation   ended in conviction	as per police records   for killing or violence   for trial   untraced/ cancellation   pending trial	as per police records   for killing or vollence   for killing or vol	as per police records   for killing or vollence   for killing or vol

Data from the States of Utter Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir in which killings of Sikhs/violence against Sikhs took place is still awaited.

False data on death toll of Sikhs in India was issued to show very less number of Sikhs killed in genocide of 1984. The evidence of its falseness proves from

the death toll in Delhi which is now 2733 on govt. records is shown as only 1605.

### And the atrocities continued against Sikhs;

Though the sun was bright on 1st Nov of 1984 but it had brought the darkness with it. Whatever was going to be happened to-day, a blackspot on nation's forehead none other then by it's own children—the Indians who had the duty to protect it but today were going to dishonor it in streets.

It had happened centuries ago also when Taimur lang conquered Delhi and massacred all it's residents. But to-day his descendent Rajiv Gandhi had organized massacre of only one community—the Sikh community whose two members assassinated his mother Indira Gandhi—former Prime minister of India responsible for invasion to Golden temple.

The day broke and the pet goons (miscreants) of Congress came out on streetsas death squads —they had been assured of their security. The Indian administration, Police, Council of Ministers, Parliamentarians, Ministry of Home Affairs all provided full help and co-operation to these goons. These goons who were Hindus by religion had been provided list of Sikh homes, their business establishment, taxi stand and their other business centers, by the Ministers and counselers of the area.

Now these death squads were on road to target Sikhs, wherever they found a Sikh, he was caught, poured kerosene or any inflammable substance before he was set on fire alive. Their vehicles were torched, their females were molested or raped too. Such tyrannies are done only by Hindus, earlier Muslims threatened and offered wealth, women for conversion to Islam but they never molested or raped women but the brave Aryans (so called Hindus) had crossed all limits to shame humanity. The dance of evil forces and death could be seen everywhere. The sobbing Sikh women were raped on dead bodies of their husbands, brothers or other male members of their families killed. Such was neither heard before nor seen—I am sure the soul of Taimur Lung also must have ashamed upon himself to see this but these Hindu goons were far ahead in humiliating humanity.

The dead body of Indira Gandhi was kept at Teen Moorti Bhawan to be paid last homage by public Which was also the official residence of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Now it's a museum. People had made a long queue to pay tribute to their beloved leader. The newly sworn in Prime Minister of India shri Rajiv Gandhi who was also elder son of late PM Indira Gandhi was himself present there. And the cine star Amitabh Bacchan was also seen with him. He was a close friend of Gandhi family so there was nothing

strange to see him present there. But the appeal he made to this nation was enough to stun everyone.

A team of Door Darshan had already been called there at Teen Murti Bhawan for him. When camera crew had finished all preparation, Amitabh was called and incited the Hindus of this nation in his famous angry image to spill blood of Sikhs. His appeal was like this ....KHOON KA BADLA KHOON means BLOOD IS AVENGED BY BLOOD and also said that the blood drops should reach to homes of those who killed mother Indira.

So Amitabh Bacchan was the first person to incite the Hindus of this nation against Sikhs on govt. owned and sponsored the only TV Channel of India, the Door Darshan. He made a direct appeal of blood of Sikhs. The other Congress leaders of Delhi like Hari Kishan Lal Bhagat, Sajjan Kumar, Jagdish tytler, Kamal Nath, Dharm Daas Shastri, Lalit Makan etc were alike thos dogs who bark and bite in their own area, similarly these leaders too killed the Sikhs in their own constituencies only. These leaders killed the innocent Sikhs with the help of local Jaats, Gurjars and Balmikis community but the credit to spread violence throughout India goes to Amitabh Bacchan only.

The Amitabh Bacchan was alleged of provocation to kill the Sikhs publically by a senior judge, former Chief justice of Punjab & Haryana High Court Sardar RS Narula who in his complaint to Nanavati commission.

The Government of Delhi State has, by a Notification dated May 08, 2000, assigned to Justice Nanavati all matters relating to the 1984 massacre of Sikhs. Here are some key Questions for the Commission.

He asked the 4th & 5th question in his questionnaire of 38 questions as;

3. Who was the clearly visible and identifiable man who continued to be shown on the Doordarshan television throughout the first part of October 31-Nov. 1 night (standing at the threshold of the room where lay the dead body of Indira Gandhi for public view) shouting: "Sardar Qaum ke ghaddar" and "Khoon ka Badla Khoon" – openly inciting spilling of Sikh blood.

### (Ans. It was Amitabh Bacchan)

4. Why no action has been taken against that man, till date, for openly spreading disaffection between communities and provoking bloodshed of identifiable persons?

We have explained it openly that this easily recognizable person was Amitabh Bacchan, a cine actor of Bollywood. Justice Narula being a justice was abided

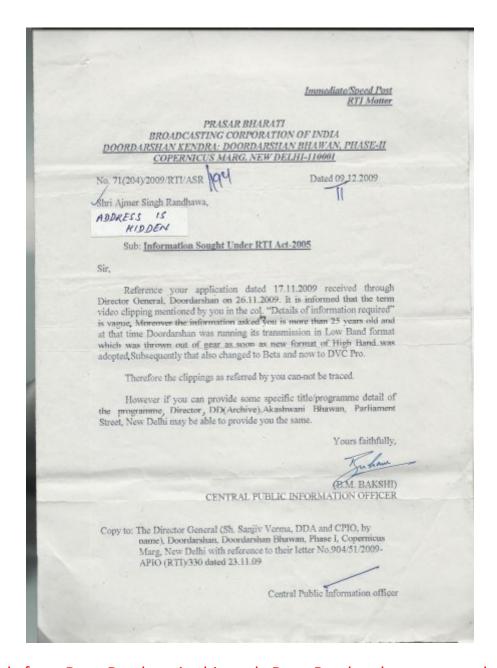
by certain oaths so he directly couldn't open his mouth to reveal his name but we clearly reveal his identity in public. Justice Narula ask in his 4th question (written above) alleging this person.

People may say that the maternal grand father of this Amitabh bacchan was also a Sikh and his mother Teji Bacchan was a Iso belonged to a Sikh family but they forget that this lady Teji bacchan had left Sikh religion by violating 10th Guru's order by marrying outside of her religion and since than she was a Kaystha lady. She had good friendship with Indira from Alahabad. Indira used her influence to get him (Amitabh) a role in a movie 'Saat Hindustani' produced by Khwaza Ahmad Abbas. She herself wrote a letter approaching Abbas to give him a role.

Now the time was to re-pay debts of Indira family. Thus he (Amitabh) appeared live on TV Door Darshan and incited Hindus to spill blood of Sikhs. Due to his provocation, the violence was spread throughout India and more than 20,000 innocent Sikhs were butchered brutally on roads. All the evidences of his involvement were either removed or destroyed. The Door Darshan has it's video clips but it refuse to give it's copy. I tried to obtain but I was denied by Door Darshan.

Form of application for sec (See rule 3									
	(for official use)								
The Competent Authority,									
DG-DOOR DARSHAM. NEW COELHI									
Name of the Applicant	AJMER GINSH RANDHAWA.								
2. Address	ADDRESS IS HODEN.								
3. Particulars of information	OG- GOORDARSHAM, (NATIONAL CHANNEL)								
Details of information required     Period for which information     asked for	ENTIRE VIDEO CLIPPINGS FROM 31-10: 84, TO 3-11-84.								
iii. Other details									
<ol> <li>I state that the information sought contained in the Right to informat knowledge it pertains to your office</li> </ol>	ted in the office of the Competent								
E	Ajmerting ignature of Applicant mail address, if one address, if one of Applicant cl. No. (Office)								
(Residence)									
Note:- (i) Reasonable assistance can be pro- filling up the form 'A'.  Please ensure that the Form 'A' ic no ambiguity in providing the detai	I complete in all respect and there is								
Remisson (	The same of the sa								

My application to demand the video clippings from Door Darshan-Delhi.



The reply from Door Darshan, in this reply Door Darshan has expressed my application as vague and that it could not trace. **The said clippings were shown to prosecution in Jagdish Tytler** case by order of Supreme Court of India. The prosecution demanded the same clippings to see the role of Jagdish tytler on 01-11-1984.

I myself filed a Public Interest Litigation in Delhi High court against Amitabh bacchan on his role of incitement of Hindus against Sikhs, to create enmity in two peaceful communities, and to provoke Hindus by raising hatred slogans on Door Darshan aired intermittently for three days. I appealed to open the case but a Hindu judge Man Mohan Kumar refused it to be accepted. Then I pasted whole material relevant to this petition and allegations on Amitabh bacchans were pasted on net to expose his disgusting face in whole world. You can view whole Court proceeding in this blog

at http://failedattemptonamitabh.blogspot.com/

I have also pasted my statement on net so that in case of any attempt on my life through his influence or his approach in high ups if a get killed, even then the world may read the truth. Kindly read my statement at :http://monsteramitabh.blogspot.com/

Sardar Tarlochan Sngh member Parliament had alleged in Parliament to the late Prime minister Rajiv Gandhi and Amitabh bacchan of their role in orchestrating Sikh genocide 1984. It's video clip can be seen at Youtube.com

### Part 4



### Mrs. Pratibha Patil

While President Pratibha Devi singh Patil is scheduled to present "The Standards" to 6 Lancer, a regiment of Armoured Corp which took part in Operation Blue Star, Sikhs For Justice (SFJ) a Human Rights NGO, working to unravel the true facts about November 1984 Sikh Genocide, has raised questions and concerns regarding President Patil's role in November 1984 massacre of Sikhs. Several hundred Sikhs were killed in Jalgaon District of Maharashtra in November 1984 while Pratibha Patil was Congress (I) MLA and Cabinet Minister in Maharashtra Government.

As per Gurpatwant Singh Pannun, Legal Advisor, SFJ, in the State of Maharashtra it was only Jalgaon and surrounding areas where several hundred Sikhs were killed in November 1984 while Pratibha Patil was Congress (I) MLA, as per more than 70 affidavits submitted by surviving family members of the victims to Justice Nanavati Commission. In addition to President Patil's mentor-protégé relationship with late Ms. Indira Gandhi, stated attorney Pannun, the fact that in November 1984 President Patil was Congress (I) MLA from Jalgaon area and a Cabinet Minister in Maharashtra, raises serious questions and concerns about her possible involvement in the killing of Sikhs in her constituency while Sikhs were not killed in the rest of Maharashtra in November 1984.

According to attorney Pannun, as per the findings of Justice Nanavati Commission, it is a matter of record that it was Congress leadership which

organized massacre of Sikhs in November 1984. It is evident from the cases of HKL Bhagat, Dharamdas Shastri, Jagdish Tytler, Sajjan Kumar and Kamal Nath that Congress MPs and MLAs were actively involved in organizing attack on Sikhs in their respective constituencies during November 1984. President Patil who heads the largest democracy of the World must come clean with details regarding killing of Sikhs in her area of influence during November 1984.

To trace the possible involvement of President Patil and her party associates in the killing of Sikhs in Maharashtra during November 1984, SFJ attorney Pannun announced to file a petition under Right to Information (RTI) Act to obtain the exact number of Sikhs killed in Jalgaon area, FIRs lodged with names of the accused during November 1984.

### The tales of tyrannies by Indira;

You must have read or heard about tyrannies of Moguls against Sikhs and Hindus. If these Muslims had not forced Hindus to embrace Islam forcefully under threat of life, in that Sikhs could be there but not the amazing Khalsa. Khalsa was created to save Hindus from tyrannies of Muslims and save Hindu religion. The first of Khalsa is to face a tyrant but now here, it was not Moguls but our own —-the Hindu govt. which was thankless and had a motto to eliminate Khalsa/Sikh religion.

All of you might be aware with Holwel memorial of Calcutta (Now called Kolkata). This memorial was built by British to commemorate the memories of 122 British women and men who were locked in a small sized room of 10'x10' by a Muslim ruler in Bengal . Most of them died due to suffocation. We all condemn it and pray for the deceased but do you know such atrocity was also carried out by Indian army in Golden temple? See this eye witness account;

The well known journalist and writer Harbir Singh Bhanwar mentions an eye witness account narrated by his one friend in his book "Diary de panne jo itihas ban gaye' as.......a close relative of Prof Dhawan is employed in Military camp of Amritsar. He paid a visit in the camp of (POWs) prisoners of war. He has informed that a large number of Sikhs are locked in a small room. A govt. officer has also approved it by saying that the Sikh prisoners are kept in a small room of newly built school building which has no electricity and water.. Nearly 60-70 prisoners are locked in small room., there clothes are torn off, no treatment to wounds is given, and there is no arrangement to treat them. (page 57) Sun is tremendous, no fan is there, two people suffered from Diaria, they wanted to release them but there is no facility so they came out through a small window to release them. They were immediately shot down by army.

They were alleged of escaping from there. Many others too were killed by their hands tied at their back in a similar manner.

Now just compare yourself, Sikh religion is the only religion which serves humanity without any discrimination of religion, caste, creed, color or race. It serves food in a community kitchen without any discrimination but the Indian army only could kill the thirsty, hungry or wounded persons. A Khalsa could never do it.

# Just watch out how a major difference is there in both communities of Sikhs and Hindus?

It's also necessary to mention here that the house of journalist Harbir singh which was situated in the complex of Golden temple was also looted by Indian invading army., The cash and gold ornaments of his wife were looted and stolen by soldiers.

The real invasion (operation) on Golden temple was started on night of 5th June 1984. Sant Longowal and Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of SGPC were also present in their offices respectively in complex which is situated at Samundri Hall near Guru Ram Daas Saraai. The army started massacre of Sikhs on night of 5th June inside the Golden temple complex.

Gurmeet Singh Cheema, publicity in-charge SGPC, who was present there on that night, informs .....that every Sikh was a terrorist for army. It was to be noted that every soldier was under influence of liquor and out of senses. (Had he been is sense, he would have dared from god and not killed the innocents, therefore a heavy doze of liquor was given to these soldiers). They were provoked to attack on sacred Golden temple after they had been given a heavy doze of liquor. A fierce fight was going on in the complex. During this time, Sant Longowal and Tohra ji were present in the room of President and we were in in our office inside samundri hall with some friends. Whole of the Samundri hall and office of SGPC were over crowded by the employees of SGPC and the devotees.

The fierce fight was going on in the complex of golden temple. The Samundri hall was covered by army at about 3.45 am by army and fired indiscriminately to terrorize all present inside. As soon as the army personals came to know that Sant Longowal and Tohra ji were inside, they shouted in a loud voice to inform their senior officers about their presence and said that, "Longowal ji is here".

To hear these sounds, Sant Longowal and Tohra came out of the room. One army officer caught hold of them by their arms and took them under his

custody. After this a new chapter of atrocities by army started. We all were searched, our holy mandatory signs were removed, our turbans were also removed and pockets were emptied. All belongings were confiscated.

Then we were taken in the open lounge of Guru Ram Daas Saarai. Nearly one thousand un-armed persons were kept there. It would be about 4.30 in the morning. We might have hardly made 5-6 lines but by that time two grenades were thrown upon us from the top storey of guru Ram Das Sarai. These grenades blasted among the crowed. The stampede was there to be saved from these grenade attack and everyone was running to save his/her life. In between army open indiscriminate firing upon crowed. Hundreds of people were killed or wounded.



Have a look on this lounge in an old picture.

Then the remaining people were seated in the corridor sarai (Free accommodation for pilgrims) by army. We were seated there among dead, wounded and crying people. The army soldiers were killing people mercilessly. We witnessed many were asked to run by raising their hands and then shot from behind. There was not any room without dead bodies. The army to which every citizen feels proud and sense of safety was today seen in a new face. First a bomb to set fire in room was thrown and then soldiers opened fire on people coming out of rooms. More then eight hundred people were gunned down in saraai. The people present in gurudwara had not been served a drop of water since 4th of June. There were 35 people in room no five, 31 died of thirst out of these 35.

Can you have any such hope from your own army? This Indian army itself shot those unarmed by bullets instead of saving them. Were they not feel ashamed

on killing innocent, unarmed old men, children, youths, girls and women of all ages? These merciless wolves killed them in every room. Was Indira not responsible for killing of these innocents who didn't provide any opportunity or made no attempt for their safe escape from complex?

If General Dyer who killed the unarmed, innocent Indians in Jalianwala bagh was guilty and Sardar Udham Singh who killed this culprit in England after 20 years was a freedom fighter and held high the heads of Indians to save pride, and was called a martyr then the Sikhs who avenged from Indira and killed her for her crime on attack on Golden temple and to kill thousands of unarmed innocents were not martyrs then what were they? Whether they were extremists? What is the parameter to declare patriotism in this nation? The ruling congress or any other govt in this nation has so far not honored Neta ji Subhash Chandra Bose and he is never called a freedom fighter by Ministry of home affairs? If it accepts —then only to Gandhi and Nehru or a few other Congress leaders only. Kindly read history of India and know this bitter truth yourself.

The Hitler was left far behind if we compare the atrocities upon Sikhs by Indian army, police and other para-military forces. A Sikh woman who was a citizen of Canada, and had visited Shri Darbar sahib along with her 13 year old son and her husband, was also arrested by Indian army and taken to interrogation center. Being a human you will feel disgust upon yourself when you come to know about her sufferings ——she is still alive and is a witness to that agony which she faced, to meanness and the wilderness of these soldiers which they could do with a helpless person. Whatever agony she faced, might have also been faced by hundreds of other unfortunate Sikh women and girls who were tortured by these rascals. Only god knows what would have happened with those sisters who could haven't faced these tortures, either they might be killed or gone insane or they might have committed suicide.

Only god knows.

### Part 5



1984 Sikh riot: They took their time to kill between meals

Senior journalists Rahul Bedi and Joseph Malliakan are still haunted by the 1984 Sikh riot.

The horror of those 72 hours, when frenzied mobs butchered thousands of Sikhs in 1984 has not left senior journalists Rahul Bedi and Joseph Malliakan, who covered the riots to this day.

"To visualize that time close your eyes and imagine that there's no state. The police remain inert while rabid mobs attack you minute after minute with military precision. The administrators look the other way with complete indifference and the situation seems never to abate," Bedi, who covered the massacre in Trilokpuri's Block-32, says.

The massacre in the small colony in east Delhi was planned, he found out. Nearly 320 Sikhs – men, women and children – were killed over two days.

On reaching the spot on November 1 evening, a day after Gandhi's assassination, Bedi and Malliakan were chased away by a mob. But the journalists persevered and made it to the spot on the following morning, where they saw "meticulous slaughter of Sikhs while policemen nearby watched, bothering not even to call for reinforcements".

"The massacre continued for two long days in houses on either side of a bye lane. The killers were so exact and meticulous that they did not even hurry with their job, just took their time to rape, murder and torture them between meals," Bedi says.

Malliakan, now editor of JEM magazine, says he still cries on recalling those four days.

"I saw a Sikh along with his wife dragged out of his tenement, doused with kerosene and set on fire. Those scenes have not left me. There is no closure to it," he says.

He recounts the day when the police and the army infiltrated the area and brought out the victims. That was the time when reporters first had access to the area. "I first discovered what a bonfire of human flesh is likeâ?;" Malliakan breaks down and takes a long pause, "I first touched a child who was ashen in colour and had not eaten anything in 30 hours. When the area's ACP came I was quivering with anger and told him to shoot himself if he had any regard for his uniform," he says.

We have also been informed about the animosity of Indira with Sikh community and how she reacted on several times. An example of Ramlila Ground Delhi is also received by us which we need to share with our readers.

### Here it is;

"Sangat ji, all this was happened only due to following reasons in Delhi! Soon after this the Govt. Got against Damdami Taksal and Sikhs in Punjab. Result—Sikh genocide of 1984....."

In Delhi on 7 December 1975 AD, to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Shaheedi of Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Jee, in the Ram Lila ground, a procession of 2.2 million people arrived and P.M. Indira Gandhi came onto the stage. In the presence of Sri Guru Granth Sahib Jee, all those on the stage arose to welcome and respect her, but it was only Baba Kartar Singh Jee who remained seated. On the stage Baba Jee spoke passionately about this anti-Sikh act. Many leaders who spoke on the stage said that P.M. Indira Gandhi had built an excellent relationship with Punjab, after which she said, "..the Delhi government got Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur martyred and today the Delhi government prostrates to Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Jee. The same Delhi government who gave reports against the Sikhs, today respects and reveres Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Jee."

### Baba Jee's time to speak was after P.M. Indira Gandhi, he stated:

'First Rajput Kings used to give their daughters to get rewards. Today Sikhs are disgracing themselves if they do the same. For this reason no Sikh is to marry their daughter to a Mona or a patit and the rehatnama says:

ਕੰਨਿਆ ਦੇਵੈ ਸਿਖ ਕੋ ਲੇਵੈ ਨਹਿ ਕਿਛ ਦਾਮ। ਸੋਈ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਿਖ ਹੈ ਪਹੁਚੇ ਗਰ ਕੇ ਧਾਮ।

A Sikh that marries his daughter to a Sikh and does not take any money/dowry, he is a true Sikh of mine and will reach my abode in Sachkand. (Bhai Sahib Singh Rehatnama, p.160)

The second point that he clarified was that 'We want to ask Indira Gandhi who achieved the rule of the Delhi government? If you have come here to prostrate to Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur you have done no great act. If Guru Jee had not become martyred, the master of this throne would have been a Muslim and everywhere all would be greeted with Salaam Walekum. You yourself would have been under a Burka(Hijab).

The number of hairs that are on the body of the P.M., even if she was to cut her head off that many times and placed at the feet of Guru Jee, she still would not be able to remove the debt owed to Sri Guru Tegh Bahaur Jee. Regardless of how powerful the P.M. • no one is more powerful than our Guru. She should prostrate to our loved one, the light of the 10 Kings – Sri Guru Granth Sahib Jee, not require that we get up and pay respect to her.' Following this, Jakaras (Hails) were heard from all areas of the arena.

Due to the truth being spoken by Baba Kartar Singh Jee, this led to disputes being raised by P.M. Indira Gandhi with the Damdami Taksal. If anyone disrespected Sri Guru Granth Sahib Jee he never tolerated it. Thus he spoke up against the Nakali Nirankaris and led programs to tackle their onslaught on Sikhi.

Baba Kartar Singh Jee served as the Jathedar of Damdami Taksal for 8 years and did much Gurmat Parchar in this time. On August, 3rd, 1977, he was traveling from Maleeha (Jalandhar) to Solan and at the station Hussaainpur, where his car crashed into a tree causing him critical injuries. He was taken to the C.M.C. Hospital. He ascended to Sachkhand here on August 16th, 1977. He was cremated at Gurdwara Gurdarshan Parkash at Mehta on August, 21st, 1977.

### Was It A Riot, Or Was It A Pogrom?

### By: ARTIKA BAKSHI

Shashi Tharoor – a man of many words. Many meaningful words, that hit a chord every time they are expressed.

Having heard him speak during his time at the UN and on his entering mainstream Indian politics, he has impressed me. Here was a man who actually said it the way it was.

His 2001 novel, "The Riot" struck a chord with me.

It deals with the Hindu-Muslim riots in India as an aftermath of the criminal demolition of the historic Babri Mosque by right-wing Hindu mobs, setting it against a background of Indian markets opening to big multi-national corporations like Coke, Walmart, etc.

He takes you through the events with a series of interviews, as well as notes from journals kept by the protagonists – Priscilla Hart and V. Lakshman: an American NGO worker in love with the subcontinent and all it's drawbacks, and an Indian bureaucrat, who works within the system but with suppressed romanticism lying somewhere deep within him.

Through this well-narrated tale, what particularly struck me was the character, Gurinder Singh, Superintendent of Police. An upright Indian Police Service ("IPS") officer and a St. Stephen's College product, who curses, swears, jokes and enjoys his drinks strong, and easily comes forth as a hero.

The bureaucrat holds his advice to heart and values his sincere friendship.

The reason Gurinder gives for joining the police force holds true, or should I correct myself here, held true, in the dreams of thousands of families in rural Punjab. Most parents have dreamt of their turbaned boys joining the Indian Adminstrative Service ("IAS"), the IPS or Armed forces. Sikhs have always been looked at with a sense of awe – their integrity, their fearlessness, their commitment to defending and protecting the underdog ...

Gurinder delves into the aftermath of the 1984 pogroms that left a mark on the heart of each and every Sikh and, I suspect, on any Indian who has fully understood the idea of, and dreamed of a secular and harmonious India.

For me, the 1984 pogroms are a faint memory, but Gurinder's words left my heart cringing. We are given a quick overview of the birth of the militancy in Punjab in response to the state's human rights abuses against the Sikhs, to the unnecessary sacrilege of the Darbar Sahib by Indira Gandhi's troops, to the day she paid for her sins at the hands of her own security guards.

What followed was a massacre of innocent Sikhs across the lregth and breadth of the country, a blot on everything India claimed to be in its own well-cultivated public persona.

Through Gurinder Singh's experience, Shashi Tharoor attempts to highlight the high value Sikhs give to serving humanity.

During the pogroms, when Gurinder Singh's 10 year old nephew and brother-in-law are massacred by a marauding mob, he considers resigning from his job as a senior police bureaucrat. But he doesn't.

His grieving old father stops him, saying that by staying within the law enforcing agency, he could work towards preventing such crimes from happening again. Thus ensues a bit of a dialogue on the duty of a Sikh to contnue to work for 'sarbat da bhalla', even when confronted by the worst in human nature.

However, the novel merely touches on the 1984 anti-Sikh massacres.

Unfortunately Tharoor – an educated, intelligent and well-informed man that he is, working in the thick of the very political party which authored the pogroms – fails to distinguish the term "riot" which correctly applies to some of the aftermath of the Babri Mosque demolition, from what happened against the Sikhs in 1984: a pogrom and nothing even remotely akin to a 'riot'.

It is odd that the author would bring up the 1984 crimes in a book titled "Riot", and not highlight this distinction.

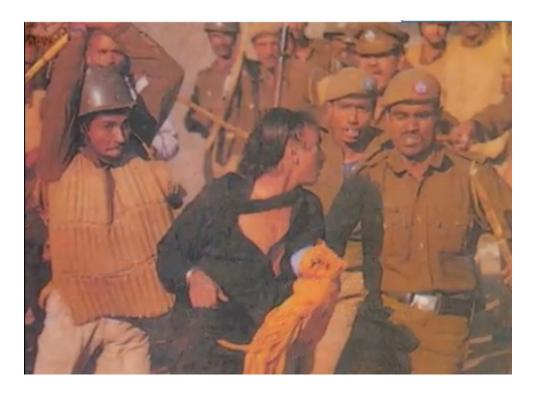
It was a golden opportunity – unfortunately squandered – to correct his fellow countrymen from the ongoing and intentional mischief of the repeated use of the misnomer vis-a-vis 1984. The motivation, obviously, is to dilute and minimize the enormity of the crimes. But the net effect is that the whole country confirms its boorishness in its relationship with its most patriotic segment of society.

The government, the country's public intellectuals, the media, and therefore the people, have continued the fraud *ad nauseum*.

But the fact that Shashi Tharoor has failed to distance himself from the practice is in itself troublsome.

Maybe, just maybe, he'll write a book soon under the title, "Pogrom", and redeem himself.

### Part 6



Posted online: Sunday, October 31, 2004.

#### **TAVLEEN SINGH**

It's hard to write an article that appears on October 31 without remembering that it was on this day, twenty years ago, that Indira Gandhi was shot dead in her garden by two Sikh policemen. With the return of the Gandhis to the political limelight there will be many this year who will remember Mrs Gandhi, many who will pay fulsome tributes, many who will glorify her reign. How many will remember the pogroms that followed? Almost nobody is my guess even if we now have a Sikh Prime Minister and an uncompromisingly secular government. Not even the Communists with their daily petulance over perceived communalism will dare remind the government they control that justice still has not been done. It's the one event that even the most ardent secularists choose to forget which is for me a constant puzzle.

In the many years I have spent reporting wars, riots, caste killings and other violent events on our sub-continent, I can remember nothing that matches the horror of those first three days after Mrs Gandhi was killed. For those of you who were not there or may have forgotten, let me help you remember. Within minutes of Mrs Gandhi being shot, my news editor rang me and asked me to rush to the hospital where she had been taken. By the time I got there they had already closed the gates of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and

although there was no official announcement of her death till late that afternoon we found out within the first hour. Despite All India Radio pretending all day that she was still alive news of her death spread through the city quickly but on the first day there were no killings. There was tension, an ominous, heavy tension but nobody, and especially not ordinary Sikhs, had any idea of what was going to happen. The most that was expected were a few stray incidents of violence.

I worked at the time for a British newspaper and they wanted me to go to Amritsar the next day to gauge the mood there. By the time I returned on the afternoon of November 1, I could see the fires from the airport.

There was chaos at the airport because there were no taxis since most Delhi taxi-drivers were Sikhs and the mobs had started burning them alive. When I finally managed to get a ride with a Tamil gentleman, our taxi was surrounded on the way to the city by a mob with petrol soaked rags in their hands. "Any Sikhs in the car," they grinned as the Tamil gentleman looked nervously at me. By that night armies of killers roamed the streets of Delhi looking for Sikhs to kill and Sikh properties to burn. For the next two days, the mobs were allowed to murder, loot and burn while the government sat back and watched. By the time the Army was ordered out, the streets of Delhi were littered with bodies and the burned out remains of trucks and taxis with the charred, corpses of their drivers at the wheel. Nobody bothered to pick up the dead because there was no room left in the morgues and one of the images that continues to haunt me is of a dog eating a human arm in a Delhi street.

More than 3000 Sikhs were killed in two days in the city and then in a couple of hours it was brought to a sudden halt. All it took to stop the carnage and the savagery were a handful of soldiers in the streets with orders to shoot at sight. The mobs melted away as they would have done on day one if the government had wanted them to.

Anybody who believes that what happened in Narendra Modi's Gujarat was the worst communal violence since Partition does not remember what happened in Delhi in the first week of November 1984. It was our first Statesponsored pogrom and if we do not acknowledge this then we must recognize that attempts to bring justice to the victims of Gujarat is mere tokenism.

It is wonderful that the wheels of justice, that Modi and his murderous thugs tried to stall, are moving again. May every murderer, rapist and thug be brought to justice so that we never have another Gujarat. But when will those responsible for what happened to the Sikhs in 1984 be punished for what they did? I ask the question rhetorically because I know the answer is never, but

justice of some kind must be done if we are serious about ensuring that no government in future ever gets away with pogroms against its own citizens.

Of course swift and severe justice is the best way to ensure this but swift justice is not possible from a justice system that will take 350 years to clear its backlog of cases. Besides, Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers are unlikely to be tried like ordinary criminals so the way forward, in my view, is for our shiny, new, "secular" government to set up something similar to South Africa's Truth Commission. Let men like P V Narasimha Rao (Home Minister in 1984) and Narendra Modi and all the officials and policemen who failed to do their duties come before the Commission and answer for their failures. Let those who saw their husbands, brothers and sons burned alive come forward and publicly identify those who led the mobs.

Let the new "secular" government put its secularism where its mouth is and convert the toothless Minorities Commission into a powerful Truth Commission. It is the least we can do for the thousands of innocents who died because two Sikh policemen assassinated Mrs. Gandhi.

A day after former Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi was killed by her Sikh security guards 20 years ago, crowds of mobs barged into Sikh women's homes, dragged their husbands, sons by their hair, set fire to them and then bludgeoned them to death.

"My husband, my son was snatched from my lap and was killed. I had six brothers, they were all killed their sons-in-law were killed. My sons-in-law were killed too. At least 18-19 people of my family were killed. My entire family was killed. I single handedly brought up these small kids," screamed Jassi Bai, a grey-haired woman on crutches who lost her entire family in the riots.

As India marks the 20th anniversary of Gandhi's death on Sunday, about 800 Sikh women widowed in an orgy of anti-Sikh violence after the assassination, are still seething in anger.

Living in tenements in a corner of Delhi often called "Widows' Colony", all the women tell horrific stories of bloodthirsty mobs "necklacing" their family with burning tyres, setting their turbans on fire or beating them with iron rods.

"It's understandable and all right if you punish the guilty, irrespective of whether he is a Sikh, Hindu, or Muslim. If he has committed the crime, then by all means punish him, kill him. But what did all the Sikhs do? My only plea is give us justice, we want justice," said Ravel Kaur, as she sobbed, sitting next to a photograph of her slain husband in her ramshackle glass shop in New Delhi.

With their beards and distinctive turbans — their religion prohibits men from cutting their hair — Sikh men are easy to spot in India and all over the world.

The government says about 2,733 people died in the wave of killings aimed at the Sikh community after Gandhi was shot dead by two Sikh bodyguards seeking revenge for her decision to send the army to flush out Sikh separatists from the Golden temple, Sikhism's holiest shrine.

But activists say about 4,000 people were killed in the riots, said to be the worst religious violence since the bloody partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan in 1947.

Two decades and many investigations and commissions later, T.K.S. Tulsi, a lawyer fighting for the riot victims, says only 10 people have been convicted for murder while 500 people have been acquitted and half the cases have been closed by police.

"As it is, under our system, to be able to nail a person who is wealthy or influential is almost impossible. But when both combine, when they are wealthy as well as influential, it is virtually a breakdown of the system. So therefore, we have had virtually no convictions, there have only been a few convictions and victims have got tired. But it is not as if they have got defeated, the victims are still angry and this anger will persist and this will perhaps persist for many generations," Tulsi said.

Living virtually as refugees in their own country, the Sikh widows — part of a community of about 19 million people — say all they have received in all these years is a 300,000 rupees compensation and dank quarters in the "Widows' Colony".

Although two decades have passed, their wounds are still festering because of a host of social problems: their children have grown up with a burning sense of revenge which has driven many into a life of crime and drugs.

Most of the women said they had lost all hopes of ever getting justice after the return to power of the Congress party, who the Sikhs say sparked the brutal riots of 1984. Congress denied the accusation.

Jagdish Tytler, one of the Congress leaders, who has been given a clean chit by the Delhi High court in the riots case, said the anger against him was misdirected.

"Nothing, its all nonsense. I am one person who is not ever involved, directly or indirectly and the High Court has given this notice. And the High Court has

given its findings, the CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation, – federal investigating agency) has given its finding. I am the only person with no FIR (First Information Report), with not even a complaint against him. It is all a political stunt."

Few are hopeful even though the country has its first Sikh prime minister, Manmohan Singh. (ANI)

India refuses to learn lessons from its history of communal riots. The sins of 1984 revisited Gujarat in 2002 and are likely to surface again, says Joseph.

THE police looked the other way as politicians led marauding mobs into the city. You could be talking of Delhi of 1984, or Ahmedabad of 2002.

For its very long history, India has an extremely short memory. Uncomfortable events from the past are tucked away into obscure corners. Especially those that involve violent-bursts of passions stoked by religion, caste, politics or plain hatred.

May be it is the greed to move forward to the future that prevents backward looks. But the forward march is more often than not interrupted by another round of bloody sacrifice of innocence. And yet again the nation fails to offer succor to its victims, deliver justice punish the guilty.

Assurance of immunity to the criminal is almost ingrained in the society. Witnesses to bloody pogroms in India grow up without any guilt. Each mob violence is forgotten in the next one.

In just three days, over 4,000 Sikhs were killed in the wake of the assassination of Indira Gandhi, India's most controversial, powerful and longest-serving prime minister. The poorest neighborhoods in Delhi saw the worst riots.

It was an organized massacre of the minority community by politicians and their supporters. Rioters had a free run as the Delhi Police looked away. They ruled the streets as an overwhelmed civil society figured ways out.

Within days of the riots, the usual Indian response was triggered: Commissions and committees, assurances and some stupid political statements, charges and counter charges, and denials by the very leaders who incited the mob to violence.

Hundreds of FIRs were registered by the police. Hundreds more were refused, because the victims wanted to name Congress leaders like Sajjan Kumar, HKL Bhagat and Jagdish Tytler.

Investigations into hundreds of murders were closed by police, they didn't even make it to courts. Hundreds of murders are yet to be even registered by police.

In 20 years, nine commissions and committees have inquired into the riots. The first one headed by Justice Ranganath Mishra, who went on to become India's chief justice and later the National Human Rights Commission chief. But the commission was a sham. Statements submitted by widows and victims were made available to the accused like Sajjan Kumar, whose supporters were allowed to file their responses months after the deadline. Years later, the CBI found these statements in Sajjan Kumar's house.

The latest commission, one led by Justice GT Nanavati, is still to complete its inquiry. The government last week gave yet another extension to him.

By 1990, six years after riots, just one killer had been convicted. Three special courts set up in 1990 were almost shams. One court acquitted over 100 accused within weeks. The exception was the court chaired by judges like SN Dhingra.

Widows and survivors walked the Kafkaesque corridors of Delhi courts for years in search of justice. They were threatened, some gave in. A handful of the Sikh leaders were accused of taking money from the accused.

Through the travails of these victims, Delhi progressed. Apartment complexes, BPO boom and malls – it has been an unprecedented two decades for Delhi as right wing ideology burst into the scene. Hopes of the BJP-led government delivering justice were misplaced.

The past two decades has been an unending trauma for the riot victims eeking out a living in the shanties and crumbling colonies, earmarked for them. For the orphans of 1984, the lost childhood has been replaced by a miserable youth.

In a city that is a comfortable home to political refugees from over 40 countries, the victims of 1984 are forgotten and hidden – like sins.

Delhi has been the graveyard of many an empire: Be it the Slave Dynasty, Lodhis, Mughals or the British. But can modern Delhi overcome its history? Will India survive the curse of history? For a country that refuses to learn from history how bright could the future be?

The answers to these questions lie buried in the lessons of the past. In search of a solution to the endless cycle of violence, Timesofindia.comcaptures

various aspects of the 1984 riots, its victims and responses, hoping that the leaders, authorities, ordinary men and women realize that no cause is worth a life

source: India refuses to learn lessons from its history of communal riots. The sins of 1984 revisited Gujarat in 2002 and are likely to surface again, says Josy Joseph.

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# Part 7

In Delhi, every year busloads of tourists visit the memorials established by the Indian government for the late Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi, and her son Rajiv Gandhi. These memorials are forgetorials; they do not inform the visitors of the chillingly sinister justification provided by Mr. Gandhi for the Sikh pogrom: The ground does shake when a big tree falls.

I was a teenager in Delhi in November 1984, when Mr. Gandhi spoke those words. My father was an officer in the Indian armed forces. We rented an apartment in a yellow government-owned block in Sector 3, Rama Krishna Puram in south Delhi. Before the mob appeared, Father had called his regiment, requesting two security guards, but for some reason the guards were unable to make it on time. A mob passed by our block, attacking the Sikhs they saw on the streets. We took refuge in our Hindu neighbor's house. Even there we could hear the acoustics of the mob, the barbaric slogans. "Khoon ka badla khoon say (Blood for blood)."

We were the lucky ones. We were spared. Around 20 minutes later, the mob passed our apartment block. I recall hearing a couple of gunshots fired in the air, followed by a dead silence, and the loud racist and bloodthirsty slogans receding, as if a demonstration of the Doppler effect.

The few hours we were in the neighbor's house fill an enormous space in my mind. How many of my assumptions collapsed that afternoon. I have not been able to articulate those few hours, the burned remains of the buildings I saw later and the tiny particles of ash floating in air. Eventually two security guards appeared at our door, but I didn't feel safe. I have tried hard to forget those moments, but they stand in my way.

We were unaware at that point that the ruling Congress Party was using all the organs of the Indian state to conduct a pogrom. The state-controlled All India Radio announced that, barring a few little incidents, the situation was under control. The state-controlled television, Doordarshan broadcast live the national mourning as Mrs. Gandhi's body lay in state (with Bergmanesque closeups of her face). But the soundtrack was the soundtrack of the mob created by the cabinet ministers and members of parliament, as we found out later. *Khoon ka Badla Khoon Say*. Blood for Blood. Most of the Indian press collaborated with the government in the coverage of the pogrom. The Indian Express newspaper was one of the few honorable exceptions.

Last December in Delhi after the brutal gangrape of a 23-year-old student, I witnessed demonstrations in several neighborhoods in the city and attended a panel at a research library. There was a long and chilling pause in the audience when the panelists pointed out the silences around sexual violence that took place in 1984 pogrom. Several Sikh women were gangraped. Others lost as many as 21 members of their extended families in a single day.

The aching spectacle and the acoustics created by mobs are too horrific to describe in detail. Many victims had been earlier displaced by the Partition of India in 1947 and later by Mrs. Gandhi's emergency in 1975. Most led impoverished existence in resettlement colonies on the fringes of Delhi weaving jute cots or working as carpenters or ironsmiths.

Public buses and trains were used by the state to transport paid mobs. Voter's lists were used to mark Sikh houses and businesses overnight. Most victims were burned with the aid of kerosene or a white inflammable powder. More than four thousand Sikhs were burned alive in Delhi alone. Untold number of Sikh men were set on fire in more than forty cities throughout India. The mobs, it is well documented, were given money, liquor, kerosene, and instructions by senior Congress leaders. India'ss then home minister did nothing while the city of Delhi started smelling of human flesh and burning rubber tires. Delhi Police actively participated in the orgy. Prominent citizens and lawyers begged the prime minister to act, but he did nothing for four days. This kind of coordination of the state apparatus to kill its own citizens in such large numbers only a few blocks from the Parliament was unsurpassed in Indian history.

A few days later, Prime Minster Rajiv Gandhi, a Cambridge dropout, used really bad physics to justify the pogrom: When a big tree falls, the earth shakes. The anti-Sikh riot, was mostly mentioned in the Indian public sphere as a footnote to Indira Gandhi's assassination. Barring the exceptions of Urvashi Butalia's **The Other Side of Silence** and Amitav Ghosh's 1995 essay, The Ghosts of Mrs. Gandhi in The New Yorker, most Indian writers were reluctant to engage with that horrific past. Things are changing slowly. Several human rights reports and a few books have appeared, the most significant one being, When a Tree Shook Delhi by the distinguished journalist Manoj Mitta and the Supreme Court lawyer, H. S. Phoolka. Among other aspects it examines the role played by Delhi Police in facilitating the atrocity, and the sinister role played by the judiciary afterwards. A few documentaries have been made and a feature film, Amu by Shonali Bose appeared a few years earlier.

Almost three decades and several judicial commissions later, not a single politician, cabinet minister, bureaucrat, diplomat, judge, or a high-ranking

police officer has been brought to justice. Witnesses have been pressurized, offered huge amounts of money, harmed physically and emotionally, and even killed. In April 2013, a Delhi court acquitted Sajjan Kumar, a Congress leader from Delhi and one of the main accused in the pogrom. Last week, the Delhi High court rejected his appeals and decided to continue his trial. In 2009, Jagdish Tytler, another Congress leader accused of involvement in the pogrom, was exonerated by the India's federal investigation agency, Central Bureau of Investigation. Indian courts offered a modicum of hope by ordering the CBI to continue investigating Mr. Tytler's role in the pogrom.

The Justice Nanavati Commission had indicted both Mr. Tytler and Mr. Kumar in its 2005 report on the carnage. The Commission considers it safe to record a finding that there is credible evidence against Shri Jagdish Tytler to the effect that very probably he had a hand in organizing attacks on Sikhs, the Nanavati Commission report remarked. The report added that, there is credible material against Shri Sajjan Kumar and Shri Balwan Khokhar for recording a finding that he and Shri Balwan Khokhar were probably involved as alleged by the witnesses.

Kamal Nath, another main accused, is a senior cabinet minister in the current administration; he represented India at the World Economic Forum in Davos earlier this year. Several witnesses have testified that Mr. Nath was present at Rakabganj Sahib gurudwara and directed and instigated mobs.

In 1984 Rakabganj Sahib, a heritage gurudwara, only a few blocks away from the Parliament, was a target. In the first week of June, as the Indian press reported plans for laying a foundation stone for a November 1984 Sikh massacre memorial at Rakabganj Sahib, the Congress government in Delhi set about creating hurdles to prevent its construction. The initiative for the memorial came from Delhi Sikh Gurudwara Management Committee (DSGMC) after a change in its leadership from a pro-Congress party group to an anti-Congress party group. The New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) warned the organizing body against building an illegal structure in the gurudwara complex.

Why exactly this opposition to remembrance of lives and communities destroyed in 1984? Such control over sites of traumatic memory suggests the state is deeply anxious about restoration of forgotten histories, especially the crimes it committed against its own citizens in the recent past. The memorial will necessarily question the official narrative around what to remember and how to remember. In India, it seems, only the party in power has the supreme right to build memorials, and the ones it keeps constructing with obsessive zeal are around the lives and deaths of so-called great leaders. Yet India has no

memorials for around 1.5 million people killed and over 12 million displaced during the violent Partition, accompanying the birth of India and Pakistan in 1947.

Memory, W.G. Sebald wrote, even if you repress it, will come back at you and it will shape your life. Not so long ago I asked my own family members, once again, about their memories of November 1984. My sister told me how she has sought to erase the memories of her school, which was looted, partially destroyed, and set on fire by a mob. During those couple of hours in the neighbour's house, I still recall, she kept saying, Let's go home. I have to finish my homework. She was 12.

My father recalled his journey home from work on the evening of October 31. He was the commanding officer of the Signal Regiment (E-Block) near the Parliament. When the officer's van passed by the All India Institute of Medical Sciences in central Delhi, he saw some signs of violence through the van window. As the violence intensified on November 1, 1984, father received several desperate calls from his Sikh staff members: junior officers, signalmen, radio and cipher operators. He dispatched a Hindu driver to rescue them.

My mother said she had nothing to say. When I insisted, she told me about the regiment driver. Ishwar, the driver, called very late on the night of November 1. She had answered the phone. Ishwar was crying. He told your father the details of the day, almost like an entry in a log book, she said Then he broke down. Ishwar had driven for nine hours through Delhi, through fire and smoke, bodies and ash. He had rescued dozens of Sikh men and brought their families to the safety of a barbed-wire camp in Khanpur area in south Delhi. Many more needed help. Ishwar had not slept or eaten for the last sixteen hours. He could no longer stare in the eye of the horror.

Your father tried to persuade Ishwar to make one more trip, mother recalled. But Ishwar broke down. My mother was silent for a while. She spoke about Ishwar's sobbing, crackling voice, and the complete collapse of language. To this day I hear Ishwar's voice and his scream, mother said, her eyes filled with moisture. When she spoke several hours later, she asked me a question about the novel I was working on. I could see that she felt like saying something to me, but she was unable to do so

On June 12, the foundation stone of the Sikh pogrom memorial was laid at Rakabganj Sahib gurudwara complex. Building a memorial obviously raises huge questions. What event will be remembered and how will it be remembered? Will there be a single one or a plurality of memorials? How will

one ensure that the memorialization project respects the dead and not reduce itself into a showcase for competing political agendas?

The memorials and their materiality may or may not allow mourning, and may or may not help healing. But there is one memorial the city of Delhi needs urgently, the one that would really honor the dead and restore humanity to the living, a memorial that would bring an end to infinite impunity the Indian political class enjoys after organizing, inciting, and enabling collective violence and after conducting pogroms.

Excerpts from Helium written by Jaspreet Singh.

# Part 8

The revelation made by Justice RS Narula, former judge of Punjab and Haryana high Court – 1984 Questions that Remain Unanswered.



**Justice R S Narula** 

Eminent jurist and former Chief Justice of Punjab & Haryana High Court. Article reproduced from The Sikh Review, September 2000.

The Government of Delhi State has, by a Notification dated May 08, 2000, assigned to Justice Nanavati all matters relating to the 1984 massacre of Sikhs. Here are some key Questions for the Commission.

Justoice Narula himself reveals that once I thought to write an article on the 1984 genocide of Sikhs but I have, time and again, restrained myself, as the article would forewarn the culprits because my reference to various aspects of the case may lead to destruction of even the remaining relevant records.

Here are some of the questions the Commission – indeed the Government – must answer.

Why was seriousness not attached to the situation when wireless messages started pouring in from 18.30 hours on Nov. 01 onwards, about dead bodies lying on the roads?

Why was the common feature of dead bodies being of Sikhs not brought on record?

Why were the higher-up police and executive officers – up to the Home Minister, Narasimha Rao, paralyzed when the situation in Kalyanpuri and Tirlokpuri (in East Delhi) reporting:

- (a) the butchering and murders of persons on large scale was reported on Wireless at 17.31 hours; and again
- (b) when DCP R.K. Sharma's wireless message was received at 18.58 hours on Nov. 01 reporting about 200 persons having already been killed in Tirlokpuri alone?

Was this deliberate non-action not due to the publicly expressed view of the then P.M. that all this was the natural rumbling caused by the "fall of a Big Tree"?

How is it that hundreds of attackers drawn from different parts of Delhi and Haryana appeared, armed with iron rods of same material and size?

Why have these rods not been recovered from them after the killings?

Neither any Sikh was reported killed on 31st October, nor any house of a Sikh was looted! If we have a look on next day's news papers on 1st November, we do not find any untoward incident against Sikhs .....but yes, there was a short news in 1st column on page no.1 that some tension was seen in out skirts of Delhi and Ghaziabad and some reports of disturbance also mentioned. What was the reason the public which was pacified, got provoked next day and then this same public is so incited that it starts killing their own brothers—the Sikhs? We have to find it's answer.

The day when Indira was assassinated, public was feared but peaceful, they may be Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs but nothing worst happened anywhere. Some Hindu anti social elements tried to create tension by disturbing in crowd as reported from AIIMS (All India Medical Sciences) but it was not on large scale. Hindus couldn't dare to attack on house of a Sikh because Sikh could fight till his last breath and saved his family. Therefore nobody attacked on houses of Sikhs.

The attack begun only when these hoodlums were assured of their safety. They were incited against Sikhs and prepared mentally to attack on innocent Sikh families. To set their houses on fire, and wherever they see a Sikh—kill him. The govt. of India used it's all the propaganda organizations to prepare grounds to eliminate Sikhs in India like Door Darshan TV, All India Radio and news papers etc.

A fact-finding team jointly organized by one People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and people's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) in the course of investigations went to every corner of Delhi where the innocent Sikhs were killed. Indian govt. called these well organized killings of Sikhs as Sikh riots but the riots means where to communities, groups clash with each other. Here in 1984, only Sikhs were attacked in a well planned manner, a very well organized by perpetrators and chief organizers, hence it was genocide of Sikhs not the riots.

To unravel the facts behind these killings, both these organizations had published a book jointly named as "DOSHI KAUN" in Hindi which was also published in English as **"WHO ARE THE GUILTY".** These books were sold immediately from the book-shelves in markets.

The government of India was shattered by the publishing of these books including Rajiv Gandhi. The President of Delhi Congress at that time called it as BUNDLE OF LIES and threatened these organizations who collected evidences, revealed and published. She was Ambika Soni.

On the basis of information gathered from various sources, including eyewitnesses, survivors and relatives of the dead, When all these incidents were investigate, it was found....'the main reason behind these incidents were three rumors'. First rumor was of distribution of sweets by Sikhs on assassination of Indira Gandhi which was found baseless, they couldn't find any eye witness of it and second .....

'The Second rumors was that train-loads of hundreds of Hindu dead bodies had arrived at Old Delhi Station from Punjab. Third, water was poisoned by the Sikhs, As for the two latter rumors, we came across evidence of policemen in van touring certain localities and announcing through loudspeakers the arrival of the train and to poison the water.

In certain areas, we heard that police officials had rung up residents advising them not to drink water. These rumors( the last two were officially repudiated later) contributed to the shaping of a public mind that acquiesed in the attack and murders that took place soon after.

The second face begun with the well armed Hindu youths who arrived by Tempos, Vans, Buses and Trucks. Their arrival was noticed from the midnight of 31st Octber and next morning they could be seen from South Delhi to North Delhi, from west Delhi to east Delhi, as they were seen in Munirka of south Delhi, Saket, south extension, Lajp[at nagar, Bhogal, Jangpura and in Ashram area.beside these they also spread in markets of Connaught place of southwest Delhi and in the colonies across Yamuna and in north Delhi too.

With cans of petrol they went round the localities and systematically set fire to Sikh houses, shops and Gurudwaras (their places of worship) before they set them on fire. We were told by the residents of these colonies that they were lead by known famous Congress leaders and activists who identified the residences and shops of Sikhs and informed the killing squads. A senior Police officer of Delhi revealed under condition of not disclosing his name that, 'the sign boards of shops are generally written in Hindi or English, how could the illiterate goons could identify them whether the owner of shop was Sikh or Hindu until it's true identity is not revealed by a local or by a literate person?

In some villages of Delhi like Trilokpuri, Mangolpuri and across Yamuna, the loot was organized by local Gurzars and Jatt farmers along with the local residents in which most were congress activists. We were also told that the Balmiki (Bhangi) community organized the loot. The buses of Delhi Transport Corporation were engaged in ferrying these members of killing squads from one place to other in south Delhi. How could DTC deploy it's buses to ferry these goons?

These killing squads had planned a very well organized plan to kill Sikhs. According to census of 1971, the number of Sikh youths in the age group of 20-25 in Delhi was about 1,00,000. Most of the Sikhs killed in this pogrom were of this age group only. As per reports of Hindustan times on 7th Nov. & 11th November, the dead toll of Sikhs was only 325 including 46 Hindus.

It was the biggest joke with dead. The statistics collected from Jhuggi colonies and other sources it was counted to more than 100 which later on confirmed to 2733 officially on govt. records but unofficial records reveals that more than 10,000 Sikhs were killed only in Delhi.

The same tactic was applied to set ablaze the houses, shops and Gurudwaras of Sikhs in Mangolpuri and Trilokpuri where maximum killings were reported. The youths were mostly targeted. They were pulled out of their houses, beaten and then set on fire alive, whereas the old men, women and children were generally given a chance to escape. The registration papers (Papers of ownership of their houses) were also burnt. We were informed in Mangolpuri that even children were not spared. We also received the reports of gang rape with Sikh women.

A well organized plan was orchestrated to destroy the wealth and life of Sikhs by set on fire their houses, shops, businesses and holy Gurudwaras. The orgy of destruction embraced a variety of property ranging from shops, factories, houses to gurudwaras and schools belonging to the Sikhs. In all the affected spots, a calculated assailants to burn alive the Sikhs on public roads.

Even five days after the incidents, on November, in the courses of one our regular visits to Mangolpuri we found that although the ashes had been cleared, the pavement in front of the Congress (I) office was still blotched with burnt patches, which the local people had earlier pointed out to us as spots where four Sikhs were burnt alive.

More important; in the area which were most affected, such as Trilokpuri, Mangolpuri and Sultanpuri, the mobs were led by local Congress (I) politicians and hoodlums of that locality. These areas, it will be recalled, were setup in the urban resettlement drive initiated by the Congress (I), and have since been active support bases of the Congress (I).

These areas have also in the recent past provided the Congress (I) rallies in the city substantial numerical support. In other words, there exists in such areas an established organizational network through which masess are mobilized for demonstration of Congress (I)'s ostensible popular support. A veteran politician based in Delhi put in very crisply when he said that these resettlement colonies " are the kept (rakhel) of the Congress (I)".

The Gurzars and Jatts from the outskirt villages of Delhi played a key role in loot and massacre of Sikhs. They provoked against Sikhs, fuelled in fire and brutally killed the Sikh youths. Justice Narula himself wrote it that .....36. How is it that hundreds of attackers drawn from different parts of Delhi and Haryana appeared, armed with iron rods of same material and size?

Why have these rods not been recovered from them after the killings? The participations of the Jats and Gujjars from the so-called "urban villages" of Delhi played a very strong role in adding to the numbers of rioters and in aiding to the numbers of rioters and in aiding the riots, murders and looting. They were particularly dominant in West and South Delhi.

Most of the these villagers who once owned land in Ber Serai, Munirka and Mohammadpur, for instance made a tidy sum of money after their land was taken away for the urban expansion of New Delhi. The land owned by these villagers was generally of a very poor quality with no irrigational facilities.

For this reason the villagers in these areas had to augment their resources through non-agricultural means, not least of them being brigandage. After their lands were acquired by the government they suddenly became prosperous and began to exert themselves politically as well. It is a known fact that if one is to make any headway in an election the Gujjars and Jats of these areas have to be one's side.

Unfortunately, much of the police force which is stationed in this area and around is drawn from these communities. For this reason, on various occasions there had been a noticeable complicity in these areas between the criminals and the police. This truth was brought home startly during the recent riots.

As for the Scheduled Caste communities who were displaced due to the acquisition of land for urban expansion those from the Balmiki community utilized the benefits of the reservation policy and came into the city where they found jobs in the policies, UPSC etc.

The Bhangis went into the Corporation, while the third-major group, the Dhanaks, considered the lowest caste, are engaged in a variety of odd jobs. Among the Scheduled Caste communities living in the resettlement colonies, the Balmikis are pre-dominantly supporters of Jagjivan Ram, while the Bhangis are solid supporters of Congress (I), Information gathered by us from the trouble areas suggests that the Bhangis many of them working as a corporation – comprised the bulk of the local miscreants the Sikhs.

# LIST OF POLICE OFFICERS INVOLVED IN NOVEMBER 1984 GENOCIDE OF SIKHS-

NAME AND RANK	POSTED IN 1984/DELHI	DATE OF BIRTH
L. ACP MAHABIR SINGH*	NORTH ADDL DCP/SECURITY	10.3.1950
. ACP ROOP CHAND*	NORTH	1.2.1939
. ACP RAGHUBIR SINGH MALIK*	NORTH	6.9.1930
. ACP BHASKAR*	EAST	22.1.1945
. ACP R.S DAHIYA*	WEST	30.7.1945
. ACP O.P. YADAV*	SOUTH	11.9.1945
. ACP DURGA PRASAD*	NORTH	2.3.1944
L SHRI H.C. JATAV*	EAST	2.3.1934
. SHRI SEWA DASS*	EAST	17.9.1945
0. SHRI CHANDER PRAKASH*	EAST	22.11.1941
1. SHRI UK KATNA*	WEST	15.12.1948
Z. SHRI AJAY CHADHA*	SOUTH	30.8.1953
3. SHRI R.C. KOHLI*	RAILWAY	8.6.1942
4. ACP RAGHUNATH SINGH*	NORTH	20.12.1959
S. ACP RD MALHOTRA**	EAST	17.5.1930
6. ACP PURSHOTTAM DAS*	EAST	12.6.1950
7. ACP SHOEDEEN SINGH*	WEST	5.8.1945
8. ACP JAI PAL SINGH*†	SOUTH	10.7.1944
9. ACP JAGDISH C SHARMA*	WEST	8.1.1938
INSPECTORS		
0. INSP. SHOORVIR SINGH TYAGI*†	EAST	10.7.1053
1. INSP. HARI RAM BHATTI**	WEST	10.7.1953
Z. INSP. JAI SINGH*	EAST	10.6.1942
		-
23. INSP. RAM CHANDER*	WEST	11.5.1994
24. INSP. RAM PAL SINGH*	WEST	7.1.1936
25. INSP. RAM MEHAR*	EAST	27.6.1930
26. INSP TP SHARMA*	CR. & RLY	10.1.1937
27. INSP. SADHU SINGH*	CR. & RLY	9.10.1932
28. INSP. JAI BHAGWAN MALIK*	NORTH	1.4.1946
29. INSP. RC THAKUR*	EAST	6.1.1944
IO. INSP. HAWA SINGH*	WEST	10.11.194
11. INSP, BHIM SINGH*	EAST	27.2.1935
IZ. INSP. R.P. SINGH*	EAST	18.2.1942
3. INSP. ROHTASH SINGH*	SOUTH	10.3.1943
SUB INSPECTORS		
4. SI SRI CHAND*	EAST	15.11.1931
5. SI MANPHOOL SINGH*	EAST	22.11.1940
6. SI SOM PRAKASH*	EAST	1.8.1934
7. SI BABU LAL*	WEST	30.7.1953
8. SI RAM CHANDRA*	WEST	15.7.1930
9. SI SHAKTI SINGH*	SOUTH	5.7.1947
0. SI ISHWAR SINGH*	SOUTH	7.1.1949
1. SI SAT PRAKASH*	NORTH	24.2.1948
2. SI SURINDER DEV*	EAST	9.9.1931
3. SI TULSI DAS*	EAST	3.5.1930
4. SI MANI RAM*	EAST	1.11.1958
S. SI JAGDISH PRASAD*	EAST	10.7.1934
5. SI LAXMI CHAND*	SOUTH	1.4.1947
7. SI BHAWAR SINGH*	SOUTH	9.12.1934
I. SI IQBAL SINGH*		9.12.1934

49. SI SATPAL KAPOOR*	EAST	8.4.1946
50. SI RAM SINGH*	NORTH	1.1.1946
51. SI CLIATAV*	EAST	3.1.1945
52. SLOM PRAKASH*	CENTRAL	1.8.1952
53. SI VP RANA*†	SOUTH	1.8.1952
54. SI GANESH TIWARI*	SOUTH	3.8.1938
55. SI JAI BHAGWAN*	NORTH	1.4.1946
56. SI SADHU RAM*	EAST	13.5.194
57. SI MOOL CHAND†	SHAKARPUR	
58. SI R. D. SINGH†		
ASST. SUB INSPECTOR		
59. ASI AMAR NATH*	NORTH	8.5.1940
60. ASI MANGE RAM*	NORTH	10.7.193
61. ASI RAJA RAM*	NORTH	11.7.194
62. ASI ATTAR SINGH*	WEST	10.2.193
63. ASI RAMESHWAR NATH*	CENTRAL	4.7.1940
64. ASI BAKSHIT	TRILOKPURI	
HEAD CONSTABLE		
65. HC JAI CHAND M6/W*	WEST	2.7.194
66. HC RAJBIR SINGH M26/E*	EAST	14.1.19
67. HC HARGOPAL SINGH 117/E*	EAST	19.11.1
68. HC GAUTAM SHIPKAR 136/E*	EAST	4.5.194
69. HC RAJVIR SINGHT	KALYANPURI	
CONSTABLE		
70. CT. MUNSHI RAMMIL M126/E*	EAST	3.2.195
71. CT. KHAZAN SINGH M340/W*	WEST	12.1.19
72. CT. MOHINDRA SINGH 977/C*	CENTRAL	9.9.195
73. CT. ISHWAR SINGH NO. 984/E*	EAST	18.11.1
74. CT. JEERAJ SINGH NO. 826/E*	EAST	10.1.19
75. CT. RAJKUMAR NO. 693/E*	EAST	20.9.19
76. CT. GAJRAJ SINGH 429/E*	EAST	30.1.19
SHO		
77. RAO RAM MEHART	SHAKARPUR	
78. RAVTAS SINGH†	SADAR THANA	
79. SURVIR SINGH†	KALYANPURI	
S.H.O. AND CONSTABLES. R. K. PURAN	SECTOR IV P. S. †	
Hindi Magazine: Insaaf Kab aur Kaun Dega	a? November 1984 se ab tak ka safar	

# **Role of Police**;

All throughout the period from October 31 to November 4 – the heights of the riots the police all over the city uniformly betrayed a common behavioral pattern marked by

- (i) total absence from the scene; or
- (ii) a role of passive spectators or

(iii) direct participation or abetment in the orgy of violence against the Sikhs. On November 1, when we toured the Lajpat Nagar area we found the police conspicious by their absence while Sikh's shop were being set on fire and looted. Young people armed with swords, daggers, spears, steel Trishuls (Tridents) and iron rods were ruling the roads.

The only sign of police presence was a police jeep, which obstructed a peace procession brought out a few concerned citizens (who later organized themselves into the Nagarik Ekta manch) on the evening of November 1, When the procession was on its way to the Lajpat Nagar main market, a police inspector from the van stopped the procession, warned it not to proceed reminding its members that the city was under curfew and Section 144.

When leaders of the procession wanted to know from the police inspector why the arsonists and rioters were not being dispersed if curfew was on, he gave no reply and warned instead that the procession could go to the Lajpat Nagar market at their own risk. At the Lajpat Nagar market, leaders of the procession sought to pacify the mob by pointing out that innocent Sikhs were not responsible for Mrs. Gandhi's assassination and should be protected from the attacks. They raised the slogan: "Hindu-Sikh Bhai Bhai"

As the crowd began to listen to the speeches made by the procession leaders, organized attempts were made by certain groups from among them to shout down the speakers, by raising the slogans: "Indira Gandhi Zindabad" "Hindi Hindi Bhai Bhai". It is significant that wherever we went, we did not find any sign of mourning or grief on the faces of those who were participating in the looting and burning. Attempts of pacify them by the peace marchers were met with derisive laughter. Listening to their gleeful faces, one would have thought it was a festival, but for the arson and loot that was going on.

Beside these organized attacks wherever a Sikh was seen on the roads or streets, he was helpless to face these killing squads. He was killed on the spot, he may be an army personal who was going on vacation to his home or was returning to join his duty, was targeted by these brutal killing squads either at a railway station or in the bogie of the train.

But the bitter truth is these cowards though supported by local administration and the Police had not strength to face a Sikh anywhere. It's quite easy to stop a moving truck on road and kill it's driver but to face an armed Sikh —-is sheer foolishness. Therefore these brutal killers massacred only single or less in numbered Sikhs. They didn't set any example of valor to which these Congress goons could feel proud.

The Station Hours Officer (SHO) of Kalyanpuri police station under which Trilokpuri falls, withdrew the constables who were on duty there. In Sultanpuri, the SHO, one Bhatti, is alleged to have killed two Sikhs and helped the mob in disarming those Sikhs who tried to resist the mob. No action is ever taken against this guilty Police officer.

But the Delhi Police was also under control of ministry of home affairs. The Home Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao who was inducted in the new Cabinet by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi soon after Mrs. Gandhi's death, was empowered in his capacity as a Home Minister to deploy the para-military forces (if the Delhi Police force was found to be inadequate or inefficient) to quell the violence that erupted following the announcement of Mrs. Gandhi's death.

He could deploy the force to save the helpless citizens in a short notice if he wished but he didn't did so and left the innocent Sikhs on mercy of killing squads. He dishonored his position and violated his constitutional duties by not following them truthfully.

Any direct involvement of him may not be proved in Sikh genocide but he is responsible for giving indirect support to the killings and for the negligence to save precious lives of citizens by delay in giving orders and taking the decisions being the home minister of the nation ...doesn't give him any benefit of doubt but keeps him under clouds. We will discuss more in coming pages ahead.

Delhi police was so negligent that it's one officer Gautam Kaul (Additional commissioner of police) accepted before the rioters in All India Medical Institute that, 'we were not prepared to face such situation (Indian Express 1st Nov. 1984) Very amazed to see that an inefficient officer was given the charge of Additional Commissioner, Security in a short time.

On the morning of November 3, 8.30 a.m. onwards two opposition M.P.'s repeatedly requested both Mr. Narsimha Rao and Shiv Shankar to provide army protection to trains carrying Sikh passengers arriving from Punjab. No troops were sent, with the result that every train was left at the mercy of killing squads who dragged out Sikhs from the incoming train compartments lynched them, their bodies on the platforms or the railway tracks and many were set on fire. Newspaper report that 43 persons were killed.

This was denied by Doordarshan in the evening. Visiting the Tughlakabad station around 3.30 p.m., the STATESMAN reporters saw "two bodies still smouldering on the platforms across the tracks". (November 3, 1984). The troops had either arrived after the incident, or the incident took place in front of the troops who did not intervene.

President Giani Jail singh said that he had no right to intervene. The police commissioner of Delhi Subhash Tandon says that he was not given any report on what was going on in Delhi whereas he himself was seen with the mob which attacked at the Gurudwara Rakabganj.

Home Minister Narsimharao was silent. Lieutinent Governor Gawai thought as everything was under control and he didn't took any dicision to call the army. He said to President ....If army is called it could be disastrous. A magistrate refused to order to apply force on mob (if required) to sign the order to control the mob by applying force whereas the homes of Sikhs were set on fire in his neighborhood and Sikhs were burnt alive.

The senior politician of Congress like Rajpal Singh was in meeting till late in the night and busy to deliver kerosene and a white colored inflammatory substance to mob. To get help of Delhi police and the DTC was in it's agenda.

### Part 9





ARCHITECTS OF 1984 SIKH GENOCIDE (Rajiv Gandhi was the Planner and mastermind).



# A pack Of Wolves In Khaki Clothing

The history gives no account of such precedent on this subject as does the manner in which dreaded, criminal, murderous and ruthless officers of Delhi Police disposed of thousands of dead bodies of innocent Sikh people in an inhuman, wicked and cruel manner.

Come on! Let us assume for a while that it was not Delhi Police officers who murdered or got murdered the Sikh people in November "1984". Well, let us also assume for a while that the Delhi Police is neither aware of the truth about killings of the Sikh people in Delhi nor do they know where the killers came from to do this bloody massacre of the Sikh people.

Nevertheless, the truth is as universally accepted as the existence of Sun God and the facts speak for themselves that over five thousand innocent Sikhs fell dead in a single day, and all the dead bodies were found in the streets of Delhi that include the area around thirty kilometers. Besides, a large number of decomposed or badly burnt or extensively wounded dead bodies were seen lying in lanes, alleyways, squares, parks, trains, railway stations, bus terminals, trucks, streams, canals, markets, streets, stores, factories, taxi stands, petrol pumps, transporters, warehouses, etc.

It was the legal obligation of the Delhi Police to take these dead bodies in their custody, and they did fulfill it. However, Delhi Police 'neither' lodged an FIR, 'nor' did they made a note of it in their diary, 'nor' did they photograph the dead bodies, 'nor' did they conduct a post-mortem on the dead bodies, 'nor' did they write the post-mortem report, 'nor' did they appeal for witnesses to the killings, 'nor' did they inform the kin of victims through a pubic notice, 'nor' did they hand over the dead bodies to an heir, 'nor' did they investigate a murderer for the massacre, 'nor' did they file a single murder case to be decided in a court, 'nor' did they keep the dead bodies of innocent Sikh people in a mortuary or a funeral parlor, 'nor' did they administer the last rites to anyone and 'no' funerary rites were administered as per the doctrine of Sikhism, 'no' recitation of the sacred Gurbani funeral was done, 'no' Gurdwara authorities were informed to witness a cremation and 'no' ritual material or wooden sticks were used to burn the dead bodies.

Moreover, when a dreaded terrorist is killed, the police are supposed to perform their funeral rites as per the ritual of the religion of the dead, the last rites of the dead bodies of the Sikh people were performed by the followers of other religions. For instance, the funeral ceremony of the terrorists who attacked the Indian Parliament as well as the Pakistani enemies who died in the Indo-Pak war was performed in a dignified manner according to the respective religion of the dead, the corpses of the Sikhs were cremated with the dead bodies of alcoholics, meat-eaters, crooks, criminals and the like persons and without performing any religious ritual too! This terrible inhuman act has threatened the very fabric of the Indian society and all of the religious traditions and customs of the country.

Whereas it is the foremost as well as the most important moral duty of the Delhi Police to comply with all their legal obligations, on the contrary, the senior officers of the Delhi Police crossed all limits of cruelty when they collected or got collected the dead bodies of Sikh people so inhumanly.

With a nod and a wink of the Centre – especially, M.M.K. Wali, the then Home Secretary, Government of India, P.G. Gavai, the then Lt. Governor of Delhi, and Subhash Tandon, the then Police Commissioner of Delhi – the senior officers of Delhi Police bribed sweepers, criminals, butchers and slum-dwellers with alcohol and a lot of money to drag the dead bodies of Sikh people from different areas of Delhi to dustcarts, street venders' pushcarts, cycle-rickshaws and auto-rickshaws so cruelly as if "a sweeper drags an animal to his handcart."

Thereafter, they tied or wrapped together the dead bodies collected from different parts of Delhi and put the bundles in small trucks and tempos to take

these to the forests on the outskirts of Delhi and Aravalli hills surrounding Delhi to set the lots on fire with the help of petrol, diesel or other chemicals during the hour of darkness in night as a top-secret act! It marks the cold, dark and scary nights of November "1984". It was a time when a commoner of Delhi was so terrified and the Sikh people were in hiding while many of them were injured. Television was the only electronic media and it was Government-controlled at that time.

In the hard times of this tragedy, Delhi Police showed a stunning contempt of the Gurugranth Sahib and hundreds of Gurdwaras. For instance, Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha in Gamdi near Bhajanpura, situated in trans-yamuna area of Delhi was totally devastated and the Gurugranth Sahib and other religious books were burnt and rereduced to ashes. Thereafter, the Gurudwara was occupied by the police to build a police station on the land. This police station remained in existence here for 8 years that is till 1992, and all this happened in Delhi, the capital of the country, to bring about the disgarce of a brave community. We must not forget the fact that "ten hungry hounds can kill even a lion or tiger collecively!"

The Centre government has conspired against the Sikh in a planned manner and told the Sikh people again and again that investigating committees are doing their job well and they will definitely get justice. This job of investigating committees lasted for 26 years and total 18 investigating committees were set up one by one in this long period. Unfortunately, it proved to be merely deception, a criminal conspiracy. Therefore, Your Honor, I request you to take this petition of mine as a Writ Petition and let the legal proceedings be begun. I must request (as in November "1984") that:

an immediate legal action be taken against all the then senior officers – ACP, DCP, Joint Commissioner and Commissioner of Police including the SHOs and other officers posted in all police stations of Delhi in murder, roit, arson, rape, throwing away dead bodies, destruction of evidence, spoiling religious places, provoking a mob of criminals and the like serious cases. Besides, on the basis of the given facts, let a strict action be taken against the topmost police officers and felonious political leaders who made the police force do this heinous crime; and

(B) an order be issued for letting a big and special team of senior officers with an honest background from North-east and Keral or South India be set up by the Hon'ble Supreme Court in the leadership and guidance of the present honest Commissioner of Police so that the legal proceedings be done in time-bound manner.

Gurcharan Singh Babbar says, "Whenever I pass by the Supreme Court of India, I hang my head in shame for these unanswered queries in mind: Is it the biggest temple of justice for us or an refuge for the agents of the Centre government, murderers of the innocent and police officers with criminal background? Or is it a meeting-place for judges, the eyewitness to mass murder of the innocent, who did not perform their moral and legal duty due to which the whole community Sikh has been deprived of justice for long?

#### Therefore I would like to ask:

(i) Are the Supreme Court judges ignorant of the fact that Delhi has witness killing of over 5000 innocent persons?

(ii) Is the Supreme Court ignorant of the fact that about 10,000 murderers of the innocent of Delhi reside in the vicinity of the Court?

(iii) Is the Supreme Court ignorant of the fact that it remained closed continuously for four days in November 1984 because the roads had been blocked by the killers?

(iv) Is the Supreme Court ignorant of the fact that the Supreme Court judges remained closed indoors continuously for four days while the Court itself was in possession of the killers, so no applicant or advocate or judge could enter the Court in this period? And

(v) Is the Supreme Court ignorant of the fact that the murderers of the innocent are enjoying themselves without restraint while the suffering families are wandering about for justice? However, the Hon'ble Court has taken Summotto action after reading news published in dailies many a time, it kept mum on the issue of widows!

The Supreme Court judges knows everything, but due to being corrupt, schismatic, cowardice, impotent and an agent in the Centre government, they use to keep mum as the former Supreme Court judge Ranganath Mishra.

Evidence was overwhelming that the Delhi Police connived in the Sikh massacre. TUSHA MITTAL, a senior journalist, tracks how it was systematically compromised over 25 years.



Protectors Turn Bystanders policemen watched as the mobs plundered and killed Sikhs

# In the picture — Protectors turn bystanders, policemen watched as the mobs plundered and killed the Sikhs in 1984.

THIS IS what the police did during the 1984 Sikh massacre: they watched. They let the rampaging mobs storm the Sikhs' houses. And some even took part. They removed the Sikh police officers who would have acted against the killers. They disarmed ordinary Sikhs so they couldn't protect themselves, and gave them no protection. They wired messages about Sikhs charging ahead with kirpans, but forgot to mention the mobs assaulting the Sikhs.

This is what the police did soon after the 1984 Sikh massacre: concealed the number of those killed despite dead bodies all around. Closed 300 of the 700 cases claiming the culprits were "untraceable". Directed subordinates to not register cases. Merged hundreds of cases into a single FIR. Refused to register FIRs against police officers and government officials. Registered — shockingly — FIRs against Sikhs. Threatened eyewitnesses and forced them to sign affidavits favoring the police. Reduced major offences to minor ones, manipulated evidence, and destroyed paper trails. In some areas, the police said that the curfew that followed the mass killings only applied to the Sikhs.

There's worse. Pretending to be victims, many officers wrote false affidavits exonerating various Congress leaders who were seen inciting the killer mobs.

Since the pogrom, many investigative commissions have come and gone, each scrutinising the role of the police. First, in 1984, the commission led by IPS

officer Ved Marwah. Then, in 1987, the Committee led by former IAS officer Kusum Lata Mittal. In 1990, the Jain-Agarwal Committee led by retired judge JD Jain and retired IPS officer DK Agarwal. And, in 2000, the Nanavati Commission of retired Supreme Court judge GT Nanavati. Each received thousands of affidavits meticulously detailing how the police aided the Sikh massacre.....SUBHASH TANDON WAS BEHIND ALL THIS.

There have been two commissions of enquiry and eight committees to probe the 1984 anti-Sikh riots. In these 30 years, meek efforts of the government to bring the guilty to book have just meandered through a maze of paper work and such toothless enquiries or commissions.

The inaction on the reports of the commissions and the committees stems from futility of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952. It does not give the commissions of inquiry any powers to prescribe punishment (though they can recommend it). The government can ignore their findings and that is what has happened in this case for 28 years. The commissions are like "a dose of homeopathic medicine when immediate surgery was needed", says a senior police man who has served in Delhi.

Such has been the attitude that for the first two years, no account of the dead was carried out. The Ranganath Mishra commission – the first one set up to probe the riots — was given names, addresses and complete details of 3,870 people killed in Delhi. But police said 1,419 were killed. Cases of only these people were registered. The Delhi government filed a list of 2,300 people killed. A separate committee later established that 2,773 people died in Delhi alone.

2005, the GT Nanavati Commission indicted Jagdish Tytler, he resigned from his post as Minister of State for Overseas Indian Affairs. The government asked CBI to re-investigate the cases.

The Nanavati Commission found that there was a colossal failure in maintenance of law and order in Delhi during the riots. It expressed dissatisfaction with the then Lt. Governor P.G. Gavai and the then Police Commissioner, SC Tandon. The latter said the commission, did not take strict action against the defaulting police officers nor did he give them directions to be strict with the marauding mobs.

The Nanavati Commission also touched upon the delay in deploying the Army in the Capital on October 31 itself. So who delayed the deployment? The Lt Governor of Delhi has the powers to deploy the Army in such circumstances, without waiting for the political clearance. The then LG, PG Gavai claimed he gave the go-ahead to the Police Commissioner SC Tandon on the morning of

November 1. The riots started the same day. The Delhi Police is directly under the Central government.

Surinder Singh — a prime-witness against Congress leader Jagdish Tytler, who allegedly led a killer mob — approached the Commissioner of Police Subhash Tandon for help after the killings. "This," Singh told, "is what the police officer Tandon said to me: Jo log mar gaye, hamne unki madad ki. Aap mar jaate, ham aapki bhi madad karte (We helped those who died. Had you died, we would have helped you too). "RASCAL TANDON ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN THIS CARNAGE....

.A quarter century later, neither justice nor accountability has come. In all, the various commissions and committees indicted 147 police officers for their role in the Sikh killings. Not one officer has been prosecuted. Some 42 of these officers had retired or died by 2005. The Delhi Government has taken no action against the remaining officers.

Several officers, whose dismissal was recommended for their role in the killings and in destroying evidence, were promoted. Several others were allowed to retire gracefully. The Union Home Ministry exonerated five officers. Meanwhile, systematic machinery has been in place to ensure that those accused of killing the Sikhs remain scot-free.

IT WAS on Shoorveer Singh Tyagi's watch that 500 Sikhs were brutally killed in the east Delhi slum of Trilokpuri. He was the SHO of the local police station. This was the Capital's heaviest toll in a single location. The Kusum Lata Mittal probe noted Tyagi's "criminal misconduct" during the killings and described him as a "living shame for any police organization".

"[Tyagi's] attempts, to a great extent successful, in obtaining affidavits in his favour by browbeating the witnesses indicate that it is highly unlikely that any witness would have the courage of coming and giving evidence against him," Mittal wrote in her report. Her shocking finding — Tyagi found an honorable discharge from the court only because the police failed to take the sanction from the Union Home Ministry to file a charge sheet against him, which was mandatory because he was a government employee. No action was ever taken against him. In 2005, he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP)......

Sewa Dass, DCP (East), was Tyagi's immediate boss.:The conduct of Sewa Dass is a slur on the name of any police force. He should not be trusted with or assigned any job of responsibility. Sewa Dass removed Sikh officers from duty who were inclined to take proper measures to deal with the rioters. The SHOs under his jurisdiction systematically disarmed the Sikhs [and] as a result they

couldn't protect themselves. At the same time no steps were taken to provide police protection to them. Sewa Dass was getting directions from POLICE COMMISSIONER SUBHASH TANDON DIRECTLY.

......NEHRUVIANS CRIMINALISED THE INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS... IN THE MEAN PROCESS....WHO IS THAT BASTARD ON EARTH, WHO CAN SAY THAT NEHRUVIANS ARE SECULAR...???????...

# Part 10



# FROM THE STATEMENT OF SUBHASH TANDON BEFORE NANAWATI COMMISSION.....

He has further stated that there was a meeting between the Lt.Governor himself and Major Gen. Jamwal, GOC Delhi area, in the afternoon. Maj. Gen. Jamwal had informed him that he did not have enough units and he would be able to cover only two contiguous districts i.e. districts adjacent to his Headquarter Delhi Cant.

On his suggestion Mr. Jamwal agreed to deploy one in Central District and one in South District. He has also referred to the attack on Gurudwara Rakabganj and his having gone there. He has stated that when he reached there firing from inside the Gurudwara was under flames so he had jumped into Gurudwara ground and prevailed upon a leader to request the persons on the terrace of the Gurudwara not to fire any more.

He has also stated that he had brought out from the Gurudwara three Hindu servants with their wives and this had the desired effect of satisfying the mob outside that no harm was done to them. He has also referred to the presence of Kamal Nath and stated that he was helping the crowds to disperse. He has stated that at that time Additional CP/Range New Delhi had also arrived there and he along with the DCP of the area had kept the crowd under check. He has referred to his various meetings with Lt. Governor and a meeting with the Home Minister in the evening of 1-11-84.......

He had come to know about the massacre in Trilokpuri at about 6 p.m. and had directed Addl. CP/Range Delhi to proceed to that place and make necessary arrangements. He has stated that as the Station House Officer of that Police

Station was found negligent in protecting the Sikhs he was arrested and suspended immediately (you can found him moving scot free...). He had thereafter personally gone to Trilokpuri and given necessary instructions for protection of the remaining persons and their safety. He has stated that the situation had eased considerably from 4-11-84 onwards. According to him he had so many received instructions from the Home Minister either on 31-10-84 or till the evening of 1-11-84.

NO ACCOUNT OF THOSE INSTRUCTIONS... NO DETAIL....NANAWATI COMMISSION KYA GHANSS CHARNEY GAYEE THI....NO QUESTIONAIRE.... BLOODY BUNCH OF CRIMINALS.......

# Lt. Gov. of Delhi, P. G. Gavai

In an interview with *The Indian Express* in 2005, P. G. Gavai, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Delhi in 1984: 'I know I will again be made a scapegoat to shield the higher-ups.'

Gavai claimed the carnage came about because the Rajiv Gandhi Government at the Centre 'deliberately delayed' calling in the Army when the mass killings began on November 1, 1984. 'The sequence of events clearly tells a tale. Political authorities purposely wasted time in keeping with their nefarious design to teach Sikhs a lesson,' Gavai told The Indian Express. '(P. V. Narasimha) Rao was calling me up to only ask me to protect his friends.'

He said that after all this time the Indian state was not prepared to 'face up to the political complicity' in the massacre: 'It's a shame they are still engaged in that drama.'

He has stated that on 31-10-84 he had not received any intelligence report regarding any plan to attack the Sikh community or their properties (I.B.'s bastards were not all that moron to give advance information). Nothing unusual was brought to his notice by the Addl. CP, CID on 31-10-84 or on 1-11-84. Till then he had not received any report about **theserious** violence that was going on in East District and West District.......

#### "He (Narsimha Rao) Hid Like A Rat"

An Interview by AJMER SINGH

Padmakar Gavai was the Lt. Governor of Delhi during the anti-Sikh pogroms of 1984. The following is the text of an interview he gave to journalist Ajmer Singh of Tehelka in 2005.

Did you ask Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi about the need to deploy the army?

Yes, I did. Why the hell did I go to him – to impress upon this only. After that the only thing we could do was to approach the Home Ministry under which the police really works.

What was the Prime Minster's reaction when you asked him to deploy the army?

What do I tell you now about my meet with Rajiv? Jagdish Tytler and Dharam Dass Shastri were sitting there. He told me there was a delay in summoning the army. I told him I don't want to argue with you, you are grieving. But I know what the outcome will be.

Does that mean some people ganged up against you?

All these people, Tytler, Shastri, ganged up against me. They had poisoned Rajiv's ears about my handling of the situation. What force does a Lieutenant Governor have? Tytler couldn't tolerate that a dalit had become a Lieutenant Governor. I was told 'Gavai, this man is working against you'.

Who do you think is responsible for this?

In a broad way I am trying to share my feelings with you. Home Minister chuhe ki tarah chhupey rahe. Mujhe hidayat di, log phans gayen hain aap zara madad kariye, mere dost hain. Par uske siwaye koi madad nahin. Yeh kya batana chahte hain? Yeh sab chor log, bole saale ko scapegoat banao na (The Home Minister [Narsimha Rao] hid like a rat. He asked me to help his friends. The others did not matter. These rogues have made me a scapegoat).

Was Narasimha Rao hiding like a rat?

Yes, out of sheer fear. He was hiding like a rat. [A close confidant of both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, he later became Prime Minister.]

Who else was responsible?

Jamwal. Yes, he refused to meet the Police Commissioner [S.C. Tandon]. He wanted to meet me. But, I told him not to waste time and act immediately. These are the two people who should have met. I had asked Tandon about deploying the army. When I complained about the army to Gen. Vaidya [Chief of Army Staff], he said casually that these things take time. [Major General J.S. Jamwal was Commanding Officer of the Delhi area in 1984.]

You had earlier talked about a meeting.

This meeting was convened by Dr. P.C. Alexander [Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister]. A lot of time was wasted. In the meeting also, I told them about deploying the army. Everyone agreed with me.

But Alexander has denied such a meeting.

Yes, I know. But he presided over the meeting. The Home Minister was also there. I was asked to go on leave. In exchange, I was offered the chairmanship of UPSC [Union Public Service Commission]. I told him in such circumstances a Lieutenant Governor does not go on leave but resigns. It is a matter of shame. What was Alexander doing? Just writing letters. I was left all alone.

You have talked about Home Minister Narasimha Rao's role. What about the Prime Minister's role?

They showed to the world that was everything under control. But, the Lieutenant Governor was asked to take care of everything.

Did the Prime Minister leave everything on you?

Rajiv's advisors were party to this. A lot of time was wasted.

[Courtesy: Tehelka]

It gets clear now by this interview that Rajiv Gandhi, General AS Vaidya, PC Alexandar, home minister Narsimha Rao and his minister — means all were responsible for the killing of innocent Sikhs.

The whole administration of govt India was negligent and in-efficient and had bowed before Rajiv Gandhi and other Congress leaders, the administration waste the precious time deliberately and allowed the situation to get worst. No efforts were made to control the situation. Sikhs were handed over to killing squads. They were hunting the Sikhs in every street and killed them.

The officers of Indian administration had gone to a sound sleep. Neero was blowing his flute while Rome was on fire but here in Delhi was not only on fire but was compelled to roll down its tears after the centuries passed since the massacre by invader Taimur lang. It could not differentiate in between Taimur lang and Rajiv Gandhi. The blood was all around, innocent were being killed and Rajiv was thus mourning assassination of his mother. He had no concern with agony of others.

What was being faced by other citizens, was not his concern. Which family was on mourn of its member's lost, he had nothing to do. He was busy in his own

world —-his mother had gone but as a heir he got the kingdom, the mourning was just to show others and to allow crocodile tears to be flown.

Army was not called by Narsimha Rao but to pacify the critics, some troops were called from nearby Meerut which is at a distance of 65 kms from Delhi, as there was no army in Delhi? It takes just one hour to cover this distance. These army troops were stopped before Ghaziabad because it was found that some Sikh soldiers were also among these soldiers.

There were no guidelines given to army even after curfew was imposed or the news of deployment of army and shoot at sight orders were aired. Police had not given any co-operation to army. No joint committee of Police and army was set up to co-ordinate.

Our enquires made at various quarters ranging from the affected localities to army sources led us to two questions. First, why was there a delay in calling out the troops? Second, even when the army was called in, why were they not effective in imposing a curfew and curbing the violence?

The authorities at the top, including the four Ministers and senior officials of the Delhi Administration were repeatedly informed about the exact situation in the city and its outskirts from the evening of October 31st. prominent citizens, VIP's and members of the Opposition parties and people from affected localities both phoned and personally went and informed these authorities.

Yet during seven valuable hours, between the time of the assassination and the time of the news of the death was made public, no security measures were taken.

As a senior government servant put it there are standing instructions on dealing with such situations. The SP and DC's have powers under the Criminal Procedure Code (Section 130-131) to call in the armed forced in aid to civil power. Further, the para-military troops, including the Delhi Armed Force CRPF are always available for such a situation. According to our information one brigade was available at Delhi which could have been requisitioned immediately.

Curfew was declared but it was not imposed by any officer. The Police commissioner of Delhi was in his office (Police HQ), the army area commander of Delhi was in Delhi Cantt at Dhaula Kuan, and the Lt. Governor of Delhi was in his Raj Niwas. The Police was not co-ordinating with army whereas the reports received informed of misguidance to army by police.

The army was supplied the old maps of 1974 of different areas of Delhi. There was no sign of those JJ (Jhuggi Jhopri) colonies were developed afterwards and suffered the heavy loss of life and property. The army was not called to control the situation in Delhi but the 3000 soldiers were deployed to safeguard the visiting distinguished guests from all over the world to take part in cremation of Indira Gandhi.

These troops were deployed only after the cremation to control the situation whereas they themselves were without any instructions and who had not been co-ordinated by Police. These soldiers were taken to those places which had witnessed the violence so that they could not control the situation. Thus the army was deliberately made helpless and of no use.

Hence the administration was paralyzed, innocent Sikhs were being killed, the power to call army was with Suprintendent of Police and district commissioner but both didn't carry their duties to save the lives of innocent Sikhs in Delhi. The result was—the toll of dead crossed more then 10000.

The govt. records show only 2733 deaths but the reports which were not registered, or where the whole family was killed or if any member survived who might have gone elsewhere from Delhi, there is not any record of those.

During the rule of Bhartiya Janta Party in Delhi, the chief minister Madan Lal Khurana played a key role to re-opening of cases and when the victims submitted the affidavits, the number of these affidavits had crossed more than 6000 but these included names of BJP leaders and activists also which were removed. Therefore the BJP and other Hindu organizations also carry the blackspot on their forehead of killing the innocent.

The army was not called till late in the night of 1st Nov. whereas some distinguished citizens and govt. officers of Delhi visited Rashtrapati Niwas (President's house) to approach the President Giani Zail Singh and requested to call army and make efforts for peace and harmony. They were assured to consider the request to call the army but the shops and other business establishments of Sikhs in Connaught place area of Delhi were set on fire till late in the night.

The police and other para-military forces were just watching as mute spectators and did nothing to curb the violence as these troops had been paralyzed. It was only the DC of Faridabad who had sent a request to deploy army on 1st Nov. but the troops arrived only on 3rd Nov. Whether it takes three days to cover the distance from Meerut or Agra or whether the administration delayed to send the troops deliberately? It seems the result of a pre-planned conspiracy.

The number of hoodlums was on increase as there was no one to stop them. They had been double in number from 1st Nov. to 2nd Nov. The army was sent to Trilokpuri in outskirts of Delhi on 3rd Nov. but for patrolling only not to control the miscreants or to take any action against them.

In this holocaust of Delhi, the congress leaders are alleged to incite and guide the miscreant mob. The victims and other well known Hindus have criticized the role of these congress leaders and have considered them as main accused. Among them Hari Kishan Lal Bhagat, Sajjan Kumar, Jagdish Tytler, Kamal Nath, Dharm Das Sahstri, Lalit Makan, Arjun Das etc are main accused but there is a long list of some leaders of lower cadre and activists which is published by a non-govt organization PUCL and PUDF.

They had sent their team to every corner of Delhi to find facts and then produced the eye-witness account. The book 'DOSHI KAUN' in Hindi and'WHO ARE THE GUILTY' published by these organizations were confiscated immediately by a govt. order but by then it had been sold in thousands.

# **Part 11**



Ved Marwah—the then Additional Commissioner of Police Delhi was tasked with investigating police inaction in the anti –Sikh riots, days before his report was due, he was told to wind up the inquiry.

Soon after the 1984 anti-Sikh riots, I was brought back to Delhi police, asked to inquire into the role of police officers and submit my report in three months. I worked day and right to complete the inquiry and examined a number of persons, both in the police as well as outside. I also seized all records of the police stations in whose jurisdiction the killings had taken place. That alarmed people because they realized the scope of the inquiry.

The records could not have been challenged. it was obvious that the men in uniform had vanished from their police stations when Delhi was burning and Sikhs were being killed. According to police rules, all movements of police officers are recorded by the minute in the thana (Police Station) daily diary but I found that the diaries were totally blank. I also looked at the call recordings and realized that the police had not responded to calls for help.

The other disturbing fact that came to light was that the so-called mob comprised a small number of people groups of 20 to 30, the police could have intervened and stopped them from setting Sikhs ablaze. This is some thing that bothered them.

Then some Delhi police officers, whose names figured prominently, filed a writ against the inquiry in the high court. The court refused to stall the inquiry. Then they used political clout. I had completed my inquiry and only had to write the report when I received and order to stop my inquiry. The then commissioner of police sent me a written order asking me to stop my probe. When I asked him why, he just smiled. but others told me that the ostensible reason was that the government had decided to appoint another commission, headed by Ranganath Mishra.

I should have been allowed to complete my inquiry but te police officers did not want it to go any further. It was extraordinary that close to 3,000 Sikhs were massacred in the capital and the police did not respond to their desperate pleas for help.

Ironically while little or no action has been taken against the police for dereliction of duty. I have been hounded for the last 29 years. A number of cases have been filed against me on flimsy grounds. Summons came to me even when I was the governor of Manipur, in fact, the summons was pasted in front of my flat. This is how a former commissioner of police and governor is treated. So much litigation requires money. The police officers are obviously funded.

Powerful people were obviously against the inquiry. I can't talk about any other riot, but in 1984, it would have been easy to get additional manpower. From the complete police control room records I seized, I remember clearly that odd cases had begun taking place on the night of October 31, soon after Indira Gandhi's assassination. There were plenty of warnings that an attempt will be made to settle scores with the Sikhs. Even then nothing was done. The army should have been called in but wasn't. I can't say why but what I can say is that the scope to the inquiry alarmed not only Delhi police officers, but also some other people.

Some police officers were promoted. If this sort of thing happens in the capital, it sends a very wrong signal. That is why I have been strongly pressing for police reforms, particularly with regard to recruitment, promotions and transfers. A sting operation by Cobrapost on several police officers serving in Delhi during the anti-Sikh pogrom of 1984 allegedly exposes how the police refused to act against the rioters, partly because they wanted to be on the right side of the Congress government of the day, and partly because the police force itself had got communalized.

Based on a series of interviews by an undercover reporter with six station house officers (SHOs) of the time, from areas where the riots took place, the

sting apparently brings to light 'confessions' by many of them. The interviews of two senior officers, ACP Gautam Kaul and then police commissioner S C Tandon, however, yielded no such confessions.

While Tandon parried all the questions, Kaul claimed that on one occasion when he went to check out reports of rioting near Gurdwara Rakab Ganj, he had to flee since he was alone in front of a hostile mob.

While TOI cannot vouch for the authenticity of the interviews, if they are true they reveal how an entire police force not only failed to act, but colluded with the government of the day to teach Sikhs "a lesson" in one of the worst examples of state-sponsored violence against a religious minority.

The SHOs interviewed were Shoorveer Singh Tyagi of Kalyanpuri, Rohtas Singh of Delhi Cantonment, SN Bhaskar of Krishna Nagar, OP Yadav of Srinivaspuri and Jaipal Singh of Mehrauli. Amreek Singh Bhullar, who was SHO of Patel Nagar at the time, was also interviewed. He had submitted an affidavit to an inquiry commission accusing some local leaders of not just participating in the riots but whipping up mobs into a frenzy.

Among the more shocking revelations is that messages were broadcast directing the police not to take action against rioters shouting slogans of "Indira Gandhi zindabad" and that bodies of victims were in some cases dumped far away from the scene of the rioting to reduce the official toll of the riots.

According to some, while news of arson and rioting poured into the police control rooms, only 2 per cent of the messages were recorded. Later, entries in police logbooks were changed to get rid of evidence of inaction on the part of senior officers.

Senior officers did not allow subordinates to open fire on rioters. Even the fire brigade refused to move to areas where cases of arson had been reported. The police also did not allow the victims of rioting to file FIRs or when they did file FIRs, clubbed many cases of murder and arson from disparate places in a single FIR.

At least three of the SHOs castigated Tandon for mismanagement. Tyagi, for instance, insisted that, "knowingly or unknowingly, he (Tandon) was under the influence of the government. He mismanaged in the beginning and in the first two days the situation went out of control."

Yadav too accused Tandon of not providing leadership to the force, while Bhaskar said that instead of singling out some SHOs, the police chief's head should have rolled.

The Ranganath Mishra Commission and the Kapur-Kusum Mittal Committee, both set up to inquire into the riots, held Tandon responsible for breakdown of law and order. When the Cobrapost reporter met Tandon, he refused to comment, saying anything said by him could create a controversy in poll season.

Bhaskar maintained that messages for reinforcement sent by him were ignored by senior officials. Bhullar accused additional CP Hukam Chand Jatav of refusing to act even when the press informed him about murders and arson taking place. According to Bhullar, Jatav was in the control room in Karol Bagh when a reporter passed on the information to him, but he responded by saying he was in the control room and no such thing had happened. "He knew everything lekin wahan se move hi nahi kiya," claimed Bhullar.

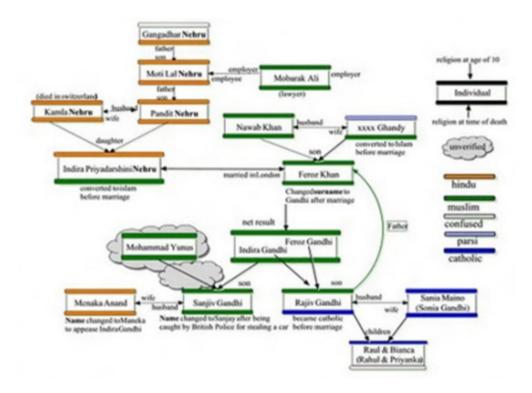
Rohtas Singh, one of the officers indicted by the inquiry commissions, maintained that DCP Chandra Prakash did not allow him to open fire on the rampaging mobs. According to Singh, "he told me, and gave me in writing, that Indira Gandhi's murder is big enough an event. Now should you make an even bigger event by opening fire?"

Singh insisted that he could have substantiated his charges if only wireless messages had been faithfully recorded. "If those messages had been recorded, I could have proved many things, but not even two 2% were recorded in the log book of the control room," he said in Hindi, alleging also that Chandra Prakash had changed messages that would indict him.

Singh also admits to the force having got communal. "I have no hesitation saying that our policemen who were drawn from the local men too had become communal-minded," he candidly observed.

The interviews also reveal how the police tried to put a spoke in the wheels of justice once the rioting abated following the intervention of the Army after three days. First, they did not register cases and when they did, they clubbed disparate cases in one FIR.

According to Bhullar, "The police did not register cases, instead they tried to suppress cases. They knew there were huge riots in their areas, so they tried to minimize, even picked up corpses and dumped them in Sultanpuri, to save their jobs."



Family tree of Nehru family

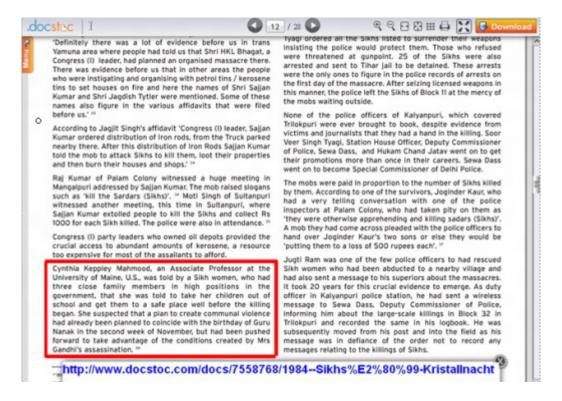
## Nehru family history;

Indira Gandhi had her Gangu-Brahmin ancestry confirmed by reference to family records maintained by Pandits at the Mattan Shrine in the Kashmir Valley and the confirmation firmed her resolve to carry on her war against the Sikhs. Not satisfied with the result of Operation Blue Star, she planned another nefarious operation, on a much larger scale, codenamed Operation Shanti. According to Dr. Sangat Singh, the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31st October 1984 pre-empted Indira's Operation Shanti all over India by a week

By implementation this plan Indira could keep herself safe from Sikhs and defame them as anti national and clean her image in majority Hindus. Thus she could assure whole India that only she is a patriot and think of prosperity of nation but the Sikhs are traitors and then a large scale holocaust of Sikhs could be organized or the Sikhs would have been cornered by a social boycott appeal.

So this Operation Shanti was prepared which included a war against Pakistan. This plan was to be organized on birth day of founder of Sikh religion Guru Nanak Dev ji which was falling on 8th Nov. in 1984. This plan was a top secret and had been shared with Chief of Army staff General AS Vaidya and some loyal administrative officers other than her loyal cabinet ministers. Though a high level secrecy was maintained to keep it top secret but it was leaked to some high ups in administration and they informed to their close friends to save their families.

**Indira drew a diabolical plan, named 'Operation Shanti',** to carry out a general massacre of the Sikhs, of genocidal proportions, around November 8, when the Sikhs would assemble in various Gurdwaras for Guru Nanak's birthday celebrations.



In October 1984, there was a massive deployment of army at the border and war with Pakistan looked imminent. There was a rumor that the Center had conceived a genocidal intention towards the Sikhs —— the plan was like this: large scale clashes would be raised all along the Punjab border with Pakistan; it would be publicized that the Sikhs had revolted and joined hands with the Pak forces, and then they would be slaughtered and bombed by the Indian army and subjected to loot and massacre all over India.

The Sikhs all over Punjab, especially in Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Kapurthala and Jalandhar districts were to be subjected to massive aerial bombardment, apart from being slaughtered by army and para military forces. The Sikhs all over India were to be subjected to mass scale massacre, loot, arson and incendiarism by lumpen elements organized by Youth Congress(I) activists. Elaborate preparations were made by Youth Congress (I) network all over India; they were to await a coded signal to start mayhem.

The plan was discussed with certain army generals who advised Indira against it. They pointed out that Nazis had used gas chambers to finish off the Jews, but had not been able to do so. And, her plan to finish off the Sikhs in one go would only club her name with that of Hitler. But she was unrel

According to historian Rajni Kothari 'Evidence from various sources is mounting that soon after Operation Bluestar and the extremist response thereto in parts of Punjab, a plan of retaliation by identifying Sikh targets ranging from households to commercial establishments to Gurudwaras had been undertaken including the planning of logistics and the techniques to be employed.'

Historian Rajni kothari also revealed about this proposed massacre of Sikhs all over India.

Indira was not receptive. In view of her nefarious Sikh genocidal plan, she paid a sudden visit to Kashmir on October 27, when, however, she got the omen of her imminent death. Back in New Delhi, the following day, Nevertheless, one cannot lightly dismiss what P.C. Alexander, the principal secretary of Indira Gandhi, has written in 'My Years with Indira Gandhi'. According to him," she sent for Gen. Vaidya and asked him in my presence about the preparedness of the Indian army in J & K to meet any unexpected outbreak of trouble. General Vaidya assured her that the army was very well prepared for any eventuality and there was no danger of it being taken unaware by the Pakistanis.

After General Vaidya left, she asked me to remain in close contact with Vice-President Venktaraman and apprise him of her concern at the recent developments in Punjab and Kashmir. (Significantly the Sikh President was to be kept out). She said that it would be helpful to keep him fully informed of all the developments and get his views on them. I do not know what prompted her to give me these instructions at that time......."

Indira wanted to involve Vice President from that very stage, as he was to be the acting President once Operation Shanti was operative, and the inconvenient Zail Singh was bumped off.

How much substance was there in this rumor cannot be stated for sure, but as subsequent events have shown, there was certainly more to it than meets the eye. It is a pointed to the genocidal intention of a despot in a hurry

Significantly, Zia ul Haq stated at Indira's funeral that it was with great difficulty that he had been able to avert a war with India.

His then No. 2, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, after demitting the office of President of Pakistan in July 1993, stated that Indira had planned to attack Pakistan but was shot dead some ten days before the D-Day.

# **Part 12**

The Sikhs were killed uptil 3rd Nov but a veteran of RSS distributed a document in high ups within just one week where the need was to heal the wounds but it sprayed salt by this document. The writer of this document was unknown of 'Operation Shanti' so he just praised indira Gandhi and suggested Sikhs to come back in Hindu main stream. His this documents exposes the views of RSS top brass.

# Hindustan Times: February 02, 2002

# Sikh riots: BJP names figure in records

Rajnish Sharma New Delhi, February 2

WHEN UNION Home Minister LK Advani in his deposition before the Liberhan Commission this Monday described the 1984 anti-Sikh riots as a greater shame for the nation than the demolition of the disputed structure at Ayodhya he apparently had no clue that the Delhi Police has registered criminal cases against BJP and RSS members in connection with the same riots.

The cases, ranging from arson, rioting, attempt to murder and dacoity are now in various stages of trial in the Capital's lower courts. As many as 14 FIRs were lodged by the city police naming 49 BJP and RSS

workers during 1992-94. These cases, sources said, were registered following the recommendations of the Jain-Aggarwal Committee which examined affidavits filed by riot victims before various Commissions.

Some of the prominent Delhi BJP and RSS workers against whom cases have been registered are - Pritam Singh. Ram Kumar Jain, Ram Chander Gupta. Rattan Lal, Gian Lal Jain, Chander Sain, Pradeep Kumar Jain, Hans Raj Gupta, Babu Lal, Ved Mahipal Sharma, Padam Kumar Jain and Suresh Chand Jain. Most of these people were arrested and later chargesheeted by the police.

In fact, one of the accused Ram Kumar Jam, named in FIR no. 315/92 dt June 18, 1992, was the election agent of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee when he contested Lok Sabha polls in 1980. A prominent BJP and RSS worker Jain's residence, no. 87, Hari Nagar, Ashram, also doubled up as an election office for the Vajpayee camp.

A former President of the Jain Mahasabha, Ashram, Jain has been charged with heinous cases like rioting, dacoity and attempt to murder. Jain, sources added, has been named in at least four different FIRs.

Most of the 14 FIRs lodged against the BJP and RSS workers have been registered at the Sriniwaspuri police station in South Delhi. The cases are from areas like Hari Nagar, Ashram, Sunlight Colony and Bhagwan Nagar.

"All the cases against these political workers are pending trial in court and are being closely monitored," a senior police official said.

The largest FIR, 446/93, dated August, 1993, registered in connection with the 1984 riots, in which 17 persons have been named includes names of BJP workers like Ram Kumar Jain, Late Sarni Lal Gupta and Ved Mahipal Sharma.

This complaint was lodged by Hardyal Singh Sahini, resident of 120, Hari Nagar, Ashram, Sahini lost his entire property including a cloth house on November 1, 1984.

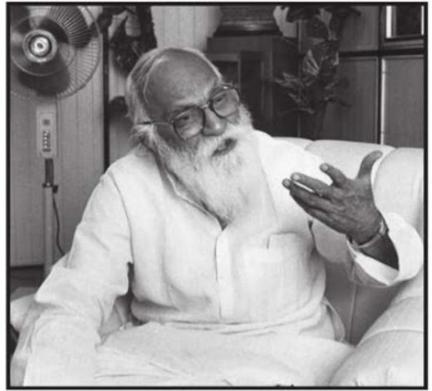
Just see this document;

The role of RSS in 1984 Sikh genocide.....

Recently, a crucial document has surfaced which may throw some light on the unhidden aspects of the genocide. It was authored and circulated by a luminary and veteran of the RSS, Nana Deshmukh on November 8, 1984. Interestingly, this document was published in the Hindi Weekly 'Pratipaksh' edited by George Fernandes (Defence Minister of India 1999-2004, and presently a great pal of the RSS) in its edition of November 25, 1984 titled 'Indira Congress-RSS collusion' with the following editorial comment:

"The author of the following document is known as an ideologue and policy formulator of the RSS. After the killing of Prime Minister (Indira Gandhi) he

distributed this document among prominent politicians. It has a historical significance that is why we have decided to publish it, violating policy of our Weekly. This document highlights the new affinities developing between the Indira Congress and the RSS.



Nanaji Deshmukh, 1916-2010

#### **MOMENTS OF SOUL SEARCHING**;

Indira Gandhi ultimately did secure a permanent place at the doorstep of history as a great martyr. With her dynamism borne out of her fearlessness and dexterity, she was able to take the country forward like a colossus for over a decade and was able to build an opinion that she alone understood the realities of the country, that she alone had the ability to run the decadent political system of our corrupt and divided society, and probably that she alone could keep the country united. She was a great lady and her death as a brave leader had added to her greatness. She was killed by a person in whom she kept faith despite several complaints.

Such an influential and busy personality was killed by a person who had the duty to protect her person. This act came as a blow not only to her admirers in the country and the world but also her critics. This cowardly and treacherous act of killing not only ended the life of a great leader but also killed, in the name of the Panth, the mutual faith of humanity. Explosion of sudden arson and violent hysteria throughout the country was probably a direction-less and improper expression of the hurt, anger and feeling of loss of her followers.

Lakhs of her followers used to see her as the only defender, powerful protector, and a symbol of united India. It is a different matter whether this is right or wrong.

For these innocent and uninformed followers, the treacherous murder of Indira Gandhi was the tragic culmination of the poisonous campaign of separatism, antagonism and violence conducted over the previous three years in which hundreds of innocents had to lose their invaluable lives and the sanctity of religious places was destroyed.

This campaign assumed an ominous pace after the painful army action in June which, in the eyes of most of the people of the country, had become necessary to protect the sanctity of the religious places. Barring a few exceptions, the Sikh community observed silence for a long time on the barbaric massacres and heinous killings of innocent people, but they condemned the long-pending army action with anger and dangerous explosiveness. The country was stunned at their attitude.

The army action was compared to the "gallu ghara" action of Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1762 to desecrate the Harmandir Sahib. Without going into the objectives of the two incidents, Mrs. Gandhi was pushed into the category of Ahmed Shah Abdali. She was termed the enemy of the Sikh panth and big prizes were announced on her head.

On the other hand Bhindrawale who was guilty of heinous crimes against humanity in the name of religion was hailed as a martyr. Open display of such feelings in different parts of the country and abroad played a special role in increasing the distrust and alienation between the Sikhs and the rest of Indians. In the background of this distrust and alienation, stunned and bewildered people accepted the validity of the rumors of celebrations by the Sikhs at the heinous murder of Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards in retaliation of the army action.

Of these the most hurting explanation was that of Giani Kripal Singh who being the Head Granthi considered himself to be the sole spokesman of the Sikh community. He said that he expressed no sorrow at the death of Indira Gandhi. This statement added fuel to the fire of boiling anger. No immediate and natural condemnation of this despicable statement by an important leader came from responsible Sikh leaders, intellectuals or organization.

Therefore the already angered common and unimaginative people took it as correct that the Sikhs celebrated the death of Indira Gandhi. Because of this belief, selfish elements could succeed in making the common people become violent against the helpless Sikhs.

This was a most explosive situation which needed utmost patience and skilful conduct on behalf of our Sikh brothers. I am saying this, being a life member of the RSS, because on January 30, 1948 a Hindu fanatic, who was a Marathi and had no relation with the RSS, rather was a bitter critic of the Sangh, committed unfortunate killing of Mahatma Gandhi.

On this occasion we also suffered the sudden eruption of hysteria, loot and atrocities of misdirected people. We ourselves saw how selfish elements who were well acquainted with this incident, deliberately declared a murderer to be a member of the RSS and also spread the rumor that the RSS people were celebrating throughout the country death of Mahatma Gandhi, and thus they succeeded in diverting the love and the feeling of loss and hurt in the hearts of people for Gandhi. Such feelings were spread against Swayamsewaks (Volunteers) and their families, particularly in Mahrashtra.

Having gone through such experiences myself, I can understand the strong reaction and feeling of innocent Sikh brothers who became of victims of sudden eruption of people's violent hysteria. In fact, I would like to condemn in strongest words the inhuman barbarity and cruelty on Sikh brothers in Delhi and elsewhere.

I feel proud of all those Hindu neighbors who protected lives and property of troubled Sikh brothers without caring for their lives. Such things one being heard from all over Delhi. These things have practically increased the faith in natural goodness of human behavior and particularly faith in Hindu nature.

I am also worried at the Sikh reaction in such delicate and explosive situation. As an activist engaged in national reconstruction and unity for half a century and being a well wisher of Sikh community I am hesitating in saying that if reactive armed action by Sikhs is even partly true then they have not been able to evaluate the situation correctly and comprehensively and as a result could not respond according to the situation.

Here I wish to draw the attention of all my countrymen including Sikhs that in a similar difficult situation arising out of murder of Mahatma Gandhi when in the hysteria against the RSS crimes of destruction of property, heinous burning alive of children, inhuman cruelty etc. were being committed and the news was reaching Nagpur from all over India, then the 'dictator' of the RSS known as the so-called big private army, the then head of the Sangh late M.S. Golwalkar issued an appeal in Nagpur on February 1, 1948 to the lakhs of armed young followers throughout the country in the following unforgettable words:

'I direct all my Swayamsewak brothers that despite spread of provocation due to lack of understanding, they should adopt cordial attitude towards all and remember that this mutual distrust and improper hysteria is the result of the love and respect that the whole country has for Mahatma who made the country great in the eyes of the world. We salute such great respected departed soul'.

[Note: What a silly suggestion to a brave community? He forgets the valor of khalsa as only two examples are given in the beginning of the book. Khalsa prefers to get martyrdom then to surrender and beg for his life. The history of Sikh is full of such examples. He suggests that Sikhs should have requested to spare their lives but not to retaliate or taken the arms in hands to resist and defend themselves. He wants to make us cowardice like they themselves are? Sikh religion clearly demand heads from its followers as; JE TAO PREM KHELAN KA CHAO SIR DHAR TALI GALI MORI AAO!! Means if you love me, than keep your head on your palm to offer me before you embrace into a khalsa.

Not only this but see the next line: ITT MAARAG PAIR DHARIJE SIR DEEJE KAAN NAA KEEJE!! Means when you take such steps, don't retreat but never hesitate to sacrifice yourself.

Sikh religion gives birth to warriors not to cowards, they should know it before they give a foolish suggestion].

These were not empty words to hide cowardice and helplessness in the hopeless situation. In those life threatening serious moments he proved that every word of his appeal had a meaning. On the evening of February 1, hundreds of Swayamsewaks in Nagpur urged for armed resistance and resisting till the last drop of their blood to stop the probable attack on their leader the same night. And some associates of Guruji told him of a conspiracy against his life and requested to shift his residence to a safe place before the attack, Guruji told them in such a black moment also that if the same people whom he had truly and with full ability, served throughout his life wanted to take his life, then why and for whom he should save his life.

Thereafter he cautioned them in stern voice that even if a drop of blood of his countrymen was shed in saving him, then such a life would be useless for him. History is a witness that lakhs of Swayamsewaks (hundreds of thousands volunteers) spread throughout the country followed this directive word by word. Though they had to digest vulgarities in exchange of their patience and tolerance but there was a faith to give them patience that whatever may

happen to them in present condition, history will definitely prove them innocent

I hope that in present difficult situation my Sikh brothers will also show the above-referred patience and tolerance. But I am deeply pained to know that rather than displaying such tolerance and patience at some places they have retaliated against the crowd with arms and played into the hands of such selfish elements who were eager to spread the trouble. I am surprised how a section of our society considered to be most disciplined, organized and religious, adopted such a negative and self-defeating attitude.

Maybe they could not get proper leadership at the moments of such a crisis. Through my scanty study and understanding of Sikh history I consider that such a nonpolitical reaction of Sikhs in moments of such a crisis came from their complete involvement with teachings of love, tolerance and sacrifice of Sikh nature.

Warrior nature of Sikh religion was a short time provision against barbarity of foreign Mughals which was taught by tenth Guru. For him Khalsa was a relatively small part of a broad Hindu-Sikh brotherhood and was designed as an armed hand to defend Hindu community and its traditions. Guru Govind Singh laid down for Khalsa followers five KS (Kesh, Kripan, Kangha, Kara and Kachha) and 'Singh' in the name of Khalsas. This was a symbol of their being soldiers. But unfortunately today these only are being projected as basic and necessary forms of Sikh religion.

[Note: here Nana Desmukh attacks on Sikh religion by trying to merge them into mainstream of Hinduism as he misguides them to give up their distinct & sovereign identity with their mandatory five symbols of faith given to them at the time of creation of Khalsa. He has not gne through the commands of 10th master to his followers who initiated into khalsa as......

#### JAB LAG KHALSA RAHE NIARAR !! TAB LAG TEJ DIO MAIN SAARA !!

means that ....as long as Khalsa lives with it's distinct identity, he will always enlighten the panth and always take care. But Guru ji also warns his khalsa as .....whenever it turns its back from commands and follows the Brahminic rituals, I shall not take care of them.

#### JAB EH GAHEB BIPRAN KI REET !! MAIN NAA KARON INKI PARTEET !!

The Hindus should know that Guru Gobind Singh condemned the classification of society and rejected the supremacy of Brahminis. Equality in every mankind is the motto of Sikh religion].

I am sorry to say that Sikh intellectuals too have failed to understand that conversion of Sikh religion into Khalsaism is a much later event and this was due to deliberate plan of British imperialists to divide and rule in Punjab. Its aim was to cut the Sikhs off from their Hindu environ. Unfortunately, after independence power hungry politicians kept alive for their own interest the unnaturally born problems of separation and equal existence, and carried forward the game of imperialists to divide and rule by their vote bank politics.

This improper equating of Sikhs with militant Khalsaism is not only the basic root of separatist tendencies in some parts of Sikh community, but it also raised militancy and faith in the power of weapons to the level of religious worship.

[Note: (here Nana Desmukh seems ignorant of creation of Khalsa by 10th master of Sikh religion Guru Gobind Singh ji on 31st March 1699 at Kesgarh – Anandpur sahib, which falls on now 14th April every year due to change of Gregory calendar in 1752)].

This religious worship gave rise to terrorist movement like Babbar Khalsa in the second decade and recently Indira Gandhi was killed as a result of terrorist wave under the leadership of Bhindrawale and a long 'hit list' is yet to be executed.

I used to imagine that Sikh community has freed itself totally from illiteracy, ignorance, frustration and defeatism in which it was in the fifth decade of 19th century after losing its freedom and which was exploited by cunning British imperialists and selfish Sikh elites for their selfish interests. It is clear that in eighth decade Sikhs adorning the places of high responsibility represent highly educated, laborious, vigilant, relatively rich, enlightened and active section of Indian society in every walk of life.

In nineteenth century their experiences and vision was limited to the boundaries of the then Punjab but today they are spread not only throughout India but throughout the world, and they are in a situation to directly know the conspiracies of big powers which are being hatched against independent and united India rising strongly in the world. In such an advantageous situation they should know their historical development as an integral part of India.

[Note: Why does he not reminds the Indian govt. and RSS to follow the commitments of Congress party and Mhatma Gandhi which he made before Sikh nation.

During the 1929 Congree session at the bank of the river Raavi at Lahore, a resolution was passed which carried these words," The Congree party

confirms to the Sikh nation that in the free India there won't be any constitution that would not be acceptable to the Sikh nation.

Before the freedom of India, and to win the confidence of Sikhs, Mahatma Gandhi talked about fulfilling the promises made to Sikhs in full congregation at Sisganj gGurudwara in Delhi and said, "My Sikh brothers! I request you to please believe me and the resolutions passed by the Congress party. What to think of deceiving your entire nation, we cannot even think to deceive any single one of you. If ever the Congress party tries to do that, believe me it will call its own destruction.

It is my earnest request to you taht please take these doubts and suspicions out of your mind. I say this in the presence of God that all the promises which i and the Congress party have made will be fulfilled at any cost. I believe that Congress's belief in the non-voilence is the firm guarntee of its promises. Apart from this, the Sikhs are a brave nation and they know how to defend their own rights by using the Kirpan (Sword) which is the part of their code of conduct and dress.

It was a call to woo the Sikh community with false assurances so that they may not shake hand with Muslim League in making Pakistan or to share power in Pakistan].

Such a revaluation of history will give them the opportunity to see many wrong formulations of their own religion and past which has been systematically drilled into their brains by wrong and distorted historical writings by British administrators and intellectuals about nature and development of their religion. Such an attempt will take them to their real roots.

[Please see this note also; Later on after independence when Sikh leaders approached Nehru to get the favor. Nehru just betrayed and replied that the circumstances have been changed and he can't fulfill the commitment. This was the commitment of leaders and betrayal of congress with Sikhs. Now our destiny is with India. No doubt we love it.

We have given more sacrifices than the rular Hindu community. They will always be the rulers because of their strength of population (majority) and in democracy they share the maximum strength, more than any other community. Even Muslim have reached to there desired strength in voting power by their increasing population but Sikhs are still outnumbered].

This is the time that our Sikh brothers should search their hearts so that they can get rid of the false description inserted by British imperialists and power greedy opportunist people into their basic religious nature. Removal of such

false descriptions is necessary to bridge the gulf of distrust and alienation between two communities of similar destiny, nature and similar traditions. I am afraid that without such a self-introspection and revaluation of history they would not be able to live with peace among themselves and with other countrymen.

A disinterested analysis of their own enlightened interests will be enough to make them understand that their fate is indivisibly linked with the destiny of India. Such an understanding will save them from falling prey to the disruptive and destructive interests of foreign powers.

I disbelieve (sic) that my Sikh brothers will accept the cautious words of spiritual expression of a well-wisher.

Lastly, it is not to deny the truth that sudden removal of Indira Gandhi from Indian political scene has created a dangerous void in the Indian common life. But India has always displayed a characteristic inner strength in the moments of such crisis and uncertainty. According to our traditions, responsibility of power has been placed on the inexperienced shoulders of relatively young person in a lively and peaceful manner. It will be hasty to judge the potentialities of his leadership at this time. We should give him some time to show his ability.

On such challenging juncture of the country, in the meanwhile he is entitled to get full cooperation and sympathy from the countrymen, though they may belong to any language, religion, caste or political belief.

In the capacity of a nonpolitical constructive worker I only hope and pray that God bless him with more mature, balanced, inner strength and ability to give an impartial Govt. to the people so that he can take the country to real prosperous unity and glory.

**Guru Nanak Divas** 

November 8, 1984

Nana Deshmukh.

[Note; I would like to remind Nana Desmukh that it was the majority Hindu community which betrayed Sikhs and jeopardized the mutual faith of centuries. It was the congress which betrayed with the saviors of Hindu community and attacked the Harmandar Sahib (GOLDEN TEMPLE) in 1984. before this was last attacked by Abdali in 1761 to revenge the Sikhs who got liberated the 22,000 Hindu girls and boys of Maratha's (Which were captured

from Panipat) from the forces of Abdali which were being taken as slaves to sell in the markets of Kandhar, Kabul and Gajni.InPunjab, Sikh girls were raped, imprisoned and killed in fake encounters by Indian security forces and Punjab police. Now the next generations of these so-called Hindu fanatics are ruling and attacking Sikh culture and shrines.

Whereas Indira Gandhi had discussed a plan to air attack on border districts of Punjab to kill Sikhs and than to attack on Pakistan. (code name — Operation Shanti, which is already discussed in this book). It was leaked to Beant Singh who with the help of Satwant Singh assassinated Indira Gandhi to save his people from defamation and the nation from another war with Pakistan. Thanks to both of them.

# **Part 13**



#### Martyrs Satwant Singh, Beant singh and Kihar Singh ji.

Sonia Gandhi—daughter in law of Indira Gandhi revealed before Vir Sanghvi, editor Hindustan times in an interview that she (Indira) used to give instruction to Rajiv (her son) to what to do and how to do after her sudden death. It's not difficult to assume after the massacre of innocent Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of India why she chose a specific day to plan the killings of the innocent Sikhs both the times.

Thanks to both the valiant martyrs who saved whole Sikh community from defamation by sacrifice of their own lives and saved thousands to be murdered brutally by Indira. Though they had to assassinate a brutal Prime Minister but in the interest of nation and the Sikh community from defamation—- the Sikh community shall always be obliged to both the martyrs Beant Singh and Satwant Singh.

[Shaheed Satwant Singh belonged to NO specific jathebandee (Organization). Here is his statement in the Supreme court of India when he was awarded the death sentence. " "Let any part of my body, after my Shaheedi, be removed and used by anyone who may benefit from it. However if you need my eyes, let the authorities tell my parents.

I have no hatred for any Hindu, Muslim, Christian, neither hatred for any religion. After my Shaheedi, let no Sikh throw even any rock at any Hindu. I

am not in favour of any retaliation or bloodshed over my Shaheedi. If we do create bloodshed, then there is no difference between us and Rajiv Gandhi. I am Proud of the task that I did. I do ardas in front of Waheguru that If I am blessed with a human life again, then give me a death of the Brave. Forget one life, if I could I would give up a thousand lives to kill dushts like Indira Gandhi, and laugh as I become Shaheed by hanging...."

His lawyer, Sardar Bhupinder Singh Sodhi was the last to meet Satwant Singh in Tihar jail. Sodhi said, "Beloved Satwant, I am so sorry I was unable to save you from the death sentence. Now this is the last time we will ever meet." The lawyer said as he became emotional.

Sardar Satwant Singh replied, "Vakeel Sahib, you should be making me strong. We will meet again. Promise me you will fight my case next time as well!" Bhupinder Singh Sodhi replied, "Pyare Satwant, I do not understand what you are saying? All your appeals have failed. Tomorrow morning, 6th January, at 6 am, both you and Kehar Singh will be hanged."

Satwant Singh replied, "Vakeel sahib, whenever Waheguru gives me a human life, I will once again destroy the enemies of the Sikh Nation like Indira Gandhi. The again you will come and fight my case. Those who believe in truth and human rights, will always have to fight these brutal regimes. I will keep taking births! I will keep killing dushts! You will keep meeting me!"

Seeing Satwant Singh in such Chardi kala, lawyer Bhupinder Singh Sodhi says, "Pyare Satwant, Great are you, Great is your Sikhi, so blessed am I who was able to fight a case of a Lionheart, brave warrior such as you. Waheguru ji has blessed me just to have the darshan of you. Any nation that has warriors like you, Satwant Singh, brave, mard, soormais. That Nation can never be controlled, intimidated or suppressed."

On 6th January 1989, it was raining. Nature was giving Bhai Satwant Singh and Bhai Kehar Singh a blessing, like one gives a garland around a neck. The thoughts of the whole Sikh Nation were with Bhai Satwant Singh and Bhai Kehar Singh. They had taken this most important task, and with it all this heartache had come on them and their families. Both were in Chardi kala as they walked towards the noose. It was like the blessings of the whole Sikh Nation were with them as they walked.

In the end, on 6th January 1989, early at 4am, and the authorities walked them towards the noose, their voices could be heard from outside the jail, shouting, "Bole So Nihal! Sat Siri Akaal!" Then a few moments silence...........As both of them stepped forward and kissed the hangmans noose, a very heavy rainfall started........

Just as the British had done with Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru. Their bodies were taken to Ferozpur, and cremated on the banks of the Sutluj river. Similarly, the Indian Government did not hand over the bodies of Shaheed Satwant Singh and Shaheed Kehar Singh to their next of kin. Their bodies were cremated within Tihar jail.

When the cruel authorities started cremating the bodies, the rain suddenly stopped. Nature was doing its bit to respect the Shaheeds. As the bodies burned, the authorities did not have the heart to hand them back to the families. The lawyer, Sardar Bhupinder Singh Sodhi said to the authorities, I can understand you have hatred for those spirits who killed Indira Gandhi, but how can you even have hatred for their corpses?

Then to further insult the Shaheeds, the authorities dreamed up another stunt. The last wish of both Shaheed Satwant Singh and Shaheed Kehar Singh was that their ashes be taken to Siri Kartarpur Sahib. However the Police forced the families of these two Shaheeds into jeeps and vans and drove them to Hardwar.

Throughout the whole journey to Hardwar, it rained heavily. Then at gunpoint giving the families no choice, the final ardas for the Shaheeds was done. Just as the ardas began, the rain stopped. It was like nature was also paying respect to the Shaheeds. Bhai Satwant Singh's father, Bapu Tarlok Singh, and the son of Bhai Kehar Singh, Sardar Rajinder Singh, poured the ashes in to the river at Hardwar.

The thoughts of the whole Sikh Nation are with Bhai Satwant Singh and Bhai Kehar Singh. The brutal Indian regime may have killed Bhai Satwant Singh and Bhai Kehar Singh, but in the hearts of all Sikhs, they will forever live. They are immortalised in paintings on the walls of Sikh Gurdwaras, and they have recorded their names in the Volumes of Sikh History. They were the modern day Bhai Sukha Singh and Bhai Mehtab Singh.

Bibi Bimal Kaur Khalsa w/o Beant Singh was interviewed, some extracts of her interview as follows;

Did you know that Bhai Beant Singh was going to assassinate Indira Gandhi? No. He did not divulge this information with me. However looking back in hindsight, all the pieces of the jigsaw fit together. After the attack in June 84, as all Sikhs at that time, we were hurt, shocked and confused by the actions of the government.

Sardar ji took leave from work and we visited Sri Darbar Sahib. The extent of the devastation, the number of innocent Sikhs killed and atrocities committed was incomprehensible; it shook Sardar ji (Bibi ji referred to Bhai Beant Singh as Sardar ji throughout interview) to his core. He felt that it was done to suppress the Sikhs. He spent hours walking the Parikarma, through the blood soaked rubble, trying to absorb what happened that day.

He was inspired and in awe of the defence put up by the handful of Sikh Freedom Fighters who fought to protect the sanctity of Sri Darbar Sahib, and also evacuate as many pilgrims as possible. Inspired by how they stood up against oppression, later on when he became more religious, I would always note his voice tremble during his Ardaas, when he would come to the reference to the Shaheeds "Jehna ne Sikhi layee kurbanitaan dittiyaan" (blessed are those martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the survival of Sikhi).

The earliest and most significant clue as to his later actions and intentions was when at Sri Darbar Sahib, he randomly stated "I want to become a Shaheed". I asked him what would happen to our children, the youngest of whom was two at the time. He responded "what about the young children that were made Shaheed here, what about the children that lost their parents here, they will have to manage, and so would our kids". He didn't say much else, and I didn't take it serious, for after all people say a lot in grief.

Now we shed some light on those traitors who either orchestrated this genocide or participated in it with their followers and govt. machinery (administration and Police) to kill the innocent Sikhs. They provoked, incited Hindu lumpens to kill Sikhs, distributed kerosene and other inflammable substances and made all attempts to kill Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of India.

Though whole of the govt machinery, it's administration, police, congress activists, it's leaders and political stalwarts were all involved but a few names which have come in light are as follows;



The PM Rajiv Gandhi - alleged mass murderer of Sikhs

#### and a chief organizer of Sikh genocide in 1984

First of all in this list of perpetrators and chief organizers we find Rajiv Gandhi who was newly appointed as Prime Minister of India soon after the death of his mother Indira Gandhi. He was a pilot by profession but he was sworn in as PM just for promoting the descendency in ruling family and in sympathy by some flatters in Congress party. The declaration of his appointment was made on the same day on 31st October 1984 when her mother was assassinated in Delhi.

He was the sixth Prime Minister of India. Soon after he was sworn in as PM, he adviced the President Giani Zail Singh to dissolve the Parliament and to declare new elections in India. The Parliament had already completed it's term. The elections were held in month of December the same year in a hurry to get encashed sympathy of assassination of his mother.

The Indian public gave him full support and the Congress party made the history by winning 411 seats out of total 543 seats. It was his destiny that how grand success he got to enter in Parliament, he had to face the same humiliation before end of the term of Parliament in 1989 in just five years only. He was alleged of taking commission in Bofors gun deal by a close associate of him, )his finance minister) VP Singh who later on sworn in as next Prime minister.

Though he could not adorn the post of PM after 1989 but he remained the General Secretary of Congress party in India until 1991. He first opened doors

for training to LTTE (Tamil Elum Tigers of Sri Lanka) and then sent Indian army to Sri Lanka to curb these guirilla tigers and maintain peace there in 1985. This was finished only in Perumbudur with the end of life of Rajiv Gandhi. He had gone there to propagate in favor of the congress candidate on 21st May 1991 where he was killed in a Bomb blast. It's always to be remembered that on killing of innocent Sikhs in 1984, he had said at boat club in Delhi as; when a big tree falls, the earth shakes and insects die but it was strange to see on his death when neither the earth shook nor any insect died. He was considered an enemy of Tamils and they had sympathy to Tamil Tigers.

The innocent Sikhs were brutally killed with the consent of Rajiv Gandhi and his cabinet ministers. The preparations for this massacre was going on for a long time. A diabolical plan to kill the Sikhs was already designed by Congress and the code name to this plan was given as OPERATION SHANTI. We have already written in detail about it in our previous pages. But we are compelled to write few lines while we discuss about the role of Rajiv Gandhi in Sikh genocide. The wife of Rajiv Gandhi is Sonia Gandhi who has her roots in Italy.

The family friend of Gandhi family —— Amitabh Bacchan gave his live appearance on Indian govt owned TV Channel Door Darshan soon after the death of Indira Gandhi. In this LIVE show, he shouted hatred slogans against Sikh community and incited the majority Hindu community to spill blood of Sikhs. His slogans were heard and he was seen raising these slogans as "KHOON KA BADLA KHOON" MEANS blood for the blood" and "Indira ke khoon ke cheente unke gharon tak bhi pahunchne chahiyen" means the stains of blood should be found in their (Sikhs) homes also.

If we look upon pages of history of India, we will be proud of that the enemy running from battle field was never chased or killed. For evidence the exmple of brave Prithvi Raj Chauhan is there who defeated Mohammad gauri 17 times but never chased him or tried to kill him but when he was defeated by Gauri, he was arrested and blinded before he was taken to Kandhar where he was killed. Such brutality is not found in India but is visible on foreign soil only. Indians are generally passionate then how this brutality was noticed all of sudden?

The wars in different local tribes is witnessed in Italy and they have a custom to wash the stains of blood with blood only means the stain of blood is not washed until a life of enemy is not taken. It's called as *Lu sangu lava lu sangu* in Italy. There is nothing to be amazed if this was disclosed by Sonia to Rajiv Gandhi who in turn ordered Door darshan to arrange a TV crew to shoot at Teen Murti Bhawan where the dead body of his mother was kept for last tributes to be paid by general public and distinguished visitors. This TV crew

was waiting for Amitabh Bacchan — the Indian cine star famous for his angry image, he arrived and introduced the nation with this new custom, a new trend to avenge from enemies by shouting the hatred slogans stated in previous para. Thus Rajiv Gandhi en-cashed his angry image to avenge death of his mother from Sikh who was assassinated by Sikhs. The wide scale violence was spread throughout India but all these Sikhs killed were only the insects for Rajiv Gandhi.

A Sikh member of Parliament Sardar Trilochan Singh directly accused Rajiv Gandhi for this massacre of Sikhs on 14th December 2009 in his addressal to the speaker and the house. He accused both Rajiv Gandhi and Amitabh Bacchan for this massacre. No one opposed it though the congress members were also present there in the house. The opposition welcomed it by tapping their tables. Sardar Trilochan Singh is a former private secretary of late President Giani Zail Singh so he is aware of many secrets.



Replying to charges that CPM was exceeding the limits with its attack against the judiciary, the CM referred the days of Emergency and reminded Congress not to forget that goons of Rajiv Gandhi had then attacked Justice V R Krishna Iyer. Later, he clarified that he had meant Sanjay Gandhi and not Rajiv.

On Saturday, The CM sought to take on the Opposition again over the issue in the assembly and claimed that Rajiv Gandhi was no better than Sanjay and cited the anti-Sikh riots and the Bhopal gas disaster. "Even according to Arjun Singh, Rajiv Gandhi was responsible for allowing Union Carbide chief Warren Andersen to flee from the country," he alleged.

His remarks drew protests from the Congress leadership in the state. Leader of Opposition in the Kerala assembly Oommenn Chandy said the charges were serious and unfounded. He said VS had proved that he wasn't fit to continue as CM. State Congress chief Ramesh Chennithala demanded that VS withdraw his remarks and tender apology.

The Chief minister of Kerala Mr. V S Achutanandan alleged late Prime Minister of India Mr. Rajiv Gandhi for orchestrating the genocide of Sikhs in 1984. The confssion by any Chief minister of Congress from any state of India was made first time since the massacre of Sikhs in 1984. It approves that the innocent Sikhs throughout India were killed on behest of newly appointed PM Rajiv Gandhi who was also son of late Prime minister Indira Gandhi. Nothing more to disclose about the massacre and it's organizers remains to reveal. It's a great shame on a nation where an elected Prime Minister himself is responsible for a large scale genocide of a specific community, a murderer of his own citizens?

And while Delhi was burning in flames in the first week of November 1984, Rajiv Gandhi and his ministers, sat on their bums watching the whole show unfold. Senior leaders approached the government to call out the army on the streets. But nothing happened. As Singh writes "But the new Prime Minister did nothing. Not even when senior political leaders like Chandrashekar and Mahatma Gandhiji's grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi, went to the home minister (P V Narsimha Rao) personally to urge him to call out the army for help was anything done in those first three days of November to stop the violence."

This is something that Guha also writes in India After Gandhi. "There is a large cantonment in Delhi itself, and several infantry divisions within a radius of fifty miles of the capital. The army was put on standby, despite repeated appeals to the prime minister and his home minster PV Narsimha Rao, they were not asked to move into action. A show of military strength in the city on the 1st and 2nd would have quelled the riots yet the order never came." Doordarshan, the only television channel in the country at that point of time, added fuel to fire by constantly showing crowds baying for the blood of the Sikhs.

A few week's later in a public speech Rajiv Gandhi justified the pogrom (basically an organized massacre of a particular ethnic group) against Sikhswhen he said "When a big tree falls, the earth trembles!". Years later Sher Singh Sher, a "Kriya pratikriya ki chain chal rahi hai. Hum chahte hain ki na kriya ho aur na pratikriya... Godhra main jo parson hua, jahan par chalees mahilaon aur bacchon ko zinda jala diya, issey desh main aur videsh main sadma pahunchna swabhavik tha. Godhra ke is ilake ke logon ki criminal tendencies rahi hain. In logon ne pehle mahila teachers ka khoon kiya. Aur ab yeh jaghanya apraadh kiya hai jiski pratikriya ho rahi hai."

(A chain of action and reaction is being witnessed now. Day before yesterday in Godhra, the incident in which forty women and children were burnt alive had to naturally evoke a shocking response in the country and abroad. The people

in this locality of Godhra have had criminal tendencies. They first killed the women teachers and now this horrifying crime the reaction to which is being witnessed.)

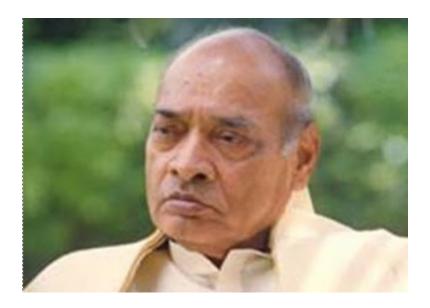
Guha finds man similarities between the two pogroms, the one against the Sikhs of Delhi in 1984, and the one against the Muslims of Gujarat in 2002. Both the cases started with stray acts of violence for which a generalised revenge was taken. "The Sikhs who were butchered were in no way connected to the Sikhs who killed Mrs Gandhi. The Muslims who were killed by the Hindu mobs were completely innocent of the Godhra crime," writes Guha.

In both the cases there was a clear breakdown of law and order. More than that graceless statements justifying the riots, were made, one by a serving Prime Minister and another by a serving Chief Minister. And in both the cases, serving ministers, aided the rioters.

But its the final similarity between the two different sets of events that is the most telling, feels Guha. "Both parties, and leaders, reaped electoral rewards from the violence that they had legitimised and overseen. Rajiv Gandhi's party won the 1984 general election by a large margin, and in December 2002, Narendra Modi was re-elected as the chief minister of Gujarat after his party won a two-thirds majority in the assembly polls," Guha points out. Modi, the first RSS pracharak to become a chief minister, has won two more polls since then.

To conclude, if justice had been quickly delivered in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots and the Congress leaders who instigated the violence had been jailed, chances are the 1993 Mumbai riots and 2002 Gujarat riots would never have happened. And if they had, they would have happened on a much smaller scale. The original maut ke saudagars of 1984 set the tone for much of what followed.

# Part 14



#### Narsimha Rao - the then Home Minister of India

When we discuss about 1984 genocide, the name which appears next to Rajiv Gandhi—— appears as Narsimha Rao. He was the home minister of India in 1984 and he was responsible for the security of the nation and its citizens but it will be more then enough to give his introduction in these words that he was proved a snake in armpit. He watched the massacre as a mute spectator of a specific community of this nation and did nothing to stop it, the massacre was planned with his consent and nod, and he played a key role in this holocaust by his indirect participation in it.

Neither he ordered the Delhi Police commissioner to stop killings, nor he took any action on police failure. He didn't order deployment of army for three days from 1st November to 3rd November and when it was called, it was too late without any coordination by Police, they were not deployed to stop killings of Sikhs but to provide security to distinguished guests visited Delhi for cremation of Indira Gandhi. After that they were deployed in various parts of Delhi for march past only.

If army troops reached the spot of killings or arson, they reached only after the incident had happened and culprits fled away. When some eminent citizens and members of opposition approached him and ten army was called under pressure but when the information received that the army troops called from Meerut was having Sikh soldiers, these troops were stopped at Ghaziabad—35 kms away from Delhi so that they may not open fire to kill the Hindu miscreants who were given assurances of their lives. All the sufferings

including arson, damage of property and killings of innocent Sikhs —- all the credit goes to this one man only. There is already enough is written about this person in this book. Congress obliged him by awarding him with the post of Prime Minister in 1991.



#### **INFORMATION & TECHNOLOGY MINISTER—**

#### HARI KISHAN LAL BHAGAT

Meet this personality—a name which glorify it's name as devotee to Lord Krishna, but as the name is so impressive and appealing, he was totally against this name. A sinner behind the curtain of a holy name. He is no more now. I dare to say in an authentic manner that the doors of hell would have not been opened for this sinner and if there is any place far more beyond the hell, his soul must be rotting there. This man was one among the masterminds who planned and executed genocide of Sikhs in 1984.

Shoorveer Singh Tyagi who was posted as Station House Officer (SHO) of Kalyanpuri police Station who was arrested and then terminated on allegations of negligence in his duty and for not saving the precious lives of Sikhs, reveals that he was made a scapegoat . In his words the truth is that a meeting was held at the residence of HKL Bhagat at his residence in Shahdra, East Delhi on

31st October 1984 in which all the top ranking police Officer (from bottom to Top) were present. According to that meeting all the police officers of all ranks were directed if there are murders, let them be, destroy the evidences. That's why the evidences from all police station's areas were destroyed. But in Trilokpuri the number of casualties was very high and the burnt bodies of Sikhs were scattered all around in every street. It was not possible to remove all of them so quickly to be viewed from journalists. Hence these murders became the headlines of newspapers.

An eye witness Ajay kaur had alleged in her testimony that she heard Hari Kishan Lal Bhagat addressing a mob near her home that the police was not to intervene for three days, therefore they have the liberty to kill Sikhs. Go and serve the mother India.

At about the same time H.K.L. Bhagat, another Congress (I) MP was reported to be trying to secure the release of several criminals who had been arrested by the Gandhinagar police station. Describing the dilemma before the police, a senior police official said to our team members: "Sher pinjre se nikal diya: phir kahte hain pakad ke le ao!" (First the tigers are let loose from their cages and then we are ordered to round them up). When asked who was releasing them, he gave a knowing smile.



The same official told us that when some Congress (I) leaders came to a police station seeking, the release of their followers, they were asked to accompany a police party in a raid on some houses for recovery of looted property. But these leaders refused when they were told that they would have to be witnesses.

Retd. Justice HS Narula had also asked the same questions from justice Nanavati commission in his list of questionnaire at question no. 6 & 7;

- 6. Some police officers above DSP level were called by wireless messages to attend a meeting at a Minister's (H.K.L. Bhagat's) house late on Oct. 31. Who ordered the meeting, how much time was spent in the meeting, who addressed the meeting, and for what purpose?
- 7. Who accompanied Rajiv Gandhi on the night between 31.10.1984 and 1.11.1984 when he admittedly went around East Delhi with HKL Bhagat, and others, for a short time?

The information collected form the submitted affidavits, it's revealed that Hari Kishan Lal Bhagat paid money to the leaders of local units of Congress. In many instances, he he himself lead the mob and incited the miscreants to kill the Sikhs and attack thier homes. He is also alleged of releasing the miscreants arrested on allegations of murders of Sikhs from Shahdara jail by using his influence. This sinner was died in 2005.



Satnami Bai

During the anti-Sikh violence, the largest number of killings took place in Bhagat's East Delhi constituency. One witness, Satnami Bai, said Bhagat had led the rioters. Later on, she turned hostile and failed to identify him. Another witness, Darshan Kaur, stuck to her deposition despite threats to her life and identified Bhagat. But the case collapsed in 1995 and Bhagat was acquitted on the ground that in a riot case, conviction cannot be based on the word of just one witness. Enquiries revealed that local Sikh leader and former DSGMC member Atma Singh Lubhana had struck a deal with Satnami Bai to change her statement. According to confidential documents of the Lubhana community, this deal was struck for Rs 12 lakh.

Darshan Kaur told Tehelka that Atma Singh Lubhana had offered her Rs 25 lakh to turn hostile and on her refusal was thrashed by him. For beating up Kaur, Lubhana was summoned by the Akal Takht on September 14, 1998. Takht Jathedar Ranjit Singh, after considering the apology tendered by Lubhana, had pronounced religious punishment. Darshan Kaur stated that he had threatened to burn her alive in Tilak Vihar. Earlier also, she was waylaid by some unidentified people and threatened. She had earlier told Tehelka that she was offered Rs 25 lakh in hard cash but she had sought the payment by cheque so as to expose them.



**Atma Singh Lubana** 

**The Middleman:** Atma Singh Lubhana worked on behalf of politicians rather than victims spycam grab.

According to a letter dated December 4, 1996, by Mohan Singh, president of the All-India Lubhana Sikh Sanstha to 'mukhias' of the Lubhana panchayats, "on November 17, 1996 a panchayat was organised at Gurdwara Shaheedgunj, Tilak Vihar, wherein Satnami Bai was questioned about changing her statement. In the presence of widows and riot victims, Satnami Bai swore by Guru Granth Sahib that it was Atma Singh Lubhana who was instrumental in her turning hostile. Satnami stated that a deal was struck for Rs 12 lakh and the rest is known to Atma Singh." After this Lubhana was summoned by the panchayat but he failed to appear and was ostracised from the Lubhana community (Nikaali- Roti Beti ka rishta Khatam).

On December 2, 1996, Lubhana appeared before the panchayat and agreed to abide by its decision. The panchayat decided to continue with the boycott of Lubhana and a five-member committee was formed to inquire into this

episode. The members included Inder Singh, Mohan Singh, Bhai Mohan Singh, Hari Singh and Babu Singh Dukhia. Subsequently, it was decided to summon a Sarva Panchayat to take a final decision on Lubhana. This Sarva Panchayat or Chauraasi Maha Panchayat gathered at Gurdwara Shaheedgunj on April 25, 1999 and included mukhias and panches of 84 villages of north India of the Lubhana community.

According to Babu Singh Dukhia, now president of the Shaheedgunj Gurdwara, Atma Singh Lubhana had confessed to his crime before the maha panchayat and was asked to pay a fine of Rs 5.28 lakh. This was recorded in the panchayat register and Lubhana had also signed it.

A written undertaking by Dukhia revealed that Satnami Bai had also confessed before the panches that Atma Singh had deposited money in her Tilak Nagar postal account. All panches agreed that due to his lust for money, Lubhana had influenced Satnami to change her statement and had turned a traitor. Babu Singh Dukhia had recorded his dissenting note about pardoning after payment of Rs 5.28 lakh fine. Thereafter, this document was sealed and it was decided that it would not be made public.

When confronted, Lubhana admitted to paying the fine. He stated that the penalty was paid in instalments and spent on renovating various gurdwaras. As desired by the panchayat, he had also agreed to follow their directive. But he was evasive about the reasons behind his boycott and denied being instrumental in Satnami Bai turning hostile. "I had not committed any crime but had to put my signatures as everyone persuaded me to settle the matter once and for all." Caught out, Lubhana denied threatening or offering any money to Darshan Kaur or Anwar Kaur but admitted to being summoned by the Akal Takht.

# **Part 15**



Tehelka captured Satnami on spycam wherein she admitted to changing her statement because of threats to her life but denied receiving money. She also stated that Congress MP, HKL Bhagat led the mobs and his wife was also present. The conversation has been edited and the operative part goes:

Tehelka: Where were you living during the riots?

Satnami Bai: Trilokpuri.

Tehelka: What all did you see?

**Satnami:** Yes, I saw all of it, small kids between 10-11 years... killed before me.

### In TRILOKPURI

The happenings in Trilokpuri, a trans-Jamuna resettlement colony in the east of Delhi, between October 31 and November 2 were a gruesome picture of the intensity of the butchery. Within just 48 hours, at least 400 Sikhs, mainly young men were burnt alive, with the connivance of the local police machinery and active participation of an organised group of miscreants led by a Congress (I) Councillor.

As in other areas, here also the carnage was preceded by the usual floating of the familiar rumour that Sikhs had distributed sweets to 'celebrate' Mrs. Gandhi's assassination on October 31. The other version which we heard when we visited Trilokpuri three days later was that a Hindu mob had come to attack the Gurudwara on October 31, and the Sikhs resisted by waving their swords, when the mob attacked the 'Gurudwara' stones were hurled from the top of the temple, and the rampage began. In the course of our investigation however we could not find any single person who could claim that he had personally seen the Sikhs distributing sweets. Some people however corroborated the report about the Sikhs waving swords from the Gurudwara when the Hindu mob came to attack it.

From accounts related to us by the survivors, by the Hindu neighbors and by some reporters who visited the spot soon the incident on November 2, we could reconstruct the grisly sequence of events.

The beginning of the tragedy could be traced to the night of October 31 when reportedly the Congress (I) Councillor Ashok Kumar, a doctor who runs a clinic in Kalyanpuri, one kilometer from Trilokpuri, held a meeting at the latter place. The violence that broke out immediately following the meeting reached its climax the next morning, when Gujar farmers from the neighboring village of Chilla landed at Trilokpuri, and accompanied by a group of local inhabitants (described by the residents as scheduled Caste people) raided Blocks 28, 32, 33 and 34 and systematically attacked the Sikh houses, dragged out the young men, killed and burnt them and set the houses on fire. In some cases, the assailants hit the victims with iron rods on their heads before pouring kerosene on them.

Between Blocks 32 and 31 there are large open spaces where over 50 Sikh families were living in jhuggies and jhopries (Clusters). These hutments were burnt down and the menfolk were killed.

A Study of the list of those who were alleged to have taken part in the loot and killings reveals that a large number of them were notorious anti-social elements well known in the area. One of them, Somnath of House 90, Block 32,

was responsible for the murder of several Sikhs including Hoshiyar Singh, son of Milap Singh and three other young men he locked up in a house and later killed them with the help of others.

(A detailed list of the alleged criminals and the nature of their crimes of Trilokpuri during the period under survey is given in Annexure 1).

Some of the participants were keepers who supplied kerosene to the arsonists. Some other among the neighbors of the victims were petty traders like milkmen, mechanics or dealers in cement. The majority of the victims were poor Sikhs-mechanics, artisans and daily wage laborers.

The role of the police was on the same lines as found elsewhere in Delhi during the period. The sanctioned strength of the police in the Kalyanpuri police station, under which Trilokpuri falls is 113, including one inspector (who is the Station House Officer) and around 2.30 p. m. on November 1 when the plunder and killings were taking place. The first the spot, allowing the criminals to escape whatever little detection there was possible. It was a continuous spree of arson, rape and murders after that,

Later enquiries conducted by a senior police official revealed that at least four women, their ages ranging from 14 to 50 were gang raped. Later seven cases of rape from Trilokpuri were officially reported by the J. P. Narayan Hospital, Delhi.

During the height of the killings however, there was little effort on the part of the police either to stop the orgy or to check the figures of casualties. On November 2, at around 5.30 p. m. Nikhil Kumar, ACP of the police received information that 'Block 32 mei mar kat ho rahi hai" (Murders are taking place in Block 32). The police control room curiously enough recorded that only three people entire rows of houses in several blocks of Trilokpuri were burning and their inmates killed.

A reporter of a Delhi based newspaper who reached Trilokpuri at about 2 p.m. on November 2 was greeted by a belligerent mob in Block 28 which threatened him and stoned his car. When he went back to the Kalyanpuri police station ,the SHO Survir Singh told him that 'total peace' was reigning in the area. He however spotted a truck outside the station with four bodies inside, one of them still alive.

When the reporter, out of despair, turned back to contact the police headquarters, on his ways he came across about 70 Sikh women and children walking along the told the road under Nizamuddin bridge. They told him that all their menfolk had been killed in Trilokpuri, and that they were fleeing for

their lives. The reporters attempts to seek help from several army personnel on the road elicited little response, since most of the latter had been either lost touch with their respective headquarters, or had no specific orders.

Finally, reaching the police headquarters at ITO, he met the ACP, Nikhil Kumar, who told him that he could not do anything and could only pass his message to the control room. He described his rule as that of a 'guest artist'.

The reporter revisited Trilokpuri in the evening of the same day and found the remains of the carnage-burnt house, dead bodies and the SHO with two constables walking around. The SHO told him that he did not have any knowledge of what had happened. When later in the evening the reporter visited the police headquarters, he was told by another ACP that according to the latter's information there was 'peace' in Trilokpuri. The reporter pointed out that at least 300 people had been burnt and that the police were only counting dead bodies that were still recognizable ignoring those which had been reduced to cinders.

It was only around 7 p.m. on November 2 that senior police officials reached Trilokpuri. Personnel of the Central Reserve police force were deployed them, and the survivors were rescued from the affected blocks.

When members of our team reached Trilokpuri at about 7 a.m. on November 3 we found the survivors-old men, women and children, some of them with severe burns, huddling together in the open in the main road. Weeping women narrated to the how their menfolk were slaughtered and alleged that in some cases the police directed the attacks. Many among the survivors told us that Dr. Ashok Kumar the local Congress (I) Councillor had instigated the mob. The entire Sikh community in the area, they said, was left at the mercy of the mob for two full days till arrival of the CRP.

As soon as we entered Block 32, we were greeted by a strong stench of burnt bodies which were still rotting inside some of the houses. The entire lane was littered with burnt pieces of furniture, papers, scooters and piles if ash in the shape of human bodies the unmistakable signs of burnt human beings. Dogs were on the prowl. Rats were nibbling at the still recognizable remains of a few bodies.

As we watched the scene, we remembered what we had just read in the morning newspapers that day. Describing the situation in Delhi on the previous day-November 2, when the carnage was continuing at Trilokpuri the Lt. Governor Mr. Gavai had said that the situation in the capital was 'under control' . From what we witnessed at Trilokpuri, it was evident that the situation there on November 2 was indeed 'under control', but the 'control'

was wielded by a powerful group on influential persons who could mobilise the local police to help them in the may-hem and immobilise the entire administration for more than 48 hours to enable them to carry out meticulously their plans of murder and destruction.

### **Eyewitness Testimonies:**

"On the morning of 1 November, when Indira Mata's body was brought to Teen Murti, everyone was watching television. Since 8 a.m. they had been showing the homage being paid to her dead body. At about noon, my children said: 'Mother, please make some food. We are hungry.' I had not cooked that day and I told them: 'Son, everyone is mourning. She was our mother, too. She helped us to settle here. So I don't feel like lighting the fire today.' Soon after this the attack started. Three of the men ran out and were set on fire. My youngest son stayed in the house with me. He shaved off his beard and cut his hair. But they came into the house. Those young boys, 14 and 16 years old, began to drag my son out even though he was hiding behind me. They tore my clothes and stripped me naked in front of my son. When these young boys began to rape me, my son began to cry and said: 'Elder brothers, don't do this. She is like your mother just as she is my mother.' But they raped me right there, in front of my son, in my house. They were young boys, maybe eight of them. When one of them raped me, I said: 'My child, never mind. Do what you like. But remember, I have given birth to children. This child came into the world by this same path.'

After they had taken my honour, they left. I took my son out with me and made him sit among the women but they came and dragged him away. They took him to the street corner, hit him with lathis, sprinkled kerosene over him, and burnt him alive. I tried to save him but they struck me with knives and broke my arm. At that time, I was completely naked. I somehow managed to get hold of an old sheet which I had wrapped around myself. But that could easily be pulled away unless I held on tight to it with my arms. It inhibited my physical movements. If I had had even one piece of clothing on my body, I would have gone and thrown myself over my son and tried to save him. I would have done anything to save at least one young man of my family. Not one of the four is left. " – *Gurdip Kaur, block 32 Trilokpuri*.

"There were six members in our family. The three men, my husband and my two brothers-in-law, were murdered. Now only three women are left. My husband was first beaten and then burnt to death. I was sitting and crying when a big group of men came and dragged me away. They took me to the nearby huts in front of block 32, and raped me. They tore off all my clothes. They bit and scratched me. They took me at 10 p.m. and released me at about

3 a.m. When I came back, I was absolutely naked, just as one is when one comes out of the mother's womb." – *Baby Bai, Trilokpuri.* 

"All night, the attacks continued. My husband was hiding in a trunk. They dragged him out and cut him to pieces. Another 16-year-old boy was killed in front of my eyes. He was carrying a small child in his arms. They killed the child, too.

We women were forced to come out of our houses and sit in a group outside. I was trying to hide my daughter. I put a child in her lap and dishevelled her hair so that she would look older. But finally one of our own neighbours pointed her out to these men. They began to drag her away. We tried to save her. I pleaded with them

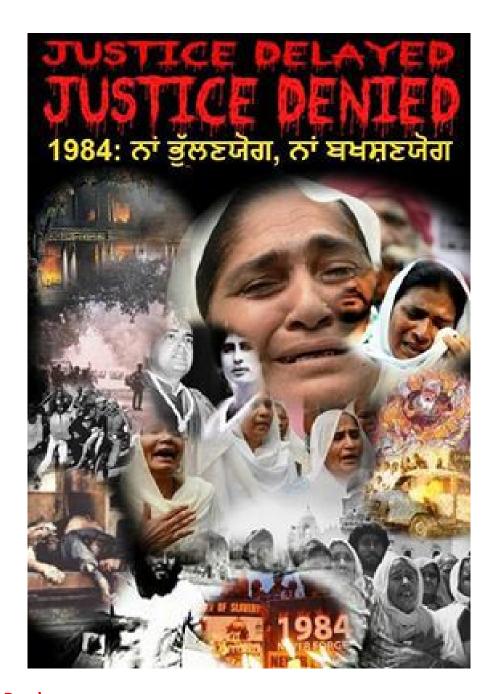


They took Koshala to the old masjid (Mosque). I don't know what happened to her. At about 4 a.m., when we were driven out of the colony, she called out to me from the roof of the masjid. She was screaming to me: 'Mummy, mujhe lechal, mujhe lechal, Mummy' [take me with you]. But how could Mummy take her? They beat her because she called to me. I don't know where she is now." – *Rajjo Bai, Trilokpuri* 

The first relief to be given to the Trilokpuri victims was not by the authorities but by a voluntary group of over two dozen who brought them food, medical care and concern. Even though a women had given birth to a child among the victims, the authorities had not even arranged for medical care for her or the other persons seriously injured more than a day earlier. Members of this

voluntary team rescued Sikh families who were hiding in Hindu homes as late as 7.30 in the evening. These rescues were made in the presence of the District Commissioner who had to be cajoled into helping. The authorities assured the victims that they will be given all help and things like blankets though they had none on hand. In fact the authorities have been using the Farash Bazaar Camp (where Trilokpuri victims were sent ) to show their efficiency whereas a great deal of the work there has been done by voluntary agencies.

# Part 16



#### **Sheela Barske**

Fifteen years old. Round chubby face. Aching black eyes. She stumbled out of the first rescue bus. Torment she had endured for 36 hours surged out when she saw us. "Meri izzat loot li (they raped me)," she cried out. She pulled away the loose, crumpled kurta from her shoulders to reveal a gash from her left collar bone to right breast, covered with dried blood, "Dekho, dekho, unhone kya kiya mere saath (see, see what they did to me)."

In barrack rooms, a team of interns arranged first-aid medicines, gauzes, on the dirty floor. It was noon. November 2, 1984. Two days after Indira Gandhi's assassination.

Thirty-six hours after more than 300 Sikhs in that basti had been lynched, burnt and flung down from upper floors in the presence of their families, pushing back the women and children who rushed to embrace the targeted men, Delhi police had found one bus to bring out the terrorized survivors from their looted homes with just their clothes on, to the police grounds.

A 12-year-old boy sat alone apart from his kin, on a large stone, brooding, head held firm on a straight spine. The knot of his kesh had been lopped off but the remaining hair, glued spiny stiff and erect in a bunch, proclaimed his continuing identity. "He has not spoken a word since he saw his father and uncle being burnt to death and flung down from first floor," a relative informs.

A desultory conversation begins. A middle-aged sardarni, still dreaming of the gory killing of her husband, softly asks, "Is it possible to rescue my brother-in-law? He is all burnt but there is still some breath in him. He is sitting in a chair for the last 40 hours." The woman withdraws into herself.

I ask for a guide to locate the house. A polio-affected youth moves closer. "I will. The police left behind my wife. Her thigh and shoulder were scorched as she threw herself on my eldest brother when they set him on fire live. She is mute and young, childlike really..."

An athletic sardar, kesh cut, clean-shaven, accompanies me. Few hours ago, like many Sikhs in that colony, he had paid several hundred rupees to a barber to raze an integral part of his being. Since October 31, 'kesh' marked not a glorious inheritance but a victim to be torched alive.

With the doctor's team and first-aid, we enter the colony and pause by a wounded elderly man lying on a cot. He would need an ambulance. We do not have one. "Now you come," screams a woman. "After bodies have been thrown in the nullahs." A Sikh grabs my arm, "Curfew laga dijiye." Our guide sprints into a lane. Mounds of junk placed across the road every few yards, the lynchers' barricades to prevent victims escaping in their taxis. The young doctors trail. The guide breaks into a run and leaps over front steps of a house. "Anyone there?" I call out a few times, then step in.

The house had been looted clean, no furniture, no utensils, no clothes. "There is no one inside, I checked thoroughly," he says. Depressed, we stand still in the stark living room. A mob of 200 men and women has arched around the house while we are inside. They watch us silently. "What have you done with

him?" I yell. "Didn't burning him satisfy you? His bhabhi told me that Dilbara Singh is sitting in a chair. Where have you hidden him?"

"Oh Dilbara Singh!" a man steps up saucily. "Come here. This pile of ashes, that's him. His wife broke up the chair and gave him a live funeral, with flowers and everything." he grins wickedly.

The chowk is now blocked by a mob of 150. The news of a rescue team has traveled. I notice brass knuckles on a fist and cycle chain in a hand and discover that our guide is missing. "Where is the man who came with us?," I yell."He was with us 2 minutes ago. What have you done with him?"

An armed sub-inspector comes running. "He is safe. He was recognised. He ran for his life. He asked me to inform you." The officer was the sole policeman on duty for 48 hours.

The sun begins to set. Someone hails us. An elderly thick-set sardar in a wheelchair pushed by two youngsters. "Take me out please," the sardar pleads. We walk away but a few steps later, I abruptly halt. The disabled Sikh is not safe, he's in danger. We turn and stride to the disabled man. "Come," we say. But the three young men have their hands firm on his wheelchair. "We'll take him. We are with Nandita Haksar." I believe them only after sighting Nandita 300 meters away.

That evening I hitch a ride in a press car. "Fifty-nine Hindus killed, some pulled in gurdwaras." they tell me. "But we are not printing that."

Police Commissioner Tandon refuses to see the press. PRO Panwar sniggers, "Hundreds killed in one basti? How is it possible to burn people alive? We have not received any complaints."

Reporters decide to gatecrash Tandon's office. "Please order shoot at sight." He steps back into the unlit shield of his chamber. His subordinates and guards block the door.

Next day, I visit the morgue. A corpse wrapped in a bloodstained brilliant white sheet is laid outside the walled compound, in front of the gate. Not a soul around. I ask a policeman if I can pay for a few decent funerals.

In the compound, to my left, is an open shed with hundreds of bloated corpses stacked 6-7 deep like logs. In front of me, scores of rotting bodies heaped in a truck. Nearby a dump of swollen, decaying remains of men. Disconnected tufts of hair strewn around. The policeman returns, asks me to come over. I take a

few steps over the bunches of kesh littering the compound and blown around my feet. Outside, I stand for a while with an anonymous, unaccompanied body.

But the scars run deep and sharp in the minds of Sikhs like Avtar Singh Bedi who had lived there in 1984 and still remember the brutalities.

Recalling Oct 31, 1984, Bedi, 45, who has shifted to Tilak Vihar, said: "The news of Indira Gandhi's assassination shocked me. Equally shocking was the way people looked at me and my brother when we were returning to our homes."

Suddenly, out of the blue, a terrible fury broke out all over Delhi – for the first time after the 1947 partition of the sub-continent. And Trilokpuri bore the brunt of it.

After his house and his shop dealing in electrical appliances were looted and set afire, Bedi and his family fled to a smaller dwelling in west Delhi. Tension flickered across Bedi's wrinkled face as he recalled images of unruly mobs pouncing on him and his teenaged brother, who was a mechanic at a roadside scooter garage.

"I escaped but the mob killed my brother and ransacked all the houses at Block 30 in Trilokpuri," Bedi said. Trilokpuri turned into a killing field. The police refused to intervene. Bedi ran with his elderly and ailing mother. "A cousin who was visiting us also ran with us," Bedi said.

"Gurdip Kaur, a 45 year old woman from Block 32, Trilokpuri, told a typical story. Her husband and three sons were brutally murdered in front of her. Her husband used to run a small shop in the locality. Her eldest son, Bhajan Singh, worked at the railway station; the second, in a radio repair shop; and the third as a scooter driver.

She says, 'On the morning of 1 November, when Indira Mata's body was brought to Teen Murti, everyone was watching television. Since 8.00 am, they were showing homage being paid to her dead body. At about noon, my children said, "Mother, please make some food. We are hungry." I had not cooked that day, and I said, "Son, everyone is mourning. She was our mother too. She helped us to settle here. So I don't feel like lighting the fire today."

'Soon after this, the attack started. Three of the men ran out, and were set on fire. My youngest son stayed in the house with me. He shaved off his beard and cut his hair. But they came into the house. Those young boys, 14 and 16 years old, began to drag my son out even though he was hiding behind me.

'They tore my clothes and stripped me naked in front of my son. My son cried, "Elder brothers, don't do this. She is your mother just as she is my mother." But they raped me right there, in front of my son, in my own house. They were young boys, maybe eight of them. When one of them raped me, I said, "My child, never mind. Do what you like. But remember, I have given birth to children. This child came into the world by this same path."

'After they had taken my honour, they left. I took my son out with me, and made him sit among the women, but they came and dragged him away. They took him to the street corner, hit him with lathis, sprinkled kerosene over him, and burnt him alive.

'I tried to save him but they struck me with knives and broke my arm. At that time, I was completely naked. If I had even one piece of clothing on my body, I would have gone and thrown myself over my son and tried to save him. I would have done anything to save at least one young man of my family. Not one of the four is left." (When a Tree Shook Delhi, page 70)

The anti-Sikh violence erupted on the evening of Oct 31 in south Delhi, close to the hospital where Indira Gandhi was declared dead, and quickly spread to almost every part of Delhi.

With the authorities looking the other way, mobs took charge of the streets, burning and looking Sikh shops and homes and mercilessly killing men, women and even children. Many women were raped.

Memories of the murderous frenzy are still fresh in the minds of Sikhs – as well as others who saw the violence from close quarters. Many non-Sikhs came to the rescue of the besieged community.

Even 20 years later, hundreds of displaced families are fighting legal battles and running from pillar to post to avail themselves of rehabilitation facilities promised by successive governments.

Another riot victim Balvinder Singh, who too lived in Trilokpuri, said: "I lost my father and mother in the violence. It is painful that the perpetrators of the violence are still roaming free."

Some of those – mainly Congress politicians – who perpetrated the atrocities remain entrenched in the party. A few went into oblivion. Sikh militants killed a handful of others.

For the victims, the riots have left a scar that has not healed. But most Sikhs say they harbour no grudges against any community.

G.S. Arora, a former professor with the Pusa Institute of Technology, said: "I have no ill-will against anyone. Some of the people who masterminded the violence were part of the government.

"But they must certainly be booked under the law. Unfortunately this has not happened."

Over the years, Sikhs who lost their near and dear ones have learnt to live with the trauma – but with a feeling of being betrayed by the judicial system. Commissions set up by the government to probe the violence have not been of much help.

Summarizing what the community thought of 1984, Sikh preacher Ranbir Singh Lubhana, now in his late 40s, noted that the rioters had razed his gurdwara in Trilokpuri.

"But we have rebuilt it. Things are normal and there is no malice for anyone among the Sikhs. Even Hindus come and pray here."

## **Part 17**



KAMAL NATH, PERPETRATOR OF SIKH GENOCIDE 1984.

#### **KAMAL NATH**

Kamal Nath is a union cabinet minister in govt of India. He holds charge of road and surface ministry. Kamal Nath was indicted by the Nanavati Commission on allegations that he was involved in the 1984 anti Sikh riots.

Only one witness, Mukhtiar Singh, testified to seeing Nath lead an armed mob that attacked and demolished a Gurudwara in Rakab Ganj. Two Sikhs were allegedly burnt by the mob which was lead by Kamal Nath, saying that he visited the Gurudwara later in the day to investigate the agitation and urge peace.

The Commission Report observed that Nath's testimony was "vague" and "not consistent with the evidence" and that his version of events was "A little of strange." However it disregarded the contradictions in his testimony, saying "It is also required to be considered that he was called upon to give an explanation after about 20 years and probably for that reason he was not able to give more details."

In conclusion the Commission said, "In absence of better evidence it is not possible for the Commission to say that he had in any manner instigated the mob or that he was involved in the attack on the Gurudwara". Justice Nanavati further stated that "it would not be proper to come to the conclusion that Kamal Nath had in any manner instigated the mob.

### Harvinder Singh Phoolka: Evidence Against Nath Well Documented:

By Avneet Kaur, Special to Sikh News Network

Posted: Wednesday, November 02, 2011 | 09:11 pm "Kamal Nath's role is well documented, even in records," Harvinder Singh said during an online seminar sponsored by the Sikh Research Institute in Texas. "He was present at Gurdwara Rakab Ganj when the attack was going on Nov. 1, 1984. On Nov.2, 1984, the Indian Express (newspaper) reported that Kamal Nath was present and leading the mob. "Despite witnesses, including Sanjay Suri, the then reporter of Indian Express, now based in England, unfortunately, no action has been taken against Kamal Nath."

While Nath has not been charged in India in connection with the 1984 pogroms, an American human rights group, Sikhs for Justice, filed a case against him on April 6, 2010, under the Alien Tort Claims Act.

The act allows U.S. courts to hear human rights cases brought by foreign citizens for violations committed abroad. The plaintiffs include seven pogrom survivors living in the United States and Canada.

In his June 20 affidavit to the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Nath denied coordinating the mob.

"I attempted to bring the violence under control until additional police forces arrived, "he said.

"At the time, me and my wife were both evacuated by the (army) truck when our house was under attack," Harvinder Singh remembered.

Widowed women and orphaned children were left without a stable source of income. And the perpetrators walked away with impunity, he said.

The press photographer of Indian express Monish Sanjay witnessed him inciting mob outside Gurudwara Rakabganj but later on in his testimony before Nanavati commission, he became hostile and said that he heard Kamal Nath ordering the mob to disperse from there. Why did he changed from his earlier statement and became hostile, he might better know.

It's very sad such the mass murderers gets acquitted in lack of concrete evidence as only Hindus were in mob which attacked gurudwara and burnt alive Sikhs, the eye witness was Sikhs too who watched from inside Gurudwara but their testimony was refused and found not trustworthy. No Hindu has ever come forward to give his witness against any perpetrator of Sikh genocide.

Thus instead of taking any action against this mass murderer, e was promoted to union cabinet minister by ruling Congress which was itself the chief organizer of Sikh genocide and all these culprits were members/activists of this political party.

One obvious place to check for trouble was the Gurdwaras. I made my way to Rakab Ganj gurdwara, where I saw the still smouldering bodies of two Sikhs who had been burnt alive by a mob outside. And this was while a very large police contingent stood by, all wearing riot gear – to protect themselves. And still I had no idea what scale of killing was being prepared for that night, or even taken place the past night. It was only after the next day after seeing how much killing had taken place, and at how many places, that I reported that these were not murders, these were massacre.

Because no action is ever taken against these perpetrators of Sikh genocide in India, no legal action is ever taken. The judiciary function as a paralyzed system hence we the Sikhs have no hope of justice in India. Now a NGO of USA, Sikhs for justice filed a lawsuit against Kamal Nath in New York, US Court by producing two eye witnesses Jasbir Singh and Mohinder Singh. The Court summoned Kamal Nath to appear in Court, it's photocopy is pasted to be viewed. (see above). US District Court issued summons to Kamal Nath asking him to respond to the complaint. Kamal Nath received summons and complaint the same day in the evening while he was in Manhattan, New York.

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK	
"Sikhs for Justice",	_
Jashir Singh & Mohinder Singh (In the space above enter the full name(s) of the plants ##(s)/petitioner(s).)  - against -  Kanal Nath	CLERK'S CERTIFICATE  10 Civ.2940 ( X )
(In the space above enter the full nume(s) of the defendant(s)/respondent(s).)	
I, RUBY J. KRAJICK, Clerk of the United State	
District of New York, do hereby certify that this action co	mmenced on April 06, 2010
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The court complaint was dismissed in March 2012 by Judge Robert Sweet of the US District Court Southern District of New York, against Nath, who stated that the court lacked jurisdiction in the case. The 22-page order granted Nath's motion to dismiss the claim, and the judge also noted that 'Sikhs for Justice' failed to "serve the summons and its complaints to Nath in an appropriate and desired manner."

"As far as this issue is concerned, the kind of effort that has been made in America to prosecute Kamal Nath, (a) similar kind of effort should be made in other countries to prosecute these people,"



Hundreds of Sikhs protested against Kamal Nath in Luben—a city of Belgium on 31st October 2011where one of the chief organizer of Sikh genocide had arrived to participate in 5th Euro India Summit on Thursday . The protesters wanted Kamal Nath to be booked under law of Belgium and to prosecute him there on allegations of human rights violation act on allegations of two Sikhs burnt alive by mob and on attack on a Sikh temple in Delhi lead by him.

He had also face the protesting Sikhs at Crown Plaza (Buckingham gate) in London on 28th September 2010 where he was going to participate in a Golmez conference (Round table conference) on Highway infrastructure. These Sikhs shouted the slogans—BOLE SO NIHAAL, SAT SRI AKAL and NEVER FORGET 1984, and RAPIST in his presence.

The Indian govt which only falsely propagate of doing justice with Sikhs could not do justice with Sikhs for the last 30 years, it seems it will never do justice with victims of 1984. It could never listen the cries of widows but a Court in Us heard their plea and has ordered to proceed against Kamal Nath.



### Canadian Sikhs protested his visit to Toronto 23 March 2010.

On 23rd March, a dinner was hosted in honor on the visit of Union minister of Road and Surface transport, Kamal Nath at hotel Lee-Meridian King Edward Hotel in Toronto Canada by it's govt. Its pre-information had been already given to press and media. When Sikh organizations came to know about this honor, they protested against this honor to an accused of burning alive two Sikhs and the attack on their place of worship in Delhi by this perpetrator and condemned the govt. of Canada. These protesters had also been supported by many members of Parliament of Canada and boycotted the state visit of Kamal Nath to Canada. He came back after facing a great humiliation.

After this when he paid a visit to US, there too he had to face protest by Sikhs and then a case was filed in US Court by Sikhs for Justice which was under jurisdiction by writing this book. (This case was dismissed in lack of concrete evidence).

I sent an email to Jack Layton in Canada and had requested him to boycott the dinner hosted in honor to Kamal Nath. In response he sent me this letter, the copy of which is pasted here as below;



Jack Layton was the main leader of opposition party NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Later on his party (NDP) was declared the main opposition party after he made a historic win in elections held there on 2nd May 2011.

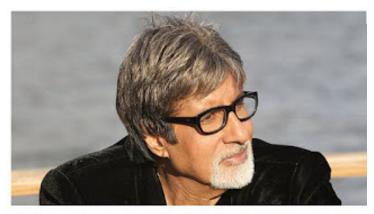


Kamal nath visited Switzerland in January 2013 but before that a NGO of New York Sikhs For Justice" (SFJ) and Swiss NGO "Movement Against Atrocities & Repression" (MAR) had filed a complaint with Attorney General alleging Kamal Nath to incite the mob, to lead the mob, to burn alive Sikhs in front of Gurudwara Rakabganj at Delhi and to torch the Gurudwara itself in flames during Sikh genocide of 1984, he was also accused of violations of human rights and a demand to arrest him and Court proceedings in above charges

were made. These human rights organizations filed a 11 pages affidavit to the Swiss govt. A photo copy of main page of this affidavit can be viewed in the above picture (Pasted below). In the second part of this picture, you can see it was accepted by the Attorney general there.



## **Part 18**



BOL BACCHAN...AB TO SACH BOL

#### **MURDERER AMITABH BACCHAN**

Amitabh Bacchan— a celebrity star of Bollywood (Indian cinema) but a murderer? Yes, but a murderer is called who might have killed one, two three or few more murders but this man is a witch —- he incited killings of innocent Sikhs in 1984 Sikh genocide through Indian govt owned TV Channel—the Door Darshan. In his direct LIVE telecast he incited the majority Hindus of this nation to spill blood of Sikhs. This is not only a rumor ——- but a bitter truth.

The state media show looped video clips of Amitabh Bachchan raising slogans like "Khoon ka badla khoon" (blood for blood) and "Khoon ke chintey sikhon ke ghar tak pahunchni chahiye" (Splashes of blood should reach the doorsteps of Sikhs). and the slogan was telecast intermittently for three days from Door Darshan until the pyre of Indira Gandhi was not set in flames.

The govt. of Delhi state has. By a nomination dated May 2000, assigned to Justice Nanavati all matters relating to the 1984 massacre of Sikhs. Here are some key questions for the commission. Once I thought to write an article on the 1984 genocide of Sikhs but I have time and again restrained myself, as the article would forewarn the culprits because my reterence to various aspects of the case may lead to destruction of even the remaining relevant records.

Here are two out of 36 of the questions given to the Nanavati Commission—indeed the Government – must answer.

Eminent jurist and Retd. justice of Punjab & Haryana High Court, he raised some question which were never answered. In his questionnire

3. Who was the clearly visible and identifiable man who continued to be shown on the Doordarshan television throughout the first part of October 31-Nov. 1 night (standing at the threshold of the room where lay the dead body of Indira Gandhi for public view) shouting: "Sardar Qaum ke ghaddar" and "Khoon ka Badla Khoon" – openly inciting spilling of Sikh blood.

## (Ans. It was Amitabh Bacchan)

4. Why no action has been taken against that man, till date, for openly spreading disaffection between communities and provoking bloodshed of identifiable persons?

Amitabh was famous as an angry man in Indian cinema. He was liked by viewers of all religions and castes. He had his good and close relations with the ruling family of India and Indira Gandhi herself. That was the reason that his films could easily get the No Objection Certificate from Censor Board. This was the only reason that very soon hewas seen as a successful star of Indian Cinema. His name had been known as guarantee of success of film.

After assassination of Indira Gandhi her son Rajiv Gandhi was made the Prime Minister (by going out of constitution and leaving aside the elected parliament members) by Congress Party, to avenge the killing of his mother from Sikhs, he organized the Sikh genocide in India with the misuse of Police and other paramilitary forces of India including Army.



Dozens of Hindus kill a Sikh youth on provocation of Amitabh Bacchan's appeal on Door Darshan to spill blood of Sikhs in 1984

Many of Congress leaders played a key role in this genocide, few names of these perpetrators are as; Hari Kishan Lal Bhagat, Jagdish Tytler, Sajjan Kumar, Kamal Nath, Dharm Das Shastri, Lalit Makan and Amitabh Bacchan. They behaved like stray Dogs in their area, similarly these politicians orchestrated the massacre in their constituencies only. But Amitabh Bacchan —- which was a celebrity of Indian cinema, he appeared LIVE on Door Darshan and appealed the majority Hindus to spill blood of Sikhs through his hatred slogans. Due to his hatred call, the violence against Sikhs was spread all over India and Sikh were killed in trains, at Railway Platforms, in buses, on roads mean to say everywhere Sikhs were targeted.

More then 20,000 innocent Sikhs were brutally killed in India. Now only god knows if the thirst of blood of this witch is quenched or he wanted more and whether really quenched—only he might be aware). The Sikh women were molested and raped too at many places. Their children were also not spared. They were also burnt alive, (you can see the evidences in these following pictures). Their movable and non-movable property was either looted, destroyed or set on fire.

Amitabh Bcchan—the famous Indian cine star — who arrived Delhi in the evening on 31st October the same day when Indira Gandhi was killed in Delhi. Though our unconfirmed reports( as given to us by our one friend on facebook—a social site) that as soon he landed at Palam Airort, a Sikh security person on duty saluted him but he slapped on his face and said that 'you Sikhs have killed our mother so you too have no right to live" We do not confirm this information but share the information received by us.



A Sikh girl who was tried to be burnt alive by Hindus



An infant baby Sikh girl who was torched alive by Hindus but saved by Sikhs themselves

The grand children of Indira Gandhi were given in the custody of Mrs. Teji Bacchan who was mother of Amitabh Bacchan. She too belonged to a reputed Sikh Bedi family but had given up her parental religion —-Sikh by marrying outside of religion with a Kaystha Brahmin Harivansh Rai Bacchan. The credit to join Amitabh in film line also goes to Indira Gandhi only because she used her influence and sent an approach letter to Kjhwaza Ahmad Abbas, in which she had requested to give a role to Amitabh Bacchan. He gave a side role to Amitabh in his Hindi movie "SAAT HINDUSTANI" And when a movie on violence was released (Zanzeer), it was cleared by Censor Board under influence of Indira Gandhi.

The only but govt. owned TV Channel of India was covering the visiting crowd and distinguished people arriving to pay their tributes to late Prime minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi at Teen Moorti Bhawan which was earlier the official residence of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who was also father of Indira Gandhi. We saw Rajv Gandhi and Amitabh Bacchan discussing in a corridor. We saw Rajiv Gandhi turned towards Amitabh Bacchan and whispered something in his ears and than Amitabh turned towards camera crew which was already waiting there.

And then I witnessed which I have never dreamt of. I was just stunned when I watched Amitabh inciting Hindus to spill blood of Sikhs?

The state media show looped video clips of Amitabh Bachchan raising slogans like "Khoon ka badla khoon" (blood for blood) and "Khoon ke chintey sikhon ke ghar tak pahunchni chahiye" (Splashes of blood should reach the doorsteps of Sikhs).

Then Amitabh was seen walking 10 to 15 steps with his fists closed in anger and waiving in air, shouting hatred slogans ....KHOON KA BADLA KHOON means BLOOD FOR BLOOD. This video clip was telecast intermittently to provoke majority Hindus to spread violence against Sikhs and to kill them. This video was proved like fuel in fire. Due to this hatred video, Sikhs were attacked all over India. More than 20,000 innocent Sikhs were killed, their women molested and raped too, their moveable and immoveable properties were either looted, destroyed or set on fire. The meanness of Hindus was noticed when they raped Sikh women on dead bodies of their husbands, brothers, children and relatives.

I was stunned as I had no blood in my veins. I was in dilemma if he (Amitabh) was liked by only majority Hindus? If this was same Amitabh who was a failure on box office. His maximum movies were rejected by audiences. Even then I was his fan and a regular viewer of his films as he did some good performance in few films like ANAND. So we were not in his fan list and only Hindus were given credit? Since than a feeling of hate for this man is placed in my mind.

Now it had been clear that he (Amitabh) was a fanatic Hindu and targeted Sikhs with his biased hateful thoughts. He was inciting majority Hindus to kill Sikhs all over India by inciting them through his hatred LIVE telecast on TV channel and we were helplessly watching him and killing of innocent Sikhs. We were crying on our failure as we could not save our brothers from these butchers. I was also feeling ashamed of calling myself an Indian. INDIA which was liberated by us and we Sikhs sacrificed 93% for its liberation from British Colony. These were only Sikhs who sacrificed their blood to help India get free and today we were backstabbed by our own govt and the people?

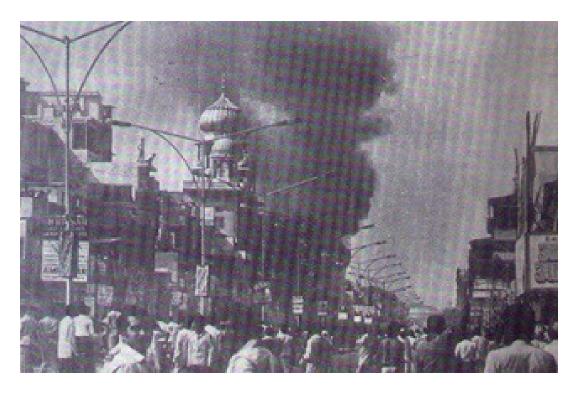
These Hindus are thankless nation as earlier during Mogul empire, they were saved by Sikh gurus otherwise would have been known as largest Muslim country with all its citizens as Muslims. Sikhs saved them from forced conversion by fighting with Muslims to save them but to-day they back stabbed us? Had the Muslims not defeated by Sikhs, Hindus could not be seen in this Indian sub-continent. It was not possible to believe on own eyes but the betrayal was there in front of my eyes?

Due to hatred call of Amitabh, more than 20,000 innocent Sikhs were killed in whole India. Their moveable and immoveable properties were looted or set on fire, their homes and business establishments were also looted and destroyed.

Thus they were made homeless and penniless second time in India after 1947. The massacre was continued in Delhi for three days continuously from 1st November to 3rd November. As per official reports (through govt records 2733 Sikhs were killed but unofficial records reveal it more than 10,000 in Delhi only.

No legal action is ever taken against this celebrity Amitabh bacchan for creating animosity in two brotherly communities, to destroy public property by incitation and provocation, and to make way for another division of India on religious basis like 1947 when Muslims opted for their own nation and they got as Pakistan.

There are many reasons of legal failure. He moves scot-free under security of National Security Guards. It's almost impossible to take a legal action against him on his involvement in Sikh genocide in India as he is protected by Indian govt.



The thankless Hindus tried to burn this sacred place Gurudwara Sisganj Sahib, Chandni Chowk, Delhi, where the ninth Sikh Guru—Guru Teg Bahadur sacrificed his own life with his disciples to save Hindu religion.

Alas if we too had our own nation which could help us in this critical time and had raised it's voice against injustice, discrimination and attempts to eliminate us than govt. of India could have never dared to orchestrate a well planned massacre of Sikhs. Since than we do not consider this nation as ours, never.

When people ask me to show an evidence of his involvement, I just look at their faces in amusement only. Either they are fools or oversmart? During that genocide, our own govt was enemy of our lives, there was no one outsider to eliminate us but our own brothers

who shared a mutual trust for centuries. Just due to misguidance and provocation, these our own brothers of Hindu community became our worst enemy and back stabbed us?

The fire brigade was given orders to not receive any call f arson but if they are compelled and have to go to douse the flame, than they should spray water on adjoining houses of Hindu families but not spray water on Sikh homes. We were not sure if we will be alive and see the next moment, so we were busy to make all efforts to save ourselves and our families from our own.

Who had the time to record his hatred slogans, and forget recording of video as the video camera were not available in every home. Some families had the Video caste player but that too rarely. Even the TV sets were not in every home. People had to watch at their neighbor's homes.

Mobiles were not invented than how could it be recorded? It was not possible for Sikhs as they were facing death squads in every street but if someone else from Hindu or Muslim or Chrishtian community recorded it, I am not aware. This video clip is available with Door Darshan but that can be viewed only by order of a sitting judge only.

# **Part 19**



What a young army officer saw in '84 riots (Colonel (retd) Bhupinder Malhi joined the army in 1983. He retired in 2009. He now runs a security agency in Delhi)

We, a group of young Army Officers of Armoured Corps, were on board the Jhelum Express to attend the Young Officers Course at Armoured Corps Centre and School (ACCS) at Ahmednagar and happened to witness the anti-Sikh riots at very close quarters.

I boarded the Jhelum Express at Ambala Cantt early morning on 01 Nov 1984 along with few other course-mates. By the time our train reached outer Delhi near the Sabji Mandi area, we could see that Delhi was burning. Lots of trucks were on fire and smoke could be seen rising from buildings.

When the train reached the New Delhi Railway Station, we got down to enquire about the situation. We spotted many Sikhs lying injured on the platform and no one was willing to provide any first aid or help. We tried to help a few of the injured but our train was immediately moved out of the station.

The train was forcibly stopped near the Nizammudin Railway Station by an unruly mob. They started pulling out Sikhs from the train and there was chaos all around. We all quickly put on our uniforms and got down to help the Sikhs. We could not help most, though we managed to save a few. Some Sikhs had been set on fire; cycle rubber tyres were placed around them.

Some of us tried calling the police using the railways phone but there was no response. We also tried calling the Army headquarters' Duty Officer but could not reach them. We spotted an injured Sikh who was thrown on the railway track; two of us rushed to help him, but by the time we reached him, an approaching train over-ran him and we saw his body cut into pieces. We collected his body parts in a bed sheet and brought it to the railway platform to be handed over to police.

The train moved a bit and was again stopped near the Okhla slums. Another group of mob entered our AC 2 tier compartment by breaking the window glass as there are no iron grills in AC compartment. The mob systematically started searching the compartment and pulling Sikhs out of the train. We tried to reason with rioters and managed to save few fellow Sikhs. Unfortunately we could not save all. Capt Gill of 89 Armoured Regiment was stabbed at a distance of 1 ft from me. We requested rioters to spare his life as he was a soldier but the rioters argued that the person who killed Mrs Indira Gandhi was also a soldier.

We handed over Captain Gill's body to Army authorities at the Mathura railway station at night. Another Sikh officer named Sahota from GREF (General Reserve Engineer Force) was made to hide under the berth in our compartment. He was spotted by the mob and was killed there itself after he was hit by iron rods.

We were lucky to save my course mate Harinder (86 Armoured Regiment) who was being pulled out of the train but some of us held on to him and managed to free him from the clutches of death.

Another newly-wedded young officer from Artillery who was travelling with his wife was saved by shaving his beard and cutting his hair.

We repeatedly requested railways authorities for help but no one was willing to oblige. On the contrary, one TTE was seen indicating to the mob about the location of Sikhs hiding in the compartments.

Two officers Yadav (75 Armoured Regiment) and AP Singh (9 Horse) managed to get hold of a 12 bore rifle which was being carried by a soldier proceeding on leave. They fired a few rounds at the mob and the mob retreated. They were awarded subsequently for this bravery.

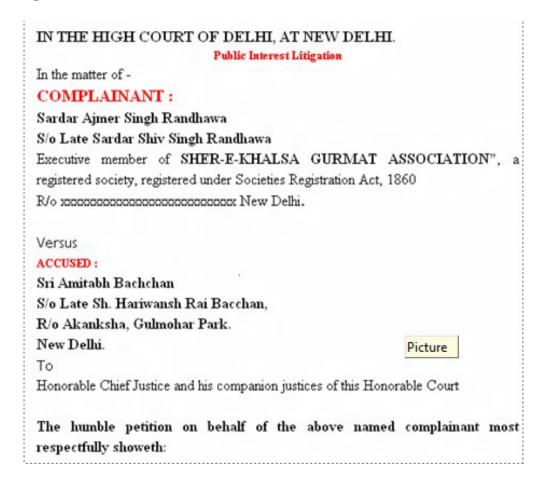
It's not like that Amitabh shouting hatred slogans is not watched by others? Hundreds of thousands would have watched him mostly who were residing outside Delhi but to whom could they reveal?



The Hindus are seeing killing the innocent Sikhs in trains.

Any legal action against him is not possible in India. It took me 25 years to spread my voice. The credit of revolution in Indian struggle of freedom of 1957 goes to Mangal Pande ... as he was the first person who dared to give a befitted reply to British —— it needs to ignite a single spark to revolt and when I myself has watched Amitabh LIVE on Door Darshan inciting Hindus to spill

blood of Sikhs than I decided to knock the Court. I was hesitating to pay Court fee and litigation expenses. Therefore I filed a Public interest Litigation (PIL) in Delhi High Court on 19-09-2009.



On 24-10-2009, it was refused to be heard by honorable judge Man Mohan Kumar with a remark as the case is filed after 25 years. Now I was again in need of money to file revision, no advocate came forward to fight this case without money, possibly they were frightened to appeal against a highly influential celebrity.

I demanded a copy of video clip from Door Darshan aftermath assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984 from 1st November to 3rd November but I was refused to provide the same and called vague. And when I became sure that I can't get justice and can't appeal in Court, I better decided to write on net and expose him. I learnt Internet and than all the material in relevance to this PIL and involvement of Amitabh in provocation and inciting Hindus to spill blood of Sikhs pasted on net. People were amazed, they had no such information.

Though the Karnail Singh Peer Mohammad had revealed it on net before me but he was not having any witness. After my statement on net, this was proved a big support to their voice. Within last four years only, whole world is now aware of his involvement, his role in Sikh genocide is well informed. We have shown the real black face of him within this short period. Now wherever he

goes in any part of world, Sikh youths protest against him and he is called MURDERER, MURDERER. The success which I would have not got by filing a legal case against him, I have got more than that on net. He didn't pay a visit to Canada in fear of protest but resigned from Chairman post of AAIF. Kindly view this following picture, a photocopy of that memorandum.



Than he went to Oxford university, England and his interview was aired by BBC, TV ONE to promote his film 'PAA'. There he had to face protest of Sikhs. After that he went to Queensland University, Australia where a law suit was filed against him on his involvement in 1984 Sikh genocide. He again visited London in 2012 to run with OLYMPIC TORCH, here again he faced Sikhs protesting against him and who shouted as MURDERER, MURDERER. Then he was so frustrated that he sent an application at Sri Akal Takhat (the Supreme and temporal seat of Sikh faith) about his innocence, he tried to misguide the clergy whereas we are the eye witness and know the truth. Truth always prevail, one may try to cover it by his falsehood.

Sikhs for justice, an NGO gave a memorandum to President Barak Obama which includes his name as perpetrator.

Manmohan Singh – Visiting Indian Premier Whose Government Has Refused to Prosecute the Perpetrators of November 1984 Genocide of Sikhs, Says Sikhs for Justice

PR Newswee | 23 Nov 2009 | 07:36 PM ET

WASHINGTON, Nov 23, 2009 PRiNewswire-USNewswire via COMTEX — The following was released today by Sikhs for Justice: AN APPEAL TO: — Honorable Barack Obama, President of the United States of America; — Honorable Members of the United States Congress; — Human Rights Organizations; — Members of Media and the Journalistic Community: AND — People of United States of America.

TO TAKE NOTICE THAT: In November 1994 — thousands of innocent human beings were killed, butchered, staughtered, maimed, and burnt in Delhi and more than 100 cities in 18 Indian States. The victims were only SIRHS and they were targeted and killed solely because of their religion. The killings were instigated and lead by leaders who had taken oath under the Indian Constitution to protect the lives of citizens.

The aftermath is even worse than the genocide itself. Successive Indian Governments have failed to prosecute the guilty and continue to shield them Kamal Nath Jamitabh Bachani Arjun Singh, Arun Nehru, Vasant Sathe, Bhagan Lai, Jagdish Tytler, Sajjan Kumar, Narsimha Rao, HKL Bhagat and Dharamdas Shashi are some of those leaders who were found by inquiry commissions to be involved in organizing and spearheading the killing of Sikhs, and all them were instead rewarded with seats in the parliament and positions in the Union Cabinets. While the claims by Indian Governments of their commitment to democracy, human rights, justice and equality grew louder, bolder and loffler, the actions of successive Indian Governments especially during the past three decades contradicted these claims.

The following unbroken chain of killings prove that Sikhs are not the only religious minority suffering in India. Dailts and other religious minorities are facing the similar treatment. – November 1964 – Thousands of Sikhs were massacred in more than 100 cities in 18 states across India.

- December 1992 Demolition and desecration of Babri Masjid followed by killings of thousands of Muslims across India.
- 1996, 1999, 2002 Attacks on Churches and killings of Christians.
- 2002 Widespread killings of Muslims in Gujarat and other states.
- 2008 Attacks on Churches and killings of Christians
- 1980 2002 Targeted and staged police encounters of thousands of Sikhs in Punjab under the direct command of K.P.S. Gill, Director General of Punjab Police.
- 1990 Present, extra judicial killings and human rights violations by Indian Security Forces in Jammu & Kashmir.
- 10,000 cases of violence against Dalits, ranging from attacks and rape to killings, are recorded every year. We appeal you to ask Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India and the head of the largest democracy of the world, to justify the above, their aftermath and demand answers to the following:

DOES Continuous mistreatment, abuse and killings of Sikhs, Dailts and other religious minorities ESTABLISH An ongoing pattern of targeting religious minorities in supposedly democratic India? A clear pattern of impunity to leaders and law enforcement personnel who have been involved in insigating and organizing the killings Sikhs, Dailts and other religious minorities? A denial of justice to Sikhs, Dailts and other religious minorities?

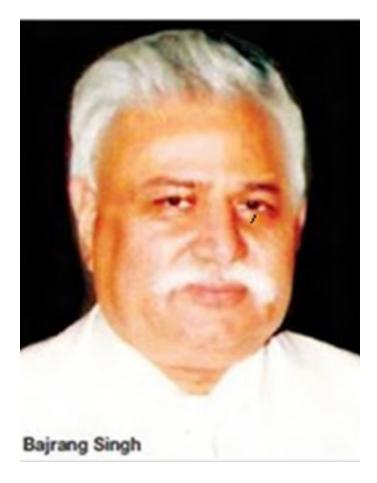
AND HENCE

Negate india's claim of respect for human rights, justice for all and democracy?

If there Hindus killing the innocent Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of India under influence of Congress party, and were thankless to Sikh nation, thankless to Sikh gurus who sacrificed their lives to save Hindu religion and were marking a blackspot to their religion, there were many savior Hindus too who risked their lives to save innocent Sikhs, gave them shelter, food and water despite opposed by Congress goons and the govt which was keen to eliminate Sikhs.

We are thankful to all those known and unknown Hindu brothers and bow our heads in due respect before them. The brotherhood, harmony and love if still persists among these two communities is due to their selfless service. We the Sikhs shall always be grateful to them.

Now I would like to mention two Hindu families (whose references I got from newspapers and on net). One was Shri Bajrang Singh from central Delhi and the other is Mr. Ved Prakash Jaiswal who belongs to Shahdra, east Delhi).



**Bajrang Singh** 

Mr. Bajrang Singh was a rich person and was a transporter by profession. At that time he owned 19 buses. When he saw killing of innocent Sikhs on streets, and women crying with orphans on roads, his heart cried and this god fearing person immediately gave shelter to all Sikh women, children and youths who could be seen on road, provided them food and shelter to live in his own house. His wife and son in law, his daughters, every member of the family came forward to save the Sikhs from death squads of Congress. He dressed their wounds, provided available medicines means to say he and his family served the Sikhs by all means. How could the Congress top brass bear it when it had orchestrated the genocide itself? So it started harassing the honest and god fearing person by framing him in fabricated charges and harming him financially.

First it's Jat driver left their jobs, his son in laws came forward and drove the buses to search the Sikh families on roads to save their lives and bring them home. His buses were hypothecated from banks and thus govt gave him only one month's time to pay back the loans. How could he pay back loans of his so many buses in just one month? Then his buses were confiscated by Banks and he was left alone to die with hunger but this angel didn't lose his mission of service. Despite all odds, he continued. His wife sold her ornaments to feed the

starving Sikh families. Great is the mother who gave birth to such a deity person.

To-day he is not in this materialistic world but his family feels proud of him, they do not regret though they were made penniless by congress govt. but none of his family member ever regrets. We should all learn a lesson from the life of honorable Sh. Bajrang Singh ji. We should always remember preaching of Sikh gurus who gave us the message, "MAANAS KEE JAAT SABHAI EK-E PAHICHANBO!!" MEANS ALL THE MANKIND SHOULD BE ACCEPTED AS ONE. We pray the almighty Waheguru to rest his soul in peace and give strength and prosperity to his family so that they may always live with pride and honor. We also pray the Lord to be kind upon us so that we may also be able to serve the mankind without any discrimination of religion, race, caste, color or creed.

The untold story of Sh. Ved Prakash Jaiswal of Shahdra is almost all the same. He too brought many Sikh families at his home and served them in need of hour at their critical time. His son Rajiv Jaiswal is a practicing Chartered Accountant and have good relations with Sikh families. We the whole Sikh community is grateful to Jaiswal family.



Mr. & Mrs. Ved Prakash Jaiswal

The only signs of courage and initiative in an otherwise ominous landscape were demonstrated by those Hindu and Muslim neighbors who helped Sikh families in the affected areas. We came across a large number of Sikh inmates in the relief Camps who told us repeatedly that but for these neighbors they would have been butchered.

In a makeshift camp opposite the Kalyanpuri police station on November 3, we met a Hindu family, whose house was burnt down by the miscreants because he had given shelter to his Sikh neighbors.

A postal employee living in Bhopal told us how his house was damaged and partly burnt because he helped two Sikhs. With army assistance he moved the Sikhs to his village in Faridabad.

Members of a voluntary organization traced two Sikh families who were given shelter by Hindus in Khichripur on November 3. Defying a belligerent mob that stood at the entrance of the lanes, a local Hindu youth led the members to the house and rescued the families who were being sheltered by a poor Hindu family. The next day, the volunteers following a request by a mother in a relief camp went to trace her daughter in Trilokpuri who was being looked after by a Hindu family. The latter restored the daughter to the volunteers, kept with them two other Sikh children whose parents were still traced.

"It is our responsibility to look after them", they said.

Near Azadpur, a Hindu factory owner hid a Sikh inside the factory premises. When the Hindus surrounded the factory demanding that the Sikh be handed over to them, the factory owner persuaded the Sikh to shave his hair and beard have him a cycle which helped him to pass through the crowd and escape.

On the GT-Karnal Road, Hindus saved a Gurudwara and a Sikh doctor's clinic from being burnt down. In the same area, from November 1 to 5, Delhi University teachers and students kept vigil around the entry point to lances where Sikhs lived.

Hindus from Munirka village and residing in Munirka colony provided protection in their own homes to ten Sikh families.

Thirty Sikh families residing in Mayur Vihar were guarded all through the period by young Hindi neighbors who resisted attempts by outsiders to raid the compound.

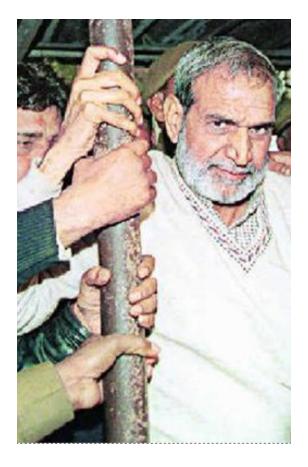
According to a rough estimate based on information gathered from different sources, at least 600 Sikhs were saved by Hindus of Trilokpuri. According to an army officer posted in Shahadara, of the Sikh families he rescued from different parts of the area, at least 70% were sheltered by Hindus.

It is these acts of courage, however, few they may be, which reassure us that sanity still prevails in our country.

# Part 20



Sajjan Kumar alias Durjan chamaar:



The Indian media and journalists are well aware of his deeds, he paid one bottle of liquor and Rs. 100/- in lieu of one murder of a Sikh in 1984. (For reference, kindly see; "दोषी कौन" and in English "Who is guilty". There were awards on heads of Sikhs during Mogul era also and to-day the same tradition

to reward against killing of a Sikh is being followed in free India, the descendent of Moguls—the family of Indira Gandhi rules over India in the false name of Gandhi. If the readers have forgot, I remind them that ...

Former Foreign Minister K Natwar Singh made an interesting revelation about Indira Gandhi's affinity to the Mughals in his book "Profile and Letters". It states that- In 1968 Indira Gandhi as the Prime Minister of India went on an official visit to Afghanistan. Natwar Sing accompanied her as an IFS officer in duty. After having completed the day's long engagements, Indira Gandhi wanted to go out for a ride in the evening. After going a long distance in the car, Indira Gandhi wanted to visit Babur's burial place, though this was not included in the itinerary. The Afghan security officials tried to dissuade her, but she was adamant. In the end she went to that burial place. It was a deserted place. She went before Babur's grave, stood there for a few minutes with head bent down in reverence. Natwar Singh stood behind her. When Indira had finished her prayers, she turned back and told Singh "Today we have had our brush with history." Worth to mention that Babur was the founder of Mughal rule in India, from which the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty have descended.

He was acquitted recently from a Court in Delhi because of his acquaintance and approach in high ups of power, the Courts do mockery with justice, it called the witnesses as untrustworthy and ignored the evidences.

Former governor and defence secretary, Govind Narain states 'Definitely there was a lot of evidence before us in trans Yamuna area where people had told us that Shri HKL Bhagat, a Congress (I) leader, had planned an organised massacre there. There was evidence before us that in other areas the people who were instigating and organising with petrol tins / kerosene tins to set houses on fire and here the names of Shri Sajjan Kumar and Shri Jagdish Tytler were mentioned. Some of these names also figure in the various affidavits that were filed before us."

According to Jagjit Singh's affidavit 'Congress (I) leader, Sajjan Kumar ordered distribution of Iron rods, from the Truck parked nearby there. After this distribution of Iron Rods Sajjan Kumar told the mob to attack Sikhs to kill them, loot their properties and then burn their houses and shops.' <sup>34</sup>

Raj Kumar of Palam Colony witnessed a huge meeting in Mangalpuri addressed by Sajjan Kumar. The mob raised slogans such as 'kill the Sardars (Sikhs)'. <sup>34</sup> Moti Singh of Sultanpuri witnessed another meeting, this time in Sultanpuri, where Sajjan Kumar extolled people to kill the Sikhs and collect Rs 1000 for each Sikh killed. The police were also in attendance. <sup>35</sup>

Congress (I) party leaders who owned oil depots provided the crucial access to abundant amounts of kerosene, a resource too expensive for most of the assailants to afford. The former police chief of Punjab Juliius Riberio has written in his diary that he tried to convince Rajiv Gandhi during his meetings with him to take action against Sajjan Kumar if he really wants to curb militancy in state. This way he could win hearts of Sikhs but he replied that this man (Sajjan Kumar) was seen sobbing beside his mother till her last breath, hence he doesn't want any harm to him.

In Mangolpuri, Sultanpuri localities of outer Delhi, he is alleged to lead the death squads and to provoke the mob to attack on Sikh homes, their business establishment, to kill Sikhs, rape their woman and to carry out all kind of atrocities to burn them alive.

In Delhi Cantt area which is considered to be most safest place, he lead the mob there also which is revealed by a Sikh woman Jagdish Kaur whose husband and other male members of family were killed on his provocation. She gave her testimony in Court also but the court with its biased stand refused to give her justice and acquitted this demon. The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) also held him guilty but being a known flatter of Congress, it's very difficult to punish him in India other than if someone kills him to avenge.

Mr. Charanjit Singh, a Sikh Congress (I) MP from Delhi suffered a loss of Rs. 10 crores when his Pure Drinks factories were burnt down. Narrating his experience Mr. Singh said: "I telephoned the Lt. Governor and the Police several times, telling them that mobs were burning our factories. I was told that the force would be arriving but that never happened". He added that he had been a "failure" to his constituents, since all assistance "was denied to him". (STATESMAN November 10, 1984).

Justice Nanavati recommended that all the seven cases against Sajjan Kumar, including FIR No 307/94, be reinvestigated. This particular FIR had been lodged on the basis of an affidavit filed before the Ranganath Mishra Commission of Inquiry by a widow, Anek Kaur, in 1985. In the affidavit, she gave graphic details of how Sajjan Kumar, other Congress leaders and the police had turned murderous that day. Her house, she said, was surrounded by a mob led by Congress leader Jai Singh.

The police were inciting the mob to kill Sardars and burn their houses. She also stated that Sajjan Kumar and another Congress leader Jai Kishan had come in a jeep and when she had run up to them for protection, Jai Kishan had said that only six Sardars were left and that he would get them killed. Sajjan Kumar had also stated that they should be beaten to death. Anek's husband Vakil Singh was beaten and left for dead — he died three months later. Based on this and other evidence, Nanavati recommended a reinvestigation but the government

in its Action Taken Report, denied the allegation and said that Anek Kaur had subsequently (in 1994) withdrawn her statement against Sajjan Kumar. Thus, the government felt that since there was no fresh evidence, it would not be just to reopen the case.



While the government found no justification to reopen the case, Tehelka investigations revealed that witness Anek Kaur was won over and her statement changed.

Tehelka traced out her family as Anek Kaur died about four years ago. Her mother-in-law Sahibzadi disclosed that one Rathi had obtained Anek Kaur's thumb impression on a paper and used to buy rations for them regularly. Vakil Singh's sister Mishri Kaur, who used to accompany Anek Kaur, told Tehelka that Sajjan Kumar had offered them a flat to change Anek's statement. Another offer was made by Sajjan Kumar that he would sponsor their expenses for as long as they live in lieu of a changed statement. The family was paid for about two years. This entire conversation was captured on a spycam. The edited conversation goes:

Tehelka: What had Sajjan Kumar asked Anek Kaur, can you share that with us?

**Mishri:** Gawahi badal do, poora kharcha milega, muawza milega aur flat dilwa doonga (You will get a flat as well as compensation, just get Anek Kaur's statement changed).

Tehelka: Did this happen before your eyes?

**Mishri:** Yes. This was in my presence, kehta tha, byan badal do, jab tak zinda rahoge, poori zindagi ka kharcha doonga, ek do saal diya bhee bus uske baad nahin (He said he'll take care of all expenses as long as we lived, he gave money for about one or two years then stopped)

## Tehelka: What happened after that?

**Mishri:** Then Rathi came in the picture, Rathi, Inspector Rathi, would accompany Anek to the court, would also bring his vehicle. He used to give Rs 200 every month and in addition also hand over Rs 50 to Rs 100. Jai Kishan, the local mla, had also given Rs 1,200.

## Tehelka: And then?

**Mishri:** Paisa Rathi kha gaya (Rathi took away all the money), usne Anek se angootha lagwa liya (Rathi had taken Anek's thumb impression on a paper). I had complained against Rathi to the court and headquarter.

# Tehelka: Did you not approach Sajjan Kumar for the promised flat and the money?

**Mishri:** Yes, twice I had gone to him but he refused to speak to me, baad mein aana (come later), I was thrown out of his place. This was some time around the last elections.

## Tehelka: What happened to Anek Kaur?

**Mishri:** She was sick and died about four years ago. Before her death she told me and her daughter as well that take money from Sajjan or else depose against him, take it that he is the murderer of your parents.

## Tehelka: So she changed her statement?

**Mishri:** She did not change her statement but Rathi took her thumb impression and gave her only Rs 200.

That the government was on the side of the guilty is also clear from another case. According to the Nanavati report, one Kher Singh had filed an affidavit before Jain-Banerjee Committee and stated, "that on that day in the morning, he had seen local mp Sajjan Kumar addressing a crowd of persons and telling them that Sikhs had killed their mata and that no Sikh in the area should be spared. At that time Ishwar Singh, Hardwari Lal and other local persons had raised slogans against Sikhs". The report further states, "This witness therefore rushed back to his house. Dr Iqbal Singh Chadha, Resham Singh and Ajit Singh were burnt alive. When the mob came near his house, the neighbours told the

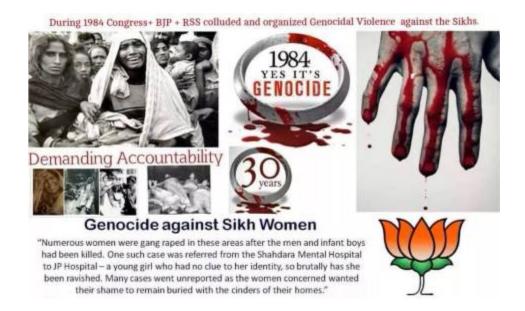
mob that nobody was present in the house and so he was saved. He was rescued by the military on November 3, 1984. Kher Singh had later on approached the police and told them that he was a witness to the murder of those three persons but the police told him that as no case was registered with respect to their murder, her (sic) could not be recorded."

Regarding this incident FIR no 178 was recorded only on November 15, 1984. No one was arrested in this case and the case was filed as untraced. Justice Nanavati observed in his report, "it appears that in respect of death of Iqbal Singh Chadha FIR No 178/84 and the case was then filed as untraced.

Kher Singh had specifically stated that he was the eyewitness to the murder of Dr Iqbal Singh Chadha yet his statement was not recorded with the result that he was not even cited as a witness. Thus even though eyewitness was available, the police did not investigate the case properly and closed it as untraced."

While Justice Nanavati states an eyewitness was available, the Action Taken Report says the contrary. It states, "no eyewitness came forward to give give any specific evidence or clue about the incident. Therefore the case was sent as untraced which was accepted by the competent court." Interestingly, the police refused to record the statement of eyewitness Kher Singh but lodged an FIR based on the complaint of Harvinder Kaur, wife of Dr Chadha, who had not named any person as she had not seen the incident.

# Part 21



#### **SULTANPURI:**

The resettlement colony of Sultanpuri has a mixed population of Hindus and Sikhs employed in various occupations. Many of the Hindus belong to the lower castes and are employed in various bodies as safai karamcharis. Among the Sikhs are Sikligars (who specialise in preparing metal gratings for building con struction), charpoy weavers from Alwar, scooter rickshaw owners, TV mechanics, electricians, and shop keepers. Some also work as scooter rickshaw drivers, rickshaw pullers, vendors and labourers.

It is significant that the members of the two communities lived in perfect harmony prior to the riots. This was testified to by the Sikhs in the various relief camps. On no occasion in the past had there been any evidence of tensions between them.

The Sikh residents of the colony were taken by surprise when in the late hours of Thursday (November 1) the were suddenly attacked by violent mobs. According to eye witnesses the mob consisted of local people and of outsiders believed to be Jats of neighbouring villages (Mundka is one such village). The attacks were directed at the men folk and a large number of Sikh males were killed. Some of the survivors were able to identify these who played a leading role in the attack. The leaders include local politicians, the police and some local people.



In trying to identify and understand the assailants and arsonists it seems indubitable that sweeper urchins, beggars, mechanics, drivers, vegetable sellers, etc. from the local areas were involved. But it was not entirely on their own initiative. Most of the killers in Sultanpuri were led by Pradhans, who were at the base of the political hierarchy. It was they who incited the mobs against the Sikhs and helped to identify Sikh houses and establishments.

The Pradhans were in turn linked to the local Congress M. P. Some of the Pradhans who were repeatedly held responsible by the survivors for acts of incitement and for aiding and abetting the rioters were Mr. Chauhan, Mr. Bagri and Mr. Gupta, The M. P. who was most common held responsible for the attacks was Mr. Sajjan Kumar of the Congress (I).

Police connivance with the rioters in Sultanpuri is indicated by the fact that the SHO by the name of Mr. Bhatti reportedly not only killed a couple of Sikhs, but also helped the mob to disarm the Sikhs. The police involvement may be summed up in words of one survivor "Khud Mara Hai, Miley Huey the", (they themselves killed: they were in complicity).



Almost every refugee we spoke to gave an identical version. Also involved in the Carnage in Sultanpuri were kerosene suppliers Brahmanand Gupta, Verenand, Master and Ved Prakash who provided the fuel for the Sikh funeral as also a Jat doctor Changa.

Others actively participating were the owner of the Hanuman ration shop, Gajanand, godown owner, Gulab Singh and an auto rickshaw driver Omi. All these criminals supervised the Carnage.

The attacks which began on the Sikh residents on Thursday night went on relentlessly till Friday afternoon (November 1-2). Among the directions heard being shouted to the mob were "kill men, rape women". The mobs were equipped with lathis, iron rods and other weapons and carried kerosene with them.

Many Hindu neighbors had sheltered Sikh families and locked them up in different houses. Unfortunately this did not save them from the looting, arson, lynching, and killing that followed. Houses were being identified, set on fire, and Sikh males killed, women were seen carrying away loot from the houses of better off Sikhs: gold jewellery, TV sets and other things were carried off. A lot of property including means of livelihood such has handcarts and rickshaws were systematically destroyed.

The killings were brutal, One Sikh was pushed into a car, which was then set a blaze. Others were hit, thrown on the ground, doused with kerosene and set on fire.

A pregnant women was stabbed by the rioters and some women are reported to have been raped. A graphic account is available with certain members of our team who visited the relief camp at Shakurpur (Pant Bagh).

In a large hail of Shakurpur Camp housing the Sultanpuri victims of the carriage sit a row of women and children huddled together with shock and grief inscribed on every part of their beings. There is not a single boy of over ten years in the group and boys are rare. Each group consists of a women of the older generation, three or four young widows, a few adolescent girls and the rest are children, ranging from ten years to nursing infants.

One such household consists of 18 people rendered absolutely destitute with not a single earning member left; all four adult males have been murdered. Two of the younger women have new born babies, one six day old (it was born day before the killings) and another 10 days old. They stared blankly into space holding the babies in their arms too dazed to speak or even mourn. But the older women who had lost her husband and three sons gave vent to her

grief bitterly "ab to sabse accha yeh hoga ki aap ham sab ko jahar dila dain; ab ham ji nahin sakte; kaise jiyenge, kis ke liye jiyenge?" (It would be best to give us all poison, how will we live and for whom?).

She was voicing the sentiment of many of the women present, all of whom had watched their men folk being attacked and cut down, then doused with kerosene and set ablaze. Not one of these were willing to consider returning to their original homes after the brutal massacre they had lived through. How can they even think of it unless the guilty are identified and punished?

The blocks most badly affected wereA4 (65 killed, 15 missing), P1, 2 and 3 (31 killed and 5 missing) and C3 and C4. From an enumeration done in Camp II (housing about 2000-survivors mainly from Sultanpuri) the figures are 157 dead, 25 injured and 52 missing from this group alone.

This means that on an average every second family suffered at least at least one family member dead. According to an expert it is curious that the number of injured is so few compared to the number of dead. In cases of looting and killing due to mob frenzy, the number injured is usually much higher. This implies that the attackers were not disorderly.

Matters did not end with the events of November 1 and 2. During the next two days, Saturday and Sunday (November 3 and 4) the SHO is reported to have got a barber brought to a hall where the Sikhs were herded together (prior to evacuation) and made to pay Rs. 21 each to get themselves shaved. They were threatened that they would get shot if they did not comply. It was reported that the barber made Rs. 500.

Around 5000 Sikhs were herded together till the army evacuated them three days later. Some 800 are still in Sultanpuri under Army protection. Attempts at adequate arrangements for their food were still being made by the army on Thursday, November 8, a whole week after the terror started.

The survivors at Camp II with a few exceptions do not want to go back. Reportedly only 100 from the 2000 in this camp went back. But 20 had returned by November 9th. Even within the camp they are feeling insecure.

The same sweepers who only a few days ago looted their houses and killed their husbands and sons have managed to sneak into the camps for the ostensible purpose of doing the sanitation work. These people are regularly keeping watch on them and spying on their movements.

#### **MANGOLPURI**



The centre of the holocaust was the jhuggi and jhopri colony (JJ cluster and resettlement colony) at Mangolpuri in West Delhi where a large number of Sikhs are concentrated in certain blocks.

The disturbances started on November 1 evening after a police van had come to the G Block and announced that water had been poisoned. The other two rumours- that Sikhs were celebrating Mrs. Gandhi's death by distributing sweets and that Hindu corpses had arrived in trains from Punjab were also soon making the rounds.

Apprehending trouble, several Sikhs from different blocks approached the police for help. One woman survivor whom we met later at the Shakurpur relief camp on November 5 told us that when she want to the police station for protection, the police said "We cannot do anything- you are now on your own". Later, during the riots, the miscreants were seen using diesel from police vans to set fire to the houses of the Sikhs. One group of survivors from Block X told us that the police took them out from their houses on the plea of rescuing them and then turned them over to the mob waiting outside. According to information gathered from the survivors, the assailants were from the nearby

Jat villages and were accompanied by local Schedule Caste people- the same composition of the mob which we found in Trilokpuri. Hovering around the arsonists were local Congress (I) leaders and followers in jeeps and other vehicles. The survivors identified Mala Ram, a local Congress (I) leader, who came with about 300 people and personally supervised the arson, looting and murders. Ishwar Singh, Salim Querishi and Shaukeen (Congress (I) workers belonging to the Waqf Club). Rajinder Singh all well known Congress (I) activists were found going around instructing the mob, providing kerosene and providing out Sikh homes.

One single name which cropped up wherever we went interviewing the residents of Mangolpuri was that of Sajjan Kumar, the Congress (I) MP of the area. Almost in one voice, they alleged that Sajjan Kumar had masterminded the violence. Some people accused him of having paid Rs. 100 and a bottle of liquor to each person taking part in the may-hem. The extent of hatred towards him among the Sikh survivors of Mangolpuri was evident when Sajjan Kumar visited the Mangolpuri police station on November 4 where the survivors were waiting to be transported to a refugee camp. Members of our team were witness to a scene where the Sikhs abused him openly and held him responsible for the carnage. The Congress (I) MP tried to pacify them by pleading his innocence. "Why should my party kill you who are Congress (I) supporters?" he said, and laid the blame on the Lt. Governor who had been replaced the previous day by a new successor. A little later when the team visited the Punjabi Bagh camp where some among the Mangolpuri refugees had arrived, the team was told that the hungry refugees had refused to touch the foodstuff brought earlier by Sajjan Kumar.

The violence indulged in by the mob was marked by the most brutal atrocities. Women survivors told us how their children were ripped apart, their husbands and sons made to cut off their hair, beaten up with iron rods and then burnt alive. Almost all the Sikh houses in the 26 blocks of Mangolpuri were attacked and destroyed and the main targets of murderous assault were the young male members of the households. Official attempts to underestimate the extent of killings by giving out the Delhi State Committee of the CPI (M) which from a house-to-house survey in a few blocks alone found at least 51 killed.

When we visited Mangolpuri on November 5 we were shown spots were the bodies were burnt and we were taken to a 'nallah' (Drain) between Mangolpuri and Sultanpuri where we were told several hundred bodies were dumped.

It was only on the evening of November 3 that the army arrived at Mangolpuri. Narrating the event, one Sikh whom we met at the Shakurpur relief camp

where he was staying with other refugees, told us that they were taken out by the mob, made to stand in a park and when they were about to be set on fire, the troops arrived and saved them.

Before the arrival of troops, the few sources of protection available to the sufferers of Mongolpuri were the Hindu and Muslim neighbors who at tremendous risk to their lives gave shelter to the Sikhs. They hid them in their homes and shops and resisted attempts by the mob to trace them out. A Muslim young man in Nangloi told us how his family saved a number of Sikh men, women and children and secretly transported them to the relief The experience of a Hindu, C. Lal of Mangolpuri is revealing. He passed through the days of the 1947 partition, when he crossed over from Sialkot to India. He relived the same days during the first week of November when his brother's shop was looted and burnt, because he gave shelter to several Sikh families and formed a peace committee in his locality to protect the Sikhs.

Courtesy: PUCL and PUDF ( Who is guilty)

1984 riots: The original 'maut ke saudagars' set the tone for future.

Complete Story of Sajjan Kumar: 1984 to 2013

Sequence of events

By Harjinder Basiala and by Gagandeep Sohale

How Sajjan Kumar was protected from 6th November 1984 :- Read the other details also ..........

A large number of victims named Sajjan Kumar in 1984 itself for his involvement in the killings of Sikhs. Many of these witnesses informed volunteers working in the Relief Camps of his involvement as the Police was not registering their complaints.

Based upon these allegations of the victims a delegation of Opposition Leaders met the Prime Minister on 6thNovember 1984 and mentioned about the involvement of Sajjan Kumar. This fact appeared in many newspapers on 7th November 1984. As the Police was not registering complaints a number of Human Rights Groups started their enquiry. Later on the Misra Commission had also agreed with the allegations of the victims that the Police did not register cases where the victims named political leaders.

Sajjan Kumar's role prominently figured in the report 'Who are the Guilty' published by PUCL and PUDR in the last week of November 1984.
Sajjan Kumar's role also figured prominently in other reports published by Human Rights Groups in December 1984 and January 1985.

Ambassador Gurbachan Singh (Retd.) and Gobind Narain (Former Governor), informed Nanavati Commission that while they were holding enquiries as part of Justice Sikri's Citizens Commission in December 1984, a number of victims named Sajjan Kumar for his involvement into the killings in 1984.

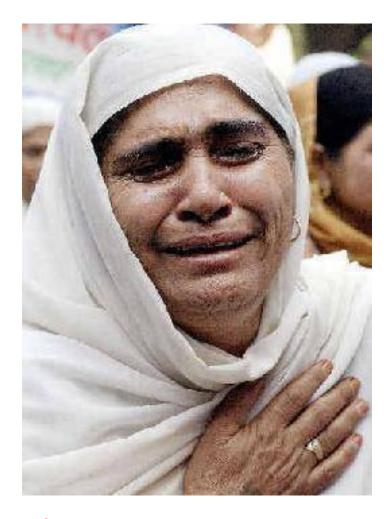
12 Affidavits were filed against Sajjan Kumar in July to September 1985 before Misra Commission of Inquiry.

Misra Commission in its report in February 1987 gave the finding that the Police did not register cases wherever political leaders were named. However, Misra said that it is not a part of his terms of reference to recommend registration of criminal cases. Misra Commission recommended formation of another Committee for that purpose. In August 1987, the Jain-Banerjee Committee consisting of Justice M.L. Jain and A.K. Banerjee-IG (Retd.) recommended registration of cases against Sajjan Kumar but no case was registered by Police.

In 1990, during the tenure of V.P. Singh government, CBI registered the case against Sajjan Kumar. When the team of CBI arrested Sajjan Kumar at his house, a huge mob gathered and burnt the Jeeps of CBI.

In 1991, Delhi Police sends a report to the Prosecution Branch to close the case against Sajjan Kumar in FIR No. 67/87 of P.S. Nangloi, but the Prosecution Branch rejects that recommendation and holds that sufficient evidence against Sajjan Kumar has come on record to file the charge sheet.

Faced with this on 8th April 1992, Delhi Police prepared charge sheet against Sajjan Kumar for the Murder of 4 Sikhs and the same was signed by the Inspector and ACP. It is recorded in the charge sheet that sufficient evidence has come against Sajjan Kumar and hence charge sheet was presented in the Court. It is also recorded that Sajjan Kumar is not arrested due to law and order problem and the court may summon him.



# In Sagarpur area of west Delhi,

Sardar Budh singh had purchased 200 yards plots for each of his son, (number of plots are disfigured in my mind but he purchased many plots for his own family and for family of his younger brother who also settled with him there in Sagarpur). He was a rich farmer of Bikaner who sold his agriculture lands in Bikaner and settled in Delhi.

On the eve of 1<sup>st</sup> November 1984, some activities of strangers were noticed in the area, they were searching for Sikhs.

There were totally 24 male members in this family. They were united and could face the mob and retaliate with their full might and valor. They were all strong built villagers. But all of them were brutally murdered How?

Chaudhary Partap Singh, Village Pradhan came to Budh singh and requested him to hide his sons and other male members of the family at tubewell and in the adjoining houses of Hindu neighbors so that the crowd of these strangers may pass from the village without any harm to its residents or bloodshed.

Budh singh ji agreed to this suggestion. The male members were divided in groups of 2 to 4 and were hidden accordingly but Partap Singh betrayed with

Budh Singh. He himself informed and guided the death squads to those houses where these youths were safely hidden. Now these Sikh youths were helpless and without any weapons, they were caught, brought at a central place near their houses, then garlanded with tyre in their necks, kerosene was sprayed on their bodies and burnt alive.

This is not any hearsay but the truthful story of the death of 24 male members of the family whose pyres (where they were burnt) were seen by these writer also. I (writer Ajmer Singh Randhawa) went their within a week's time as I was at Dehra Dun where I got the news of these brutal killings by my cousin who had relations with this family. His son was married with daughter of Budh Singh ji. So they were my distant relatives.

I came to Delhi by car, went to my cousin's house in Hari Nagar. I saw a relief camp there in which the widows of this family were provided a shelter along with others from other parts of west Delhi. I saw new utensils and items of daily usage were provided by DSGMC.

The local politicians of Delhi Mrs. Tajdar Babar and Lalit Makan arrived and regretted for the riots and showed their condolence with bereaved families. When they were going back, I was just present near the gate where I passed a remark as...It's all done by you people, first you do it than visit to mourn to win the hearts? They didn't reply, just looked upon me and went away.`

In the evening I got a message that a boy of this family is alive. I took my car and moved towards Sagarpur, my nephew was scared but I wasn't. I assured him that it was not possible to stop my Ambassador car for anyone, just get in. We searched, met many villagers, saw the ashes of burnt people then somebody told us that the boy is in Sonipat so we went to Sonipat but it was proved wrong information.

So all these 24 well built, strong Sikh youths were killed by betrayal of village head who showed his loyalty to Sajjan kumar and Congress and passed the information of their places of hiding.

Was not it backstabbing, jeopardizing in faith? The people who were hidden by you, you get them killed by death squads by leaking information of their hide?

Whether this highlights any good quality of Hindu religion or a blackspot forever on their forehead? This is unforgettable, saddest incident which was witnessed in this Sikh genocide.

## Trial of four cops sought in 1984 Genocide case.

In a development that can mean more trouble for Delhi Police in the 1984 anti-Sikh Genocide cases, the prosecution has moved a sessions court seeking trial of four police officers, including the then ACP, for destroying in 1992 records and files of a Nangloi case.

The application was moved recently by special public prosecutor B S Joon before additional sessions judge Kamini Lau, who is hearing the case registered in 1991 with regard to the killing of four persons.

The allegation will also impact the fate of another FIR (no.67/87) in a genocide case related to the killing of five persons and allegedly involving senior Congress leader Sajjan Kumar. The present case was registered in 1991 and was clubbed with another FIR registered in 1987, which had named Kumar as an accused. However, the charge sheet in the 1987 FIR had gone "missing" for 18 years after it was clubbed with the 1991 FIR (in which Kumar didn't figure as an accused).

It was only in 2010 that a court separated the two, clearing the way for filing of a fresh document. Sources claimed the record of the 1987 FIR naming Kumar could also have been destroyed.

The plea for framing of charges against the cops will be decided on Saturday. In an application on 21 January-2014, Joon said the "evidence on record is sufficient to frame charges against the accused, namely then SHO of Nangloi police station, inspector Ram Pal Singh Rana, then SI Dalel Singh, then ACP Amarender Kumar Singh and then SHO R S Dahiya for destroying records relating to the 1984 Genocide in PS Nangloi, deliberately to save the accused in this case despite registration of the present FIR on 28 August, 1991".

The prosecution has relied on the statement of a prosecution witness, who has claimed "the record of the riots was destroyed on 5 February, 1992 by the then SHO and ACP". "That the letter dated 26 August, 1991, is specific to the effect that DCP (West) had sought intimation, within 15 days, as to whether the record was required for any purpose, but the accused and aforesaid persons without giving any intimation to DCP (West), destroyed the record on 5 February, 1992 ..." the plea stated. The prosecution wants charges of hatching a criminal conspiracy to destroy proof (Section 201 read with Section 120B IPC).

But in a recent judgement, judge Kamini Lau aquitted all these Police Officers from charges of destroying evidences which was already expected as the govt,

itself protects this mass murderer Sajjan Kumar. I am sure the day is not far when he wi; also be acquitted from all charges by Indian Courts.

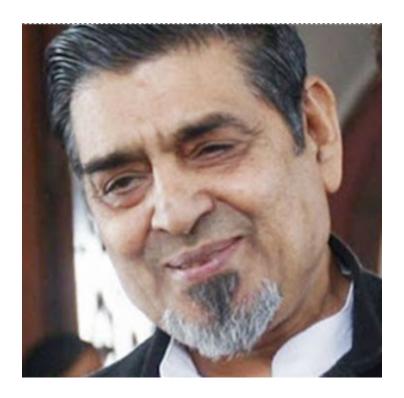
No magisterial order has been issued for clubbing of the files. District Judge S.K. Sarvaria, while rejecting the plea of the Delhi police to club the case involving Kumar with the ongoing trial in another case relating to the 1984 carnage, said, "There is no order on judicial records with regard to clubbing to FIR no 67/87 (allegedly involving Kumar) with FIR no 418/1991."

The CBI had already filed two charge sheets this year against the leader in Sultanpuri and Delhi Cantonment riots cases. Now, the probe agency will have to file a third charge sheet in court against Kumar, the former outer Delhi MP, in the Nangloi riots case.

## There are more cases which are not recorded and not followed up:-

Observation of the Jain Aggarwal Committee with regard to Registration/ non-registration of cases of cognizable offences relating to October – November 1984 riots and their comments as regards improper, faulty and perfunctory investigation with reasons noticed therefore.

# Part 22



**JAGDISH TYTLER** 

Having grown up on a staple of bad Hindi cinema of the seventies and the eighties, I have always associated people with 'French' beards as being villanious. Indeed, this is a stereotype of the worst kind, which I have been unable to get rid off.

But now comes the news that a Delhi court has set aside the closure report of the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) on Jagdish Tytler, in connection with the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 and ordered that the case against him be reopened. For those who don't know, Tytler has had a rather impressive French beard, over the years.

Tytler along with many fellow Congressmen took an active part in inciting the anti-Sikh riots that happened in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of the country, being assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards on the morning of 31 October, 1984.

If accused Kamal Nath can not go to US in fear of his arrest, the Jagdish tytler didn't dare to visit UK though he was head of Common wealth games held in Delhi as he could be arrested there, kindly see this evidence;



MP Rob Marris had done his homework well. Not only did he tell the British government that Jagdish Tytler's presence was "unacceptable" but even pressed that should this man set foot on British soil, Scotland Yard must not lose a minute in arresting him and sending him up for trial for murder of hundreds of people in India

In Rob Marris own words: "(Jagdish Tytler is) a controversial former politician from India, who is alleged to have been deeply involved in the November 1984 anti-Sikh pogroms in India...Many survivors of those harrowing events are now living in the UK; as are the relatives of many victims. It would be unacceptable for someone who had committed such acts to be admitted to the UK, even to visit."

The Nanawati commission held him guilty in his report and suggested to frame charges against him. He remarked in his report that there are evidences of his involvement in killing of Sikhs but due to unknown reasons the govt. of India refused to arrest him or take a legal action against him in lack of any concrete evidence.

CBI is still trying to shield Tytler and ignoring the pleas of California-based witnesses Resham Singh and Jasbir Singh who are available and ready to testify about the Congress leader's role in leading death squads after the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

Tytler is being investigated by CBI for his role in leading squads that attacked gurdwara Pulbangash on November 1, 1984, in which three Sikhs were burned alive.

CBI has proved itself to be partisan and has acted like Tytler's defence team because since the Nanavati Commission's report in 2005 finding credible evidence of his involvement in the November 1984 killings, the agency has twice attempted to give clean chit to Tytler despite the fact that multiple witnesses are available

"In September 2007, CBI had claimed that Jasbir Singh was not traceable and submitted this claim even to the court after which we brought him out in public within a day and his address was also provided to court which then ordered the CBI to record his statement in US,"

Two other witnesses, now living in US, have already expressed their willingness to testify against him.

CBI, in an email to US based rights group Sikhs for Justice (SFJ) on March 3 reads, "We are in the process of tracing the remaining 3 persons namely Chanchal Singh, Alam Singh and Santokh Singh, who are reportedly residing in US. As soon as we get their present whereabouts, the examination of all the including Resham Singh and Jasbir Singh would be undertaken on priority."

The report submitted its final report consisting 185 pages to govt of India in 2004. The charges were fixed against many senior Congress leaders of Delhi like Jagdish Tytler who was later on sworn in as Union Cabinet Minister, MP Sajjan Kumar and Hari Kishan Lal Bhagat (Who is already passed away to hell). These charges were fixed after finding evidences against them.

The report was 185 pages long. The commission submitted its final report in February 2005 detailing accusations and evidence against senior members of the Delhi wing of the then ruling Congress Party, including Jagdish Tytler, later a Cabinet Minister, MP Sajjan Kumar and late minister HKL Bhagat. They were accused of instigating mobs to avenge the assassination of Indira Gandhi by killing Sikhs in their constituencies.

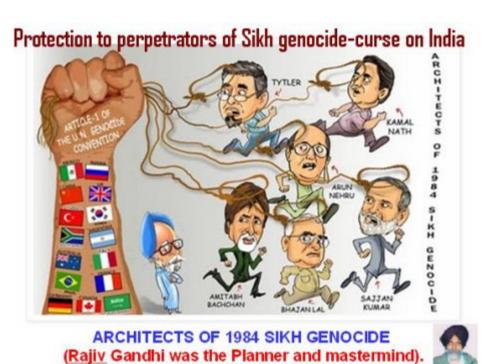
Jagidish Tytler represented Parliament from Sadar area of Delhi. The police Commissioner, S.C. Tandon was briefing the press (about 10 Indian reporters and five foreign journalists) in his office on November 6, 5 p.m. A reporter asked him to comment on the large number of complaints about local Congress MPs and light weights trying to pressure the police to get their men released.

The police commissioner totally denied the allegation and when questioned further the categorically started that he has never received any calls or visits by any Congress for that matter, any political leader trying to influence him or his force. Just as he finished uttering these words, Jagdish Tytler, Congress MP from Sadar Constituency, barged of into the PC's office along with three other followers and on the top of his voice demanded from the PC "What is this Mr. Tandon? You still have not done what I asked you to do?"

The reporters were amused, the Police Commissioner embarassed. Tytler kept on shouting and a reporter asked the PC to ask that 'shouting man' to wait outside since a press conference was on. Tytler shouted at the reporter :'this is more important'. However the reporter told the PC that if Tytler wanted to sit in the office he would be welcome, but a lot of questions regarding his involvement would also be asked and he was welcome to hear them. Tytler was fuming. Perhaps realizing the faux pas he sat down and said: 'By holding

my men you are hampering relief work'. Then he boasted to some foreign reporters that 'There is not a single refugee in any camp in my constituency. I have made sure that they are given protection and sent back home'. However the incident left the PC speechless and the reporters convinced about the Congress (I) interference in police work.

But we were amazed to see that this mass murderer was given a clean chit by India's top detective agency—the Central bureau of Intelligence. Whereas an eye witness Giani Surinder Singh had given his statement in USA against him. He was afraid of his life in India and the same happened, he died in a Delhi hospital during his treatment. Now a Court case is again pending against Jagdish Tytler in Indian Court but even then he is given charge of Congress Party in Odissa state of India.



Tytler is accused of instigating a mob that led to the murder of three men who had taken shelter at a Gurdwara on 1 November 1984. The mob attack was part of violence against Sikhs after the assassination of the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984. Three men Badal Singh, Thakur Singh and Gurcharan Singh were killed near Gurdwara Pul Bangash.

Jagdish Tytler was seen inciting one such mob around Gurdwara Pul Bangash near the Azad market in Delhi. Surinder Singh, the Head Granthi of the Gurdwara testified against Tytler on sworn affidavits.

"On 1st November 1984 in the morning at 9am a big mob which was carrying sticks, iron rods and kerosene oil attacked the Gurdwara. The crowd was being led by our area Member Parliament of Congress (I) Jagdish Tytler. He

incited the crowd to set the Gurdwara on fire and to kill the Sikhs...Five to six policemen were also with the crowd. On incitement by Jagdish Tytler, they attacked the gurdwara and set it on fire."

The witness Giani Surinder Singh was a head priest in the same Gurudwara which was attacked by mob lead by Jagdish Tytler in 1984. The Nanavati commission report led to the resignation of Jagdish Tytler from the Union Cabinet. Few days after the report was tabled in the Parliament, The Indian Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh also apologized to the Sikh community for Operation Bluestar and riots that followed. The report stated that Jagdish Tytler "very probably" had a hand in the riots.

As per his statement (Giani Surinder singh) Jagdish Tytler incited the mob to attack on Gurudwara and kill the Sikhs. The Gurudwara was soon after torched to flames, many Sikhs were killed. A Sikh named Badal Singh was burnt alive' He also stated that Jagdish tyrtler contacted him on 10-11-84 and asked him to sign on two blank papers (But in another affidavit he denied to see Jagdish tytler on that spot).

In Tytler's case, a week after changing his statement the prime witness went abroad for a year and the second witness is still in the US. There were threats to their lives as well and a prominent Sikh leader was involved in pressurizing the witness to say Tytler didn't lead the mob.

Shri DK Singh of Indian Express writes that the role of Jagdish tytler raises several questions, whether the Congress gets paralyzed without support of this man who himself has no glorious past? There is not much to write in his praise which could oblige Congress party to realign it's organization or it's administration. He himself has not any public support. If this is the loyalty to Nehru family, than the question again raises on which grounds he earned this loyalty?

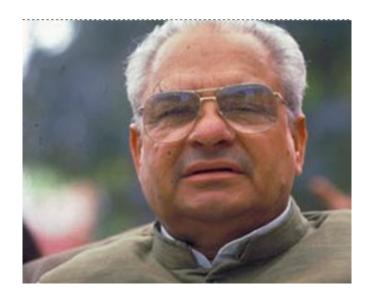
It was very unfortunate and discouraging that the CBI failed to find any evidence against this chief organizer of Sikh genocide since 1984 and than by taking the act of judiciary in it's hands, it gives a clean chit to him. Now you may decide whether you call it inefficiency of this agency or you just feel pity on its failure.

Despite expressing 'regret' over the events of 1984 and offering an apology, Manmohan Singh refused to accept responsibility on behalf of his party or government. In fact, he went out of his way to exonerate the Congress (I) Party: 'They have finally nailed the lie and they have shown that all these canards which have been spread about the involvement of the top leadership of the Congress Party in those dastardly acts were totally untrue." 54 Prime Minister Singh saluted Jagdish Tytler, who was repeatedly cited by survivors as one of the main organisers of the massacres, as 'a valued colleague.' Thus, as survivors and witnesses continued to describe the role of Congress (I) leaders in organising and implementing the massacres, the Prime Minister called them liars and praised the perpetrators, rendering meaningless his calls for continuing the search for truth. The Prime Minister's Rajya Sabha speech added a statement against remembrance of the massacres, criticising an MP who had highlighted how assailants targeted all segments of Sikh society during the 1984 massacres. In the 2009 Lok Sabha elections, both Jagdish Tytler and Sajjan Kumar were initially nominated by the party leadership to fight the elections, but were forced to withdraw amid protests.

Now just watch out the opinion of our Sikh Prime Minister of India on one of the chief organizers of Sikh genocide Jagdish tytler who actively orchestrated it:

The CBI closed its investigation against Jagdish tytler in 2007, the reason was very simple that it couldn't find any evidence of his involvement/ inciting to mob/ to lead the mob or to get the Sikhs killed by mob lead by him. Therfore he was acquitted from all allegations whereas he regretted on killing of less Sikhs in his constituency in comparison to other Congress leaders of Delhi. He spoke to his followrs that this has damaged his image in Congress high command. Means who killed or got the Sikhs killed was a hero before Congress high command, even then he was acquitted from all charges.

# Part 23



**Bhajan Lal** 

Bhajan Lal was the Chief Minister of Haryana state of India, he was sworn twice on this post, first from 28th June 1971 to 5th July 1985 and then again on 23rd July 1991 to 11th May 1996.

He was a opportunist politician of third grade in India. He was born on October 6, 1930 in Koranwali village of Bahawalpur district, now in Pakistan. A selfmade man who once sold wares on his cycle, Bhajan Lal had a chequered career in politics which began as a "village Sarpanch."

His defection from the Janata Party in 1979, along with a handful of MLAs, to the Congress with the blessings of the late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, is believed to have led to the coining of the expression "Aaya Ram and Gaya Ram."

He also served as a Union Minister during Rajiv Gandhi's stint as Prime Minister.

In 1991, he pipped the then Haryana Congress chief Birender Singh to the post to become the Chief Minister, allegedly through "manipulations."

Political analysts say his proximity to the late Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, ultimately proved to be his undoing. The Congress headed by Bhajan Lal suffered its worst-ever electoral debacle in Haryana in the 1996 polls. He was gradually sidelined in the Congress with the emergence of Bhupinder Singh Hooda in the post-1986 scenario.

However, he was appointed president of the Haryana unit of the Congress a few years later and the 2005 Assembly polls were fought under his leadership. Though the Congress won a sizeable number of seats, his hopes of becoming Chief Minister for a third term were dashed when the powers that be anointed Mr. Hooda as the Chief Minister.

His son Chander Mohan, is the former Deputy Chief Minister of Haryana state in India.

He was dismissed from the State Cabinet for his prolonged absence from the office and resurfaced after marrying Anuradha Bali alias Fiza, conversion was merely to facilitate a legal second marriage, as Hindus/Sikhs are not allowed multiple marriages in India. Some Muslim clerics protested the misuse of the tenets of Islam for "a marriage of convenience".

On 29 January 2009, Mohan left Ms. Bali, claiming that he still loved his first wife and his children and wanted to reunite with them. He is believed to have moved to the Haryana city of Gurgaon at that time.

He converted back to Hinduism and was readmitted to the Bishnoi community at a brief ceremony held at the Bishnoi Mandir in Hisar on 28 July 2009 in presence of religious leaders.

Ms. Bali is a former Assistant Advocate General of Haryana who left her employment to marry Mohan in December 2008. She was found dead, apparently having committed suicide, on 6 August 2012. She was cremated on 7 August 2012 in Chandigarh according to Hindu rites by her relatives.

His second son was not liked by his own party and than he was seen only as a member of legislative assembly of Haryana. The Buta Singh, ex cabinet minister had alleged him on orchestrating the killings of 32 innocent Sikhs in Hondh-Chillad village near Riwari and then he used his influence to wipe it out.

The news of more killings in Pataudi were received and cases of rapes with Sikh girls were also reported from Pataudi but he never took any action against the guilty. Buta Singh ji also alleged that he (Bhajan Lal) created enmity in Sikhs and the central govt. as it was noticed in Asiad games in 1982 when some Sikh youths got killed on his behest in a fake encounter by Haryana Police near Karnal who were on the way from Punjab to Delhi for watching games.

During his rule in Haryana he carried atrocities on Sikhs and violated human rites. The Asiad games which were being held in Delhi in November 1982, Bhajan lal had announced that the Sikhs going to see these games and passing via haryana be searched thoroughly to make sure if they were terrorists or

not? Sikhs were humiliated badly and they were harassed at every checkpost to be humiliated. The former foreign minister Swaran singh, Retired Chief Air Marshal Arjun Singh, Retired Lieutinent General Jagjit Singh Arora also had to face this humility.

Even then it was never condemned by central govt or state govt or by journalists raised their voice against such humility. No Sikh leader of Congress resigned in protest. If a conclusion is made on this brutality and humility, it can be described in one line that the Sikhs are slaves in this nation and their voice of justice shall never be heard but ignored.

His own hands were also stained by blood as he himself had ordered to kill them in fake encounters. He had placed orders to his Police officers in Haryana to trim the beards of Sikh youths from one side. He is also alleged of attacking on several Gurudwaras by his men.

**Bhajan Lal**—he is the man who turned his loyalty to Indira with all his assembly members. He is only responsible person for massacre of Sikhs in running trains and buses in Haryana in 1984.

He sent the police recruits from Madhubani to kill Sikhs. These recruits were supplied equal size of Iron rods and the creamy fuel which is often used by the cooks to warm food dishes, it was to rub on bodies of Sikhs and set on fire. Once it's ignited, it can't be fused.

These recruits were then taken to Sikh localities by Haryana Roadways buses. In clashes with Sikhs some of these recruits too lost their lives but their dead bodies were frisked away by their colleagues as the instructions were their to not to leave any clue behind.

I was told by my Maasi ji (Aunty) who hide herself from these gangsters at Kirti Nagar-West Delhi. She told me that if any Hindu was killed or fell down, he was carried away in a hand pulled cart (Wheel barrow) to unknown place by their colleagues.

If an independent inquiry is held and number of recruits before and after the genocide is counted, many missing policemen can be traced. Those could never be deployed on duty but number of dead can be checked from records. Is there any such agency available...?

# The valor of Sikhs when they were attacked at a Gurudwara in Haryana;

(As told by a sevadar from Gurdwara Nanaksar)

It was during the 1984 Sikh genocide. I was at that time living in Gurdwara Nanaksar in Haryana. There were 7 other sewadars in the Gurdwara. Trouble started brewing early in the morning. We noticed about 50 young men gathering outside a few hundred metres away from the Gurdwara Sahib. We didn't really pay too much attention to them.

By noon, the group had turned into a rowdy crowd of about 300. We became quite concerned at that point. Our telephone wires had been cut, so there really was not much we could do. But we were still in chardi kala.

At about 3 pm, a truck driven by a Singh was driving by the crowd when the crowd attacked it. The Singh gave up the truck and ran to the Gurdwara. Some gundas overtook him and injured him but he, being a strong man, managed to escape. Still, he was quite bloody/injured when he came in. That increased our number to 9. The number outside had increased to about 500 by evening. They were very loud and obnoxious by now.

We tried to ignore them and began our evening diwan at 6 pm. But as the darkness approached, the rabble become more and more bold. In fact, soon they started stoning the Gurdwara. We stopped the evening programme and placed all the Guru Granth Sahib jees in the safest place possible.

At 7.30 pm it was very dark and the rabble became so bold that they put fire to the Gurdwara's gate. It hit us then how serious the situation was. We soon would be killed!

Our jathedar gathered us and said, "Khalsa jee, the Khalsa has faced worse situations then this. The Khalsa has gone through two holocasts but the Khalsa lives and will live in freedom forever! Khalsa jee, the Khalsa has never given up and will never give up. The enemy stands outside. There are 500 hundred, we are 9 but remember Guru Gobind Singh jee has made each of us equivalent to sava-lakh (125,000)! Khalsa jee, get prepared to fight!"

He said this with so much josh and bir ras that our body hair stood on their ends. Even though I had been seriously ill for the past 3 months, I too was ready to fight. The jathedar then told us that we must make two groups. The first group of five will go out first and fight the enemy. The the rest (4) can go later. Everybody agreed. Jathedar Sahib then chose 4 other pyares. I was not chosen, most probably due to my illness.

The five put on the uniform of the Khalsa. Then the jathedar sahib did ardas to Guru Gobind Singh jee saying, "Pita jee, dear father,, we are coming to your land. Please prepare for us!"

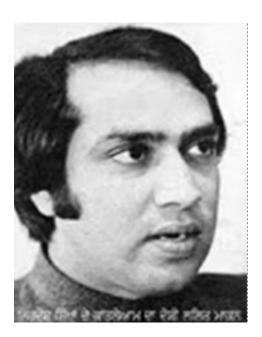
Then five of them took out their kirpans and with **BOLE SO NEHAAL! SAT SRI AKAL! BOLE SO NEHAAL! SAT SRI AKAL!** filling the air, came out the face the enemy. You will not believe what happened then. Seeing 5 Khalsa in the uniform of Guru Gobind Singh jee, the rabble of 500 ran away It was as if 5 lions were chasing 500 hyenas away!

One of the Singhs managed to cut off a running man's ear. The Khalsa's victory was sweet."

waheguru waheguru waheguru...

Just as an epilogue, some police officers had the gall to come a few days later to investigate the ear injury!!!! But this was so ridiculous and the Singhs were in such high spirits that the police had to leave without even a bribe.

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#### **Lalit Makan**

In the year of 1984, He was elected to the Lok Sabha, a directly elected member of the Parliament of India from south Delhi of India. He was a metropolitan councilor prior to his election to Parliament of India. He was an extremely promising young politician and a popular trade union leader.

Harjinder Singh "Jinda" and Sukhdev Singh Sukha along with Ranjit Singh Gill gunned down Congress (I) Member of Parliament Lalit Makan on 31 July

1985, when he was moving towards his car parked across the road from his house in Kirti Nagar, New Delhi. The three assailants continued firing even as Maken ran towards his house for cover. Maken's wife Geetanjali (who was the daughter of late President of India Sh. Shankar Dayal Sharma) and a visitor, Balkishan, were also caught in the firing. The assailants escaped on their scooters. Lalit Maken was considered to be involved in the killings of innocent Sikhs during 1984 Sikh genocide. In a 31-page booklet titled "Who are the guilty", People's union for the Liberties (PUCL) listed 227 people who led the mobs, which killed up to 3,000 Sikhs over three days. Lalit Maken's name was third on the list. A press report has indicated that someone named Bakshish Singh was also involved along with Jinda in this assassination. Ranjit Singh "Gill" was arrested by Interpol in New Jersey, USA on 14 May 1987, a federal magistrate approved his extradition on 6 February 1988 and he was deported back to India in February 2000 after lengthy legal cases and was sentenced to life imprisonment on 24 February 2003. Finally his life sentence was commuted on 20 May 2009.

His wife was killed in attempts to save her husband. Her wife Geetanjali was the daughter of late President of India Sh. Shankar Dayal Sharma.

He was seen in his Ambassador car at Azadpur where he was leading a mob, he was inciting to mob to set on fire the shops of Sikhs. (With kind courtesy from "Doshi Kaun" and in English "Who is guilty"

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## **Arjan Das**

We do not have much information on his role in Sikh genocide but he was certainly involved in it. He was shot dead to avenge killings of innocent Sikhs in Delhi. Arjan das was a close friend of Rajiv Gandhi. Arjan Dass's name appeared in various affidavits submitted by innocent Sikh victims to Nanawati Commission which was headed by Justice G.T.Nanawati, retired Judge of the Supreme Court of India.

As per a news published in Gazette-Post on 5th September 1985, he was shot dead by three Sikh gumen in broad day light in Delhi. His bodyguard was also killed and six other wounded in this indiscriminate firing by Machine gun. Slain Arjan das was a prominent politician and a good friend of Indian PM Rajiv Gandhi. His name had appeared in 16 tainted leaders of Congress who actively played a key role in Sikh genocide in Delhi in 1984. This book was published by PUCL and PUDF soon after the pogrom of Delhi in 1984. The book 'DOSHI KAUN' in Hindi and 'WHO ARE THE GUILTY' published by these organizations were confiscated immediately by a govt. order but by then it had been sold in thousands.

The above picture is taken from a newspaper ^ "Montreal Gazette Sept 5 1985". News.google.com.

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#### **Dharmdas Shastri**

"....was a top politician of Indian National congress'. He was a member of Parliament from Karol bagh area of Delhi. He was seen carrying the list to identify homes of Sikhs in 1984 Skh genocide. He was seen along with Mahendra Kumar, Metropolitan member and Mangat Ram, a member of Municipal Council from ward no. 32. The Jain-Agrawal probe committee in 1993, had approved action against him on leading mob and incitation.

Note: We did try our best to find a picture of this sinner but we couldn't avail it but if we find, we must paste in our next edition.

On November 5, Mr. Dharmadas Shastri went to the Karol Bagh police station to protest against police "misbehavior" with those who were found in possession of looted property as those were his people. (INDIAN EXPRESS, November 6, 1984). Mr. Shastri however dismissed the report as false.

But a journalist Sanjay Suri reported that he witnessed Dharmdas Shastri in a scuffle with Police commissioner Amod Kanth, Hukam Chand Jatav was

accompanying him who was superior to Amod Kanth. He also writes that SHO of the said police station had come out by saying whenever the Police try to do some good work, these leaders do not allow. It was his compulsion.

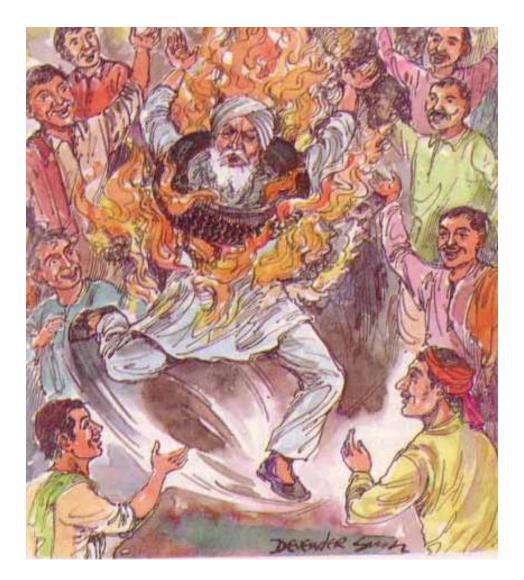
At this Sanjay suri questioned Hukam Chand Jatav on this issue and inquired him about this incident happened in Police station but Jatav denied it whereas Sanjay suri himself witnessed it and heard theirconversation. As per the govt. records, the toll of dead had crossed 3000.

The copy of affidavit submitted by Sardar Surjit Singh s/o Sardar Santokh Singh, age 46 years, r/o 16-B Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-110005.......

"On 5th November 1984, he went to Police station Karol Bagh along with his brothers Pritpal Singh and Jaswant Singh who are the residents of 8, Bhamri Mention. There he saw the MP Dharmdas Sahstri who was abusing the SHO and persuading him to release his party activists who were detained by him in said Police station. He shouted loudly and said that the Police officer should know that he was Dharam das Shastri. When the SHO told him his compulsion in not release of those detained activists, the Shastri caught hold him of his neck and abused. He also saw several people who were detained in Police station".

We have more faith on Sardar surjit Singh because he is victim of 1984, and whatever he watched in the Karol bagh police station by his own eyes is described in this affidavit, the same agony he said in his testimony before Misra commission. Almost similar stories were published in the news papers on same day. Sanjay Suri was a good friend of Rajiv Gandhi but even then he reported truth.

# Part 24



**Genocide in Kanpur (UP).** 

#### **KANPUR CHAPTER - 9**

:: Delhi Massacres ::

(Misra Commission Report)

## **GENOCIDE AT KANPUR;**

There is a distinction in the reference to the Commission so far as the events of Delhi and events of Kanpur and Bokaro are concerned. In regard to Delhi the incidents are said to be "organized violence" whereas in regard to Kanpur and Bokaro – Chas what happened during the riots has been described as "disturbances". While all disturbances may not be riots, all riots would usually include disturbances. What happened during October / November

1984 at Kanpur and Bokaro-Chas is certainly riot. All incidents at Kanpur and Bokaro-Chas were confined to 31st October and 1st November. The allegation of organised violence as such is not there in regard to the incidents at Bokaro-Chas though so far as the incidents at Kanpur are concerned, such an allegation has been raised. The Commission is bound by the terms of reference. It would not be open to it to find out whether the disturbances riots at Kanpur and Bokaro-Chas were also organised. In terms of the reference the question whether the violence at Kanpur was organised, however, would not fall for examination.

On behalf of the State of Uttar Pardesh it has been contended that the terms of reference do not require the Commission to report about the lapse, if any, cxommitted by any particular officer though the extent of the damage may be a relevant aspect for consideration. The Commission is inclied to hold that it has jurisdiction to act under section 8B of the Commission of Inquiry Act even within the frame of the reference as it stands.

However, whether such action should be taken is another matter when the Commission issued notification calling for affidavits from persons in the known of events relating to the October / November 1984 riots, it was open to officers in the Kanpur District Administration or even the U. P. State Administration to file affidavits disclosing the facts. No affidavits were, however, filed. In all 675 affidavits were received out of which four were rejected being out of time or being in regard to events outside the Kanpur city limits.

Painful days and horrible nights whose remembrance still brings tears in his eyes.

Imagining as to what would have happened 25 years ago is nearly impossible for me. Therefore on the 25th anniversary of Indira Gandhi's death and the subsequent anti-Sikh riots, I decided to meet some of those who witnessed the uproar, grief, death, suffering and bloodshed. Alok Tomar, who was a reporter in Jansatta at that time, Arati Jerath, the reporter of Indian Express, and Deepak Duggal & Jasbir, businessmen who were targets of the carnage, shared their memories with me. Alok Tomar (Editor, Datelineindia.com)

Nobody could have imagined the wrath and anger that October 31 brought with it. Alok Tomar was going to watch a movie in now defunct Chanakya theatre when, as a routine habit of a crime reporter, he called the police control room and was informed that PM Indira Gandhi had been shot dead by her Sikh guards at PM's official residence at Safdarjang. He could not digest the idea of her being hit by 38 bullets.

He hired a taxi to AIIMS hospital and managed to see Mrs Gandhi at the 7th floor, lying lifeless. Many of the cabinet members were waiting in the conference hall of AIIMS. Rajiv Gandhi flew back from Orissa. Some of the prominent ministers urged him to take oath immediately but he insisted that his first priority was his mother who was dead. Alok then called Prabhash Joshi, his editor, and dictated to the desk the whole scenario over phone

He even witnessed the first death in the riots at around 4 pm on October 31 when, near the INA market, a sardar was brutally battered with bricks. Later in the day, he filed his story. He recalled the first lines of his report that said- "Aaj do hathyaen hui hai- ek Indira ki aur doosri manushya ke manushya par vishwas ki" (Today, two deaths have occurred- one of Indira and the other of trust in humans)

By November 1, the situation had worsened. While walking to his office, he was amazed to find all the police posts closed and locked. Trilokpuri, especially block 32, was badly hit. The second death occurred at 10:20 am when an elderly sardar was thrashed and killed using a burning tyre that was thrust around his neck. When he questioned Nikhil Kumar (the then additional commissioner of Delhi Police and now Governor of Nagaland), he answered that Hindus are just burning garbage and how could police stop the madding crowd?

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For three days and four nights the killing and pillaging continued without the police, the civil administration and the Union Government, which was then in direct charge of Delhi, lifting a finger in admonishment. The Congress was in power and could have prevented the violence, but the then Prime Minister, his Home Minister, indeed the entire Council of Ministers, twiddled their thumbs.

Even as stray dogs gorged on charred corpses and wailing women, clutching children too frightened to cry, fled mobs armed with iron rods, staves and gallons of kerosene, AIR and Doordarshan kept on broadcasting blood-curdling slogans like 'Khoon ka badla khoon se lenge' (We shall avenge blood with blood) raised by Congress workers grieving over their dear departed leader.

In mid-morning on October 31, 1984, Mrs Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two Sikh guards posted at her home. Her death was 'officially' confirmed at 6 pm, after due diligence had been exercised to ensure Rajiv Gandhi's succession. By then, reports of stray incidents of violence against Sikhs, including the stoning of President Zail Singh's car, had started trickling in at various police stations.

By the morning of November 1, hordes of men were on the rampage in south, east and west Delhi. They were armed with iron rods and carried old tyres and jerry cans filled with kerosene and petrol. Owners of petrol pumps and kerosene stores, beneficiaries of Congress largesse, provided petrol and kerosene free of cost. Some of the men went around on scooters and motorcycles, marking Sikh houses and business establishments with chalk for easy identification. They had been provided with electoral rolls to make their task easier.

By late afternoon that day, hundreds of taxis, trucks and shops owned by Sikhs had been set ablaze. By early evening, the murder, loot and rape began in right earnest. The worst butchery took place in Block 32 of Trilokpuri, a resettlement colony in east Delhi. The police either participated in the violence or merely watched from the sidelines.

Curfew was declared in south and central Delhi at 4 pm, and in east and west Delhi at 6 pm on November 1. But there was no attempt to enforce it. PV Narasimha Rao, the then Home Minister, remained unmoved by cries for help. In his affidavit to the Nanavati Commission of Inquiry, Lt-Gen Jagjit Singh Aurora, decorated hero of the 1971 India-Pakistan war, said, "The Home Minister was grossly negligent in his approach, which clearly reflected his connivance with perpetrators of the heinous crimes being committed against the Sikhs."

The first deployment of the Army took place around 6 pm on November 1 in south and central Delhi, which were comparatively unaffected, but in the absence of navigators, which should have been provided by the police and the civil authorities, the jawans found themselves lost in unfamiliar roads and avenues.

The Army was deployed in east and west Delhi in the afternoon of November 2, more than 24 hours after the killings began. But, here, too, the jawans were at a loss because there were no navigators to show them the way through byzantine lanes.

In any event, there was little the Army could have done: Magistrates were 'not available' to give permission to fire on the mobs. This mandatory requirement was kept pending till Mrs Indira Gandhi's funeral was over. By then, 1,026 Sikhs had been killed in east Delhi. Jagdish Tytler and Sajjan Kumar were among Congress 'leaders' who, witnesses said, incited and led mobs. Both deny the allegation, but the evidence is overwhelming.

A report on the pogrom, jointly prepared by the PUCL and PUDR and published under the title, Who Are the Guilty? names both of them along with others.

The report quotes well-known journalist Sudip Mazumdar: "The Police Commissioner, SC Tandon was briefing the Press (about 10 Indian reporters and five foreign journalists) in his office on November 6, at 5 pm. A reporter asked him to comment on the large number of complaints about local Congress MPs and lightweights trying to pressure the police to get their men released. The Police Commissioner totally denied the allegation... Just as he finished uttering these words, Jagdish Tytler, Congress MP from Sadar constituency, barged into the Police Commissioner's office along with three other followers and on the top of his voice demanded, 'What is this Mr Tandon? You still have not done what I asked you to do?' The reporters were amused, the Police Commissioner embarrassed. Tytler kept on shouting and a reporter asked the Police Commissioner to ask that 'shouting man' to wait outside since a Press conference was on. Tytler shouted at the reporter, 'This is more important.' The reporter told the Police Commissioner that if Tytler wanted to sit in the office he would be welcome, but a lot of questions regarding his involvement would also be asked and he was welcome to hear them. Tytler was fuming..."

The slaughter was not limited to Delhi, though. Sikhs were killed in Gurgaon, Kanpur, Bokaro, Indore and many other towns and cities in States ruled by the Congress. In a replay of the mayhem in Delhi, 26 Sikh soldiers were pulled out of trains and killed.

After quenching their thirst for blood, the mobs retreated to savour their 'revenge'. The flames died and the winter air blew away the stench of death. Rajiv Gandhi's Government issued a statement placing the death toll at 425!

Demands for a judicial inquiry were stonewalled by Rajiv Gandhi. Human rights organisations petitioned the courts; the Government said courts were not empowered to order inquiries. Meanwhile, Rajiv Gandhi dissolved the Lok Sabha and went for an early election, which the Congress swept by using the 'sympathy card' and launching a vitriolic hate campaign.

Once in office, Rajiv Gandhi was desperate for a breakthrough in Punjab. He mollycoddled Akali leader Sant Harchand Singh Longowal into agreeing to sign a peace accord with him. Sant Longowal listed a set of pre-conditions; one of them was the setting up of a judicial commission to inquire into the pogrom.

Thus was born the Ranganath Misra Commission of Inquiry, which took on the job of crafting a report that would suggest extra-terrestrials were to be blamed for whatever had happened. Worse, submissions and affidavits were passed on to those accused of leading the mobs; some of these documents were later

recovered from the house of Sajjan Kumar. Gag orders were issued, preventing the Press from reporting in-camera proceedings of the Commission.

For full six months, Rajiv Gandhi refused to make public the Ranganath Misra Commission's report. When it was tabled in Parliament, the report was found to be an amazing travesty of the truth; neither were the guilty men of 1984 named, now was responsibility fixed.

Subsequently, nine commissions and committees were set up to get to the truth, but they were either disbanded midway or not allowed access to documents and evidence. India had to wait for the report of the Nanavati Commission for an approximate version of the real story.

Justice Nanavati's report said, "The Commission considers it safe to record its finding that there is credible evidence against Jagdish Tytler to the effect that very probably he had a hand in organising attacks on Sikhs." This is not an indictment, Mr Manmohan Singh and his Government decided, so why bother about it? Four years later they remain unrepentant, their attitude remains unchanged.

Two thousand seven hundred and thirty-three men, women and children killed in Delhi, another 2,000 killed elsewhere, scores of women raped, property worth crores of rupees looted or sacked. Families devastated forever, survivors scarred for the rest of their lives.

**But the Congress doesn't care!** 

# Part 25



#### **KANPUR RIOTS**

# (A FIRST PERSON ACCOUNT)

### **November 8**

A group of artists in Lucknow are taking out a procession of peace marchers for communal harmony. One of the organisers of the march has been worrying since yesterday. His anxiety is to ensure that AIR and Doordarshan give good coverage to the procession. The organisers are personally very perturbed over the events of the past few days. The first blood was drawn by Sikhs they say. Who asked them to distribute sweets?

Despite such thoughts, they are marching for peace and communal harmony.

### **NOVEMBER 7**

Sikhs distributed sweets at Mrs. Gandhi's killing. I have been hearing such talk and am looking for an eye witness to vouch for such incidents. I mention this to Kunwar Narayan. He knows somebody who saw Sikh celebrating and is expected to come to his house today.

Luckily, I do not have to wait long for him. We are introduced. I start asking him questions. The secret is soon out. He is an eye-witness who heard the story from his uncle. I met many such eye-witnesses.

This was the rumour that even the most neutral and thinking people believed. This was the rumour that led the mobs to burn Sikh infants alive.

### OCTOBER 31

Prof. Satyamurti was to attend a rehearsal of a play directed by him. But the news of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination had already come. So, to spare the actors the inconvenience of coming out he postponed the rehearsal to November 4. Prof. Satyamurti must have intuitively known about the violence that followed.

Rakesh Verma, a singing artists, employed in the Life insurance company (LIC) whose office is on Kanpur's Mall Road told me that at 2.30 p.m. he saw a group of people pounce on a Sikh, about to alight his two-wheeler. The middle aged Sikh was badly beaten up right under the gaze of two armed cops. Meanwhile, a police vehicle reached the spot and a gun-wielding cop ran towards the mob. He rescued the Sikh and sent him home alongwith an armed policeman.

There were three more Sikhs in the LIC office. Some people suggested that they cut their hair but somebody requested the police to come and the three were escorted back home. Perhaps, they survived. By the time the offices closed, Mr. Verma saw a mob of 150-200 goodness and political workers passing through the market, raising slogans.

### **NOVEMBER 1**

The morning air is thick with rumours. Prof. Satyamurti's colleagues at the college, his driver and a domestic help, all have different stories to tell. But all the tales focus on how the Sikhs have been murdering people at various places.

At 10 a.m. I come out to get a packet of cigarettes. There is an eerie silence as I get out of the house. But soon the Silence is broken. At the street corner is a group of people, professional hangers-on. The signboard of an electric goods shop has been smashed but the locks are still intact. On the platform outside the shop, two cops are relaxing. Bang opposite them is the shop of a Sikh photographer. The windows and door of that shop have been smashed.

Just then, a group of young men passes by each of them holding boxes of new shoes, looted from a shop. The young men are excited about the loot.

One of the cops outside the electric goods shop gets 'tough' and, wielding his stick at one guy, tells him to surrender the shoes. The young man places two pairs before the cop. The cop tries them both but neither fits his feet. He sends him away, abusing him light-heartedly and yells at another to show him what he has got.

Of course, these young men and the cops are mourning the death of Mrs. Gandhi.

I turn to the left of the street. There is no cigarette shop there but cigarette packets are available at a premium. At double the normal price. I decide to go to Vijay's house for tea. On the way, another brush with violence. A bonfire right in the middle of the road. Closely, a mob is trying to break through an iron gate. Vijay's wife says that a wood godown had been set afire by the mob. The neighbours doused the fire, not to save the godown but their own shops. Outsides, I see the mob, which was earlier trying to break into the godown, move towards the other side and jump inside from a half broken wall. One man walks out with a saw and wood cutting blade. Another comes out with a couple of small woodlogs. The logs are too heavy to carry. So, he drops them, drags them towards his bicycle, ties them up to the back seat and cycles away with the ease of a shopper.

The rest of the crowd is busy trying to make sure that nothing remains unbent in what they have dragged out of the godown to make a bon-fire in the middle of the road.

Barely 150 yards away from the spot is a police post. Not one, but two. There are several cops there but absolutely relaxed.

Bang opposite the police post is the office of AIR. Reporters inside are extremely busy, trying to contact the official spokesman about the situation in the city. Besides, they know their first responsibility. To carry government announcements in their news bulletins in this hour of national crisis following Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. The administration does not need them. Not yet. Not until after the killers have had their fill of violence.

At 2 p.m. I leave Vijay's house and see the fire lit in the morning. The flames are going higher and higher. The fire died thirty hours later. On its own.

Meanwhile, a police vehicle passes by and announces the imposition of curfew in the city. Nobody takes a second look at a man walking out of the godown with his loot.

I return home. See another fire. The cops are still relaxing outside the electric goods shop. The shop is intact but a car belonging to the shop-owner has been dragged out of the garage and set aflame.

Some others are telling the crowd, tonight we must burn the photographer's shop.

Doordarshan comers are still focused on Teen Murti House. Delhi is burning. Kanpur is burning but that is not news for Doordarshan. News, as it sees, is all in teen Murti house.

The neighbourhood of Prof. Satyamurti's house is full of talk, venomous talk against the Sikhs. Each one of them is guilty. Each one of them is happy at the assassination. A boy comes to his house and says he saw Sikhs distributing sweets. Did you see it? I ask. Everybody has seen it, the boy answers.

Don't tell me about everybody, tell me, If you have seen it, I persist.

No, but a man I know told me so, replies the boy.

At night I go to the terrace. The whole city seems aflame. I can barely see the sky.

### **NOVEMBER 2**

The street is noisy early morning. I arm on the terrace. The same young men, who were agitated about Sikhs celebrating the killing of Mrs. Gandhi the previous day, are playing cricket. The sun is getting high. There is curfew in the city and there are reports of the army having come to control the situation.

The violence continues despite the army. People are standing in groups everywhere. The photographer's shop is being looted merrily. A policeman on the scene is telling the crowd not indulge in violence.

You return us our Indira Gandhi, we will stop looting the shop, comes a voice from the crowd. The cop is silenced by the reply and goes back to where he was sitting. After a while, the crowd of young men leaves the place, wailing with joy. Some mourning this.

Vegetables are beautifully arranged in a basket by a seller. One guy has opened his shop just enough for cigarettes and tobacco to change hands with those desperate for them. He is still giving Mainpuri Tobacco at the regular price, one rupee, that is. Down the road in a square, parts of a nearby building set aflame are burning. The building's ground floor had a sweets shop belonging to a Sikh.

The shop is suitably emptied before being burnt down. The crowd is mourning Mrs. Gandhi's killing.

Further on, there is a bigger and more festive crowd on the wide road.

Full of people. The door of the liquor shop has been smashed and bottles are now available outside the shop. Beer, Rum all for a flat price of eight rupees. You can even drink standing right there. Nobody will check you.

Suddenly, there is a commotion in the crowd which has been diligently stoning a house. We all step back. But this is the softest part of the violence.

I should have not have built such a long story around what I wanted to say. Perhaps, what I want to describe is beyond the boundaries of language. Any language. Let me say it straight and simple. Have you ever seen a man burning alive?

The Sikh has been battered. He looks like moving pulp lying on the ground. Soaked in blood. He is not crying. He is not writhing. Just his hands are trying to hold on to the something in the air. The crowd moves back, yelling with joy. It leaves him alone for a while. Two young men have balloons filled with petrol. They throw the balloons on another Sikh. The balloons burst after hitting the Sikh's head. Then, the crowd throws a match. The man slips as he tries to run, the road having turned into thin ice under his feet. Now he is burning alive.

In Kanpur, this skilled, fool-proof way of burning Sikhs was uniformly employed.

In the evening, journalists from a local newspaper come. They are very upset with the Sikh community. They have brought a true story. The Sikh who was burnt had shot at the crowd from the terrace of his house. He was at fault. The crowd which converged on his house to loot and burn was right.

In the street of mourners, a voice from the group playing cricket, yells, switch on the TV.

I hear that the mob put a burning chemical in the rectum of buffaloes belonging to a Sikh milk-seller. He lived a street behind us. Isn't there a limit to mourning!

Another incident. There was shooting from inside a Gurudwara. So, it was burnt. But, what was crowd doing outside the Gurudwara?

The night is even more horrific. A group of the army walked through the street. It showed its presence for six minutes. There is total silence in the street. It will

stay silent for the next six hours. At this hour, people have even stopped peeping from their windows and balconies.

Until late in the night I get no sleep. When it comes, it brings along horrible images. Past midnight, I hear a cry. The cry becomes louder. Lots of people are gathered. They are appealing to us to stay awake. jagte raho, jagte raho.

This is a strange cry. Over the loud-speaker. Sikhs are being murdered all around. To be a Sikh and out on the street is an invitation to death. And here is a public announcement system blaring messages. Sikhs have attacked the Kaka Dev Bus Stop. Everybody, reach Gita Nagar. Another voice from Gita Nagar, again over the mike. I cannot contact Sapera; you tell me what to do. The Kaka Dev voice, tell everybody to go to their terraces with stones and bricks.

The best part of these midnight announcements is that a police patrol vehicle is right in Kaka Dev, also listening to the them. Of course, the administration had no clue to the horrific happenings. The District Magistrate of Kanpur, Brijendra Yadav, mute witness to the killings and arson, is the same man under whose administration in Muradabad, terrible communal riots had taken place.

Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi's grand-children try to contact the police all day on November 2, but nobody picks up the phone.

### **NOVEMBER 3**

The air has changed somewhat. The police and army have marched through the city.

The mourners want to have their fill of cricket until the next march. A catch brings loud cheer from the crowd. Today is the fourth day they are mourning Mrs. Gandhi's killing.

The killing and arson have stopped and the police has been raiding some houses to recover the loot.

The woman who washes dishes at Prof. Satyamurti's house has come.

She is very agitated. Kare koi, bhare koi. Police sub ko pareshan kare hai (somebody commits a crime and somebody else has to pay for it; the police are harassing us all) arre you tell me, if you do not have enough food in your house, how can you wear shoes that cost 200 rupees? There is no electric connection in the house and they have a TV and fringe already, she is talking about her neighbours.

This is another unwritten rule in our country. A man cannot wear good shoes until he has good clothes and a good house.

The cops will come and take away the fringe and TV that her neighbours have got.

Those who have got the TV and fringe are selling both for 500 rupees each, she informs us.

Sitting indoors, I am bored. Prof. Satyamurti and I decide to go out. His wife tells him not to but he doesn't listen to her.

The news we get today is interesting. A sackful of liquor bottles sold for just a hundred rupees but, even more interesting is the news that the policemen who had gone with food packets for three rupees each to the Cantonment relief camp came back with the packets. The reason. The people in the camp did not have any money to buy food with.

According to official estimates, 50 Sikhs were killed in the violence and goods and property worth 50 lakh rupees looted. Another estimate puts the monetary loss at four crore rupees.

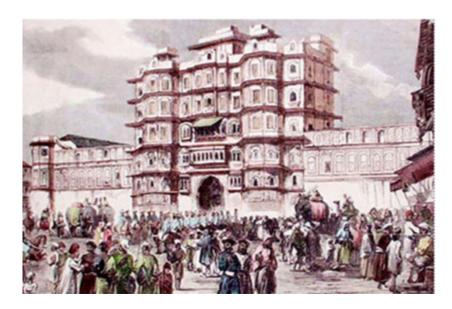
At a deserted spot behind a wall, a group of people is trying to bury some 'shining' thing.

A group of under-nutritioned men in khaki, the Home Guard men, are passing that way. Their heads are bent. They can see nothing, not us, not the crowd that is burying 'something'.

# Part 26

## **Genocide in Indore;**

We tried our best to collect information on killings of Sikhs in Indore and loss of their property but despite our best efforts, we couldn't find reports on loss of life or property as 30 years are gone till date. Only report of major loss we got was burning of wada of Holkars.



Waada of Holkar's

The Rajbada palace was built by Malhar Holkar and completed in 1766. It was burnt down during the 1984 riots and thus converted into a garden till 2006 when the present Maharani of Indore HH Ushadevi Holkar decided reconstruct the wada to it's past glory. Thus this Rajwada found back its glory in 2007.

We tried our best to collect information on killings of Sikhs in Indore and loss of their property but despite our best efforts, we couldn't find reports on loss of life or property as 30 years are gone till date. Only report of major loss we got was burning of wada of Holkars, their were shops of Sikhs at the backside of this historical wada. Aftermath assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984, lumpen Hindus of Indoe set these shops on fire which in no time spread fast quickly and covered whole building in minutes. The shops of Sikh brothers were gutted down in flmes and this 200 years old historical building built by Holakars of Maratha kingdom was also destroyed in fire.

It's to be remembered that in 1761 when Marathas were defeated by Abdali in Panipat, they had to run away to save their lives, their women, daughters, yoths were arrested by Abdali and when he was returning to Kabul with this large group of slaves numbering 22,000 informed Sikhs in Malwa region of Punjab. Sikhs attacked this carvan in midnight and rescued all these girls and youths and returned safely to their hideouts in forests. Then these girls were sent back to their ancestral villages in Maharahtra with due respect. Those who lost their family members were married with Sikh youths and rehabitated in Punjab.

But the Hindus in Maharashtra proved themselves thankless and attacked houses and business centers of their saviors. Such an example of their thanklessness was witnessed in state of Maharashtra in 1984.

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## Genocide in Calcutta (now Kolkata) west Bengal in 1984;

Gian Singh Kotli is a prominent Punjabi poet, writer and a widely respected community activitist. His article about Kolkatta riots is quite touching and inspiring. Kotli did his M.A. B.Ed., LL.B. from Calcutta University. He lived and worked in Calcutta for about 35 years. – Editor

The Nanavati Report also says, "either meetings were held or the persons who could organize attacks were contacted and were given instructions to kill Sikhs and loot their houses and shops."

Interestingly enough the attacks organized were simultaneous and similar in nature in different localities and different cities including Calcutta, which was deemed relatively a safe place. There were no recorded immediate deaths in or around Calcutta but the humiliation of Sikhs and the damage to property was quite distressing. Buses, taxies, trucks and shops were broken or burnt openly. Helpless Sikhs had to shut themselves inside their homes, Police Stations or Gurdwaras for three days.

The news of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination by Sikh bodyguards spread like wild fire in Calcutta in the morning of 31st October and by 11 AM, Sikhs began coming home anticipating danger. But the high brains of Police and Intelligence failed miserably to anticipate this and took no preventive measures. I tried to contact Bhowanipore Police Station in Calcutta 26, but there was no response for the whole day. The evening belonged to the hordes of hooligans and a total sense of insecurity prevailed all around. The hoolgans attacked and damaged whatever and wherever they could. Not a sigle Sikh was seen on the road. Several places were vandalised, shops were broken and set on fire.

Sitting in my nearby house I could hear that the gate of my office on Dr Rajendra Road in Calcutta 20 was being knocked ruthlessly and the hooligans were singing the national anthem of India "Bande Matrim, Bande Matrim" to break it. They also wrote on the wall of my house with black paint "Sardar Gaddaar Hain" (Sikhs are traitors). I felt extremely humiliated and emotionally upset. I did no wrong. Why somebody should attack, insult, call us traitors and write something most abusive on my wall. I had always been asserting that the Sikhs, though in meagre minority, were always in the forefront to make more sacrifices than any other majority in the independene movement of India. Absolute insecurity and humiliation was piercing my mind and to feel like aliens and slaves in our oun country was all the more excruciating for me.

That day police was nowhere and the Police telephones were dead. Late in the evening I came to know that military had been called to control the situation. Next day on the evening of November 1, some young men came to me and conveyed the message of a Military officer. I accompanied them to Dr. Rajendra Road where military personnel were standing near their truck. A Punjabi officer wished me Sat Sri Akal Ji and said, "Sardar Ji don't worry now. If any one tried to create mischief, I will roast him with bullets. We have got the orders." Later on Sikhs realized that it was due to CPM government led by Jyoti Basu in West Bengal that the situation was dealt with sternly otherwise the results would have been worst than Delhi.

For two days we had to stay home. The only contact with the outside world was through telephone. But the Paarha (locality) youth began going to Sikh houses to assure them that government has controlled the situation." My exstudent Mohan Singh Grewal, the only international Sikh player of football to play in the most prestigious Mohan Bagan, East Bengal and Mohammedan Sporting clubs of Calcutta, also came to my house to tell me not to feel scared of anything. It is interesting to note that such players are worshiped like gods in football crazy Calcutta.

The sense of insecurity prevailed for several days. My immediate Gujrati neighbour Mr. Himansu Duve and his wife Meena Kumari advised me to keep our ornaments and other valuables in their house in case some fire or attack is there. "We are not afraid of this. That is why we did not move to any Gurdwara," said my wife Surinder Kaur. Anyhow, on their much insistence and surprise I handed over to them a plastic bag containing my poems, articles and all the academic certificates telling them, "They are more costly than the gold".

The main concern of all in Calcutta was to normalize situation and restore peace in the area. To this effect a meeting of all faiths was held on November 2 in Northern Park Bhowanipore. Representing Sikh community I spoke on the

basis of a most relevent hymn of Bhagat Jai Dev Ji contained in Sri Guru Guru Granth Sahib, which says, "If you seek the path of God and good character then foresake greed and evil inclinations. Do not cast evil eyes on women and grab property of others." It had a very soothing effect on the listeners as Bhagat Nam Dev Ji belonged to Bengal.

A peace procession by artists, players, doctors, and intellectuals of all communities was also taken out on November 4 from Desh Priya Park (Neta Ji Subhas Chandar Park) in South Calcutta to Minto Park in Central Calcutta. Sisir Kumar Bose nephew of Neta Ji Subhas Chander Bose, Chuni Goswami former Captain of Indian Football Team and one of the greatest footballers of Bengal, Ranjit Malik popular Bengali film star, and myself walked in front of the procession to give it a varied color of peace and unity. It was a full-fledged sigh of relief for the Sikhs to shed fear and come out to join this peace march.

The Punjabi daily newspapers Desh Darpan and Navi Parbhat, which were closed, resumed their publication on 5th November. When I wrote in Navi Parbhat about the ordeal the Sikhs have to go through, I was confronted by some volunteers of a political party blaming me for writing against Congress Party. I made it clear to them that I did not write against Congress or any person. The translator has done the wrong translation for you. I have written in my article, "The locks of my shutter were being smashed and the hooligans were singing the national anthem of Bande Matrim, Bande Matrim. Hearing this I was feeling very much ashamed that the National Anthem of India was being used to break my locks."

Deevali, the festival of lights, came. I cleaned and white washed my entire house leaving the outside space untouched where the stigma "Sikhs are Traitors" was written. Much to the astonishment of all. I kept this wondrous 'certificate' intact for three years.

The most memorable and sweet memory in my mind is that of my friend Mr. O.P. Shah, Editor of The Parlance, Calcutta and the member of Press Trust of India. He did most commendable and untiring service of providing food to Sikhs in Gurdwaras and Police Stations. All these days he was on the road with his team of volunteers. Afterwards he also offered his services including his Jeep and other resources to highlight the atrocities committed on Sikhs by visiting Tata Nagar, Durgapur, Bukaro, Kanpore, Delhi and other cities by holdings press conferences.

Press releases of this program were published in daily Desh Darpan and daily Navi Parbhat Calcutta. But the number of required volunteers did not come forward fearing the risk of travel by road. Only O.P. Shah, Bachan Singh Saral

representative of daily Ajit Jalandhar in Calcutta and myself were left. The program had to be cancelled at last.

To my extreme surprise a Police officer from Bhowanipore Police Station came to my house in 1987 to give me compensation for the 1984 loss. I told him I did not file any complaint or application for compensation and refused to accept it saying, "Thank God I am safe. I felt extremely dishonoured and I don't want to take anything in lieu of my honour."

The attack on Golden Temple Amritsar in June and the organized attacks on Sikhs in November 1984, demolition of Babri Masjid, Gujrat riots in which about 2,000 people, mostly Muslims, were killed, are simply a slur on the fair name of our secular country whose praises we have been singing, "Mazhabb Naheen Sikhata Aapas Main Vair Rakhna, Hindi Hain Hamm Watan Hai Hindustan Hamaara. (Religion does not teach enemity. We are Hindustani and our country is Hindsustan.) It is crystal clear that some corrupt persons with vested interests are responsible for tarnishing the fair and secular image of our country. And surprisingly enough the government has remained quite helpless in taking stern measures against such elements and bringing them to book.

Every right thinking person, the Sikhs and the victoms of the 1984 massacre have the right to know who planned "the organised killing" and who are the guilty?

-Gian Singh Kotli M.A.LL.B. Certified Translator, Society of Translator & Interpreters of B.C. Canada. Tel/Fax – 604 3216351

### Who betrayed...?

Was it,

## **Sikhs or Indira and Congress?**



#### INDIRA GANDHI

Most of the Indians allege that Sikhs betrayed as two Sikh body guards Beant Singh and Satwant Singh assassinated Indira Gandhi whereas they were deputed in her security? Great surprise —- We Sikhs are betrayed by Hindus —they have betrayed by eliminating the mutual trust of centuries, of the relations, of the brotherhood? We know that Sikhs and Muslims have enmity, this goes on for centuries, and we the Sikhs stopped the promotion of Islam in India. Muslims killed thousands and millions of Hindus and Sikhs in this nation to spread Islam by terrorizing the common people.

Many battles are fought in between Sikhs and Muslims— Almost all the battles are won by Sikhs but even then this nation was ruled by Muslim rulers. Therefore the list of atrocities on Sikhs is very long but Hindus were obliged by us as our gurus sacrificed to save their religion and their identity, their temples, their other places of worship, their pilgrimages.

We were proud of our heritage and culture as we were the saviors of Hindus — we were your real bodyguards. Our ninth Guru sacrificed his life just for to save you — the Hindus, you should always be thankful to us but you back stabbed us instead of being faithful to us.

# Part 27

On 31st October 2014, just two days ago, the honorable Prime Minister of India announced Rs. 5 Lacs additional relief to riots victims and called that India was pierced in the back on this day. It approves what we say by naming series of our articles pasted on this website since 1st October till date.

The new PM also didn't go to mourn death of Indira gandhi at her residence which shows india needs Sikhs but we urge him that Sikh nation wants their perpetrators and organizers of Sikh genocide be punished, until that the wounds won't dry.

### WE WANT JUSTICE NOTHING ELSE.

The series of these articles on pogrom of Delhi and massacre of Sikhs all over India was stated on 1st October 2014, I am glad that with this article, I shall end the series with this article. This article will reveal the most hatred man who was sworn in as PM of India, whose responsibility was to protect the citizens, himslef played a key role to eliminate innocent Sikhs on streets of Delhi.

He sat aside like Neero and played with his flute and enjoyed screams of thousands helpless peopless being slaughtered by death squads of Hindu community created by him or with his consent. Delhi Police, administration, Ministry of Home affairs, Politicians, Fire brigade, media, cinestar etc. everyone stained their hands in blood.

Whether Govt. of India not ask Sonia Gandhi to return highest civil award BHARAT RATNA given to mass murderers Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi?



#### **RAJIV GANDHI**

The second betrayal was done by the govt of India and it's Prime minister Rajiv Gandhi —- It was his constitutional responsibility to save it's citizens but he failed. The boundry of land tried to remove signs of land itself? What a surprise that who had given the responsibility by President and constitution of nation to save it's citizens without any discrepancy, he tried to eliminate a religious group of people by the help of it's all forces i.e. police, army and para-military force and moves on to eliminate the disarmed citizens of this nation? What else could be the evidence of betrayal? Whether we should rely on our Prime minister or President in future? I don't think so.

Just see yourself how Rajiv Gandhi, general AS Vaidya, PC Alexender and other advisors of Rajiv Gandhi with the conspiracy of Narsimha Rao and his ministry of home affairs were all involved in this genocide of Sikhs? Not only the govt. of India was responsible for this pogrom but all its administration was paralyzed and surrendered before corrupt Rajiv Gandhi.

The administration wasted the precious time deliberately and allowed the situation to be worsened. No attempts were made to control the situation. The death squads were allowed to roam free and hunt for Sikhs to kill. They kept on killing the Sikhs hunting them all around. The administrative officers were in their fast sleep when the Delhi was burning like Neero was playing his flute when Rome was burning but here the Delhi was not only burning in flames but was compelled to taste the tears of blood after centuries had passed.

Before this Taimur lang had massacred it's citizens in 17th century. It (Delhi) could not differentiate in Taimur Lang and Rajiv Gandhi, both were proved killers of humanity. Their was blood and blood in every corner of Delhi, the innocents were murdered brutally and here Rajiv was on mourn on death of his mother. He was not concerned on death of anybody else or with sorrow of any other family.

What agony and sorrow was suffered by any other family was not his concern, he was busy in his own world of joy and sorrow, if he was on mourn on death of his mother, he was also glad to be the prime minister of India. The mourn was just a matter of time but his golden future was in front of his eyes.

On November 19 Rajiv Gandhi rationalized the killings at a huge public rally in which he made the astonishing statement that when 'a big tree falls the earth shakes'. Whoever wrote it into his speech did him a disservice and he himself was not perceptive enough to strike it out. Before the December 1984 General Elections the massive advertising campaign of the Congress party brazenly provoked anti Sikh feelings. This unethical, ill advised and crude campaign was

cleared at the highest level. But even if Rajiv Gandhi was unaware of its thrust, which he could not have been, he should have stopped it after the first item appeared. He did not. To add to the disgust and anger of the Sikhs and other right thinking people, some of the Congress leaders who had been named in Who Are the Guilty were not only given Parliamentary tickets to fight the elections but were made Ministers in Rajiv Gandhi's Cabinet.

Tarlochan Singh, who was vice-chairman of the National Commission for Minorities from 2000 to 2003, also claimed that the 2002 riots in Gujarat were "spontaneous" in contrast to the 1984 riots and argued that the police in Gujarat tried to prevent the rioters resulting in the killing of 137 people in police firing unlike in Delhi where only one person was killed in police action.

Singh joined the NCM as vice-chairman and then became its chairman when the NDA was in power. He was elected to the Rajya Sabha from Haryana in 2004 with BJP and INLD support.

"Indira Gandhi was shot dead in the morning, but the first riots started in the evening. Gyaniji collected this information himself that a meeting of Congress leaders — attended by Arun Nehru and Delhi leaders like H K L Bhagat, Jagdish Tytler and all — took place before Rajiv Gandhi arrived from Kolkata.

They decided to give a slogan 'khoon ka badla khoon'. The first riot then took place near INA market," he told The Indian Express.

"If it was spontaneous, it should have started in the morning itself. Although it was not officially announced, unofficially everyone knew in Delhi," he said. Singh said the President got to know about arson and killing across Delhi soon after Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as PM in the evening.

"The President wanted to speak to the PM about the largescale arson and violence in Delhi. The PM did not get back to the President. All night he tried over telephone. Nobody responded. In the morning, he tried to speak to Home Minister Narasimha Rao. He was told that we are all busy in making arrangements for the funeral. He was told that the Lt Governor and the Police Commissioner are taking control. The whole of next day, neither the PM nor the Home Minister took any interest in defusing the situation or help the victims," he alleged. Singh said it was curious that although Army was available in the cantonment here, forces were called in from Meerut. "They came by road. They were ordered not to shoot and just to march. The police in Delhi on the other hand was totally with the rioters and even killed Sikhs," he alleged.

In contrast, he said the Gujarat government officially informed a NCM fact-finding team, which visited Gujarat in March 2002, that 137 people were killed in police firing. "Our impression after going there was that Godhra incident was highlighted so much by television channels. That resulted in the spontaneous attack in the Ahmedabad city. It started early morning," he said.

The most extraordinary policy decision that seemed to have been secretly taken by his government was to discourage the judiciary and law enforcement agencies from identifying and punishing the guilty. Eight years and four Prime Ministers later, ten persons have been convicted for the murder of 2,733 people (these are official figures) with the prominent ones named in Who Are the Guilty deliberately left out. They the politicians, police officials, administrators and pliant judges have been rewarded instead.

For a brief and exciting period of his Prime Minister-ship, Rajiv Gandhi redeemed himself. In a statesmanlike move he signed a historic Memorandum of Settlement with Harcharan Singh Longowal on July 24,1985. It was a magnificent bid to bring Punjab back from where the unprincipled politics of the time had taken it.

Patwant Singh Pannu met Rajiv Gandhi two weeks before the Punjab elections. When Rajni Kothari and hw was called on him at his office in the South Block of the Secretariat another one of Lutyens's monumental buildings it was crawling with gun toting security men. The ante rooms were crowded but we were taken to his secretary's room next to his own and were shown in within a few minutes. He looked fit and at ease but soon went over the top when we brought up the subject of the guilty men of 1984. Two of them, known to have led the mobs during the massacres, had recently been shot dead by Sikh militants, and with this on his mind Rajiv Gandhi turned on Kothari and said angrily:

I will hold you responsible if any more killings of this kind take place.' (Rajni Kothari as the President of the People's Union of Civil Liberties had jointly published Who Are the Guilty, which had named the two who had been killed in retribution.

"If the Sikhs are still in India, Mr Gandhi,' I intervened, 'it is because of men like Rajni Kothari and others who showed impartiality and integrity during those days of November.' I also said that it would be a good principle to hold the killers and the colluders responsible for the crimes and not those trying to expose them."

(Of Dreams and Demons – A Memoir of Modern India By Patwant Singh, 1995)

In the environment that evolved the entire community of Sikhs were held responsible for the murder of Indira Gandhi. By the evening of 31 October, the violence started. As Ramachandra Guha writes in India After Gandhi – The History of World's Largest Democracy:

"Everywhere it was Sikhs and Sikhs alone who were the target...In Delhi alone more than a thousand Sikhs perished in the violence...They were murdered by a variety of methods, and often in front of their own mothers and wives. Bonfires were made of the bodies; in one case, a little child was burnt with his father, the perpetrator saying, 'Ye saap ka bachcha hai, isse bhi khatam karo' (This offspring of a snake must be finished too)."

And this was not a spontaneous outflow of grief as it would be made out to be. It was mob-violence that was directed at the Sikh community in a cold and calculated way. "The mobs were composed of Hindus who lived in and around Delhi...Often they were led and directed by Congress politicians: metropolitan councilars, members of Parliament, even Union ministers. The Congress leaders promised money and liquor to those willing to do the job; this in addition to whatever goods they could loot. The police looked on, or actively aided the looting and murder."

And while Delhi burnt on those first few days of November 1984, Rajiv Gandhi and his ministers, sat on their bums watching the whole show unfold. Senior leaders approached the government to call out the army on the streets. But nothing happened. As Singh writes "But the new Prime Minister did nothing. Not even when senior political leaders like Chandrashekar and (Mahatma) Gandhiji's grandson, Rajmohan Gandhi, went to the home minister (P V Narsimha Rao) personally to urge him to call out the army for help was anything done in those first three days of November to stop the violence."

This is something that Guha also writes in India After Gandhi. "There is a large cantonment in Delhi itself, and several infantry divisions within a radius of fifty miles of the capital. The army was put on standby, despite repeated appeals to the prime minister and his home minster PV Narsimha Rao, they were not asked to move into action. A show of military strength in the city on the 1st and 2nd would have quelled the riots yet the order never came." Doordarshan, the only television channel in the country at that point of time, added fuel to fire by constantly showing crowds baying for the blood of the Sikhs.

Rajiv Gandhi like his mother was assassinated seven years later in 1991. Since then the Congress party has moved on and is now in the hands of his widow Sonia and their son Rahul. In December 2007, Sonia Gandhi, called Narendra Modi, the Chief Minister of Gujarat 'maut ka saudagar'.

The irony behind Sonia's statement was that the Congress party had many maut ke saudagars who had gone unpunished for instigating the riots of 1984. It was a situation of the pot calling the kettle black. But that doesn't mean that nothing happened in Gujarat.

"Kriya pratikriya ki chain chal rahi hai. Hum chahte hain ki na kriya ho aur na pratikriya...Godhra main jo parson hua, jahan par chalees mahilaon aur bacchon ko zinda jala diya, issey desh main aur videsh main sadma pahunchna swabhavik tha. Godhra ke is ilake ke logon ki criminal tendencies rahi hain. In logon ne pehle mahila tachers ka khoon kiya. Aur ab yeh jaghanya apraadh kiya hai jiski pratikriya ho rahi hai."

(A chain of action and reaction is being witnessed now. Day before yesterday in Godhra, the incident in which forty women and children were burnt alive had to naturally evoke a shocking response in the country and abroad. The people in this locality of Godhra have had criminal tendencies. They first killed the women teachers and now this horrifying crime the reaction to which is being witnessed.)

Guha finds man similarities between the two pogroms, the one against the Sikhs of Delhi in 1984, and the one against the Muslims of Gujarat in 2002. Both the cases started with stray acts of violence for which a generalised revenge was taken. "The Sikhs who were butchered were in no way connected to the Sikhs who killed Mrs Gandhi. The Muslims who were killed by the Hindu mobs were completely innocent of the Godhra crime," writes Guha.

In both the cases there was a clear breakdown of law and order. More than that graceless statements justifying the riots, were made, one by a serving Prime Minister and another by a serving Chief Minister. And in both the cases, serving ministers, aided the rioters.

But its the final similarity between the two different sets of events that is the most telling, feels Guha. "Both parties, and leaders, reaped electoral rewards from the violence that they had legitimized and overseen. Rajiv Gandhi's party won the 1984 general election by a large margin, and in December 2002, Narendra Modi was re-elected as the chief minister of Gujarat after his party won a two-thirds majority in the assembly polls," Guha points out. Modi, the first RSS pracharak to become a chief minister, has won two more polls since then.

To conclude, if justice had been quickly delivered in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots and the Congress leaders who instigated the violence had been jailed, chances are the 1993 Mumbai riots and 2002 Gujarat riots would never have happened. And if they had, they would have happened on a much smaller scale. The original maut ke saudagars of 1984 set the tone for much of what followed.

The involvement of the right-wing and fundamentalist Hindu element in the critical and crucial decision-making processes of the government suggests a concerted agenda to attack the very core of the Sikh community and to eradicate its separate identity and philosophy, thus causing an absorption of it back into the dark recesses of Hinduism -exactly the way Buddhism, Jainism, and to a certain extent, Zorastrianism, had already fared under Hindu hegemony. What role had the Indian State played, and continued to play, in these nefarious matters.



Zia-Ul-Haq

If the mutual trust of centuries between two peace loving communities (Hindus and Sikhs) was on abolish, and giving end the myth ...Hindu-Sikhs are brothers and they commonly share brotherhood by marrying their daughters, sharing food and enjoying their festivals in common. Rajiv Gandhi—the Indian Prime Minister tried to kill this brotherhood. On the contrary, there was a wise person on the other side of border who tried his best to end the enmity of centuries in between Sikhs and Muslims and he used every tactic to end it.

Both got success in their efforts. The Rajiv Gandhi had sown the seeds of enmity, divided communities and stabbed the mutual trust, now Sikhs do not trust the Hindu community blindly whereas Zia Ul Haq made all efforts to grow

trust, bring close both the communities (Muslims and Sikhs). Sikhs are now aware that a Hindu never fights in front but master in stabbing at back whereas the Muslim is brave and he fights as brave heart person, face to face like a real warrior but never back stab like Hindu community did in 1984.

Rajiv gandhui can be said a failure as he did his best to end the brotherhood of Hindus and Sikhs but Zia-UI-Haq should be given credit to bring both these warrior communities, having enmity of centuries closer to each other and to be friends. I bow my head before this wise person. He shall be remembered in history but the same history shall remember Rajiv Gandhi, Indira Gandhi and Congress party as enemies of Sikh nation, enemy of humanity.

In the end, I would love to give introduction and some information of two Sikh martyrs who kissed the rope before execution like Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. Before this on hearing the verdict of execution, they distributed sweet (Barfi. These two brave youths avenged the attack on Golden temple in Operation Blue star and atrocities by Indian army by killing the former Lt. General Arun Sridhar Vaidya who was commanding in chief of Indian army and supervised the invasion. These two braves also shot dead Lalit Makan, Arjun Das and Dharamdas shastri for thei alleged role in killing of innocent Sikhs in November 1984. Both of them were hanged on 9th Oct. 1992 soon after Shankar Dayal Sharma was sworn in President of India.

It is always to keep in mind that these two braves were hanged to please the President as his daughter and son-in-law Lalit Makan were gunned down in his house at Rajauri Garden, west Delhi for his alleged role in Sikh genocide 1984.



The revenge by Bhai Harjinder Singh Jinda and Sukhdev Singh Sukha.

They wrote a letter to President giving account of atrocities by police and army and justified their reason to raise weapon as the Sikhs could never get justice in India and they were compelled to take the law in their hand too punish the guilty responsible for killings of innocents.

We, hereby salute their valor and high spirit which they stood guard and followed the true path of martyrdom for the sake of religion and to get avenge from the tyrants. The guru has directed to Sikhs when all the methods to get justice fails then its advisable to raise the weapon and punish the guilty. They walked on the right path and sacrificed their lives for our today.

The founder of Sikh religion, the first guru—Guru Nanak Dev ji said....TRUTH IS HIGHER BUT HIGHER STILL IS TRUTHFUL LIVING.

And the duo set an example of truthfulness in their life noy only by punishing the culprits but also by proving in Court the distinct identity and importance of Sikh tenets, its distinct identity in life of a Sikhs. The fearless fighters sacrificed but not pleaded mercy from Indian govt. but instead wrote a letter to president.

# Part 28



Sikh children in our past but what is the future?

What is status of Sikh Qaum (nation) in India, whether we are given equal rights, whether we are second class citizens, whether Sikhs are criminals, whether Sikhs with their religious signs are terrorists as this excerpts from the official document exposes that in fact all practicing Sikhs were considered terrorists and were targeted by the Indian government?

## The Government Targeted Amritdhari Sikhs;

The following quote is from an Indian Army circular which was distributed in June 1984. This excerpt from the official document exposes that in fact all practicing Sikhs were considered terrorists and were targeted by the government:

"Some of our innocent countrymen were administered an oath in the name of religion to support extremists and actively participated in the act of terrorism. These people wear a miniature kirpan round their neck and are called "Amritdharis". They have to be subdued to achieve the final aim of restoring peace in the country. Any knowledge of the "Amritdharis" who are dangerous people and pledged to commit murder, arson and acts of terrorism should be immediately brought to the notice of the authorities. These people may appear harmless from outside but they are basically committed to terrorism.

Before this in 1947, soon after India got independence, the Punjab was divided and more than half had been given to Pakistan. The Muslims and Sikhs riots started. Sikhs migrated from west Punjab to east Panjab in India and called refuzee in their own homeland. They lost their fertilized lands, flourished

business and big homes, they became penniless but in just one month of their migration, entire Sikh nation was labeled CRIMINAL by Nehru govt.

It issued a circular and sent to DCs of Punjab to deal with Sikhs strictly. Nehru forgot that he made assurance with Sikh nation to make a Sikh state in northern India where Sikhs may feel freedom of their religion and practice their faith but he betrayed thus. Sirdar kapoor Singh then DC Kangra opposed it, he was sacked from his job though the govt. ot Nehru himself had no powers to terminate his services. This was the first authenticated instance in which Sikhs were humiliated who sacrificed 93% in freedom movement of India and were 60% of INA under Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose whereas their totals strength in undivided India was less than 2%.

See what is recorded by Sirdar Kapoor Singh in his own book 'Sachi Sakhi';

At the time of the partition of India in 1947, the Sikhs as a community had decided to be part of India as it had been promised autonomous powers as a reward for the pivotal role it had played during the Indian independence movement. However those promises were soon backtracked upon by the Congress party when it came to power. The Sikhs were not recognized as a separate religion in the Indian constitution and instead regarded as an extension of the majority Hindu faith.

The blatant secret policy against the Sikhs continued right from the dawn of so-called independence if you read the role played by Suhrawardy, with Gandhi's blessings, who held discussions with Pakistani leaders. These dealers had the cheek to describe Sikhs, who suffered most because of the partition, as 'impossible'. S Kapur Singh speech on betrayal of Sikhs in the parliament must be on the record. It is a matter of shame that Akalis continued to have faith in Indian democracy in spite of S. Kapur Singh's strong messages.

And readers may note that there were only two Sikh Divisional Commissioners in Punjab, one Sirdar Kapur Singh ji at Kangra and the other at Gurgaon. So this circular must be noticed by other Sikh DC too but he might have ignored it but Sirdar kapur Singh ji objected to it by sending a protest letter. Kindly read the book to know more truth.

## Please also read what he wrote on page 9;

"... Punjab's governor, Shree Chandu Lal trivedi, with the persmission and wishes of the deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister, Sardar Patel and Prime Minister shree Nehru, and with the full consent of Punjab's Home Minister, S. Swaran Singh, issued instructions to all the deputy commissioners

of Punjab that they should treat all Sikhs, especially those who came from West Punjab, as cirminals. They should be dealt with all possible extreme measures such as physical torture and killing them with bullets. This should be done in such a way, on official basis without caring for Law and Justice, that Sikhs should come to their senses and know who is the ruler and who is the ruled..."

Other D.C. could not have dared to tell about this letter full of prejudice against the Sikhs. It was only Kapur whose conscience was awake and dare to protest against it and paid a heavy price for.

Now I would love to ask nationalist Sikhs to give their opinion with keeping their eyes wide open if the Sikhs can call this nation as their home? Whether these two instances in which the two govts. One lead by Nehru and second by her daughter orders to eliminate Sikhs or to dealt with all possible extreme measures such as physical torture and killing them with bullets. And that .....This should be done in such a way, on official basis without caring for Law and Justice, that Sikhs should come to their senses and know who is the ruler and who is the ruled..."

Is there any future of Sikh nation with India?

Can we trust India any more?