# Dynamics of Ethnic Politics in India: Re-evaluating the Separatist Movement in East Punjab

Muhammad Abrar Ahmad<sup>1</sup>, Anam Iftikhar<sup>2</sup>, Dr. Ruqia Kalsoom<sup>3</sup>, Amir Ali<sup>4</sup>, Syed Ali Raza<sup>5</sup>

#### 1. Dr. Muhammad Abrar Ahmad

Assistant Professor, Dept. of History and Arts, Division of Arts and Social Science, University of Education, Lower Mall Campus, Lahore. abrar.ahmad@ue.edu.pk; royal\_rana81@hotmail.com

#### 2. Dr. Anam Iftikhar

Assistant Professor, Dept. of History and Arts, University of Education, Division of Arts and Social Sciences, Lahore. anam.iftikhar@ue.edu.pk

#### 3. Dr. Ruqia Kalsoom

Assistant Professor, School of History & Pakistan Students, Minhaj University Lahore. drruqia.pak@mul.edu.pk

#### 4. Dr. Amir Ali

Visiting Assistant Professor, Dept. of Archaeology, University of the Punjab, Lahore. Amirzahid143@gmail.com

#### 5. Dr. Syed Ali Raza

Visiting Assistant Professor, Dept. of Archaeology, University of the Punjab, Lahore. alishahphd@gmail.com

Abstract- Ethnicity is a political and sociological construct that helps in identifying the socioeconomic reasons driving violent conflicts that ultimately give rise to separatism elements. India has witnessed many conflicts since its inception in 1947 and lingual, cultural and religious identities have characterized its society which is divided so badly into caste and tribal animosities today. Sikhs are the vibrant community of India but they are neglected one community as well. They joined hands with the Indian National Congress, hoping for all the promises which were made with them but later on they were refused and dejected in the audacity of the situation. Although Sikhs considered themselves as the equal citizens but the policies of Indian Hindu mindset always reminded them as the second class citizens as like other minorities residing in Bharat. The treachery of the events led towards the feelings of separatism in the Sikhs and being snubbed they felt it necessary to vow for independent homeland. The atrocities ultimately led towards the separatist movement of Khalistan but the Hindu mind set butchered them without any mercy and even their religious places were not spared and Operation Blue Star which did not spared the most sacred sanctuary of the Sikhs had observed the massacre of the Sikhs at large scale which left the Sikh nation's tortured body in to quandary of equal citizens or second class citizens. This paper deals with the political and ethnic dynamics of the Sikh separatism and government policies to manage the happenings.

# Index Terms-Ethnicity, Punjab, Sikhs, Operation Blue Star, Massacre

#### INTRODUCTION

India is a secular democracy but has witnessed occasional sessions of extensive large-scale violence sparked by underlying tensions between majority Hindu and minority Muslim/Christian/Sikh communities. The overwhelming majority of the population of India shares the same physical features, having no evident racial differences but only ethnic and cultural differences; such as language, caste and religion.

# Politicization of Ethnicity:

Many social theorists apprehended in early twentieth century that patriotism and racial differences will be lessened in significance. Its meaning will disappear because of the emergence of this new phenomenon of transformation, development and distinctiveness. These on no occasion came about but, on the opposing, racial society and patriotism have accomplished more magnitude in the contemporary biosphere, mainly since the Second World War. The reemergence of ethnic movements in

various parts of the world inspired some social scientists to pursue this subject again with a new vigorous and fresh perspective. If we just look at the developments of post-cold war era, thirty-five of the thirty-seven chief fortified battles in 1991 in were inner wars in the world, and most of them - from Sri Lanka to Northern Ireland - could perhaps be labelled as ethnic struggles.<sup>1</sup>

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Ethnic division derives momentum from three different areas. Economic deprivation, political identity, social prejudice or all the three provide pre-requisite for any political mobilization based on ethnicity. Political leadership use ethnic symbols to get hold of the people's sentiments for certain political objectives. In the post-colonial period third world states adopted the European concept of nation-state. That was the era when cold war started and mostly states adopted the philosophy of nationalism to accomplish the objective of national integrity and cohesion. End result of this approach was fruitful sometimes but unfortunately in case of India and Pakistan, its advantages remained limited. In order to understand the politics of ethnicity there is a need to look

at the demands usually made by any ethnic group. These demands could be divided into three major categories.<sup>2</sup>

The first category, which does not challenge the existing power structure, includes demands for affirmative action, preferences and equitable treatment.

Second demands, such as the call for greater autonomy, question the existing political system and call for its restructuring.

Third demands, on the other hand, such as secessionist activates, reject the system altogether and claim nation-state status for the ethnic community.

By analyzing the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural political mobilization and conflict, following themes and arguments concerning the sources are stressed.

- 1-Economic extortion compels a certain ethnic minority to organize itself against the ruling regime for their political objectives derived from economic extortion.
- 2-Second aspect which has persuaded some groups and not others to form an organization has remained irregular among different groups having more excess to jobs, educational advantages, and political power, in terms of social change.
- 3-Sometimes certain historical, ideological, religious or cultural differences among different groups within a state develop a state-of-strife, which resulted in ethnic mobilization.

State is responsible in pre and post periods for the emergence of various traditional and social movements relatively to others and it happens because of its wrong political decisions. State of Punjab is a noteworthy and significant example of violent ethnic based movement that was the most critical in nature. Punjab issue has roots from very commencement of India's independence and it continue aftermath with different variations of strategies not only from the governments but also from the Sikh's political leadership. British wanted to safeguard their Indian empire from invaders from the Afghanistan so they encouraged natives of Punjab to be a part of Indian Army. In the past because of the scare resources in northern and eastern Punjab, Punjabis seek employment in the armies of both native and invaders. British also supported this phenomenon and Sikhs, Punjabi Muslims, and Hindu Rajput's considered martial races by colonialism and were encouraged to seek employment in the British Indian army.

Sikhs were permissible to uphold the outward symbols of Sikh faith. So, in the way they preserved their identity and also become the part of Indian army. Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Sikhs migrated to the other parts of the world. Even in 1910 the Canadian government banned the entry of South Asian by law. The immigrant protested and in March 1913 they decided to form an organization called the Ghadar Party for returning back to their homeland and initiate a revolution that would force out the British from India. However, the scheme was hindered by British intelligence and many Ghadarites were in detention. Ghadarites inspired extensive number of Sikh youth and they joined various anti-colonial organizations, such as Congress and communist parties of India. During the 50s and 60s a second wave of Sikhs was to join the Diaspora. Thousands of Sikhs reached the industrial cities of Britain. At present some one million Sikhs live

outside India and some three million live outside Punjab in the other parts of India.

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### **Intensification of Communal identities**

19th century was era of nationalism in India and this affected Punjab as well. Besides the wide-ranging nationalism of all-India National congress, it also took the shape of religious restoration among the three major communities of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus. Landed classes founded a revivalist Sikh organization, named Singh Saba in 1873, and Chief Khalsa Diwan was established in 1902. Sikhism had been facing a panic from Hindu priests and intellectuals since its establishment, because they were used to say that Sikhism is also a Hindu Sect. Secondly, in subcontinent except Islam Hinduism absorbed all other religions. Some of the non Khalsa Sikhs even declared themselves as Hindus, but Khalsa Sikh emphasized that they were entirely diverse religious community.

"Moreover from the Census of 1931 onwards the communalization of identity in Punjab could be noticed in the returns on mother tongue. Although people of the three communities spoke Punjabi at home, elite Muslims began to identify themselves with Urdu, while Hindus began to associate themselves with Hindi and Sikhs with Punjabi".<sup>3</sup>

After the establishment of Akali Dal in the wake of Gurdwara Reform Movement, the party actively became the mouth piece of politics of the Sikhs. Despite, many offers by Jinnah, they refused to join hands with Muslim League and rejected their cooperation which later on proved very fatalic for them and they found themselves in the hot waters soon after the partition. As they were lulled by the Indian National Congress but they were refused to be accommodated and secular Indian became Hindutva promoting state after very emergence as independent state.

In the pre-partition Punjab, Sikhs were largely a rural people whose majority was belonged to the largest agriculture caste of Punjab, the Jats, who made up 50-60% of the total Sikh population. Because they were based in rural centers so their economy was hardly dependent on agriculture. Mostly migrated Sikhs from west Punjab were also settled in rural areas where they were allotted land by Indian government. With the passage of time they seek employment in army and entrepreneurs were also emerged in the top bracket of Indian producers and traders. Many Sikhs moved outside from Punjab and they attained remarkable success in other areas of economy especially in the sector of transport. Gradually Sikhs became the prominent figures of Indian economy.

After independence and division of Punjab between two newly born states, in Indian Punjab, now Hindus were 64%, Sikhs were 33% and Muslims were around 2%. The eight princely lands of Jind, Faridkot, Patiala, Kapurthala, M Patiala, Nabha, Malerkotla, Kalsia and Nalagarah in East Punjab were merged on 5 May 1948 and named Patiala and West Punjab Union (PEPSU). Union Home Minister Sardar Patel declared it as Sikh Homeland. However, in 1956 PEPSU was merged with Punjab.

### The Issue of Punjabi Language

Akali Sikhs demanded Punjabi as sole official language of Punjab with Gurmukhi script. They also demanded for redrawing of the state of Punjab on linguistic lines. Hindu communities led by the Jan Sangh advised Hindus to assert Hindi as their mother tongue. Congress party manipulated this ethnic strife for their political purpose and some of their leading Hindu leaders supported the Hindu communalists in Punjab. Initially Indian government was not in favor of any reorganization of the administrative structure. But then in 1953, states reorganization commission was set up to differentiate state boundaries with acknowledgment of linguistic criteria as a base for establishing new provinces. Several new states had come in to being in different parts of India. But in Punjab, commission refused to concede the Sikh demand for a Sikh-dominated Punjabi-speaking state. They recommend the preservation of both Punjabi and Hindi as official language.

In the 1955 the Akali Sikhs led by Master Tara Singh began to agitate for a separate Punjabi Suba (province) in which Sikhs would have a majority. These agitations continue into the first half of the 60s, but these were peaceful agitations. Thousands of Sikhs were arrested and many were subjected to Police viciousness. In September 1965, India and Pakistan fought a full fledge War and during the War Sikh leadership demonstrated total consolidation with Indian leadership. This War was fought within the borders of Punjab and Sikh leaders offered animated support to the Indian War efforts. So in post 1965 era, Indian leadership reconsidered the demand of Punjabi Saba and accepted it in 1966 finally with the establishment of Punjabi Saba. They Separated Hindi-speaking districts from Punjab and formed a new State of Harayana. These districts were supplemented in Punjab when Nehru government first time rejected the demand of separate Punjabi Saba and created instead a great Punjab by merging adjacent areas in it. So, now in 66, Indra Gandhi broke up greater Punjab into three federal units: Punjab, Harayana, and Himachal Pardash. Now in new Punjab Sikhs were in majority and their population ratio was in between 58 to 61%. They declared Punjabi (written in Gurmukhi script) as their sole official language.

## The Indian State and Sikh Separatism

Congress passed a resolution in 1929, making it assured that no lawful and legitimate plan would be finalized without the endorsement of Sikhs. This assertion was also merged in Resolution of Lahore, that Congress would not approve any future set up of government for India until unless Sikh community would not be satisfied. This pledge was also reiterated at meeting of Working Committee of All India Congress which was occurred in Calcutta in month of July 1946. Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru accepted responsibility by saying that Sikh community of Colonial Punjab had important role and consideration in all matters concerning to their participation in State. He was of the view that it is not wrong if Sikhs also enjoys a specific set up in North and radiance of freedom". The community of Sikhs were consciously aware about the consequences of partition of Punjab, and so that they oppose it with tooth and nail. The Sikhs were aware that

division of Punjab would be biased for them because it would make vulnerable everything they value: their holy spaces, their political benefits, their land and their customs. As religious minority Sikhs decided to be a part of Indian union, on the bases of several assurances by the political elite. It is a dilemma that no community of India had to face the communal anger as Sikhs had borne. They were the most effected by the brunt of partition among all other Indian communities.<sup>6</sup> Sikhs were expecting an impartial arrangement in free India but shortly after the independence they experienced a great betray by top Indian political leadership, who not only forget all his promises, but also took hold of the dogmatic and constitutional privileges of sections. In the 1950s congress totally left its pledges and formed a unitary form of government, whose constitution never permitted the adequate autonomy to the minority states. Akali Dal party, whose members, discarded to affix their signs to the constitutional Act whereas rejected it. Than

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India declared Hindi as its national language and communal impact of this decision appeared in the census. Hindus of Punjab showed Hindi as their mother tongue and so as Sikhs became minority in their own homeland. An effort was started by Sikhs for a single Punjab with one language under the command of Master Tara Singh started. Indian Administration formed a plan known as Regional Formula (1956), but as of the extreme reaction by Hindus, government put it in cold storage. In mid 60s situation changed because of the contribution of Sikhs in Indo-Pak war. Government considered their demands while framing the Punjab reorganization act (1966). Two provisions (78-80) were introduced which made the Punjabi speaking state a permanently ineffective sub-state. Under these Sections, the powers of control, administration, maintenance, distribution and development of the waters and hydel power of Punjab Rivers were vested in Central Government. These steps of government became the reason of Akali struggle and gave birth to terror and fear terrorism during all these years. Boundary commission for reorganization of Punjab on communal lines decided to award Chandigarh to the newly carved State of Haryana, thus Chandigarh was another bone of contention.<sup>7</sup> On the issue of Chandigarh intense agitation just continued and on 26 January 1970, Sant Fateh Singh took a fast in the Golden Temple over the issue of the merger of Chandigarh with the Punjab. During all these developments in 70s most decisive one was Anandpur Resolution.

A committee of twelve persons was established in which Surjit Singh Barnala, Gurcharan Singh, Umranangal, Gian Singh, Dr. Bhagat Singh, Gurmeet Singh and some others were included. These members attended ten consultations and a resulting document was approved in a meeting by the working committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal. Their gathering was at Anandpur Sahib which was religious place for Khalsa religion. This resolution was remembered as the Anandpur Sahib Resolution. This resolution was passed on 16-17 October and adopted on 28 October, 1978 in the All India Akali Conference of the Shiromani Akali Dal at Ludhiana.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Punjab's Economic Situation**

After independence India faced a serious problem in the provision of wheat. Indian system of agriculture was based on traditional methods of cultivation and there was no use of

technology or modern methods for farming. Initially India had to rely on import of wheat but then India got to realize about the importance of technology in agriculture sector. So, with the help of World Bank and other related international development agencies, India started structural changing in agriculture. Punjab was considered as the most suitable region for experimentation in the Green revolution. So the modern advancement led towards the making of Punjab as bread basket of India. The Sikh diaspora also played very pivotal role, sending their remittances to their families.

Sikhs soon after the making of Punjab Suba, realized the treachery made with them by Hindus and they asked for historic Anandpur Resolution 1973, demanding return of Sikh majority areas back to Punjab, water share of Punjab and more autonomy mainly. On the question of autonomy, the resolution took a maximalist position, which was impossible for Mrs. Gandhi to accept... consequently the central government dubbed the Resolution as a secessionist document. It is interesting to note that different Sikh factions later put several versions of the 'Anandpur Sahib Resolution' forth.<sup>9</sup>

# Rebuffing of the Sikhs and Ideological Foundations of Khalistan

The separatist movement in Punjab grew for a variety of reasons. However, it was started by the Sikhism religious resurgence. Hindus and Sikhs continued to disagree over religion in Punjab and throughout India. Sikhs were aware that Punjab was their sacred land with agricultural fertility and irrigation. Moreover, they had their political legacy here in terms of rule of Ranjit Singh, therefore after many years they were ready to form their independent state. 10 It was their utmost desire to make Punjab their ideal land where they could maintain its religious as well as political sanctity. These demands were not created artificially rather these waves were existing in the perceptions of Sikhs from day one. Sant Bhindranwala and his storm troopers did not invent the demands for Khalistan... it was already embedded in the Sikh consciousness.11 It is said that main leader who mobilize the masses for Khalistan was Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwala but prior to him Kapur Singh and Jugjit Singh Chohan also went so far advocating Khalistan for the Sikhs.

# **Tragedy of Golden Temple**

Anandpur Sahib Resolution helped Akali Dal's reputation among Sikhs, and Akalis used it for their political intentions in 1977, Punjab election. In the general elections of 1977 Congress Party was badly defeated and it was because of the internal splits within the party in the form of Congress-I, though main section remained loyal to Mrs. Gandhi. Main victor was the Janta alliance coalition, which was consisted on so many right wing, center and left-wing parties. In Punjab, Akali Dal, and Hindu-communal party won most seats. These two rival parties formed a coalition party during (1977-1979).

In 1980 Mrs. Gandhi was back in power. She envisaged Bhindranwala as a greater threat and so that Congress Party began to portray him as a troublesome and disruptive activist. This shot

out a tussle between Bhindranwala and congress as well in Sikh and Hindu extremists. Bhindranwala had also been arrested with allegation of some terrorist killings but soon was released as result of Akali Dal pressure. The Akalis wanted to be in line with the popular mood among Sikhs and adopted a friendly attitude towards Bhindranwala. On the 12 June 1982, Bhindranwala and his armed followers entered in Golden Temple in search of asylum. Bhindranwala intensified his campaign by propagating the idea of a separate homeland. Sikhs living abroad especially in North America and Britain gave the call for an independent Sikh state: Khalistan. 12 Government was aware of the situation but did nothing in order to defuse the tension. On 6 October 1983 the government of Congress party in Punjab was overruled and emergency was decreed.<sup>13</sup> Indian Government and party head Indira Gandhi declared not only emergency in Punjab but also installed a lot of battalions of soldiers desperately to flatten the Bhindranwala and his followers from the building of sacred temple.

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In May 1984, the government of India released 200 Akali leaders but violence continued, as this concession was too little too late. The fate of the golden Temple was sealed in late May 1984. Indra Gandhi government was sure of Hindu support and she had also consulted with opposition leaders like Atal Behari Vajpayee, Jagjivan Ram and others who gave their support to the Prime Minister. India Today, states that it can be reasonably presumed that the last effort failed for a compromise in a round of secret talks between Akali leaders and the government on May 25, 1984.14 Until 2 June 1984, Indra Gandhi government ordered the Indian Army to Amritsar in prepare for a maneuver to drive out Bhindranwala and his followers from the Golden Temple. The storming of the Golden Temple complex occurred on 5th of June 1984. The whole operation had been commanded by a Sikh, Lt. General, Ranjit Singh Dayal, chief of western command, while the Amritsar operation was commanded by another Sikh General R. S. Brar, who said: "We went not in anger but with sadness we went in with prayers in our lips and reverences". 15 A battalion of 3,000 strong troops armed with mortar and machine guns and escorted by armored cars and tanks took part in the final onslaught on the 72-acre Golden Temple Complex. When it finally ended nearly 1,000 people had been killed, besides many thousands injured. 16 Indian army under the command of Sikh officer, Major General Kuldip Singh Brar, stormed the golden Temple. Exchange of fire between the army and the Sikhs began on the night of 3 June and Indian army squalled in Temple on the night of 5-6 June. Soldiers got the command of the sanctuary by the morning of 7<sup>th</sup> June. Bhindranwala, Shehbeg Singh and several hundred other Sikhs were murdered. This operation called Blue star was launched coincided with a Sikh festival and many Sikh pilgrims including innocent women and children were inside the Temple. Many of them were killed and injured as a consequence.

Up till October 1984, Indian army remained in occupation of the Golden Temple complex adding insult to the religious sentiments of the Sikhs worldwide. The Dawn wrote: "The 17<sup>th</sup> century temple proper was riddled with bullet marks, but its 24 carat gold leafed dome was untouched. The Akal Takhat building, or 'immortal seat' of the five high Sikh priests, was virtually demolished by rocket fire and the white marble

concourse crumbled under the weight of six tanks". <sup>17</sup> The golden Temple massacre accomplished the Sikh-Hindu divergence in the Punjab and away. Government control Indian media badly distorted the news about the happenings in Punjab. Foreign journalists had been restricted to go indoors of Punjab. So, world had left no other option somewhat than to accept the skeptic Indian descriptions. There was a continues propaganda by the government that Indra Gandhi had been compelled by 'extremist' activity to go down into the temple with the military in order to save the union and to maintain peace in the state of Punjab. It was only a few days after the unpleasant incident that an absolute picture was accessible. It was supposed by General Brar, that the terrorists had received foreign assistance. He claimed that the weapons captured from these men bore Chinese and Pakistani marks. 18 Amusingly adequate, as noted by India Today, the government white paper of July 1984 does not revealed the origin of a preponderance of the weapons incarcerated excluding fiftytwo Chinese-made Kalashnikovs. The only objective was to hide the truth and embracement that those weapons which were explored during the mission were all of made in India.<sup>19</sup>

The government never mentioned those 41-light machine guns and the 83 self-loading rifles of 7.62 (MMG) in the white paper, which had been claimed to have captured from the Temple and pictures of which were flashed in the media. Conceivably it was to save the army from the embarrassment of publicizing a fact that two deserting non-commissioned officers from a Sikh unit of the army had in fact, stolen these two, nearly four months ago. <sup>20</sup> So, even in government version there was inconsistency about foreign assistance and no hard evidence could have been provided in this regard.

# **Strategies and Tactics of Government**

Indian leadership was consciously aware of the ethnocultural diversity of India. Keeping in view the heterogeneity and multiplicity among the Indian society, their top leadership firmly believed that certain pre-requisites would help in accomplishing a political system that will overcome ethnic strife with the provision of liberal, democratic, open and competitive setup. The controversy over language held sway during the reign of Nehru when his government declared Hindi as official language. Soon after the voices had been raised from different parts of India and the reorganization of states on linguistic basis verified the accommodative tendency of Indian politics.

Indian government followed three broad strategies to contain ethnic and tribal aspirations. Provision of permissible institutional skeleton to accommodate ethnic aspirations; growth of party's political interests and consensuses to protect bargains and use of force in protection of writ of state against rebellions had been the main strategies since its independence. Legal structure of India signaled out three main groups of class to be given privileged dealing: The Schedule caste, The Tribal communities, and The Backward castes. Article 46 states: Government will at any cost promote the educational and economic benefits of lower or weaker people of different societies and specifically the privileges of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be protected from injustice and mistreatment.<sup>21</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru pronounced a vibrant and pure set of ideologies and strategic plans. Its main features were socialism, economic development and promotion of secularism with the help of state engaged paining, and nonalignment in global matters. Indian administration followed the pluralist strategies relative to main linguistic and social arrangements. They also tried to evade straight participation in local issues between different racial and philological groups. Even though caste and linguistic conflict at the state level began to acquire importance in the Nehru period, but it did not completely structure the political competition either within the Congress or between Congress and opposition parties. Rite of the government was very probable among the masses and Nehru was also an enormous political figure. His government wanted to keep itself away from hostilities with the ethno based activities instead conciliation and mediation. Government policy of non-intervention was quite observable at that time; secondly Nehru never interfered in local politics un-necessarily and autonomy to the states was levelheaded in provision. Nehru had been using different tactics and maneuvers to defuse tension in addition. Just as, reorganization of state boundaries on linguistic lines was a substantial decision, which shows his dazzling surveillance over the political sphere.

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However, the post Nehru Period was changed as administration occupied itself with direct officious part in local issues between different racial, and caste clusters. This policy not only complicated the situation but also provoked already prevailing animosity between different ethnic factions. Here it would be adequate to just have a fussy look at the rise of Indra Gandhi as political figure, so as it will give an insight of the ethnic problem of Punjab. Mrs. Gandhi rise had been discernible by five critical steps. The first was her secession to supremacy immediately after demise of Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1966. Further she strengthened her in 1967 when Morarji Desai was failed in the Parliamentary Party of Congress. The third step was the rift among members or senior leaders of Congress over the issue of nomination for the president of India. Indira Gandhi gained victory for the presidency with the selection of her contender, V. V. Giri, in contradiction of the authorized Congress candidate, Sanjiva Reddy. Concluding result of the 1971 election was an awesome victory for Mrs. Gandhi, who's Congress, earned a two-third mainstream in the Lok Sabha. She was now indisputably the unsurpassed spearhead of the State of the India<sup>22</sup>

Indra Gandhi strategy of ruler-ship was quite self-centered and personalized. It implicated extraordinary affirmation of absolute control in the legal and legislative system of India. Her style was not democratic even in Congress party and she took decisions by her own without appropriate consultancy with his companions. She wanted to erase all main leaders of Congress party who had a political vision as she wanted to change them with those who could act in front of her as political puppets. Such unnecessary involvement resulted in complex ethno based apprehension in many parts of India especially in Northeast and Punjab.

The tragedy of Punjab, the elimination of the Sikh minority the emergence of aggressive communalism in Punjab and

in the other parts of the country and the politics of violence are the consequences of the failure to accommodate the reasonable Akali demands by Mrs. Gandhi. It is not possible to calculate the cost, paid by the country. Definitely, regarding ethnic conflicts the impact of this crisis throws India decades back.

#### Conclusion

The ethnic based communities are the distinction of South Asia and there is diversity of ethnic groups in the region. Pakistan and Bharat emerged on the world map because of the religious ethnicity. During the partition times, Sikhs joined Indian National Congress and opted for Bharat. They were lulled with promises which later on proved fake. Their ethnic identity suffered a severe blow when they were not recognized as separate religious ethnic group from Hindus. Later on all of their rightful demands were shunned and they were not treated as the first class citizens of Bharat. As their demands for rights and urge for the fulfillment of the promises grew, the Hindu mind set became more hostile towards them and they were out rightly butchered and even their religious sanctuary was not spared and they faced the identity dilemma to get escape from the butchering policies of Mrs. Indra Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi respectively. Operation Blue Star left them in a chaos and pain and even during this large scale genocide, women and children were not spared. The ill policies and mal treatment led them to vow for separate home land in Bharat and they sued for Khalistan. Although, they were with Indian National Congress during partition times but treacheries of the Hindus forced them to yield for separate home land. In the recent times, we can also see that rise of Hindutva in Bharat after Modi's BJP victory, the life is very tough for the minorities in India and Hindutva is on the way to destroy the Indian diverse fabric.

#### AUTHORS

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**First Author** – Dr. Muhammad Abrar Ahmad, PhD, Assistant Professor, University of Education, Division of Arts and Social Sciences, Lahore, Pakistan. <a href="mailto:abrar.ahmad@ue.edu.pk">abrar.ahmad@ue.edu.pk</a>; royal\_rana81@hotmail.com.

**Second Author** – Dr. Anam Iftikhar, PhD, Assistant Professor, University of Education, Division of Arts and Social Sciences, Lahore, Pakistan. Anam.iftikhar@ue.edu.pk

**Third Author** – Dr. Ruqia Kalsoom, PhD, Assistant Professor, School of History & Pakistan Students, Minhaj University Lahore. drruqia.pak@mul.edu.pk

**Fourth Author** – Dr. Amir Ali, PhD, Visiting Faculty, University of Education, Division of Arts and Social Sciences, Lahore, Pakistan. Amirzahid143@gmail.com.

# Fifth Author - Dr. Syed Ali Raza

Visiting Assistant Professor, PhD, Dept. of Archaeology, University of the Punjab, Lahore. alishahphd@gmail.com

**Correspondence Author** – Dr. Muhammad Abrar Ahmad, PhD, Assistant Professor, University of Education, Division of Arts and Social Sciences, Lahore, Pakistan. Abrar.ahmad@ue.edu.pk; royal rana81@hotmail.com.

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<sup>[&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>] Ibid.

<sup>[&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>] Ibid, 119.

<sup>[4]</sup> Minutes of the All India Congress Committee, Calcutta: 1946. The Statesman, Calcutta, July 7, 1946.

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<sup>[6]</sup> V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (Bombay: 1957), 432-33. The Boundary Commission awarded 13 out of 29 districts of the Punjab to the Indian Union and even Lahore, the capital of Punjab, was given to Pakistan. It is a matter of common knowledge that while the Muslims became the sovereign rulers of Pakistan and the Hindus got Hindustan, the Sikhs were, once again on the crossroads of history. G.S. Dhillon, *Truth About Punjab*, (Amritsar, 1996), 37.

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