



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

India

India – Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) – Khalistan movement

17 December 2009

1 What is Shiromani Akali (A) Party?

2 Is it the same as the Akali Dal party?

Note: Akali Dal is also termed Shiromani Akali Dal.¹

The Shiromani Akali Dal was the most prominent Sikh political organization, forming originally in the 1920s. By the early 1990s the party had splintered into a number of factions.²

It is likely the applicant is referring to the Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) (SAD(A)) party. SAD(A) is a splinter Akali Dal party formed in the mid-1990s by Simranjit Singh Mann, a former police official. The party is also often referred to as Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann). Mann, a Sikh leader who is often described as “radical”, has been arrested a number of times and has spent time in prison on charges of sedition for allegedly advocating the establishment of Khalistan, a Sikh homeland. Mann was also jailed for his alleged involvement in the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Mann successfully competed for a *Lok Sabha* seat in 1999. In 2004 the party ran six candidates, all unsuccessful. The party was also unsuccessful in the general elections held this year, as well as the state elections held in 2007.³

The main Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) party, led by Parkash Singh Badal, is currently in power in Punjab. This faction is in alliance with the BJP. Badal is serving his fourth term as Chief Minister of Punjab. His son, Sukhbir Singh Badal, is the acting president of the party.⁴

¹ UK Border Agency 2009, 'Country of origin information report: India', UK Home Office website, 12 May <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/india-120509.doc> - Accessed 14 May 2009, Annex B - Attachment 1.

² Fair, C. 2005, 'Diaspora involvement in insurgencies: Insights from the Khalistan and Tamil Eelam movements', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 11, p. 151

http://home.comcast.net/~christine_fair/pubs/Diasporas.pdf - Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 2.

³ “India”. CQ Press Electronic Library, Political Handbook of the World Online Edition. Originally published in *Political Handbook of the World 2009*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, and Judith F. Isacoff (Washington: CQ Press, 2009) http://library.cqpress.com/phw/phw2009_India - Accessed 16 December 2009 - Attachment 3; ‘Sardar Simranjit Singh Mann’ (undated), Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) website <http://akalidalamritsar.net/President.asp> - Accessed 17 December 2009 - Attachment 4; Curtis, Tim 2004, ‘India’, in *Revolutionary and Dissident Movements of the World*, 4th edition, ed. B. Szajkowski, John Harper Publishing, London, pp. 180-181 – Attachment 5.

⁴ “India”. CQ Press Electronic Library, Political Handbook of the World Online Edition. Originally published in *Political Handbook of the World 2009*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, and Judith F. Isacoff (Washington: CQ Press, 2009) http://library.cqpress.com/phw/phw2009_India - Accessed 16 December 2009 - Attachment 3.

Shiromani Akali Dal

A *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* paper gives early background on Shiromani Akali Dal:

Shiromani Akali Dal (henceforth the Akali Dal) has been the most prominent Sikh political organization. It was formed (albeit under a different name) on 14 December 1920 at the Akal Takht, within the Golden Temple complex at Amritsar. The leader of the Akali Dal is called a “Jathedar.” Since its inception, it has controlled the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (Central Gurdwara Management Committee, or SGPC). Between 1930 and 1940, the Akali Dal struggled for communal Sikh rights. In 1946 it launched agitation for an independent, sovereign Sikh State but obviously failed to achieve this goal. In subsequent decades, some of the voting block of the Akali Dal was ceded to the Congress party. The Akali Dal launched two agitations for the formation of a Punjabi-speaking province, Punjabi Subah, in 1955 and 1960. The Akali Dal also supported the movement for Khalistan between 1980 and 1992. By the early 1990s, the Akali Dal had fragmented into a number of groups that argued for varying degrees of sovereignty and/or integration within federal India.⁵

The Political Handbook of the World provides a summary of the more recent history of the Akali Dal and its various splinter groups as follows:

Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD). Although the Sikh *Shiromani Akali Dal* (Akali Religious Party) contests elections nationally, its influence is confined primarily to Punjab, where it campaigns against excessive federal influence in Sikh affairs. Prior to the June 1984 storming of Amritsar's Golden Temple, leadership of the Sikh agitation had effectively passed from the *Akali Dal* to the more extremist followers of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. In July 1985, a year after Bhindranwale's death, the moderate *Akali Dal* leader, Harchand Singh Longowal, concluded a peace agreement with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, but Longowal was assassinated in August.

In 1986 a number of *Akali Dal* leaders, including Parkash Singh Badal, a former chief minister, withdrew to form a separate party, but in 1987 the party reunited under Simranjit Singh Mann, a former police official. Factionalism nevertheless persisted. In 1994–1995 the Sikh religious leadership, led by Manjit SINGH, attempted to unify the party, with half a dozen of the more distinctly nonsecular factions—the most notable exception being the Badal group—adopting an “Amritsar declaration” and briefly appending “Amritsar” to their collective identity. However, Mann, asserting that other party leaders were not abiding by the declaration, subsequently formed a separate party (see SAD [Mann], below).

In 1998–1999 a serious internal feud saw a faction led by Gurcharan Singh TOHRA criticizing the BJP-led central government and President Badal's Punjab administration. In mid-1999 Tohra launched the All India Shiromani Akali Dal (AISAD), which may have contributed to the SAD's losing six of its eight *Lok Sabha* seats in the 1999 election. Three years later, it lost the state poll. Tohra and Badal reconciled in 2003, but Tohra died in March 2004. Less than a month later Jaswant Singh MANN organized a new anti-Badal **All India Shiromani Akali Dal**.

At the 2004 general election the SAD won eight seats as a component of the NDA. Shortly afterward a dissident SAD leader, Prem Singh CHANDUMAJRA, announced formation of another anti-Badal offshoot, the *Shiromani Akali Dal* (Longowal), but he rejoined the parent party in January 2007. A month later, in alliance with the BJP, the SAD won the Punjab State election, permitting Badal to reclaim the chief ministership.

⁵ Fair, C. 2005, ‘Diaspora involvement in insurgencies: Insights from the Khalistan and Tamil Eelam movements’, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 11, p. 151
http://home.comcast.net/~christine_fair/pubs/Diasporas.pdf – Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 2.

In May 2007 a former leader of the Khalistan Commando Force, Wassan Singh ZAFFARWAL, announced formation of a **Shiromani Akali Dal (Zaffarwal)** in a renewed effort to forge an independent Sikh Khalistan.

Leaders: Parkash Singh BADAL (Chief Minister of Punjab and President of the Party), Sukhbir Singh BADAL (Acting President), Sukhdev Singh DHINDSA (Parliamentary Leader and Secretary General) (Banks, A.S. & Muller, T.C. & Overstreet, N.R. (eds) 2007, 'India', in *Political Handbook of the World* (2007), CQ Press, Washington D.C.⁶

Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar)

The Political Handbook also provides a brief paragraph on the Mann faction of SAD:

Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann)—SAD(M). The SAD(M), also frequently referenced as the **Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar)**, was formed by radical *Akali Dal* faction leader S. S. Mann in the mid-1990s because, he claimed, other leaders had failed to adhere to the 1994 Amritsar declaration (see SAD, above). Mann successfully competed for a *Lok Sabha* seat in 1999. In 2004 the party ran six candidates, all unsuccessful.

In a case dating back to 1991, in November 2006 Mann was acquitted of sedition for allegedly advocating establishment of Khalistan, a Sikh homeland.

Leader: Simranjit Singh MANN.⁷

A recent research response, dated 22 April 2009, provides further information on the Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann) party, including a split within the party which occurred in 2007. This response is included here as Attachment 20.⁸

3 What is the Khalistan movement?

The Khalistan movement generally refers to the demand for a separate Sikh state (called Khalistan) in Punjab. The independence movement was propagated by members of the political-religious group Akali Dal and its various splinter groups, and internationally among the Sikh diaspora. The movement's origin dates back to the late nineteenth century when communal boundaries became more antagonistic between Hindus and Sikhs. The movement was primarily led by Akali Dal, who adopted a stronger stance for a separate state around the early 1980s, together with Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. The insurgency reached its peak in the 1980s with numerous active pro-Khalistan militant groups. The central government responded with heavy counter-insurgency measures. A Minority Rights Group International paper, published in 2006, looks at the conflict in the context of other separatist movements in India. According to information in this paper, "between 1984 and 1995, Indian security forces illegally detained, tortured, extra-judicially executed, and 'disappeared' an estimated 25,000 Sikhs in the context of counter-insurgency operations." The movement began to fade around

⁶ "India". CQ Press Electronic Library, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*. Originally published in *Political Handbook of the World 2009*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, and Judith F. Isacoff (Washington: CQ Press, 2009) http://library.cqpress.com/phw/phw2009_India - Accessed 16 December 2009 - Attachment 3.

⁷ "India". CQ Press Electronic Library, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*. Originally published in *Political Handbook of the World 2009*, edited by Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller, William R. Overstreet, and Judith F. Isacoff (Washington: CQ Press, 2009) http://library.cqpress.com/phw/phw2009_India - Accessed 16 December 2009 - Attachment 3.

⁸ RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response IND34704*, 22 April – Attachment 20.

the early 1990s reportedly due to the impact of almost a decade of violence and economic repercussions.⁹

The South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) website's latest assessment of Punjab states that 2009 is "the 16th consecutive year the State has remained relatively free of major political violence after the widespread terrorist-secessionist movement for 'Khalistan' was comprehensively defeated in 1993". The assessment does state that, "Central intelligence sources, however, indicate that a concerted attempt to revive militancy in the State is under way". According to SATP, "Despite the abject failure of the Khalistan movement, there has been steady Pakistani support for various Sikh militant groups which retain residual capacity to cause local disruption in Punjab, an exigency that very much dovetails with Pakistan's long-term strategic intent in India". The assessment indicates that security forces continue in counter-terrorism operations against suspected Sikh militants in Punjab.¹⁰

4 Is it currently an underground movement?

The Khalistan movement is a separatist movement, with alleged support from Pakistan.¹¹ As already noted, the movement was at its public height in the 1980s and early 1990s. Individuals and groups continue to publicly advocate for a separate state, but can also face arrest and charges of sedition for doing so.¹² For example, Mann gets arrested periodically for "raising pro-Khalistan slogans". A 22 June 2009 article in *Outlook India* reports that public support for the separatist movement has hit an all-time low and that the "movement is being kept alive by a few marginal groups and the Sikh diaspora in Europe, US and Canada". The article describes Mann's group as "one of the three remaining Khalistan organisations in Punjab".¹³

There are also a number of proscribed Khalistani militant groups currently active in Punjab. The latest SATP assessment mentions: Babbar Khalsa International (BKI); Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF); Khalistan Commando Force (KCF).¹⁴

⁹ See: Weiss, M. 2002, 'The Khalistan Movement in Punjab', Yale Center for International & Area Studies website, 25 June <http://www.yale.edu/macmillan/globalization/punjab.pdf> – Accessed 7 November 2003 – Attachment 6; Chadda, Maya 2006, 'Minority rights and conflict prevention: Case study of conflicts in Indian Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Nagaland', Minority Rights Group International website, August – Attachment 7; South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) (undated), 'Backgrounder – Punjab', SATP website <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/punjab/backgrounder/index.html> – Accessed 5 April 2002 – Attachment 8.

¹⁰ South Asia Terrorism Portal (undated), 'Punjab Assessment Year 2010' <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/punjab/index.html> – Accessed 10 December 2009 – Attachment 9.

¹¹ South Asia Terrorism Portal (undated), 'Punjab Assessment Year 2010' <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/punjab/index.html> – Accessed 10 December 2009 – Attachment 9.

¹² Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2008, *IND102547.E – India: Whether members of the Akali Dal (Mann) / Akali Dal (Amritsar) party are harassed and arrested for participating in party gatherings, for publicly complaining about the treatment of Sikhs by Indian authorities or for calling for the creation of Khalistan (separate homeland for Sikhs); whether police regard members of the Akali Dal (Mann) party with suspicion and monitor them for signs of any links with terrorism (2005 – 2008)*, 15 April – Attachment 10.

¹³ Dogra, C. 2009, 'A Faded Star', *Outlook India*, 22 June <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?250279> – Accessed 17 December 2009 – Attachment 11.

¹⁴ South Asia Terrorism Portal (undated), 'Punjab Assessment Year 2010' <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/punjab/index.html> – Accessed 10 December 2009 – Attachment 9. Also see: UK Border Agency 2009, 'Country of origin information report: India', UK Home Office website, 12 May <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/india-120509.doc> – Accessed 14 May 2009, Annex C – Attachment 1.

5 What was the operation carried out by the army on the Golden Temple? When did it take place?

Operation Bluestar refers to the military operation carried out at the Golden Temple in Amritsar on 4 June 1984, under the direction of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In a 2002 essay, Meredith Weiss provides the following account of Operation Bluestar:

On 4 June 1984, in an operation codenamed Bluestar, 2,000 army troops moved in to arrest Akali leaders inside the temple. This action incited thousands of Sikh peasants to converge upon Amritsar. The military dispersed the crowds and launched a full-scale attack on the Temple, taking control of it. In the process, an estimated 5,000 civilians, including Bhindranwale, and 700 officers were killed. The army also attacked forty other gurdwaras where Sikh activists were allegedly hiding. The temple sustained substantial damage in the attack, including to manuscripts and other artifacts. In the wake of the attack, "The entire Sikh community was outraged, not so much by the death of Bhindranwale but by the all-out assault on their premier shrine by the Indian army" (Deol 2000:108). A number of Sikh troops deserted the military and tried to march toward Amritsar, several Sikhs resigned from Parliament or other government posts, and Sikh intellectuals returned government-given honors in protest. The government rebuilt the shrine, but their doing so was popularly seen as the government's again taking control and attempting to humiliate the Sikhs.

In the following months, the government conducted Operation Woodrose, arresting and sometimes torturing or killing thousands of Sikhs, including all prominent Akali leaders, and instituting ordinances for detention without trial, extraordinary rules for evidence, and so on. Most of the AISSF's rank and file went underground, though a number of leaders were arrested or killed. Also, a large number rural Sikh youths crossed the border into Pakistan. The state was sealed off with additional troops, martial law was declared, complete press censorship was established, and the Golden Temple was occupied militarily. Leaf suggests that this disproportionate, inappropriate response just "served as evidence of what [Bhindranwale] was trying to prove:" Indira Gandhi's government's hostility to Sikhs and shift away from basic democratic procedures and toward autocracy (Leaf 1985:494).¹⁵

The US Department of State's 2005 report on religious freedom provides a similar description of 'Operation Bluestar' as Weiss above. The pertinent extracts follow:

The anti-Sikh riots, which followed the assassination of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh bodyguards, lasted for approximately 4 days and resulted in more than 3,000 deaths. **The assassination was in retaliation for Indira Gandhi's authorization of Operation Blue Star, during which the army assaulted terrorists holed up in Sikhism's holiest shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, killing a prominent Sikh political leader and many of his supporters and damaging the complex [Researcher emphasis].** In October 2004, Amnesty International (AI) called for the perpetrators of the 1984 anti-Sikh violence to be brought to justice to heal the wounds of this period. AI stated that only a small minority of police officers responsible for the 1984 human rights violations has ever been prosecuted.¹⁶

Memorial ceremonies are held every year at the Golden Temple. This year, as always, "a few radical Sikh organisations", including Mann's, raised slogans of Khalistan. No reports of arrests were found. A 22 June 2009 article in *Outlook India* reports on the 25th anniversary of Operation Bluestar. The article describes Mann as a "diehard Khalistani", also satirically stating that he went home disappointed, for once not having been booked or arrested for

¹⁵ Weiss, M. 2002, 'The Khalistan Movement in Punjab', Yale Center for International & Area Studies website, 25 June <http://www.yale.edu/macmillan/globalization/punjab.pdf> – Accessed 7 November 2003 – Attachment 6.

¹⁶ US Department of State 2005, International Religious Freedom Report – India, 8 November, Section II – Attachment 12.

sedition.¹⁷ Although the article describes Mann's group as "extremist Sikh elements" and "hardline supporters of the [Khalistan] movement", the article seems to suggest that Mann is not necessarily taken seriously by the police.

In June 2008 articles report that Mann and two SAD(A) general secretaries were arrested on charges of sedition for raising the demand for Khalistan on the anniversary of Operation Bluestar.¹⁸

6 Is it possible to find out whether membership cards are issued by the Shiromani Akali (A) Party?

A 15 October 2009 Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada research response provides information on membership cards issued by the SAD(A) party. The information was obtained from a representative at the Consulate General of Canada in Chandigarh, India. "[T]he Representative stated that, according to the secretary-general of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) party, all party members at all levels receive membership cards". According to the information provided by the representative, the old version is being replaced by a new card. The response provides a description of both the old and new versions of the cards.¹⁹

7 Does the party seek an independent state for Sikhs? If so, when did that aim become part of its manifesto?

The demand for self-determination for Sikhs and an independent state has been part of the demands of Mann's party since it was formed.

Information on the SAD(A) website states: "After the 1991-break-up of the United Akali Dal, Simranjit Singh Mann continued as President of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann) faction. During his tenure as President of Shiromani Akali Dal (Mann), the party resolved to struggle for the right to self-determination for the Sikh people".²⁰ The homepage of the website states that the party is "fighting for Sikh's rights and independent, sovereign, buffer state between nuclear Hindu India and nuclear Islamic Pakistan".²¹

In the elections this year Mann's main poll agenda was again that Punjab become an independently governed "buffer state" between India and Pakistan.²²

¹⁷ Dogra, C. 2009, 'A Faded Star', *Outlook India*, 22 June <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?250279> – Accessed 17 December 2009 – Attachment 11.

¹⁸ 'Two more SAD(A) leaders booked, Mann's house raided' 2008, *Outlook India*, 15 June http://www.outlookindia.com/pti_news.asp?id=304623 – Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 13; Rataul, D. 2008, 'Bluestar anniversary: Mann raises pro-Khalistan slogans', *Express India*, 6 June <http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/bluestar-anniversary-mann-raises-prokhalistan-slogans/319532/> – Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 14.

¹⁹ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, IND103258.FE – *India: Whether the Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) party issues membership cards; a detailed description of the cards*, 15 October – Attachment 15.

²⁰ 'Sardar Simranjit Singh Mann' (undated), Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) website <http://akalidalamritsar.net/President.asp> – Accessed 17 December 2009 – Attachment 4.

²¹ 'Welcome to the Official Website of Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar)' (undated), Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) website <http://www.akalidalamritsar.org/> – Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 16.

²² 'Radical Sikh leader demands "buffer state" status for Punjab' 2009, *The Hindu*, 24 February <http://www.hindu.com/thehindu/holnus/002200902241504.htm> – Accessed 17 December 2009 – Attachment 17.

8 Is there information of harassment of party members in 2008 or 2009?

Question 2 of a recent research response, dated 22 April 2009, provides information on the current activities and treatment of members of the SAD(A). The research response includes information from the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB). The IRB information was conflicting as to whether party members faced harassment. Some sources consulted stated that SAD(A) members are not, in general, mistreated. One source, however, states that: "In instances where Akali Dal (Mann) members are suspected of extremism or alleged to have links with extremists and terrorists, state and police closely monitor and, in [some] instances, control their actions, and the treatment accorded [to] them is reportedly severe, including illegal detention and torture, including sexualized violence."²³

An April 2009 IRB response updates the situation for SAD(A) supporters and states that activists are unlikely to face harassment. The response states that "reports of harassment or arrests of Akali Dal (Mann / Amritsar) party members by Indian authorities from April 2008 to March 2009 could be found among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate".²⁴

As noted in a previous question, June 2008 articles report that Mann and other SAD(A) leaders were arrested for raising pro-Khalistan slogans on the anniversary of Operation Bluestar.²⁵

In May 2007 Mann was jailed on charges of sedition, along with 20 other party members. He was released on bail in mid August 2007, after three months in jail.²⁶

Mann and his followers appear to be perceived as radical and/or extremist, with Mann described as a "diehard Khalistani".²⁷ Recent analysis, such as the latest SATP assessment on Punjab, does indicate that there are ongoing fears of a revival of Sikh militancy in the state. There is also the belief that Pakistan supports "Khalistani terrorist groups" and the SATP assessment details counter-terrorism operations by security forces in Punjab in 2009.²⁸

²³ RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response IND34704*, 22 April – Attachment 20; Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2008, *IND102547.E – India: Whether members of the Akali Dal (Mann) / Akali Dal (Amritsar) party are harassed and arrested for participating in party gatherings, for publicly complaining about the treatment of Sikhs by Indian authorities or for calling for the creation of Khalistan (separate homeland for Sikhs); whether police regard members of the Akali Dal (Mann) party with suspicion and monitor them for signs of any links with terrorism (2005 – 2008)*, 15 April – Attachment 10.

²⁴ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *IND103112.E – India: Whether members of the Akali Dal (Mann) / Akali Dal (Amritsar) party are harassed and arrested for participating in party gatherings, for publicly complaining about the treatment of Sikhs by Indian authorities or for calling for the creation of Khalistan (separate homeland for Sikhs); whether police regard members of the Akali Dal (Mann) party with suspicion and monitor them for signs of any links with terrorism (2005 - March 2009)*, 14 April - Attachment 21.

²⁵ 'Two more SAD(A) leaders booked, Mann's house raided' 2008, *Outlook India*, 15 June http://www.outlookindia.com/pti_news.asp?id=304623 – Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 13; Rataul, D. 2008, 'Bluestar anniversary: Mann raises pro-Khalistan slogans', *Express India*, 6 June <http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/bluestar-anniversary-mann-raises-prokhalistan-slogans/319532/> – Accessed 21 April 2009 – Attachment 14.

²⁶ Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2008, *IND102547.E – India: Whether members of the Akali Dal (Mann) / Akali Dal (Amritsar) party are harassed and arrested for participating in party gatherings, for publicly complaining about the treatment of Sikhs by Indian authorities or for calling for the creation of Khalistan (separate homeland for Sikhs); whether police regard members of the Akali Dal (Mann) party with suspicion and monitor them for signs of any links with terrorism (2005 – 2008)*, 15 April – Attachment 10.

²⁷ Dogra, C. 2009, 'A Faded Star', *Outlook India*, 22 June <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?250279> – Accessed 17 December 2009 - Attachment 11.

²⁸ South Asia Terrorism Portal (undated), 'Punjab Assessment Year 2010' <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/punjab/index.html> – Accessed 10 December 2009 – Attachment 9.

List of Attachments

1. UK Border Agency 2009, 'Country of origin information report: India', UK Home Office website, 12 May <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/india-120509.doc> - Accessed 14 May 2009.
2. Fair, C. 2005, 'Diaspora involvement in insurgencies: Insights from the Khalistan and Tamil Eelam movements', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 11
http://home.comcast.net/~christine_fair/pubs/Diasporas.pdf – Accessed 21 April 2009.
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5. Curtis, Tim 2004, 'India', in *Revolutionary and Dissident Movements of the World*, 4th edition, ed. B. Szajkowski, John Harper Publishing, London. (RRT Library)
6. Weiss, M. 2002, 'The Khalistan Movement in Punjab', Yale Center for International & Area Studies website, 25 June <http://www.yale.edu/macmillan/globalization/punjab.pdf> – Accessed 7 November 2003.
7. Chadda, Maya 2006, 'Minority rights and conflict prevention: Case study of conflicts in Indian Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Nagaland', Minority Rights Group International website, August.
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14. Rataul, D. 2008, 'Bluestar anniversary: Mann raises pro-Khalistan slogans', *Express India*, 6 June <http://www.expressindia.com/latest-news/bluestar-anniversary-mann-raises-prokhalistan-slogans/319532/> – Accessed 21 April 2009.
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18. 'Office Bearers' (undated), Shiromani Akali Dal (Amritsar) website http://akalidalamritsar.org/office_bearer.html - Accessed 17 December 2009.
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21. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, *IND103112.E – India: Whether members of the Akali Dal (Mann) / Akali Dal (Amritsar) party are harrassed and arrested for participating in party gatherings, for publicly complaining about the treatment of Sikhs by Indian authorities or for calling for the creation of Khalistan (separate homeland for Sikhs); whether police regard members of the Akali Dal (Mann) party with suspicion and monitor them for signs of any links with terrorism (2005 - March 2009)*, 14 April. (REFINFO)