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Khalistan Movement: The Genesis of Soviet Russia

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ABSTRACT

The Khalistan movement was a series of disinformation campaigns led by the Soviet Union through various procedures such as media infiltration, the political bargaining, and strategic alliance, which intensify during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the United States backed the Pakistan regime to oppose the USSR as a retaliation USSR vigorously engaged with the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the campaign of mass subversion where the Sikh resistance against government interventions was portrayed as Anti-National activities to elicit the goal of union disengagement transition into the western front war to divert the resources of the west during the Afghan-Russo war. The Khalistan movement was explicitly hyped to develop general moral consensus by nurturing anti-Sikh sentiments by Committee for State Security KGB by depicting the Sikh leadership as anti-Hindus. The obstacles for the Soviet Union in India were the Sikhs because of their resistance against Soviet policies towards religion; declassified documents reveal that USSR indoctrination of Indira Gandhi turned India into a Vassal State of the Soviets, furthering to achieve the mass scale invasion of Pakistan through Punjab under the banner of India liberation for Khalistan; for that KGB manufactured documents of the Punjab Secession movement, known as the Khalistan movement and laid down the foundation of India's destruction. This paper addressed the timeline between 1944 to June 1984 through an empirical approach; this paper elaborates on the development of the Khalistan narrative and the role of the Soviet Union, taking into account the 1980s south Asian geopolitics.

Keywords: USSR, INDIA, POLITICS, KHALISTAN, SOUTH ASIA, INTELLIGENCE, PAKISTAN, KGB

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the Independence, the Government of India heavily relied on foreign powers for development, economy, and aid, ensured it created a vacuum that during the Cold, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics exercised to neutralize the United States and Capitalism; for this, she did not solely rely on spies but simultaneously began investing heavily in nonaligned nations to gain influence. In the Indian context, that vacuum mentioned earlier was filled by

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the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, resulting in heavy Soviet-influenced on our national politics grew substantially through investment and media infiltration. In any democratic nation, diversity in thoughts is equally essential as the diversity of races, but if citizens became prone to believe anything connected with the national image and its sovereignty, it would result in catastrophe, nothing else. This notion of loyalty without accurate information often allows the regime to justify its actions, keep the majority under a sense of ignorance, and make them believe that "Everything is Fine." This inveterate behavior endangered the Nation's survival, simultaneously endangered the lives of those who reside within the territories.

The majority of Indians are subverted by Indian historians, media houses, academic textbooks, which establish a narrative as those individuals and agencies wished². The propaganda of political parties contains a farrago of emotions and selective facts, which is why those narratives became harder to counter by rational forces. After the Indian Independence in 1947, the two agencies, Central Intelligence Agency and Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (KGB), focused on India because of India's enormous wealth and resources. In the early years, India tried to maintain itself neutral and signed a nonaligned movement in 1961, keeping itself separated from USSR and the USA. Our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was fond of socialism and paid a diplomatic visit to the USSR after becoming Prime Minister. According to Mitrokhin Archive³, when Nehru went to The USSR in 1955, each incident was 'carefully staged' because, for the Soviets, India was a playground' for the CIA and KGB agents. By looking at this opportunity USSR heavily invested in India to secure significant influence upon Indian Policymaking.

According to CIA reports, The Soviet Union had spent a tremendous amount of money in economic and diplomatic resources development since the 1950s to cultivate and maintain a "special relationship⁴" with India for Special treatment. For the Soviets, India's appeal lies in its geographic proximity, a position as the dominant power in South Asia, its potential as an Asian counterweight to China, especially after The Sino-Soviet border conflict, which was a seven-month military conflict between the Soviet Union and China in 1969. The Indo-Soviet relationship, one of the USSR's most potent with a non-Communist country, was cemented at

² Snehes Alex Philip. "India's Textbooks Were Written with Nehru in Mind. It Rejected the Past." ThePrint, August 9, 2021. <https://theprint.in/pageturner/excerpt/indias-textbooks-were-written-with-nehru-in-mind-it-rejected-the-past/711578/>.

³ Andrew, Christopher Maurice, and Mitrochin Vasilij Nikitič. *The Mitrokhin Archive*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2000.

⁴ Staff, CIA. "THE SOVIETS IN INDIA: MOSCOW'S MAJOR PENETRATION PROGRAM." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp86t00586r000400490007-7>.

the government level by Soviet support for India during the Pakistan war, the Bangladesh Liberation War. Soviet provided sophisticated military equipment around seven billion dollars⁵ in 1980 at concessional rates even during wartime. Moscow's position as one of India's major trading partners was based on special arrangements that allowed India to purchase Soviet goods without hard currency and its responsiveness to Indian aid request.

Soviet public support for India in such international bodies as the United Nations and the Nonaligned Movement and India's "independent foreign policy" allowed to established itself as a trustworthy partner while spreading its hands over the whole Indian Political system; this gradual transformation of India towards socialism worried the Western Nations who were at War with Vietnam Communist Threat during the 1960s. The Indo-Western relationship deteriorated when The United States aided Pakistan in 1965, supported in 1971 wars, and sent large amounts of weapons to Pakistan. This move made India choose a long-term partner, which they found as USSR. When Indira lost the 1977 election, it shocked KGB and the prime minister of that time, Morarji Desai's miscalculation allowed Pakistan's nuclear weapons program⁶, which worried Moscow. Nonetheless, Moscow never solely⁷ relied on governmental ties to ensure a close relationship with New Delhi. The Soviet Union capitalized on these ties to undertake various overt and covert activities to increase its political leverage within India. These activities were extensive and included exploiting a broad network of contacts among Indian politicians, government officials, and the military, substantial funding of Indian political parties.

II. THE LAND OF FIVE RIVERS

During the Partition, the land of five rivers Punjab was divided in half, and a large portion of agricultural land went to Pakistan. This division resulted in the massacre, which took millions of lives. When India was recovering from the horrors of Partition, our first Prime Minister took several measures which suppressed other minorities to have a stronger union, but the cost was tremendous; in response to those activities, the Sikh rights movement emerged known as "Punjabi Suba⁸," whose founding idea was based upon the "creation of Punjabi

⁵ Staff, CIA. "THE SOVIETS IN INDIA: MOSCOW'S MAJOR PENETRATION PROGRAM." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp86t00586r000400490007-7>.

⁶ Mahurkar, Uday. "How Morarji Desai HELPED Pakistan Become a Nuclear State." DailyO. Living Media India Limited, June 24, 2015. <https://www.dailyo.in/politics/morarji-desai-kargil-war-pervez-musharraf-pakistan-raw-kahuta-nuclear-warfare/story/1/3802.html>.

⁷ Staff, CIA. "THE SOVIETS IN INDIA: MOSCOW'S MAJOR PENETRATION PROGRAM." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp86t00586r000400490007-7>.

⁸ Service, Tribune News. "Punjabi Suba: What's There to Celebrate?" Tribuneindia News Service, 2015.

speaking state" by uniting all territories within India where the Punjabi-speaking population resides by redrawing the state boundaries. The Congress stated at the 1920 annual open session⁹, "the linguistic principle of the provincial organization was among the fundamental ideas that inspired the Indian freedom struggle. The linguistic organization of provinces formed a major aspect of this new constitution." The promise again became the part of the Motilal Nehru Report¹⁰ in 1928; The re-distribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis, on the demand of the majority of the area concerned subjected to financial and administrative considerations. When Nehru Government broke this promise, Akali started an agitation for creating the Punjabi Suba, reminding the Congress of its promises immediately after Independence. This movement became popular among Punjabis, especially among Sikhs. To crush this Agitation, former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru initiated an attack that launched on The Golden temple in 1955¹¹. He recalled the police action on July 4, 1955, to suppress the Punjabi Suba movement. Police entered the premises with shoes, and the fire was opened at Akal Takht and Golden Temple; several Sikhs were Killed & 12,000 were arrested during the Attack. After long years of protest finally reached an agreement, and On September 7, 1966, Punjab Reorganization Act was passed in Parliament, which divided Punjab again and created a new state called Haryana. In the act, certain areas were transferred to Himachal Pradesh. At the same time, Chandigarh was made a centrally administered Union territory even though the population of Chandigarh speaks Punjabi, and other areas connected from Rajasthan where the Punjabi-speaking population resides were ignored. The Punjabi movement gains considerable political support for the Akali Dal. After a quick split, the party came together under Prakash Singh Badal, giving the Congress a great fight within the 1967 and 1969 assembly elections. However, the 1972 election hit the Alkalis rising political graph, and Congress came into power under the leadership of Zail Singh due to the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation war victory. In 1973 Akali passed the Anandpur Resolution, the resolution document included religious and political issues. It asked for recognizing Sikhism as a religion separate from Hinduism and transfer certain areas to Punjab safeguarding of the Sikh identity by securing a state structure that was decentralised, with non-interference from

<https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/comment/punjabi-suba-whats-there-to-celebrate-292265>.

⁹ India, Cps. "Linguistic Provinces Are the Foundation of Indian Federalism and Unity." Linguistic provinces are the foundation of Indian federalism and Unity, 2014. <https://www.cpsindia.org/index.php/current-artiustic-provinces/709-telangana-linguistic-provinces>.

¹⁰ Staff, Constitutionofindia. "Constitution of India." CAD, 2020. https://www.constitutionofindia.net/historical_constitutions/nehru_report__motilal_nehru_1928__1st%20January%201928.

¹¹ Staff, The Indian Express. "Nehru Sent Police into GOLDEN Temple: Ex-Akal Takht Jathedar." The Indian Express, July 5, 2020. <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/chandigarh/nehru-sent-police-into-golden-temple-ex-akal-takht-jathedar-6491608/>.

the central government par to Nagaland, Mizoram. This need was occurred due to three reasons.

(A) Linguistic Battle

In 1953 Nehru established the States Reorganization Commission to prepare for creating states on linguistic lines, Maharashtra based on Marathi, Gujarat considered the land of Gujarati speaking population, but no state for Punjabi was to be reorganized based on its language. Despite India recovering from partition horror, the government was eager to create a rift between them and capitulate it. Many Punjabi-speaking districts like Ganganagar, Ambala, Karnal were taken away from Punjab, and Chandigarh was declared Union territory, constructed on land taken from Punjabi farmers.

In 1969, Haryana adopted Tamil as a second language and imposed¹² upon the Punjabi-speaking people in schools, colleges, and government institutions even though there was not even one Tamil-speaking native. The chief minister of Haryana Bansi Lal appointed 150 Tamil teachers in school. During that time, there were a lot of heated speeches, discussions, statements, and articles about water disputes, land disputes, and capital disputes (Chandigarh) was going on, and this anti-Punjab stance of the center deteriorated the relationship of Sikhs with the central government by hurting the sentiment of Punjabi who holds deep love and affection for their culture and language.

(B) Sutlej Yamuna Link (SYL)

The canal water sharing agreement 1966 with neighboring states was signed in which the two states Punjab and Haryana, respectively, will share the surplus Ravi and Beas waters which aroused difference. Under this Punjab Reorganization Act, Haryana claimed 4.8 million acre-feet of water of the total 7.2 MAF; however, the Punjab government rejected it. Then Haryana approached the Central Government who issued a notification in 1976 in which 1.5 MAF was reduced in the share of Haryana, and now Haryana was allocated 3.5 MAF of waters. Within weeks the Shiromani Akali Dal launched an agitation against the canal under Harchand Singh Longowal. They followed it up with protests which, In August 1982, was converted into a "Dharam Yudh¹⁶" protest against the Anti-Sikh Stand of The Government. Punjab has the right over river waters based on Riparian water rights and; this distribution of water violates riparian principle and given claim upon water on which these states have no valid claim at all. In 1976 Indira awarded the distribution of Punjab River waters. Rajasthan

¹² Bhatia, Varinder. "Haryana's South CONNECT: When It Made Telugu Second Language in School." *The Indian Express*, February 6, 2019. <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/haryanas-south-connect-when-it-made-telugu-second-language-in-school-5570917/>.

allocated 8.6 MAF, Delhi 0.2 MAF, Haryana 3.5 MAF, and Punjab 3.5 MAF out of 15.8 MAF, and the remaining MAF was declared as surplus, despite the fact, there was no surplus water. The central government invoked the Punjab Reorganization Act provisions under which the central government "assumed the powers of control, maintenance, distribution and development of the waters." One thing that must be remembered here is that river water distribution falls under the Indian constitution under the state list. The majority of Sikhs taken this division as unfair and as an anti-Sikh measure whose foundation was laid by Nehru policies of turning back on promises, and Indira further took this betrayal to the next level and denied the fundamental rights of Sikh people as the communist seeks "Destruction of Religion is the basic foundation of Communism" which countered by the vast majority of the people of Punjab whom livelihood solely dependent on the agriculture.¹³ This move of ignoring Punjab demand soon converting into mass agitation.

(C) Sikh Autonomy Over Religious Affairs and Cultural Affairs

Sikhs in India got reservations based on caste and were not recognized as separate religions, which created a conflict between Sikhs and the Government because Caste reservation for Sikhs was actually against the foundation of Sikhism. It not only hurting Sikh's sentiment but taking away the opportunities of Hindu S.T. and S.C. This discriminatory¹⁴ factor still exists in the Constitution Article 25(b)¹⁵ of the Indian Constitution labels Sikhs as Hindus and forces the Sikh community to follow HINDU Marriage Act, Succession Act, Minority, and Guardianship Act; Adoption and Maintenance. The Akal Takht played an essential role in organizing Sikhs to campaign for the Punjabi Suba. Some media houses try to portray it as Khalistan agitation. Still, when Pakistani forces crossed the international border at Chhamb Jaurian in Jammu and Kashmir in 1965, the Akali leaders immediately declared their unconditional support to the government. In the War, Sikh officer Lt General Harbakhsh Singh had the sole credit of halting the Pakistani tanks.¹⁶ During the 1965 war, there was panic at Army Headquarters that Pakistan might break through Indian defenses; Harbakhsh

¹³ Vasdev, Kanchan. "Explained: Canal to Nowhere - Why the SYL Is a Stalemate with No Winners." *The Indian Express*, September 24, 2019. <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/canal-to-nowhere-why-the-syl-is-a-stalemate-with-no-winners-5826104/>.

¹⁴ Service, Tribune News. "Sikh Outfit Seeks Change in Article 25." *Tribuneindia News Service*. Accessed December 13, 2020. <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/haryana/sikh-outfit-seeks-change-in-article-25-527196>.

¹⁵ Ani. "Sikh Community Urges PM to Address Longstanding Demand to Recognise SIKHISM as a Separate Religion." *Business Standard*. *Business-Standard*, September 22, 2019. https://www.business-standard.com/article/news-ani/sikh-community-urges-pm-to-address-longstanding-demand-to-recognise-sikhism-as-a-separate-religion-119092200361_1.html.

¹⁶ Chhina, Man Aman Singh. "Amarinder: India Almost LOST Amritsar in '65 War." *The Indian Express*, January 29, 2015. <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/amarinder-india-almost-lost-amritsar-in-65-war/>.

Singh's memorial moment came when the Army Chief, General Choudhury, ordered him "to abandon Amritsar²⁰ and set up a defense line behind the river Beas." General Harbakhsh Singh refused to follow the order and fought bravely and safeguard Amritsar. Despite this contribution, Sikhs were alienated by Nehru Government and denied Separate Identity recognition.

III. TURNING POINT 1977-1979

In 1977 Indira Gandhi lost the election before the horrors of The Emergency, which lasted for one and half years. After the election new government was formed under Morarji Desai, which lasted for three years; during that time in Punjab, no noise of any separate land could be heard, according to Ex R&AW officer G.B.S. Sidhu "Government deliberately created all the conflict for disuniting Punjab and Punjabi-speaking population." In his book, GBS. Sidhu¹⁷ wrote, "In the 1980s, Indira said the 1985 election would be fought on Bhindranwale and Khalistan issue by creating a mass hysteria of fear among the Hindu voters. When the election comes closer, we will crush them to establish a narrative that "INDIRA SAVED INDIA."

(A) Communist And Khalistan

The word Khalistan was introduced in the mid-1940s by Harkishan Singh Surjeet¹⁸, who was a member of the Communist Party of India wanted to create a separate Sikh homeland¹⁹ on the model of Pakistan, which is proposed by the Muslim League and when the Muslim League raised the demand for the formation of Pakistan the Communist Party decided to support it. Harkishan Singh Surjeet presented the concept of a separate Sikh homeland first in the 1940s. Sajjad Zaheer, a Marxist ideologue, and radical revolutionary sent Surjeet a 34-page letter while he was in the Gujarat jail in the early 1940s. The document contained strong arguments favoring the two-nation theory, which was accepted by the party line and later became the basis of Partition. Surjeet wrote back to the party that "if Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations, so are Sikhs." USSR never wanted India to be a patriotic nation because, according to Vladimir Lenin, "A communist, cannot be a Nationalist."²⁰

That is one reason why the patriot minorities who aligned themselves with Nationalism and

¹⁷ S., Sidhu G B. *The Khalistan Conspiracy: A FORMER R&Aw Officer Unravels the Path to 1984*. Noida, Uttar Pradesh, India: HarperCollins Publishers India, 2020.

¹⁸ Staff, Tribune. "Surjeet 'Author' of Sikh Homeland: Book." The Tribune, Chandigarh, India - nation, 2002. <https://www.tribuneindia.com/2000/20001025/nation.htm#9>.

¹⁹ Staff, The Guardian. "Obituary: Harkishan SINGH SURJEET." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, August 5, 2008. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/aug/06/india>.

²⁰ Lenin, Vladimir. "Apropos of the Victories over Denikin." Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories Over Denikin, 1919. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1919/dec/28.htm>.

Religion were on the list of the Soviet to paint them as anti-national by denying their fundamental rights and Agitations by portraying as Separatist activities allowing the government to suppress them legally. For this, the Soviets secretly supported Anti Sikh organizations like Nirankari through Indira Gandhi. One of the famous defaulters of The Soviet named Yuri Bezmenov, who worked in KGB, said, "The primary step for establishing Soviet state, spies and paid Members were assigned to attack the Religion and subvert the citizens of the state by portraying Religion as a cult."²¹

Some leaders influenced by Surjeet's idea acted upon it, like Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan in October 1971 through an advertisement in The New York Times declared himself the founder of Khalistan. According to his interview²², he stated, "In the early years, ISI and Bhutto backed the Khalistan movement because of the 1971 Indo-Pak War to create a conflict in Punjab and take revenge. Still, Khalistan's idea failed miserably and never succeed in winning any support from the Sikh community. Furthermore, after the Zia coup, the Khalistan project hanged with Butto." An ex-R&AW officer G.B.S. Sidhu wrote²³, "In Mid 1980s R&AW established Khalistan and Sikh Militant wing under B. Raman within R&AW to monitor the activities of Sikhs and opened seven new Branches in Central Europe, Canada and the United States" Sidhu also said, "after the establishment of Seven different offices he was ordered to make a proposal which can instigate a mass hysteria among Indians that Khalistan movement is pacing and soon something bigger going to take place for this he was ordered to report every meticulous activity." Propaganda and disinformation campaigns of the Soviet Union play skillfully on Indian fears and aspirations. These articles mix factual information-often drawn from the Western media with innuendo and provocative interpretation; even the newspaper reader had difficulties identifying The Soviet hand. Soviet propaganda was designed to produce news to support the Indian government and reflect Indian sensitivities. Many Soviet-placed articles laud Indo-Soviet ties and portray Soviet respect for Indian heroes Nehru and Gandhi.

(B) Nirankari Crusade Against Sikhs

The Nirankari began as a reformist group within Sikhism, under Dyal Das, emerged after the end of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign (1799-1839) in Punjab. The Nirankari believe in the

²¹ Bryce, Tim. "The Four Steps for American Subversion." Dunedin, FL Patch. Patch, April 25, 2012. <https://patch.com/florida/dunedin/bp--the-four-steps-for-american-subversion-5985fc5a>.

²² Subramanian, Shekhar Gupta Nirupama. "You Can't GET KHALISTAN through Military Movement: Jagat Singh Chouhan." India Today, July 20, 2013. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/interview/story/19931215-you-cant-get-khalistan-through-military-movement-says-jagat-singh-chouhan-811922-1993-12-15>.

²³ S., Sidhu G B. *The Khalistan Conspiracy: A FORMER R&Aw Officer Unravels the Path to 1984*. Noida, Uttar Pradesh, India: HarperCollins Publishers India, 2020.

formless God Nirankari who can be reached through a "God-realised soul" In the 1930s, the 'Nirankari' emerged as an offshoot of the Sant Nirankari. Following Partition, the Nirankari set up the first Nirankari Mission Mandal. In 1951, Avtar Singh proclaimed himself a living guru in the Guru Granth Sahib (the Sikh holy book, considered a residing Guru). Sikhism does not allow any residing Guru to replace the Guru Granth Sahib.²⁴

Sikhs attacked Avtar Singh's followers during a Sat Sang of his, after which it was decided that the Guru Granth Sahib will not be kept at any Nirankari congregation. Gurbachan Singh succeeded Avtar Singh in 1963 and started spreading the mission vigorously. During this time, the tension between Pakistan and India raised, which resulted in a war that ended in Pakistan's defeat. The USSR's diplomatic powers gained tremendous access within Indian politics because of supporting India. According to KGB, 40% of Members who were serving in India got direct funds from Moscow²⁵. Indira, Gandhi brought back the Nirankari reformers. In this divide and rule policy, Mrs. Gandhi personally gave clearance for a diplomatic passport issued to the Nirankari Chief. During Mrs. Indira regime, the Nirankari were received financial help from secret Government funds, not open to audit or scrutiny by Parliament.²⁶ Nirankari leader Gurbachan openly declared that he would put his foot on the Guru Granth Sahib, claimed that the 11th Guru was just a bundle of papers and that he was the real Guru. These "Nirankaris" were ignored, but Indira support to this anti-Sikh organization²⁷ has not only threatened Sikhs but National security as well because continuous support to Nirankari sending a message that Indira was against Sikh religion, keeping in mind that 8-15% of the Indian army of that time made by Sikhs alone.

(C) Rise of Bhindranwale

Jarnail Singh Khalsa, Bhindranwale, was a spiritual preacher and, therefore, a highly respected missionary center — the 'Dam Dama Taksal.' Guru Gobind Singh founded this Taksal in 1708. Sant Gurbachan Singh Bhindranwale, in the mid-1950, 's revived the Dam Dama Taksal to the forefront of Sikhism. Jarnail Singh grew up at this Taksal and obtained his religious training from Gurbachan Singh. In 1977 after the death of Kartar Singh

²⁴ Sethi, Chitleen K. "Rivalry between Sikhs & NIRANKARIS Is Almost a Century Old." ThePrint, November 20, 2018. <https://theprint.in/politics/rivalry-between-sikhs-nirankaris-is-almost-a-century-old/151853/>.

²⁵ Staff, The Economic Times. "Soviets Paid Congress, CPI, Cpi-m Members Even in Rajiv Gandhi Era: Cia." The Economic Times, 2018. <https://m.economictimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/soviets-paid-congress-cpi-cpi-m-members-even-in-rajiv-gandhi-era-cia/articleshow/56874849.cms>.

²⁶ Dhillon, G. S. *Truth about Punjab: Sgpc White Paper*. Amritsar, Punjab: Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, 1996.

²⁷ Brar, Kamaldeep Singh. "Explained: Sacrilege of Guru Granth Sahib Was a Crime from the Very Beginning of Sikhism." The Indian Express, June 1, 2019. <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/sacrilege-of-guru-granth-sahib-was-a-crime-from-the-very-beginning-of-sikhism-5759666/>.

Bhindranwale, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was selected to steer this Taksal. On April 13, 1978, on the Baisakhi Gurbachan Singh was scheduled to address a gathering in Amritsar, Taksal decided to hold a peaceful protest against the procession of Nirankaris. Protesting against them, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who had taken over the Damdami Taksal in 1977, sent a jatha to the venue. Fauja Singh led them. Nirankaris were armed attacked the Sikh jatha from whom 12 Sikhs²⁸ were killed. Akali Dal supported Nirankari, which created a situation where Indira saw this as an opportunity to regain power in Punjab, which she won Congress came in force in the 1980s. After this incident, in 1978, Akal Takht issued a Hukam Nama expelling Nirankaris out of the Sikh community. Congress supported candidates backed by Bhindranwale in the 1978 SGPC election²⁹, which lasted till USSR invaded Afghanistan. Indira imposed another President's rule in 1980 for disbanded all Punjab political powers. The Congress CM Zail Singh has financed the separatist organization Dal Khalsa's meetings to capitalize on the surge in Sikh religious revivalism in Punjab.³⁰

IV. KGB AT WORK

KGB's leaked documents reveal some severe accusations against Indira Gandhi from which one line which was not only most controversial but caught all attention was "India for Sale."³¹ Neither Nehru nor the I.B. realized how deeply the KGB was penetrating the Indian embassy in Moscow. The KGB's first contact with Indira during her first visit to the Soviet Union in 1953. She kept under continuous surveillance; Indira was overwhelmed by her attentions. She wrote in letters to her father Nehru, "Everybody? The Russians? Have been so sweet to me. Two years later, Indira accompanied her father on his first official visit to the Soviet Union. Soviet attempts to cultivate Indira Gandhi during the 1950s were motivated far more by influencing her father, Nehru. Andropov, who was the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, personally turned down an offer from an Indian minister to provide information in return for \$50,000 because the KGB was already well supplied with material from the Indian Foreign and Defense Ministries: "It seemed like the entire country was for sale; the KGB? And the CIA?" The KGB was more successful than the CIA, partly because of its skill in exploiting the corruption which became

²⁸ Sethi, Chitleen K, and Lt Gen H S Panag (ret'd) -. "Rivalry between Sikhs & NIRANKARIS Is Almost a Century Old." ThePrint, November 20, 2018. <https://theprint.in/politics/rivalry-between-sikhs-nirankaris-is-almost-a-century-old/151853/>.

²⁹ Bal, Hartosh Singh. "How the CONGRESS Propped Up Bhindranwale." The Caravan, June 8, 2019. <https://caravanmagazine.in/conflict/how-the-congress-propped-up-bhindranwale>.

³⁰ Tully, Mark, and Satish Jacob. *Amritsar: Mrs GANDHI'S Last Battle*. London, UK: Pan Books, 1986.

³¹ Bureau, TT. "The KGB Papers - 'It Seemed like the Entire Country Was for Sale.'" Telegraph India. Telegraph India, August 6, 2018. <https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/the-KGB-papers-it-seemed-like-the-entire-country-was-for-sale/cid/1023636>.

endemic under Indira Gandhi's regime. People expected Indira to bring socialism, to be more honest and cleaner than the old Congress. Nevertheless, this turned out to be a vain hope. KGB accounts stated that Suitcases full of banknotes were routinely taken to the Prime Minister's house; often, Mrs. Gandhi did not even return the suitcases.³⁸ On many occasions, she accepted Soviet money once around 2 million rupees Indira received in the secret gift.³² According to CIA reports and leaked KGB files, we found that The Soviets enjoy unfettered access to the pages of Indian newspapers through the Soviet Information Department's efforts. Moscow overtly and 25 covertly placed quite 160,000³³ items (original articles plus replays) within the Indian press, widely considered the freest within the Third World, Access to Press Trust of India, the essential English news service, has become so automatic that some Soviet officials have come to call it "Press TASS of India."

The Soviet infiltrated press focuses on disinformation campaigns, mainly targeted against the United States to make nonaligned nations like India more dependent upon USSR and later smuggle the Socialist Doctrine and convert Nonaligned states into Soviet Puppet State, which already occurred if we look at Indira 1969 Bank Nationalization Act, Twenty-fifth Amendment Act 1971, curtailed the property right and permitted the acquisition of private property by the government for public use. The most infamous 42nd Amendment changed India's description from a "sovereign democratic republic" to a "sovereign, SOCIALIST, secular democratic republic. These KGB operations focused on convincing the Indians that the real enemy is the United States and build strong support for Indira through placements in Indian newspapers; the Soviet Information Department in New Delhi covertly finances publishing books in India and distributes some 25 million magazines, books, and pamphlets a year.³⁴

(A) House of Disinformation : Media

One of the main aims of the KGB active measures in the early 1980s was to manufacture evidence that the CIA and Pakistani intelligence were behind the growth of Sikh separatism in Punjab. In 1981 the soviets launched operation Kontakt, based on a forged document purporting to contain details of the ISI's weapons and money to Sikh militants who wanted to

³² Andrew, Christopher Maurice, and Mitrochin Vasilij Nikitič. *The Mitrokhin Archive*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2000.

³³ Staff, CIA. "THE SOVIETS IN INDIA: MOSCOW'S MAJOR PENETRATION PROGRAM." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp86t00586r000400490007-7>.

³⁴ Staff, CIA. "THE SOVIETS IN INDIA: MOSCOW'S MAJOR PENETRATION PROGRAM." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp86t00586r000400490007-7>.

create an independent country. According to KGB, the level of anxiety in the Indian embassy regarding Pakistani support for Sikh separatists indicated that Kontakt was successfully achieving its goals. The Soviets recruited the new Delhi residency agent S, who provided Indira Gandhi with false documents purporting to show Pakistani involvement in the "Khalistan conspiracy."³⁵

KGB agents emphasized painting Sikhs as the enemy to India and converting the Punjab population to communist ideology. They provided false intelligence information to the Indian government to influence them in carrying out anti-Sikh policies. They even wanted a war between India and Pakistan in 1981 to divert Pakistani forces and militants from Afghanistan; the Soviets were doing everything possible in Afghanistan to distract the attention and resources from the American CIA and Pakistani ISI operations in Afghanistan. They alleged that they told the Indian government that Pakistani ISI had trained 1,000 plus SSG commandos who had infiltrated Indian Punjab and were ready to help destabilize Punjab and create Khalistan. In Nov 1982, USSR leader Yuri Andropov ordered KGB to fabricate Pakistani intelligence documents detailing ISI plans to foment religious disturbances in Punjab and promote the creation of Khalistan as an independent Sikh state. The Soviets persuaded Rajiv Gandhi during a visit to Moscow in 1983 that the CIA was engaged in subversion in Punjab. When Rajiv Gandhi returned to India, he declared that the conspiracy was real simultaneously, Indira decided to move troops into Punjab. British intelligence agency MI5 was also stationed in India since the 1950s but not even close to the deep penetration of Russian Soviet KGB that had penetrated the Indian state. The Mitrokhin archives have revealed how deeply KGB had influenced the formation of the RAW to manufacture disinformation, whose aim was to convert India as a vassal state of the Soviet Union. The CIA declassified a document that revealed the depth of KGB infiltration in India's media circles. The CIA document³⁶ reveals that the CPSU's central committee planned these networks and propaganda campaigns. Novosti (a USSR press agency) was carried out by the KGB and Soviet embassy press departments. The declassified document stated that almost 3,000 articles were planted in leading English newspapers such as *Hindustan Times* and *Times of India*; the details of the items as mentioned in the document are-

Hindustan Times: May 12, 1984- "There is the existence of Khalistan terrorist training

³⁵ Andrew, Christopher Maurice, and Mitrochin Vasilij Nikitič. *The Mitrokhin Archive*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2000.

³⁶ Staff, CIA. "THE SOVIETS IN INDIA: MOSCOW'S MAJOR PENETRATION PROGRAM." Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp86t00586r000400490007-7>.

campus in Canada, with support from Western governments of the USA, U.K., and Canada."

Times of India: September 14, 1984- "Pakistan is CIA base for recruiting guerrillas."

The Hindu, Madras edition: November 1984- "CIA has set up centers in Pakistan for subverting the Afghanistan and Indian governments."

Subramanyam Swami revealed that a Soviet Ambassador to India had asked Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for the operation. He further said, "President Giani Zail Singh had also asked me to convey Indira, but she was so obsessed with the USSR that she could not say no." Swami, who visited the Golden Temple in April 1984 and was a three-day resident at the Golden Temple, I was not in a position to ascertain if criminals were hiding in the Temple complex. I cannot recognize any of them³⁷.

V. THE GREAT PARTITION OF THE 1980S

The primary source of information that the majority in India get is through government agencies. They look independent but backed by some agencies and big corporates. Still, in 2021, we find the significant polarization in Indian Media, even at the slightest issue. When government agencies were the only information source, it was not hard to manipulate information to justify the government's illegal actions. Media role and Soviet infiltration resulted in constant provocation and violence between Sikhs-Hindu clashes & when the Sikh genocide happened. Bhindranwale's brother was serving in the army during this period of time; Captain Harcharan Singh rode; if the media highlighted this fact, no emotional argument could override the fact.

(A) Babbar Khalsa Vs Bhindranwale

On December 15, 1983, the Babbar Khalsa members forced Bhindranwale out of Guru Nanak Niwas with the Akali. According to Tavleen Singh: - "Early on the morning of December 15, six armed youths belonging to the Babbar Khalsa group entered the Guni Nanak Niwas, which was recognized as Bhindranwale territory. When Babbar Khalsa arrived, he and his followers packed their belongings and moved into the Akal Takht by that afternoon. Bhindranwale said later; one did not want to defile the sanctity of the Harmandar Sahib by allowing a fight to take place; that is why I moved"³⁸ As recorded from one of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale speeches, Babbar Khalsa even tried to fight, which made Bhindranwale shift

³⁷ Desk, India.com News. "Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale Was Not a 'TERRORIST', Declassify Operation Blue STAR Files: Subramanian Swamy." India News, Breaking News | India.com, April 23, 2016. <https://www.india.com/news/india/jarnail-singh-bhindranwale-was-not-a-terrorist-declassify-operation-blue-star-files-subramanian-swamy-1132205/>.

³⁸ Tully, Mark, and Satish Jacob. *Amritsar: Mrs GANDHI'S Last Battle*. London, UK: Pan Books, 1986.

from Nanak Nivas to Akal Takht. Communists knew as "Naxalites" and armed Sikh groups – the "Babbar Khalsa" and "Dal Khalsa," both opposed Bhindranwale, sometimes worked for hand in hand and clashed with the Police.³⁹

(B) Speeches Regarding Hindus

His most controversial speech, in which he talks of 5000 Hindus, was the best recipe for dividing Hindus for political gain and, of course, for "THE GREATER PLAN." He refers to cops of Haryana & Punjab under the Indira government's free hand who were provoking violence by burning properties & even Granth of Taksal. He said in his speech on September 20, 1983, as follows: "After so much loss, I had uttered the statement that If the bus is not released by 5 o'clock, I will kill 5000 Hindus."⁴⁰ Why did I use the word 'Hindu' after so much chaos and destruction, now? I am not an enemy of the Hindus. If I were an enemy, I would not have saved a Hindu girl kidnapped and held captive in Jalalabad by a rapist Hukam Chand. I had assigned this duty to Mohinder Singh Saiyaan. Miscreants burned a Hindu shopkeeper's shop. The union forced him to say that state that Bhindranwale is behind this act. He did not give a false statement. He asked me for Rs. 100; I gave him Rs. 500. In Kapurthala, someone had burnt the holy scripture of Hindus, the Ramayana. I gave Rs. 5000 to those Hindus to assist them in fighting a court case against the culprits. 2 Hindus were killed in a roadblock, and Shiromani Akali Dal and I gave them Rs. 10,000. If I was an enemy of the Hindus, what was the need to do all this to help them? Has any Hindu in the whole of India even given five paise (1/20th of a rupee) to a Sikh? What is our relation? Why did I use the word Hindu? I did not use it in anger, and I will present it with a logical argument. 200 Sikhs have been killed, but the inquiry report and the court's judgment are not being made public and released because it goes against the Police. Still, if a Lala Jagat Narain is killed or Ashok Kumar is killed, there is a warrant against me within days, and the central government comes running. If Queen Indira has the pain for the death of a single person out of the 60 crore Hindus and has no pain and remorse for the 200 people killed out of the two crore Sikhs, then should I touch the place where it hurts the most or there where it does not make a difference? That is the reason I used the word Hindu. Now the holy congregation can decide whether I should have used it or not."⁴¹ Many brothers ask me that the Police captured the bus, but you instead target the Hindus? We do not have any enmity with the Hindus.

³⁹ Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, New Delhi, World Book Center, 1988, pp. 755–756; Zuhair Kashmiri and Brian McAndrew, *Soft Target: How the Indian Intelligence Service Penetrated Canada*, Toronto, James Lorimer and Company, 1989, pp. 93, 130; Singh (1999)

⁴⁰ "Why 5000 Hindus? (Get Ur Answer)." YouTube, August 4, 2015. https://youtu.be/_mMixSlnTMk.

⁴¹ Jarnail Singh Ji Bhindranwale Interview." YouTube, November 10, 2012. <https://youtu.be/1nxJ-IDoV88>

However, who is the person behind the capture of the bus? It is Maha shay Press. Who is the SSP behind all this? Ask them. One Hindu dies the central government comes running to Punjab. The home minister, prime minister, and Home Secretary Chaturvedi. Whereas the turbans of Sikhs in Karnal, Haryana is dishonored and their Kes (hair) cut and then forcefully paraded, but no one bats an eye. Sikhs in all four directions have been killed, and the center keeps denying their crime. Then until and unless they feel the heat, how will they stop. We send the bus to get the holy congregation, and you capture them and file murder charges against them. When we know that by giving the sacred nectar (Amrit) to the Sangat, to clean their shoes in humility, to sing the holy hymns of the Guru, and by preaching against moral vices and sins, we will be jailed regardless, then why shouldn't we become a part of it by running over 15–20." Has anybody read that the deities and essential personalities in Hindu history have cut their hair? All are Kesha Dhari (with unshorn hair). The prime symbol of a Sikh is his hair and beard. The signs of a Hindu are a cap, a ponytail, a dhoti (garment), 12 tilaks (forehead mark), a Janeu (sacred thread) of 9 lines, a worshipper of the Shiv-Ling, recites the Bhagvat Geeta (holy book), and does not smoke. I consider such a Hindu as my brother."⁴² In one of his speeches, he said He addressed what he perceived to be constant distortions by the press in a speech in a college in Karnal, Haryana, in early 1982: "You have learned from the newspapers, the news, and propaganda by ignorant people, that Bhindranwale is an extremist; that he is a dangerous man, a communalist; that he kills Hindus; many Hindus are sitting here. You should carefully note how many I injure and how many I kill before leaving. You will be with me. Keep listening attentively. Having listened, do think over who are the communalists: whether they are the turban-wearers or your newspaper owners."⁴³

Ramachandran Guha wrote that Bhindranwale preached to his followers 'If the Hindus come in search of you,' 'smash their heads with television antennas.' He distorted the quote, "When the Hindus come with their Steen guns, what are you going to do, fight them with your television aerials?" While Khushwant Singh, who was close to Indira and congress loyalist⁴⁴ Wrote that he "exhorted every Sikh to kill thirty-two Hindus," this had been no exhortation but part of a response in February 1983 to threats like that of right-wing Hindu nationalist Bal Thackrey, who had said that India had 70 crore Hindus and two crore Sikhs and there were 35

⁴² Jarnail Singh Ji Bhindranwale Interview." YouTube, November 10, 2012. <https://youtu.be/1nxJ-IDoV88>.

⁴³ Singha Jaranaila, and Ranbir Singh. Sandhu. Struggle for Justice: Speeches and Conversations of Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale. Dublin, OH: Sikh Educational & Religious Foundation, 1999.

⁴⁴ Mahmood, Cynthia Keppley. *Fighting for Faith AND NATION: Dialogues with Sikh Militants*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Hindus to every Sikh;⁴⁵ The quote had invoked the words of Guru Gobind Singh, who once wrote that a baptized Sikh should be able to fight 125,000 oppressors. The distorted selection, widely circulated in the press, had not at all been an exhortation but a response to such statements meant to instill confidence in his congregation despite being in such a small minority. Bhindranwale stated: We are no extremists or communalists. Give us one instance when we insulted or hit anyone. Nevertheless, the government terms us, extremists. We are extremists if we protest when our Gurus are painted as lovers of wine and women by the Lala's newspapers. I preach that all Sikhs must observe their tenets and be the Guru's warriors. Let all Hindus wear their sacred thread and put tilak on their foreheads; we shall honor them. I stand for Hindu-Sikh unity. Let the Hindus at least once declare that they stand for Sikh-Hindu unity⁴⁶. Let the prime minister, whose forefathers our Guru Tegh Bahadur saved by sacrificing his life, say she is for unity. A senior officer in Chandigarh in December 1983 confessed, "It is shocking that we have so little against him while we keep blaming him for all sorts of things. You certainly cannot assault the temple based on just these charges, get hundreds of people killed, and get away with it."⁴⁷

(C) Murder allegations

Lieutenants General SK Sinha said there were not any significant Akali demands and readily accepted without much effort. Still, the defense minister Ramaswamy Venkataraman replied, "It is all politics" When Bhindranwale was in Mehta Chowk Gurdwara, Darbara Singh, Chief Minister of Punjab, asked Sinha – can you lend us few tanks? Sinha replied that the army could not lend tanks to arrest Someone; if you wanted to capture Bhindranwale, Police could do it. Two days later, the Chief of staff got an order for Indira: Go inside Gurdwara with the army to arrest Bhindranwale (1982). SK Sinha denied following the order, and because of his denial, Indira later changed the plans and sent Police. Police went and arrested Bhindranwale for Lal Jagat Narain's assassination, but he was released two days later due to lack of evidence and became a hero. A similar incident occurred when D.I.G. Atwal was assassinated. There was not any clear indication as to who killed Avtar Singh. Akali chief Longowal said, "Whenever the situation becomes ripe for settlement, some violent incidents occur. Longowal was, of course, not on the side of Bhindranwale, and so he accused him. I

⁴⁵ Kalbag, Chaitanya. "The Sant's Son: Outlook India Magazine." <https://magazine.outlookindia.com/outlookindia.com>, October 18, 2009. <https://magazine.outlookindia.com/story/the-sants-son/262240>.

⁴⁶ Thukral, Gobind. "What Kind of Man Is Sant JARNAIL Singh Bhindranwale?" *India Today*, July 30, 2014. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/indiascope/story/19820430-what-kind-of-man-is-sant-jarnail-singh-bhindranwale-771737-2013-10-15>.

⁴⁷ Gupta, Shekhar. "Golden Temple Complex Begins to Resemble a Military Base on Full Alert." *India Today*, August 5, 2014. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/special-report/story/19831231-golden-temple-complex-begins-to-resemble-a-military-base-on-full-alert-804546-1999-11-30>.

know Bhindranwale is behind the murder of the DIG", The one who is afraid of losing his seat of power" – but there was no proof nor a verification for it⁴⁸—the director of CBI. J.S. Bawa, who was directed to probe into the murder, did not disclose his findings. Indira created a narrative that Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale murder AS Atwal, but it was not what Jarnail Singh said on Atwal Murder⁴⁹ – "The Sikhs do not believe in violence. The murder of Sardar Avtar Singh Atwal resulted from a pre-planned move to sabotage the Dharam Yudh Morcha. It was designed to pave the way for entering the Golden Temple. The incident deserves to be condemned absolutely. It was a deep conspiracy hatched by the government to denigrate the sanctity of the Golden Temple and malign the Morcha launched by the Akali leaders."

It was not new for Indira, and his supporters commit such activities for a greater purpose, like a hijacking plan. On December 26, 1978, Indira Gandhi was released from jail. Six days before that, Congress workers had hijacked a plane to demand her release. Two members of the Youth Congress, Bhola Pandey and Devendra Pandey seized an Indian Airlines plane IC 410 from Lucknow to Delhi soon after it took off from Lucknow. Following the draconian emergency, Indira Gandhi was detained for a breach of privilege and contempt of the Indian Parliament. Her arrest invoked massive protests by Congress supporters throughout the country⁶⁰. Who later awarded MLA seats?⁵⁰ On September 29, 1981, an Indian Airlines Boeing 737 IC423 flight hijacked by Tajinderpal Singh and Satnam Singh — two of the five men protesting against the arrest of Sikh leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale;⁵¹ there had been no word as to what firearms or explosives if any, the hijackers had.⁵²

A report by S. M. Sathanathan characterized the actions of extremists opposing constitutional Sikh demands as fueled by "one-sided anti-Sikh misinformation from various news agencies." Bhindranwale had commented in 1983: "Someone killed seven Hindus on a bus. No Sikh has said this was good; everyone deplored it. But because seven Hindus had died, even twenty-four hours did not pass. The Ministry was dissolved. President's rule was imposed. The region was declared as disturbed. However, one hundred and fifty Sikhs died,

⁴⁸ Indian Express. 27 April 1983. Interview with Longowal

⁴⁹ Punjab Kaseri . May 18, 1983.

⁵⁰ "Tale of TWO HIJACKERS: One Is Congress Candidate, Other Most Wanted: India News - Times of India." The Times of India. TOI, 2014. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/tale-of-two-hijackers-one-is-congress-candidate-other-most-wanted/articleshow/33156540.cms>.

⁵¹ Desk, FPJ Web. "Not Making This up: When Congress Gave Tickets to Two Brothers Who Hijacked a Plane FOR Indira Gandhi." Free Press Journal, 2020. <https://www.freepressjournal.in/india/not-making-this-up-when-congress-gave-tickets-to-two-brothers-who-hijacked-a-plane-for-indira-gandhi>.

⁵² Kaufman, Michael T. "Sikh Separatists Hijack Indian Jetliner to Pakistan." The New York Times. The New York Times, September 30, 1981. <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/30/world/sikh-separatists-hijack-indian-jetliner-to-pakistan.html>.

and one man was not charged. Now all of you Sikhs should sit down and figure out as to what the thoughts of this Government of the Hindus are about the turban and the beard."⁵³ I argued that the Jai Hindu Sangh was a little body. But he was not impressed. He retorted: "That is the game. A Hindu does something, and you dismiss him as a petty criminal or communal fanatic. A Sikh does something, and you accuse the whole community"⁵⁴. In many interviews, General Brar says he believed the Pakistani did not only invade Darbar sahib; they fanned out too many villages and Gurdwara of Punjab fearing Sikh rebellion and Pakistani troops in Punjab. The army officer said the Indian government believed Pakistan had covertly helped the Sikh rebels funnel arms across the border and Punjab. The frontier is flat and easy to cross.

"Without Pakistani help," the officer said, "they could not have brought all those arms in." Pakistan government statement said that Indian charges about arms smuggling through its territory were "totally speculative and irresponsible. The army commander, Lieut. Gen. R. S. Brar also said that Pakistani passports were found in the Golden Temple and that captured documents indicated many terrorists had traveled from Pakistan. General Brar also said Operation blue Star's plan was made 5-6 days earlier when they found that Khalistan will be declared soon. Pakistan will recognize it to follow through with an invasion"⁵⁵, a lie revealed by RAW officials that the plan was initiated sometime in late 1983 at the behest of Gandhi's security adviser and RAW founder, R.N. Kao.

(D) The Sangh War on Sikhism

The Sangh, since the beginning, was influenced by Arya Samaj, who hold skeptical views about other sects and preached that all are Hindus despite the significant difference communities had; Adivasis were forced to accept the RSS version of Hinduism while the Adivasis considered themselves tribal first. Arya Samaj was reluctant to considered Sikhs as a separate sect and used tactics to manipulate Sikhs by building false hypotheses. The Sangh initially supported the akalis, but political alliances do not require a share of common ideologies; in his autobiography, LK Advani states, "it was his party who forced Indira

53 Singha Jaranaila, and Ranbir Singh. Sandhu. *Struggle for Justice: Speeches and Conversations of Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale*. Dublin, OH: Sikh Educational & Religious Foundation, 1999

54 Gupta, Shekhar. "Let Them Raid the Guru Nanak NIWAS. We Are Not Hiding Here WEARING Bangles: Bhindranwale." *India Today*, August 5, 2014. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/special-report/story/19831231-let-them-raid-the-guru-nanak-niwas.-we-are-not-hiding-here-wearing-bangles-bhindranwale-804549-1999-11-30>.

55 Hazarika, Sanjoy. "INDIA Commander Is Killed AS Sikhs Desert the Army." *The New York Times*. *The New York Times*, June 11, 1984. <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/06/11/world/india-commander-is-killed-as-sikhs-desert-the-army.html>.

Gandhi to use the military⁵⁶." In his book 'Ballot: Ten Episodes that Shaped India's Democracy' published by Hachette India, Rasheed Kidwai that Rajiv Gandhi's election campaign was aggressive focused on depicting Sikhs as terrorists demanding a separate homeland, as usual, the hidden agenda was to exploit insecurity within the Hindu community somehow and project the Rajiv-led Congress as their sole savior.⁵⁷" The secret meeting was held by Rajiv Gandhi and Balasaheb Deoras, resulting in the RSS cadre supporting the Congress during the 1984 Lok Sabha election, despite the presence of BJP in the political scene. This development indicates that the Congress-RSS coalition against the Sikhs was similar to the Pakistan-Taliban nexus against Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan.

VI. THE GREATER PLAN 1979-1984

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 and bogged down in that country for nine years. The whole foundation of Khalistan was laid on Geo-Political advantage, not for Sikhs but for the Soviet Union. To understand the USSR's primary goal, we need to keep some dates in mind to understand the chronology of events. The next stage in the Soviet cultivation of the Gandhi dynasty was Moscow's visit in July 1983 by Indira's elder son, Rajiv. He had reluctantly entered politics at his mother's insistence after Sanjay's death and was groomed by her succession.⁵⁸ He declared on his return that there was 'substantial interference from the USA in the Punjab situation. In early June 1984, Mrs Gandhi sent troops into Punjab to storm the Sikh holy of holies, the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The Soviet Union, like the CPI, quickly expressed 'complete understanding of the steps taken by the Indian government to curb terrorism. Once again, Mrs. Gandhi took seriously Soviet claims of secret CIA support for the Sikhs. A KGB active measure also fabricated evidence that Pakistani intelligence planned to recruit Afghan refugees to assassinate her. According to CIA reports of 1981-1984, the USSR had plans to create a war between India and Pakistan and divert the Pakistan forces on the eastern front simultaneously. It would allowed the Soviet to capitulate and initiate an complete Afghan capitulation⁵⁹. But CIA considered that Afghanistan activities wasn't enough to engage in direct confrontation, and elicit a major victory what CIA missed

⁵⁶ "Recalling 1984: Who GAINS NOW?" Times of India Blog, February 4, 2014. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/emphasis/reconciliation1/>.

⁵⁷ Kidwai, Rasheed, Lt Gen H S Panag (ret'd) -, Mohona Kanjilal -, and Manasi Phadke -. "RSS Rallied behind Rajiv Gandhi's Bid for PM's Chair after Indira's ASSASSINATION: BOOK." ThePrint, June 7, 2018. <https://theprint.in/pageturner/excerpt/rss-rallied-behind-rajiv-gandhis-bid-for-pms-chair-after-indiras-assassination-book/67451/>.

⁵⁸ Andrew, Christopher Maurice, and Mitrochin Vasilij Nikitič. *The Mitrokhin Archive*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2000.

⁵⁹ _____. "SOVIET CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp84b00049r000601570006-2>.

to in this report is comparative analysis of Afghan invasion and Punjab activities during this period of time. That information indicates that the Soviets and Afghans have been developing plans to neutralize Pakistan's insurgent bases and annex part of Pakistan's border area to Afghanistan. The Soviets have also begun to establish separate contingency plans for an extensive invasion of Pakistan⁶⁰. This planning probably reflects a need to cope more effectively with the Afghan insurgency, high-level Soviet interest in redefining the USSR's military position in Southwest Asia, and a need to rehearse procedures for mobilizing and preparing the 40th Army in Afghanistan for a large war. Over the longer term, the military significance of a war between India and Pakistan could provide the Soviets with a new opportunity to strengthen their position in the region. An inevitable Pakistani defeat in an Indo-Pakistani war would result in a new government in Islamabad and a neutralized Pakistan, powerless and disinclined to oppose Soviet or Indian strategic ambitions. A defeated Pakistan would probably end its support for the Afghan resistance-enabling the Soviets to consolidate their hold on Afghanistan and downgrade their relations with the United States.⁶¹ Subramanyam Swami had raised the same allegation that the Soviet Union was behind Operation Blue Star, claiming forces supporting it sought India's disintegration. Swami had then even defended Bhindranwale, claiming the preacher had never openly sought the establishment of a separate Sikh state.⁶² The Soviets probably would gain increased stature in New Delhi by supporting India in a war with Pakistan. However, the Soviets might also act as a mediator to end the fighting and save Pakistan from a major defeat, as they did in the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war. A role as mediator could enhance Moscow's international prestige, increase its influence in both New Delhi and Islamabad, and undermine U.S. diplomatic efforts in the region. The area between the southern border of Afghanistan is called Baluchistan. A sparsely populated piece of land, isolated from the main population centers of Pakistan. The Soviets tried to establish secure supply lines from North to South of Afghanistan; moving to the Gulf would be simple. From the northern shores of the Gulf, the Arab tribes controlling the oil-rich states with no standing armies or modern military capabilities could be toppled easily. Nevertheless, to reach the Gulf and establish a beachhead from which they could launch their move to the oil reserves, the Soviets needed a secure

⁶⁰ ———. "SOVIET CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1981. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp84b00049r000601570006-2>.

⁶¹ "THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE REGIONAL POWERS AND THE UNITED STATES." Central intelligence agency. Central Intelligence Agency, 1985. <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/0005445963>.

⁶² "Bhindranwale Never Demanded Khalistan: Subramanian Swamy." Hindustan Times, April 29, 2018. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/punjab/bhindranwale-never-demanded-khalistan-subramanian-swamy/story-hvmrXepva63XjneJLYTCaO.html>.

supply chain. The Mujahidin resistance prevented the Soviets from establishing that secure logistics supply route from the southern USSR border into and through Afghanistan, down to Helmand or Kandahar. That is one of the main reasons the USSR trying to weaken the mujahidin by diverting and nullifying Pakistan forces in the War with India.

(A) Britain Involvement

A new report calls for a full inquiry into the role played by Margaret Thatcher's Government in the events leading up to a massacre in which hundreds, possibly thousands, of Sikhs and Indian soldiers died. The government has been accused of covering up the full extent of the U.K.'s support for India's bloody crackdown on Sikhs in 1984⁶³. One major revelation omitted from the investigation," As revealed by B. Raman, former head of RAW's counter-terrorism division, in his 2007 book *The Kao boys of RAW*⁶⁴, two MI-5 intelligence liaison officers at the British high commission had scouted the Golden Temple complex in as far as back December 1983. They briefed a senior SAS officer sent by the U.K. to Delhi in Feb 1984 who deemed the special operation feasible. The request for British advice is disclosed in a letter, dated February 23, 1984, from Brian Fall, private secretary to then foreign secretary Geoffrey Howe, to Hugh Taylor, his counterpart under home secretary Leon Brittan. Margaret Thatcher gave full support over the Golden Temple raid, the letter on February 5, 1984.⁶⁵ The letter said: "The Indian authorities recently sought British advice over a plan to remove Sikh extremists from the Golden Temple". The British government seems to have had far more involvement and knowledge of the pre-planned assault on the Sikhs and the follow-up in Punjab. Subsequently, the British government has kept files related to Operation Blue Star secret for a long time. They could now be out in the open, having serious ramifications for India-UK relations and the British Sikh community. The military operation to flush out militants from the Golden Temple in 1984 has hit the headlines with a British court ordering declassification of the controversial files.

(B) K.G.B. In Pakistan 1980s

KGB disinformation operation was proved infective, although the fact infiltration rate in Pakistani newspapers was 1% higher than in India. The head of the Pakistani intelligence station in Moscow was privately warned that if Pakistan were used as a base for 'armed

⁶³ "British Government 'Covered UP' Its Role in Amritsar Massacre in India." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, October 28, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/29/british-government-cover-up-amritsar-massacre-golden-temple-sas-india>.

⁶⁴ Raman, B. *The Kaoboys of R & AW: down Memory Lane*. Olympia Fields, IL: Lancer, 2009

⁶⁵ Thomas, Emma. "Did Thatcher Order SAS to Collude with Indian Government in Deadly Raid on Golden Temple in 1984?" January 14, 2014. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2539238/Did-Thatcher-order-SAS-collude-Indian-government-deadly-raid-Golden-Temple-1984.html>

struggle against Afghanistan,' the Oriental Institute would be asked to devise ways of assisting Baluchi and Pashtun separatist movements on the North-West Frontier to seal off the Afghan border. The CIA concluded that there was a serious 'possibility of large-scale Soviet aid to the Baluchi.' KGB's active measures also sought to persuade Zia that some of his senior officers, who opposed his Afghan policy, were plotting against him. His response to the KGB offensive appears to have taken the center by surprise. In August and September 1980, Pakistan expelled Soviet intelligence and other personnel since Britain had excluded 105 KGB and GRU. Officers in 1971. The KGB used Al-Zulfikar for supplying arms to separatist and dissident groups in the Pakistani provinces of Baluchistan and Sindh. At the end of 1980, the Baluchi separatist group leader in Afghanistan had secret talks with Najibullah, who promised to provide the separatists with arms, 400 military instructors, and three training camps. In 1983 uprising occurred in the areas of Sindh, backed by Maoist against the Ziaul Haq dictatorship regime on which Zia threatened a full-scale civil war in the Sindh province. Dozens of civilians were killed, hundreds arrested, and many escaped into the cities' thick forests. PPP's youth wing was almost entirely navigating the movement; Maoist outfits such as Awami Tehreek, Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, and Mazdoor Kissan Party; left-wing student organizations such as the revamped Democratic Students Federation (DSF), and the breakaway faction of the Jeeay Sindh Tehreek. Though several rallies were also held in Punjab's capital city, Lahore, the province did not rise the way MRD expected. CIA, in earlier documents, stated USSR was keen on having a leftist government in Pakistan.⁶⁶

VII. PUNJAB AND FINAL SOLUTION

In July 1982, Akali Dal under Longowal invited Bhindranwale to take up residence at the Golden Temple. Dharam Yudh Morcha was launched by Akali D in Punjab on August 4, 1982, a civil-rights campaign against the Indira government. In this movement, the one demand was the implementation of the Anandpur Resolution. The Agitation took the form of demonstrations and strikes, which were entirely peaceful. During the two years of this campaign, over 200,000 Sikhs courted arrest, about three times the number arrested in the whole of the 'Quit India' movement⁶⁷. These moves of ignoring Punjab demand soon converting into mass agitation.

On January 31, 1984, a call for a road blockade was given, and farmers got Rs.12.5 crore to relieve the pest damage to their cotton crop. On March 12, 1984, the Bhartiya Kissan Union

⁶⁶ hmed, Feroz. *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998

⁶⁷ Chima, Jugdep S. *The Sikh Separatist Insurgency in India: Political Leadership and Ethnonationalism Movements*. New Delhi: Sage, 2011.

started a blockade of the Governor's residence at Chandigarh, demanding a withdrawal of enhanced Electricity Rates, a higher price for wheat, which reached an agreement on March 18, 1984. In May 1984, the farmers' Agitation was at its height in Punjab from May 10 to 18 farmers gherao the Governor's house. Since the state was under President's rule, more than 15-20 thousand farmers were present in Chandigarh during the gherao. From May 1 to 7, the farmers had decided to Boycott the grain markets to register their protest against the central government's Procurement policy. On May 23, 1984, Harchand Singh Longowal, the Akali Dal President, announced that the next phase of the Agitation would include attempts to stop the sale of food grains to the Food Corporation of India.⁶⁸ Operation Bluestar, as the military operation was called, the Sikhs Operation Bluestar, as farming Community had been forgotten; only Sikhs as a religious community remain in national Consciousness.

(A) The peak of The Militancy

During this time, militancy was at its peak, which leads to the murder of six Hindu bus passengers in October 1983; President's rule was imposed in Punjab. During the period, the burning of a Gurdwara at Churu, Rajasthan, increased the violence on November 26. On February 14, the Hindi Suraksha Samiti vandalized a train station by destroying a Golden Temple model and pictures of the Sikh Guru. Anti-Sikh mob violence in Haryana from 15 to February 20, mobilized by CM Bhajan Lal at the behest of leaders in Delhi, and the killing of eight Sikhs in Panipat on February 19 given the police station, provoked retaliation. When the violence erupted, the Soviet-funded newspaper began to justify the violence by blaming Militancy in Punjab. The Hindustan Times, which supported the Government, Headlined its editorial 'The Cauldron Boils Over.' The Tribune, which is published in Chandigarh, the joint capital of Haryana and Punjab, said, 'There is some truth in explaining that Haryana's violence is a backlash to the excesses committed by the "extremists" in Punjab. According to Mark Tully, in 1982, Indira did not intervene to stop Anti-Sikh violence because Indira was committed to a military solution to the Punjab crisis but felt that the situation Must be allowed to get worse before she could justify that solution.'⁶⁹

(B) INDIRA IS INDIA

On June 3, Mrs. Gandhi Called out the military in Punjab, and on June 5, the Golden Temple was attacked, which was for the Sikhs, an assault on the Sikh confidence Sikh pride in honor. Indira requested Lieutenant General (Retd.) Srinivas Kumar Sinha examines the political

⁶⁸ Shiva, Vandana. *The Violence of the Green Revolution: Ecological Degradation and Political Conflict in Punjab*. Dehra Dun: Research Foundation for Science and Ecology, 1989.

⁶⁹ Tully, Mark, and Satish Jacob. *Amritsar: Mrs GANDHI'S Last Battle*. London, UK: Pan Books, 1986.

conditions and inspirations that lead up to the assault. Strangely, he was Major General Shabeg Singh's friend who led the fortresses of the Darbar Sahib complex. Indira asked general SK Sinha to plan the assault on the Golden Temple, but he had reservations over the proposal. He sought premature retirement in 1983 on being superseded by Lt Gen AS Vaidya. General Arunkumar Shridhar Vaidya was the mind behind Operation Bluestar, including military assault against the Sikh assailants of Darbar sahib.

Lieutenant General SK Sinha on Operation Blue Star; India's Government has always maintained that the army action was a 'last resort' necessary to flush out terrorists, but the army action was not the 'last resort' prime minister Indira Gandhi would have us believe. Both Sinha and Tully report that the army had rehearsed the Attack for this time in the replica of Golden Temple built at a secret location near Chakrata Cantonment in the Doon Valley. In his book, he disclosed that the preparations to attack this holiest shrine were made for 18 months. A model of this shrine was temporarily built at Chakrata, a hill station 90 km. Far from Dehra Dun, where the army was rehearsing to attack, and a piece of complete information was given of the inside of this complex of the Golden temple to soldiers, made them familiar with the complex's topography when it attacks. In other meanings, the strategy to attack the holiest shrine was planned much before Jarnail Bhindranwale shifted to Sri Akal Takht and made its Head Quarter. The Govt created such circumstances through false propaganda and provocations in Punjab to justify the army attack and teach a lesson to the Sikh Nation.

In contrast, the need was to learn a lesson from Indira herself and the Indian Govt⁷⁰. Lieutenant General SK Sinha suggested the government adopt an alternative solution. Nevertheless, the plan was already made. General Brar, in his book, said, "Indian government was training Indian army at least 18 months before the attack"⁷¹. "The true Story- Operation Blue. In any case, at the time of the Attack, no court case or summons was pending against Jarnail Singh Ji Bhindranwale. The govt. had no intention to arrest Jarnail Singh. Still, Indira had made up her mind to build a narrative of being Sole Protectors of Hindustan to get credit in the minds of majority Hindus as she was their only protector. It could benefit her to rule all over India and to weaken opposition in all states. Subramanian Swami stated in 1992, "The 1984 Operation Bluestar became necessary because of the vast disinformation against Bhindranwale by the KGB, and repeated inside Parliament by the Congress Party of India"⁷².

⁷⁰ Tully, Mark, and Satish Jacob. *Amritsar: Mrs GANDHI'S Last Battle*. London, UK: Pan Books, 1986.

⁷¹ Brar, K. S. *Operation Blue Star: the True Story*. New Delhi: UBS Publishers' Distributors, 2014.

⁷² Desk, India Today Web. "What Happened during 1984 Operation Blue Star?" India Today, June 6, 2018.

Before the Attack, the D.C. of Amritsar was called by Governor of Punjab Mr Pandey that if the object was to arrest Bhindranwale, there was no need for the army to act and that he could do it; the Governor is said to have replied: "That is not the point." Moreover, when Gurdev Singh refused to sign and approve military action, he was replaced, and Ramesh Inder Singh, an IAS officer, was brought in as Amritsar as D.C. just before the military action. Many answers to our questions lie in those files sitting in Government lockers until those files are declassified; we cannot say why Indira was done; all facts are based on CIA, KGB, and MI6 documents which were not enough for understanding the dark truths.

VIII. CONCLUSION

After Operation Blue Star, lakhs of Sikh youth were deliberately murdered by The Punjab Police, even the human rights activist Jaswant Singh Khalra was also murdered, who discovered in the finding that Punjab Police "Shooting Sikh youth and buried them in the grave." For our political sake and allegiance to foreign nation leader sold their conscience resulted in demand of Khalistan which threatened our Nation India today. From a movement of Reorganizing state boundaries, politics turned this issue into something no different from "Partition 2.0". A nation like Pakistan exercised this soviet Indira development to buildup its image as a strong and powerful force who could instigate insurgency despite the fact they cannot feed its people, alas still today, lack of information among citizens keeps the truth away from us; continuous lies and deception taught in the classes endangering our unity. Sikhs were and will remain an integral part of India; there is no doubt about it; what I concern about is that "Painting Sikhs or Punjabi agitations as Khalistan uprising" will fuel that division nothing else. Beware those leaders who divide citizens by HISTORY because their version of the story is backed by emotion and selective facts. At last, whether you are Hindu or Muslim, Sikh we have an inalienable right to know the truth, and we must take this responsibility to spread the truth, not because of our benefits, but for the mutual respect, we hold of each other.

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