A

Adam Jones, Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction, Routledge Press (ISBN 9781317533856), 2016

Aatish Taseer, The Way Things Were, Pan Macmillan (ISBN 9789382616337), 2014

A.G. Noorani, CIVIL LIBERTIES: Supreme Court and Punjab Crisis, EPW magazine, September 22, 1984

A.G. Noorani, CIVIL LIBERTIES: Rule of Law and Terrorism in Punjab and Northern Ireland, EPW magazine, October 20, 1984

A.G. Noorani, CIVIL LIBERTIES: Ill-Treatment of Political Detenus, EPW magazine, April 20, 1985

A.G. Noorani, CIVIL LIBERTIES: The Terrorist Act, EPW magazine, June 1, 1985

A.G. Noorani, Misra commission under fire, Sikh Review, 35 (401), May 1987

A.G. Noorani, CIVIL LIBERTIES: Repressive Laws in Punjab, EPW magazine, September 12, 1987

A.G. Noorani, CIVIL LIBERTIES: Ill-Treatment of Political Detenus, EPW magazine, January 23, 1988

A.G. Noorani, Crisis in Judiciary, Frontline, May 11, 2018

Ajaz Ashraf, 1984 revisited: The guilty men of Delhi, Sikh Review, 41 (11), November 1993

Ajeet Caur, November Churasi (Short story collection), Navyug Publishers, 1995

Ajmer Singh, Etmad A. Khan, Carnage 84, The Ambushing Of Witnesses, Tehelka magazine Special Issue October 8, 2005

Amandeep Sandhu, Roll of Honour, Rupa Publications, (ISBN 9788129120236), 2013

Amarjit Chandan, Jugni (Essay), Likhat Parhat, Navyug Publishers, 2013

Amarjit Chandan, Punjab de QatilaN' nu and O jo huNdey sann (Poems), JarhaN, 1995, 1999, 2005

Amarjit Chandan, The Camera and 1984, https://sikhchic.com/1984/the\_camera\_1984, 2012

Amitav Ghosh, The Ghosts of Mrs Gandhi, The New Yorker magazine, July 1995

Amiya Rao, When Delhi Burnt, EPW magazine, December 8, 1984

Amiya Rao, The Delhi massacre and censoring the Sikhs. Index Censorship, 14 (4), 1985

Amiya Rao, Aurobindo Ghose, N.D. Pancholi, *Truth about Delhi violence, Report to the Nation*, Citizens for Democracy (India), 1985

Ammtoje Mann, Hawayein (Feature film), 2003

Amnesty International, India, Break the Cycle of Impunity and Torture in Punjab, January 2003

Amnesty International, 31 years and Waiting, An Era of Injustice for the 1984 Sikh Massacre https://www.amnesty.org.in/images/uploads/articles/Campiagn\_Digest\_W.pdf, 2016

Anshu Saluja, Engaging with Women's Words and their Silences, Mapping 1984 and its aftermath, Sikh Formations, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015

Anurag Singh, Giani Kirpal Singh's Eye-Witness Account of Operation Bluestar, Published by B. Chattar Singh, Jiwan Singh, (ISBN 978-8176013185), 1999

Arpana Caur, Wounds of 1984 (Painting), 2000

Arvind-Pal S. Mandair, *After 1984? Violence, Politics and Survivor Memories*, Sikh Formations, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015

Avtar Singh, Returning to 1984, Timeout magazine Delhi, April 26, 2013

#### В

Balbinder Bhogal, Monopolizing violence before and after 1984, Government law and the people's passion, Sikh Formations, Volume 7, Issue 1, 2011

Baljit Malik, The cry for justice (or innocent Sikh victims of the carnage that followed Mrs. Gandhi's death), Illustrated Weekly of India magazine, February 16, 1986

Baljit Malik, Can political expediency be allowed to interfere with the due process of law? How long will the innocent Sikh victims of the carnage that followed Mrs. Gandhi death wait for justice? Spokesman Weekly, March 3, 1986

Basharat Peer with Khushwant Singh, Anti-Sikh riots a pogrom, Rediff.com news site, May 9, 2001

#### C

Citizen's Commission, Delhi, 31 October to 4 November, 1984, Report of the Citizen's Commission, Delhi, Tata Press, 1984

Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, Fighting for Faith and Nation, Dialogues With Sikh Militants, University of Pennsylvania Press (ISBN 978-0-8122-1592-2), 1996

Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, A Sea Of Orange, Writings on the Sikhs and India', Xlibris Corporation (ISBN 978-1-4010-2857-2), 2002

# D

Darshan Singh Tatla, *The Third Ghallughara: On the Sikh Dilemna Since 1984*, Sikh Formations, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015

#### E

Ensaaf.org (Ensaaf is a nonprofit organization working to end impunity and achieve justice for mass state crimes in India, with a focus on Punjab, by documenting abuses, bringing perpetrators to justice, and organizing survivors), ongoing

Ensaaf, The Punjab Mass Cremations Case, India burning the Rule of Law, January 2007

Ensaaf, Punjab Police, Fabricating Terrorism Through Illegal Detention and Torture, October 2005

EPW magazine Editorial, Mishra Commission, Rewriting History, March 7, 1987

EPW correspondents, Who are the Guilty? Causes and Impact of the Delhi Riots, November 24, 1984

F

Forum Gazette, Minorities not for burning, 1 (5), August 15, 1986

 $\mathbf{G}$ 

Gagan Singh, 1984, (Drawings), 2019

Gauri Gill, 1984, (Notebook for free download and distribution, www.gaurigill.com), 2014-ongoing

Gurmukh Singh, Representations of the 1984 Tragedy in Punjabi Cinema: Ideology and Cultural Politics, Sikh Formations, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015

Gurcharan Singh Babbar, Ed. Government-organised carnage, November 1984. Babbar Publications, New Delhi, 1998

Gurvinder Singh Dimpy, Remembering November 1984 killings: Was it a riot, massacre or pogrom, Understanding Sikhism—The Research Journal, 5 (2), July—December 2003

Gurvinder Singh, Chauthi Koot (Feature Film), 2016

Η

Harbhajan Singh, Meri Kav Yatra (Collected poems), Navyug Publishers, 1989

Harbhajan Singh, *Unee Sau Churasi*, (Poems and Essays) Compiled, Edited and Introduced by Amarjit Chandan, Chetna Parkashan Publishers, Punjabi Bhawan, Ludhiana, (ISBN 978-93-5112-249-4), 2017

Harjit Malik, A Punjab Report, EPW magazine, September 15, 1984

Harjit Malik, Misra Commission Report, Salt on Raw Wounds, EPW magazine, April 25, 1987

Harjinder Singh Dilgeer and Awtar Singh Sekhon, *India kills the Sikhs*, Sikh Educational Trust, Edmonton, 1994

Harinder Baweja, Two commissions go wrong, Sunday Observer newspaper, February 8, 1987

Harinder Baweja, Police Used Political Clout To Stop My Probe, Tehelka magazine, April 25, 2009

Harinder Baweja, When A Big Tree Falls, The Earth Shakes, Tehelka magazine, April 25, 2009

Harinder Baweja, 1984 victim brings alive Sajjan's riot act, Hindustan Times newspaper, April 29, 2012

Harminder Kaur, Blue Star over Amritsar, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, (ISBN 9788120202573), 1990

Harnik Deol, Religion and Nationalism in India, The Case of the Punjab, Routledge Press, London (ISBN 978-0-415-20108-7), 2000

Harpreet Kaur, The Widow Colony (Feature film), 2006

Hartosh S. Bal, Minorities and the Mob, Open Magazine, October 31, 2009

Hartosh S. Bal, Always Forget, New York Times newspaper, November 20, 2012

Hartosh S. Bal, Secular Nonsense on 1984, Open magazine, September 4, 2013

Hartosh S. Bal, The Shattered Dome, Caravan magazine, May 1, 2014

Hartosh S. Bal, Sins of Commission, Caravan magazine, October 1, 2014

Harveen Sachdeva Mann, 'Our periodic table of Hat'e: The archive of 1984 Punjab in Jaspreet Singh's Helium, Sikh Formations, Volume 14, Issue 1, 2018

H.S. Phoolka interviewed by Chander Suta Dogra, The Hindu newspaper, September 11, 2013

H.S. Phoolka, R.S. Chhatwal, N.S. Bawa and J.M.S Sood, Consultant Editor Manoj Mitta with Delhi Sikh Gurudwara Management Committee, (CD), Carnage 84, Massacre of 4000 Sikhs in Delhi, includes area wise details of the violence linked to a map of Delhi, 1000 affidavits of victims and witnesses, official and non official inquiry reports and other source material, 2016

Himadri Banerjee, 1984 Punjab Tragedy in Hindi Literary Archives: Images Beyond Punjab in India, Sikh Formations, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015

The Hindu newspaper (Madras), Who was responsible for the Delhi riots?, February 25, 1987

I

Inderjit Badhwar, Mishra commission: Serious setbacks, India Today magazine, April 30, 1986

Inderjit Singh Jaijee, *Politics of Genocide Punjab 1984—1998*, Ajanta Publications, (ISBN 8120204158, 9788120204157), 1999

Iqbal Singh, *Punjab Under Siege, A Critical Analysis*, Allen, McMillan and Enderson publishers, New York, (ISBN 978-0-934-83904-4), 1986

J

Jaideep Singh Mander, More Mass Graves & Burnt Down Gurdwaras Identified in India, Punjab Newsline, April 13, 2011

Jagjit Singh Aurora, 1984: Justice denied to victims of massacre, Sikh Review, 51 (8), August 2003

Jarnail Singh, I Accuse... Penguin Books India, (ISBN 978-0-670-08394-7), 2009

Jasdev Rai, KHALISTAN IS DEAD! LONG LIVE KHALISTAN! Sikh Formations, Volume 7, Issue 1, 2011

Jaskaran Kaur, Barbara Crossette, Twenty years of impunity, the November 1984 pogroms of Sikhs in India, A Report by Ensaaf (ISBN 978-0-97870-730-9), Second Ed. 2006

Jaskaran Kaur, Dhami Sukhman, Protecting the Killers, A Policy of Impunity in Punjab, India, Human Rights Watch, New York, October 2007

Jaspal Naveel Singh 'HOW MANY OF US REMEMBER 1984?': NARRATING MASCULINITY AND MILITANCY IN THE KHALISTANI RAP BRICOLAGE, Sikh Formations, Volume 9, Issue 3, 2013

Jaspreet Singh, Carbon, Open Magazine, November 9, 2013

Jaspreet Singh, Helium, Bloomsbury USA (ISBN 978-1608199563), 2013

Jaspreet Singh, Thomas Bernhard in New Delhi, New York Times newspaper, July 22, 2013

Jaspreet Singh, NOVEMBER: POEMS, Bayeux Arts, Canada (ISBN 978-1988440125), 2017

Joyce Pettigrew, The Sikhs of the Punjab, Unheard Voices of State and Guerrilla Violence', Zed Books Ltd (ISBN 978-1856493567), 1995

Jyoti Grewal, Betrayed by the state, the anti-Sikh pogrom of 1984, Penguin Books India (ISBN 978-0-14-306303-2), 2007

#### K

Khalsa Aid Canada and Abhishek Madhukar, Lapata. And the Left Behind, Canada, U.K. and USA tour, 2019

Khushwant Singh, Fifteen fateful years: 1984–99 (Delhi riots), Seminar magazine 476, 14-16, April 1999 https://lapata-exhibition.com/?fbclid=IwAR2tYwFgJlt77U7xJW87Or-9B51U23-50\_4qWyy\_Xyky\_lTfJzvyp8K3WEY

### L

Lionel Baixas, *The Anti-Sikh Pogrom of October 31 to November 4, 1984, in New Delhi*, http://www.massviolence.org/The-1984-Anti-Sikhs-pogroms-in-New-Dehli?artpage=8

Loveleen Kaur, THE TEAR IN THE FABRIC OF MULTICULTURALISM, The recurring image of the Sikh extremist, Sikh Formations, Volume 10, Issue 1, 2014

1984 Living History Project, 1984livinghistory.org, online archive of videos about 1984

#### M

Madhu Kishwar, *Gangster rule: The Massacre of the Sikhs*, in Religion at the service of nationalism and other essays, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998

Mahmood Awan, *Khalistan, anti-sikh Pogrom, and poetry of 1984*, The News, Pakistan (http://tns.thenews.com.pk/khalistan-anti-sikh-pogrom-poetry-1984/#.We25jBOCxsN), 2017

Maloy Krishna Dhar, Bitter Harvest: A Saga of the Punjab, Ajanta Publications, Punjab (ISBN 9788120204539), 1996

Manjit Bawa, *Mapping the Conscience, 1984-2004*, (Paintings, body of work about 1984, curated by Ina Puri), Jehangir Art Gallery and Palette Art Gallery, 2004

Manjit Bawa, My Punjab, Illustrated Weekly of India magazine, October 14, 1990

Maninder Singh Kang, *Bhaar* (Short story), from Bhet Waali Gall, Lokgeet Prakashan, Chandigarh, 2009 OR South Asian Ensemble, Spring 2011

Manoj Mitta & H.S. Phoolka, When a Tree Shook Delhi, Roli Books (ISBN 978-81-7436-598-9), 2007

Mark Tully and Satish Jacob, Amritsar: Mrs Gandhi's Last Battle, Jonathan Cape 1986, Rupa Publications (ISBN 978-81-291-0917-0), 2006

Mie Lewis, Jaskaran Kaur, Punjab Police, Fabricating Terrorism Through Illegal Detention and Torture, Ensaaf, October 2005

N

Nandita Haskar, Mishra commission: A hoax, Sikh Review, 34 (389), June 1986

Nanavati Commission Report, http://www.carnage84.com/homepage/nancom.htm, 2005

 $\mathbf{o}$ 

P

Paash, Dharmdeekhsha laee Vinaypatra and Bedakhli laee Vinaypatr (Poems in Punjabi), LaRhãN ge Sathi, Eds. Gursharan Singh & Narbhinder, Balraj Sahni Prakashan, 1988

Paash, Blog on the Revolutionary Indian Poet, (http://paas.wordpress.com/category/paash-in-english/), ongoing

Pal Ahluwalia, The Politics of Intimacy, (Re) thinking 1984, Sikh Formations, Volume 6, Issue 2, 2010

P.C Alexander, 1984: Assassination and massacre of Sikhs, Sikh Review, 48 (11), November 2000

Parvinder Mehta, Repressive Whispers of History Lessons and Legacies of 1984, Sikh Formations, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015

Parvinder Singh, 1984, Sikhs Kristallnacht, Ensaaf, May 2009

Pav Singh 1984: INDIA'S GUILTY SECRET, Kashi House, Britain, (ISBN 978-1911271086), 2017

Patwant Singh, Needed salves for the Sikh's wounds, Sunday Mail newspaper, April 5, 1986

Patwant Singh, The Sikhs, New York, Alfred Knopf (ISBN 978-0-307-42933-9 (0-307-42933-4), 2000

Paul Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, (ISBN 978-0521203241), 1974

Paul Brass (ed.), Riots and Pogroms, Macmillan Press, London, (ISBN 978-0-333-66976-1), 1996

Payal Singh Mohanka, Koi Sardar Hai, First person account, Illustrated Weekly of India magazine, December 23, 1984

People's Union for Democratic Rights and People's Union for Civil Liberties, Who are the Guilty? Report of a Joint Inquiry into the Causes and Impact of the Riots in Delhi from 31 October to 10 November, 1984, New Delhi, http://www.pucl.org/Topics/Religion-communalism/2003/who-are-guilty.htm, PUCL 2003

People's Union for Democratic Rights, 1984 Carnage in Delhi, A Report on the Aftermath, Delhi, November 1992

Prem Parkash, *Ih oh Jasbir nahin* and *Kanhi* (short stories in his collected *Katha Anant*), Navyug Publishers, 1995

Pritam Singh, Government Media and Punjab, EPW magazine, January 12, 1985

Punjab Disappeared, *Punjab Disappeared*, (Documentary), 2019 www.punjabdisappeared.org

Q

R

Radhika Chopra, 1984 – Disinterred Memories, Sikh Formations, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2015

Rahul Bedi, A Darkness Unforgotten, Tehelka magazine, April 29, 2009

Raj Thapar, How do you do it (Delhi riots)? Forum Gazette 5, August 15, 1986

Rajni Kothari, Carnage: The how & why of it all, Sikh Review, 42 (11), November 1994

Ram Narayan Kumar, et al, Reduced to Ashes, The Insurgency and Human Rights in Punjab, South Asia Forum for Human Rights, 2003

Ram Rahman, Never Forget, Open magazine, November 17, 2012

Ranbir Kaleka, Smoke, Fire and Glass, (Painting), 1984

Ranbir Kaleka, Boy without Reflection (Painting), 2004

Ranbir Singh Sandhu, Struggle for Justice, Speeches and Conversations of Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale, Sikh Educational and Religious Foundation (ISBN 978-0967287416), 2000

Reema Anand, Scorched White Lilies of 84, Rupa India Publications (ISBN 8129115416), 2010

Richard D. Mann, Media framing and the myth of religious violence: The othering of Sikhs in The Times of India, Volume 12, Issue 2-3, 2016

Rita Verma, Making Meaning of 1984 in Cyberspace: Youth Answering Back to Reclaim Sikh Identity and Nationhood, Sikh Formations, Volume 7, Issue 1, 2011

Ritu Sarin and Nirmal Mitra, White washing the crimes of 1984, Sunday magazine, March 14, 1987

Romesh Silva, Jasmine Marwaha, Jeff Klingner, *Violent Deaths and Enforced Disappearances During the Counterinsurgency in Punjab, India, A Preliminary Quantitative Analysis*, Palo Alto, Ensaaf and the Benetech Human Rights Data Analysis Group – HRDAG, January 26, 2009

R. S Chhatwal, Victims of November 1984 denied justice, Sikh Review, 51 (3), March 2003

S

S. Balwant, *Ithasik Vishvasghat* (An Historic Betrayal) *Delhi 1984*, 50-page memoir, published in several publications — *Hun* - 31, Dec 2015; republished the same year in *Des Pardes* (UK) and *Punjabi Tribune* (Chandigarh)

Safina Uberoi, My Mother India (Documentary film), 2009

Sanjay Suri, 1984: The Anti-Sikh Violence and After, Harper Collins (ISBN 9351770710, 9789351770718), 2015

Saroj Vasishth, Kala November, The Carnage of 1984, Rupa Publications (ISBN 8171673287), 1995

Schona Jolly, No Justice for India's Sikhs, The Guardian newspaper, UK, October 31, 2009

Shashi Kumar, Kaya Taran (Feature film), 2004

Shruti Devgan, From the 'crevices in dominant memories': virtual commemoration and the 1984 anti-Sikh violence, Identities>Global Studies in Culture and Power, Volume 20, 2013

Shobhita Naithani, I Don't Think Justice Will Come, Tehelka magazine, April 25, 2009

Shonali Bose, Amu (Feature Film), 2005

Shubhashish Bhutania, Kush, (Short Film), 2013

Sidharth Bhatia, A Journey to a Past that Will Not Pass, The Wire, Online news site, November 1, 2016

Siddharth Varadarajan, Moral indifference as the form of modern evil, The Hindu newspaper, August 12, 2005

Sikhchic.com (Website with compilation of articles related to Sikh history and contemporary affairs, ongoing)

http://sikhdigitallibrary.blogspot.in/(Website with compilation of articles), ongoing

Singh Twins, Nineteen Eighty-Four (The Storming Of 'The Golden Temple) (Painting), 1998

Smitu Kothari, Harsh Sethi (eds.), Voices from a Scarred City, The Delhi Carnage in Perspective Lokayan, Delhi, 1985

Sondeep Joshi, Wounds of '84 riots still fresh for them, Times of India newspaper (New Delhi), November 1, 2003

S. Muglaokar, Flawed inquiry's flawed report, Indian Express newspaper (New Delhi), February 28, 1987

Spokesman Weekly, Mishra Commission report: The thin divide between myth and reality, March 16, 1987

S.S. Abraham, *Mishra report: An exercise in evasion*, The Times of India newspaper (New Delhi), February 28, 1987

Steven I. Wilkinson, ed., *Religious Politics and Communal Violence*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, (ISBN 9780195672374), 2005

Sunday Mail newspaper, Mishra Commission. Fuelling scepticism, March 7, 1987

Sunday Observer newspaper, Mishra report a complete let down: It was expected that nothing would come of it, March 1, 1987

Surjit Brar, Lahu Bolda Hai, Balraj Sahni Yadgar Prakashan, 1984

Surjit Patar: 24 poems in *Birkh Arz karey*, Shabdalok, 1992 and 9 poems in *Hanyrey vich Sulaghdi varanmala*, Shabhadlok, 1992. New rendering of *udo varis shah nun vandal si*, *hunh shiv kumar di vari e* is here http://www.giss.org/media/Udo\_Warus\_Sha\_Nu\_CD.wav

#### T

Teenaa Kaur Pasricha, 1984 WHEN THE SUN DIDN'T RISE (Documentary film), 2017

Tusha Mittal, When He Sees A Cop He Wets His Pants, Tehelka magazine, April 25, 2009

Tusha Mittal, I Had To Dress My Boys In Frocks, Tehelka magazine, April 25, 2009

Tusha Mittal, A Pack Of Wolves In Khaki Clothing, Tehelka magazine, April 25, 2009

Two Path Productions, *Kultar's Mime* (http://www.indiegogo.com/projects/kultar-s-mime)

## u

Uma Chakravarti and Nandita Haksar, *The Delhi Riots, Three Days in the Life of a Nation* (ISBN 978-8170620204), December 1987

Uma Chakravarti, Victims, 'Neighbours', and 'Watan, Survivors of Anti-Sikh carnage of 1984, EPW magazine, October 15, 1994

Uma Chakravarti, Long Road to Nowhere, Justice Nanavati on 1984, EPW magazine, August 27, 2005

Upamanyu Chatterjee, The Assassination of Indira Gandhi, London Magazine, June 1985

#### $\mathbf{V}$

Veena Das, Anthropological Knowledge and Collective Violence: The Riots in Delhi, November 1984, Anthropology Today, Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 1, No. 3 pp. 4-6, June 1985

Veena Das, Life and Words, Violence and the Descent into the Ordinary, University of California Press (ISBN 978-0520247451), 2006

Veena Das, Mirrors of Violence, Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia, Oxford University Press, India (ISBN 978-0195632217), New Ed. June 1983

Venkat Singh Shyam, 1984, (Drawings), 2019

Vikram Kapur, *Time Is A Fire*, (Novel), Srishti Publishers and Distributors, (ISBN 81-87075-79-1), 2002, (ISBN 81-87075-79-1), 2003

Vikram Kapur, 1984 In memory and imagination, Personal Essays and Stories on the 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots, Amaryllis (ISBN: 978-93-81506-91-2), 2016

Vikram Kapur, *The Assassinations: A Novel of 1984*, Speaking Tiger Books, (ISBN 978-93-86702-33-3), November 2017

# $\mathbf{W}$

Waryam Singh Sandhu, *Chauthi Koot* (Short story collection), Sangam Publications Samana (ISBN: 9789382804468), 2013

Wikileaks

 $\mathbf{X}$ 

Y

Z