

INSTANT SIKH HISTORY

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Japji : Quintessence of Sikh Thought and Philosophy (An Orient Paperback), 1973

Japji : The divine prayer of Guru Nanak giving the
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Samajak Surakhia : ik darshanak adhiain,
[Social Security : A Philosophical Study], (Patiala, 1977)

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INSTANT SIKH HISTORY

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BY

Dr. SANGAT SINGH

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In this book Sardar Sangat Singh proves himself among those few who in masterly style have set forth a comprehensive and rounded account of the history of this remarkable nation India or you may call it a family of believers and learners an ecclesial entity. About this last term – in classic Greek the ecclesia was the free citizen – body of the polity, The polis-city, called out by the herald to excise its corporate rights on behalf's of city-state.

It becomes immediately clear that this books stands in the upper echelons of the genre, taking its place with the greatest of the works which have followed from the days of Cunningham and McAuliffe.

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PREFACE

Guru Gobind Singh's mother and her two younger sons were taken over by Ganga Ram Kaul (known as Gangu Brahmin) to the Khan of Morinda: in the process he had taken over gold, ornaments and coins from the old Lady. They were handed over to Subedar Wazir Khan of Sirhind. After he had dealt with Guru Gobind Singh's younger sons, he chose to run after Gangu Brahmin. What made him to hand over old Lady and her younger sons? He was tortured very severely, and admitted reluctantly his misappropriation of mother Gujri's collection, which the Nawab took over. Shortly afterwards, Gangu Brahmin died because of torture.

Farrukhsiyar in 1716, shortly martyrdom of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, in a reversal of policy, chose to grant in compensation to Ganga Ram Kaul's son Raj Kaul in the form of a land grant, on nehr, canal, (taking water to the Red Fort), at Andha Mughal, near old Subzi Mandi, Delhi. Raj Kaul straightaway jettisoned the caste of Kaul, and instead chose Nehru, on nehr. That was the reason he never fell into the hands of Sikhs, who raided Delhi 4-5 times.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was told by his father Moti Lal Nehru at Jaito, Nabha, 1923, that he is a descendent of Ganga Ram Kaul (or Gangu Brahmin). Being a dutiful son and conscientious Brahmin he fell in line. In a revealing passage about his making, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote (in his Autobiography, 1936 (Delhi, 1980) p.596, "Behind me lie somewhere in the subconscious, racial memories of hundreds or whatever the number may be, generations of Brahmins. I cannot get rid of that inheritance." In that, he had full support of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who right from the beginning was full of malice and ignorance, that went hand in hand, vis a vis the Sikhs. What type of Sikh leaders were, who continuously fell into the trap of Gandhi and Nehru? Worst of it was, a descendent of Gangu Brahmin, Jawaharlal Nehru assumed as Prime Minister of India in 1946 and later in 1947.

M.K. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were determined on browbeating the Sikhs, left and right. Their misfortune starts when Punjab Governor, Sir Chandu Lal Trivedi, issued a circular through a Sikh Minister (S. Swaran Singh, an Akali, was treated as a ghuqoo/dumb/tongus-tid/dimwitted/ foolish) and Sikh Home Secretary on October 10, 1947, that the Sikhs were lawless people and were thus a menace to the law abiding Hinddus in the province... The motive which actuate the Sikhs on a course of lawlessness were for women and loot.*

This is the story of Gangu Brahmin descendents playing a havoc with the Sikhs at first in Jawaharlal Nehru, and later Indira Gandhi, her son and successors. They had made a subversion of judiciary, including higher courts. As a result, it was not possible to get justice. Shri K. L Arora a leading criminal lawyer who was connected with Indira Gandhi and her successors used to say 20 per cent of judges of Supreme Court were honest, while 80 per cent were not.

There were secret meetings, at the instance of stalwarts of RSS in 1998-99 between BJP-led NDA government led by Atal Bihari Vajpayee with Badal led SAD-BJP government to release all the Sikhs detenues as part tri centenary of the Khalsa, but Badal supported by his sala Ramesh Inder Singh (who took over as Dy Coomiisioner on 3rd June 1984 at Amritsar and was involved in merridess killings of the Sikhs) and KPS Gill his collaborator, were not in favour of release of the Sikhs .

Herein lies the storey. Please read on!

SANGAT SINGH

September 1, 2016: Installation of Pothi Sahib at Darbar Sahib at 1604

*(This circular was brought to the notice of Master Tara Singh by S. Kapur Singh, ICS, who was Deputy Commissioner at Hoshiarpur, who suffered at the hands of Nehru: he was dismissed).

With deep reverence

to

Milan Kundera

(a Czech Intellectual, now living in Paris)

whose priceless words in

The Book of Laughter and Forgetting

are ringing :

The first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory, Destroy its books, its history. Then have somebody write new works manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. [This is already being done.] Before long that nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was... The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.

Because of stupid leadership, the Sikh people are passing through that phase.

-Author

1

INTRODUCTION

I

Jawaharlal Nehru, Principal A.T. Gidwani and K. Santanam were deputed by the Indian National Congress in 1923 to go to Jaito for an on the spot study. They were arrested and sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment in September. Motilal Nehru, a Member of Viceroy's Council, was greatly perturbed and as a result of his efforts, they were released in November 1923, after giving an undertaking to leave Nabha immediately. However, in his *Autobiography, (1936)*, Jawaharlal untruthfully wrote that "there was no condition attached" to their release¹.

Jawaharlal, at the time, was quite upset at his father's attitude, and Motilal Nehru was no less disappointed at his son's nonchalant behavior which was against the family traditions. Motilal Nehru asked him to ponder as to why, when Gandhi, Malaviya, Andrews and others were involved, he was holding aloof? He, at that stage, apprised Jawaharlal Nehru of the story of transformation of Kauls into Nehrus, beginning with the land grant by Emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1716 to the son of Ganga Ram Kaul alias Gangu Brahmin as a belated recognition for his services to the Mughal empire.

In a major reversal of policy, Farrukhsiyar in 1716 admitted the wrong done to Gangu Brahmin by Subedar Wazir Khan of Sirhind over a decade earlier, in confiscating the gold, ornaments and coins misappropriated by him while betraying Guru Gobind Singh's mother and two younger sons to the Khan of Morinda. He now granted compensation to his son Raj Kaul in the form of land grant on nehr, Canal, at Andha Mughal (near old Subzi Mandi), a suburb of Delhi. As a camouflage, he straightaway dropped Kaul from his name and added the surname Nehru, from the Jagir on nehr in Andha Mughal, Delhi.²

In view of the rise of the Sikhs as a militant force in north western India, the Mughal administration pursued a policy of tolerance towards the Hindus and their places of worship. The upper caste Hindus emerged as the greatest beneficiaries of the Mughal-Sikh conflict, and rather developed a vested interest in it both for keeping their positions and carrying on their war against Sikhism.

Precisely, the Brahmin delegation at Anandpur Sahib in May 1675 had two types of people.³ While the leader and a handful of others were oriented towards the Sikh movement,⁴ the bulk of Brahmins were firmly rooted in *varnashramdharma*, inbuilt caste inequalities. The first question that arose was, should the latter type of Brahmins compromise their faith by taking food in Guru's *langar*, community kitchen? Guru Tegh Bahadur rose above narrow considerations, and appointed the Brahmin's helper Ganga Ram Kaul alias Gangu Brahmin to his household to cater to the Brahmin's food and other requirements.⁵

The Sikhs were always on lookout for Gangu Brahmin's descendents during their incursions in Delhi, but were not successful because of their change in their caste nomenclature. S. Baghel Singh under leadership of S. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, overall in charge of 11 missions, seized Red Fort in 1783. On S. Baghel Singh's instructions, Shah Alam II issued a proclamation that all Jagirdars should produce their *sanads*, failing which their jagirs would be confiscated. The descendents of Raj Kaul disappeared. They

lost their jagir at Andha Mughal.⁶ **That was the real cause of their enmity towards the Sikhs. Motilal Nehru sought to justify the action of Ganga Ram Kaul, as, in his views, Guru Gobind Singh's creation of the Khalsa constituted a direct threat to Brahminism.** Subsequently, an ancestor of Motilal Nehru during 1857 was working as a *Piada* at Delhi Kotwali. Motilal Nehru rose to be a Pleader, but earned a lot of money from Khetri Estate which was decided at Privy Counsel.⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru being a dutiful son and a conscientious Brahmin fell in line, and there was perceptible change in his attitude towards the Sikhs.⁸ Another evil influence was that of K. M. Panikkar, another Kashmiri Brahmin, looking after Congress, established *Akali Sahaik Bureau*.

Jawaharlal Nehru in 1920's was leaning towards the extremists who had a lot of interaction with him. Bharat Naujawan Sabha, Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (to which belonged Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru) and others, extremists and revolutionaries monitored his activities.⁹ M.K. Gandhi who had withdrawn Non-Cooperation Movement, because of what he termed a "Himalayan Miscalculation", following Chauri Chaura incident on Feb 5, 1922, was all the more piqued at Akali's running a Non-Violent Movement drawing encomiums all around, whereas his movement had ended in a fiasco. Motilal Nehru was aware that firstly, Gandhi had developed mental reservations on Nankana Sahib massacre, February 20, 1921, and, secondly, he thought that it will be more appropriate to bring Jawaharlal Nehru under Gandhi's patronage. Motilal Nehru had poor opinion on Jawaharlal Nehru as a Lawyer; and, as a Lecturer in a College he would get a pittance. Gandhi's continued patronage could bring him laurels. He wanted to hold back Jawaharlal from anti-imperialist struggle, through the agency of M.K. Gandhi. Motilal brought in M K Gandhi who served as a surrogate patron for Jawaharlal Nehru. It yielded rich dividends. Motilal Nehru apart from his son Jawaharlal, had half a dozen daughters. For instance, Vijayalaxmi Pandit wanted to marry a Muslim. Gandhi advised her to talk to the boy to agree to become a Hindu instead. The Muslim boy refused to convert himself for marrying a Hindu. Gandhi persuaded her that if he was not willing to convert himself to a Hindu, why should he persuade her to become a Muslim? The proposal failed. But Jawaharlal's daughter, Indira, without consulting family members converted herself to a Bohra-Muslim as Mamoona Begam, and married Feroze Khan. Gandhi could not do anything but to persuade Feroze Khan to accept his caste as Gandhi. So, instead of Feroze Khan he became Feroze Gandhi.¹⁰ After her first son Rajiv Gandhi, she came back to her father when she had another son. These were the dividends of M.K. Gandhi's interferences in the Nehru family. Gandhi became more or less a part of Nehru family. Jawaharlal became a beneficiary. Gandhi had lost his objectivity at the cost of Sardar Patel who had a big control over the Congress Party.

Appointment of Simon Commission in Nov 1927 brought in Motilal Nehru Report in context of the Hindu-Muslim problem (Lucknow pact) and the Sikhs sulking, when Motilal Nehru reversed his viewpoint and made a cryptic statement that, "**He wished he could blow the Punjab out of the map of India.**" **What he wanted was not that he wanted to blast Hindus and Muslims out of Punjab, but the Sikhs who constituted an inconvenient third party that did not fit into all India pattern.** He must have been seized of the spirit of his ancestor Ganga Ram Kaul alias Gangu Brahmin.

Following the Gandhi-Irwin pact and his subsequent release, Gandhi visited Gurdwara Sis Ganj, Delhi, on February 26, 1931, to offer his sympathies to the Sikhs at the firing incident on May 6 last, which he said he had studied with painful interest. Gandhi was not unaware of the general feelings among the Sikhs of the fraudulent character of Congress leadership and the policies they were pursuing towards them, and said, "Truth and non-violence have no room for fraud or falsehood... In physical warfare even chicanery and fraud have a place but non-violence precludes the use of all other weapons except that of truth and justice." Moreover the Sikhs are a brave people; they would know how to safeguard their rights by the exercise of arms if it should ever come to that. Gandhi did not tell the Sikhs at the time that when they seek to safeguard their rights by the exercise of arms, they shall be facing the armed might of the state and in Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President's words, "superior arms will prevail"¹¹ to

save it from the doom of which he spoke. Anyhow, the deemed apostle of non-violence Gandhi's authorization to Sikhs to resort to arms to safeguard their interests, was of dubious character.

Master Tara Singh accompanied by Giani Kartar Singh and Harnam Singh met the British delegation on April 5, 1946, while Baldev Singh met the Mission separately the same day. Their testimony showed that they had not done their home work, were a confused lot and were working at cross purposes with one another. It also reflected lack of centralized leadership and a settled command structure. Baldev Singh, a Minister in Punjab, who was interviewed separately was also for a United India with reduced representation for the Muslims and weightage for the Sikhs. He, however, wanted the formation of a Sikh state in case Pakistan was conceded. Sir Stafford Cripps moving his stick over the map from Panipat to Nankana Sahib including Sikh states asked him whether they should provide that to whomsoever that area goes, no constitution covering the area be framed unless that was acceptable to the Sikhs. Baldev Singh said they wanted Sikh rule upto Jhelam and would not be satisfied with that area. Giani Kartar Singh beat his forehead thrice when told of Baldev Singh's moronic reply, but the Sikh leadership did nothing to pick up the proposal.¹² In the words of Dr Gopal Singh, "It is a pity that such an offer (the best in the circumstances which the Sikhs later took 20 years to fight for) was rejected out of hand without even discussing its possibilities or making it a basis for further elaborations and discussions."¹³

The Cabinet Mission especially Sir Stafford Cripps, who earlier in 1942 had also thrown a lot of suggestions at them, must have been amazed at the unintelligent, rather crazy, Sikh leaders – all four of them speaking at a tangent, oblivious of the times ahead. Cripps especially was driving them towards seeking an autonomous district or a Sikh State from Panipat to about Nankana/Ravi on the Soviet model, and it was only the craziness of Sikh leadership that they could not pick up the hints or think in those terms. Had they studied the Soviet model, they could have asked for an autonomous unit with membership of the United Nations on the pattern of three of the Soviet Republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia getting it. The SGPC (Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee) could have served as the fulcrum of the Sikh nation. The British, not unnaturally, ruled them out as serious partners or worthy of confidence because of their pedestrian leadership. **They were told very very clearly in 1946 by C. Rajagopalachari that they must get iron clad guarantees when the British were still there, otherwise the Congress leaders won't give them anything.** The Intelligence Bureau in its note of June 14, 1946, attributed the failure of the Sikhs to come together to perennial jealousies amongst their leaders.¹⁴

The same day when the Sikh leaders were fumbling before the Cabinet Mission, Jawaharlal Nehru at a Press Conference in Delhi, April 5, 1946, stated, "The brave Sikhs of Punjab are entitled to special considerations. I see nothing wrong, in an area and a set up in the North wherein the Sikhs can experience the glow of freedom." Nehru, a wily politician, was speaking in a certain context and did not necessarily mean what he was saying. His real feelings towards the Sikhs were reflected when he said that Master Tara Singh had the unique distinction of sitting on about 15 stools and that he (Tara Singh) was free to align with the Muslim League, if he so liked. Nehru, like a spoilt child that he was, indulged in a lot of bravado and indiscrete talk.¹⁵ In 1949's, when Tara Singh spoke through Giani Kartar Singh to Nehru about April 5, 1946, Press Statement, he mentioned that this was part of his chicanery.

1. For text of Nabha Orders, see Punjab Past & Present (PP&P), Vol VIII April 1974, pp. 200-01.

Jawaharlal Nehru, *Autobiography*, (1936), (Delhi 1980 reprint), p. 114.

2. Cf. Note on family history recorded at last part of his life by Bansi Dhar Nehru (1848-1913), once a Sub-Judge, First Grade, in U.P.

Jawaharlal Nehru later improved upon it when he recorded that family gradually got the surname Nehru after being known as Kaul-Nehrus, which was not the case. Despite Bansi Dhar Nehru's written note, Jawaharlal Nehru starts his *Autobiography* 1936 (Delhi 1980, reprint p. 1) on a note of untruth when he writes that Farrukhsiyar in 1716 brought his ancestor Raj Kaul, allegedly a great scholar in Sanskrit and Persian from Kashmir and made him the land grant at Andha Mughal, a Delhi suburb. All historians agree that Farrukhsiyar never visited Kashmir. M J Akbar, *Jawaharlal Nehru, A Biography* (Delhi 1984), p. 5. See also B.K. Nehru, *Nice Guys Finish Second*, (Delhi 1991), pp. 5-8, on origin of Nehrus.

3. Guru Tegh Bahadur's receiving in May 1675 a delegation of Kashmiri Brahmins, who were feeling the pinch of Aurangzeb's new religious policy, was considered menacing. a delegation of 17 was led by Pandit Kirpa Ram (Dutt) of Mattan. He was well aware of the potentialities of the Sikh movement to stand up to the Mughal tyranny.
According to P.N.K. Bamzai, (*History of Kashmir*, p. 371) tyrannized by the new Governor, Nawab Iftikhar Khan (1671 -75) Kashmir Brahmins got the idea after praying to Lord Shiva at Amamath Cave Temple in March 1675.
4. Swarup Singh, *Guru Kian Sakhian* (Piara Singh Padam and Giani Garja Singh, eds) mentions of his father Aru Ram being a Sikh of Guru of Hari Rai. Kirpa Ram, renamed Kirpa Singh after baptism in 1699, died fighting in the battle of Chamkaur in 1705. There were some others who sacrificed their lives. (After the death of Giani Garja Singh, Piara Singh Padam removed his name and published it under his own name. That is the standard of a Sikh scholar.)
5. P.N.K. Bamzai, Kashmiri historian, in his talks with the author in New Delhi in April 1995 contended that Kashmiri Brahmins were so orthodox till very recently, that they always had a Kashmiri Brahmin as their Cook and would not appoint a Punjabi Brahmin to their household.
Later at Paonta, Guru Gobind raised a battalion of *Udasis* under the leadership of Mahant Kirpal. He permitted them to have their own *Langar* as they had compunctions at *Shikar* being served in *Guru ka Langar*.
6. Chief Commissioner Delhi's Record Office: *Rakab Ganj Gurdwara Papers*.
7. He built a palatial residence at Allahabad which became a centre for Gandhi's rendezvous and others.
8. Nehru to Kitchlu, April 9, 1924, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* Vol II, Pp.152
9. In 1955-56, talks with Sodhi Pindi Das, who was a member of Bharat Naujawan Sabha. He had been arrested three-four times during the British era.
10. Feroze Khan/Gandhi, Mohamad Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru had a community in outlook in their eating habits - they were all eaters of Beef and Pork without distinction.
11. *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (CW), Vol. 45, p.121.
12. Nicholes Mansergh ed. *Transfer of Power*, hereinafter referred TP) Vol 7, De 56 pp. 138-41; Sirdar Kapur Singh, *Sachi Sakhi*, (Jaalandhar, 1972) p. 94. He later wrote a pamphlet, *The Stupid Sikhs*.
13. Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, 1469-1988 (Delhi, 1988) Pp.704.
14. Christened Effenberg, *The Political Status of Sikhs during the Indian National Movement*, 1935-47, (Delhi, 1989) p. 163
15. For official version, see *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, (Delhi, 1972), Vol. 15., Pp. 120-25.

II

Gandhi was not inaccessible to the British, for he was not against British imperialism as such. Gandhi did not condemn British imperialism in South Africa. He not only sided with the British during the Boar War, but also during his over two decades of stay in South Africa did not utter a single word or write a single line for the sufferings of the black people. To him Black Africa simply did not exist. He only protested against humiliation perpetrated on his own people.

Gandhi in his craving was one with Lala Hardayal, who, earlier as Secretary of *Ghadr* Party, had pushed the Sikhs in Western America – mainly British Columbia (Canada) and California (USA) - back to India, openly indulged in ushering a revolution during First World War. Earlier, it had been a big and spontaneous immigration of the Sikhs from India starting 1904 onwards. 85 per cent were the Sikhs, mainly Jats. Under impact of *Singh Sabha*, a *Khalsa Dewan* in 1907 at Vancouver (Canada), and under the influence of (Sant) Teja Singh M.A., and Raghbir Singh, a *Pacific Coast Khalsa Dewan* in California and a *Gurdwara* in 1912 at Stockton. Lala Hardayal, a powerful editor of *Ghadr* (Revolt/Mutiny) wangled through them to their sure destruction for liquidation.¹ They had no knowledge how a revolution can be launched. They returned by *Kama Gata Maru* starting from Vancouver and became sitting ducks. Several of them were hanged, transported for life (*Kalepani*), or otherwise sent to jail, and confined to their Villages.

Hardayal, a clever *bania*, sought amnesty from USA and lived there sheepishly, without any political aspirations. He cared too hoots for Indian independence. His objective was to stamp out feelings amongst the Sikhs of having once been the rulers of Punjab: he wanted them to be one with the Hindus. Gandhism in Punjab meant principally that.

The discernible British administrators, aware of Gandhi's support to the British during the Boar War, serving as a recruiting sergeant during the First World War, (when Home Rule Movement was at its peak) for which he was awarded *Kaisar-i-Hind Medal*, and his propensity to contain revolutionary terrorism and otherwise localize the impact of various movements, lionized Gandhi and never posed a serious challenge to his prestige and leadership in India. They rather helped to build him up. Gandhi's

leadership of the national movement permitted the British to canalize it to the channels they wanted it to progress, and the end-results were not disappointing to them.

Shortly afterwards, the situation in the Punjab exploded because of the agitation against Rowlatt Bills, and the call for *Satyagraha* by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. It led to the perpetration of the involuntary Sikh congregation from *Durbar Sahib*, next to Jallianwala Bagh massacre on Baisakhi, April 13, 1919, when troops under Gen Dyer opened fire killing 379 and wounding over 2000 unarmed persons. Then followed repression. When Rabinder Nath Tagore renounced his Knighthood, M.K. Gandhi did not renounce his *Kaisar-i-Hind Medal* for obvious reasons. In retrospect, it was a contrived incident, with Hans Raj, in collaboration with the Administration, convening a public meeting, and collecting the people over there. When General Dyer arrived with the troops, he was seen talking to the C.I.D people, and escaped before the firing started. M.K. Gandhi, when looking into Jallianwala massacre, came across Hans Raj's dubious role, but chose to put a veil over it, to not to expose a Hindu as the main character in this sordid affair.² Sikhs should have applied their mind to the goings on.

A government assessment conceded that, "In so far as the aims of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee are purely religious, there is now little doubt that it represents the general body of up-to-date Sikh opinion." The government announced on January 12, 1922, its decision to finally withdraw from the management of the Darbar Sahib and leave the administration in the hands of the Sikh community, or SGPC, and allow the *Keys* to be given over at once.³ Even a government study in February 1922 conceded that the contention of the SGPC that Akali movement was religious and non-political "cannot be lightly dismissed."

It was time now for the SGPC and the Akali leadership to sit down and do cool thinking, and not only reiterate the purely religious nature of the Gurdwara Reform Movement, but also to come out of Gandhi's snare of mixing politics with religion. And, there was an opportunity knocking at the door in the form of the projected visit of the Prince of Wales in the last week of February to Khalsa College, Amritsar: he was willing to announce the raising of its status to that of a Sikh University, a la Aligarh Muslim University and Benaras Hindu University, promoting studies and research in Sikh history, religion and philosophy.⁴ Then, there was availability of a fair solution of Gurdwara Reform Movement. The whole community was united. There was no need for Jaito Morcha or abdication of Maharaja of Nabha. And, there was an impending Hindu-Muslim riot in NWFP (North Western Frontier Province) and Punjab in which the Sikhs played a balancing role and brought about a rapprochement. Now there was all round failure. Their fight was not against the British, but Mahants and elitist Hindus of Punjab legislative Council.

Prof. Sahib Singh, Joint Secretary, SGPC, in his instructions issued to Akali Jathas on March 19, 1922, warned them of the government's resolve to crush the Akali movement by force. He advised them to pursue peaceful lines to avoid "fruitless sacrifices" and save "the sacred Gurdwaras and Akali movement from mutilation".⁵ One wishes, that this type of wisdom had dawned on the Sikh leadership six weeks earlier.

Gandhi was all the more piqued, firstly, at Akalis running a perfectly non-violent movement drawing encomiums all around whereas his movement had ended in a fiasco; secondly, at Hindu-Muslim riots extinguishing whatever good was left of his Non-Violent Non-Cooperation Movement; and, thirdly, *Gandhi's losing* the decency for a minority community and **talk of non-existent Sikh Raj. This only showed his being the worst enemy.** The Sikhs never understood it.

At the time of culmination of Gurdwara Reform Movement in 1925, the Tat Khalsa dictated the bill adopted by the Punjab Assembly, excluding Sahajdhari, Udasis and Nirmalas, who by their own admission were Hindus, or who constituted the kernel of Hindu view point of Sikhism. Hailey introduced elections to the SGPC set up – not followed in Churches, Hindu Mandirs or Muslim Mosques, etc. – causing disruption to religious (*dharmak*) orientation of the Sikh Gurdwaras, which needed higher level of specification, pre-eminence and detached individuals. Besides, it caused schism in the solid Sikh

community, to the glee of the enemy forces, including Gandhi and others. Soon elections emerged as the main factor and it soon overwhelmed the Gurdwara set up.⁶

There were certain issues that needed immediate attention, by the Party that came into power in 1925 or the other which came into power in 1926. One, Khalsa began to recite the couplet, "*Raj Karega Khalsa*", (Khalsa shall rule), in the congregations from 1810 as part of their litany.⁷ This was part of Darbar Sahib till 1849, and this needed to be installed immediately after 1925. And, two, introduction of Bhatt-Swayyas before *Prakash*, ceremonial opening, of Guru Granth Sahib. It was thought by the English that Bhatt, were the only submissive/slavish class which was vociferous in welcoming the English rule vis-à-vis Muslims in Hindustan and Sikhs in Punjab. To them the Bhatt-swayyas exemplifying the importance of a radiance in presentation vis-à-vis other contributors to Guru Granth Sahib including the Ode of Succession which need to have the primacy in place, recited by Satta and Balwand in Rag Ramkali.(SGS, Pp 966– 68), consisting of 8 paras, one para to be recited each day, presents a befitting presentation - apart from other contributions by Bhai Gurdas (this is to exclude Bhai Gurdas II who was an infiltrator and started distortion/subversion of Sikh semantics), and compositions of Bhai Nandlal which, interalia, are the only ones available from Seventh to Tenth Guru.

First major damage followed in the innocuous decision by SGPC in March 1927 to explore firstly, Sikh teachings, traditions, history and practice and secondly, *chose to prepare a draft of code of Sikh conduct and convention*. This second part was trickiest issue and it was essential to strictly stick to the practices followed in the Guru Gobind Singh period. What you gained by the Gurdwara Act 1925, was now being washed out in the second part. Guru Gobind Singh on Baisakhi, March 29, 1699, followed strictly conformed Japji while administering *Amrit*, and the entire 18th century mentioned only of *Anand Sahib* which is reciting customarily in end of bhog ceremony, but now some of the non-conformers brought in *Jap Sahib*, *Swayyas* and *Chaupai* as three *banis*, hymns, (falsely attributed to Guru Gobind Singh) to be the five *banis* to be recited for *Amrit* ceremony. One of the followers of the strictest test of Tat Khalsa spirit, was eventually thrown out in 1932 and the Sikh Code of Conduct was eventually adopted in 1944. The Khalsa stuck to Japji right from 1521 with sprinkling sometime of Anand Sahib : there were *Udasis* and *Nirmalas* who followed through the English since 19th Century and had their own objectives. In 1st Century after 1707, there was no compilation of Dasam Granth.

Not an iota of the so-called *Dasam Granth* contains a composition of Guru Gobind Singh.⁸ Akal Takht in 1973 ordained a *Hukamnamah* that *Charitro Pakhian* (describing sexual exploits, a creation of *Vam Margis*, who excelled in it), was not a *bani* of Guru Gobind Singh, but a translation of old Hindu mythological stories, and holding it otherwise was incorrect. Giani Sant Singh Maskeen, a *Nirmala*, has been performing *Katha* from *Guru Granth Sahib*, and never ever has uttered a word about *Dasam Granth* much less about *Charitro Pakhian*. It has been only since February 2016, a couple of times, an exponent from *Udasis*, has uttered in *Gurdwara Bangla Sahib*, New Delhi, amidst *Katha* an exposition of *Charitro Pakhian* falsely associating the name of Guru Gobind Singh with the fictitious stories. A member of BJP/RSS is General Secretary of Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee (DSGMC) and the Party has otherwise close collaboration with Badal Akali Dal which is in power both in DSGMC and SGPC. They have already installed a Board in *bhagwa* colour in the name of Guru Hari Krishan over the Gurdwara, making him a follower of some Yogis/ Panda, but not of Guru Nanak. So was the case with other Gurdwaras. Guru Nanak said, "Neither dirty, nor dull, nor ochre, nor any other false colour; Nanak perfectly red is of the true colour of him who is imbued with the true Lord." (*Na meila na dhundhla na bhagwa na kach/ Nanak Lab Lal hai, sache rta sache*)⁸. The other colours are Black, Blue and Basanti/yellow/kesri.

1. Only 1100 Sikhs were left in North America.

2. V.N. Datta *The Jallianwala Massacre*, (Delhi, 2000), pp. 10-13.

3. M.K. Gandhi's telegram to Kharak Singh read, "First battle for India's freedom won. Congratulations". Gandhi's gesture was fraudulent in character, loaded and futile.

4. Kapur Singh, *Sachi Sakhi*, Jalandhar, 1972). p.51.
5. Ibid, P. 149.
6. Sardar Narain Singh, *Gurdwara Parbandh Sudhar* SGPC Amritsar pp. 94-95.
7. Attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, the couplet forms part of Bhai Nand Lal's *Tankhah Nama* (Code of Conduct) for a member of the Khalsa. The full couplet reads, "Khalsa shall rule, and no one will challenge their authority. Humiliated in defeat, all will join their ranks and he alone will be saved who seeks their refuge." Cf. Ganda Singh, "How the Sikh Raj Came About", *Punjab Past and Present* (hereinafter PP&P) Vol. XV, October 1981, p. 433.
8. *Guru Granth Sahib*, in *Rag Maru*, p. 1089.

III

I have already mentioned of M.K. Gandhi being an agent of the British. During Civil Disobedience Movement, (1930-32), he told the Viceroy, the objective was to contain the violence of revolutionaries. Gandhi in return torpedoed the Communal Award (with 33.5 per cent Muslims, 20 per cent Dalits, untouchables and a host of others). He also resorted to "fast unto death", 1936, to have untouchables classified as Hindus with inbuilt inequalities, this was his great achievement. Mayawati of Bahujan Samaj Party, on the basis of her reading of Ambedkar papers, was not wrong when she in 1994 termed Gandhi as a great enemy of Dalits. Dalits sometimes desecrated his *Samadhi*, with excreta and other objects.¹ Gandhi ensured that depressed classes remain depressed for all times to come as per Hindu *Shastras*. Quite recently, in 2016, a retired judge of the Supreme Court, Mr. Jj. Markandey Katju, has instituted a case in the Supreme Court on Gandhi's status as a British agent.

With the start of Second World War in September 1939, Gandhi started suicidal course of retarding the war efforts. Shortly, March 1940, Muslim League stepped in a major way for "Two-Nation Theory", seeking self determination in North Western and Eastern parts. The Sikhs too came forward to advance the war efforts. Here was an opportunity to completely break way from Gandhi/Congress which had been playing a hide and seek game with them. But the British had something for Gandhi as we shall see. For instance, American troops along with British troops in East and South East Asia were provided sumptuously with beef, their staple diet, by interalia, Birlas who did a roaring business. At the instance of Americans, the British provided a part of their gains to M.K. Gandhi, who used the funds for the families to his cohorts including Dr. Rajendra Prasad, to keep them up during their detention period.² Birla House emerged sustenance of Gandhi. The British kept tangled wires with the Congress and Muslim League. In 1944, the Sikhs had started Master Tara Singh the same degree of credence in Sikh politics as were given to Jinnah in Muslim politics. But Tara Singh did not learn anything.

At the time when the Muslim League was forging a pistol to safeguard the Muslim position in response to Congress chicanery to achieve Hindu supremacy, the Sikh were betrayed down the lane. Husain Shaheed Sohrawardi was the Muslim Chief Minister of Bengal, and it brought to a hell in Calcutta. The Sikh Taxi Drivers of Calcutta joined hands with Bengalis to turn the tables the next day. This was the first time, in the last century and more, that the Sikhs were involved in a conflict with the Muslims³. There had been a series of conflicts in Punjab and Frontier involving Hindus and Muslims, and the Sikhs had always kept themselves aloof, or rather played a conciliatory role. Here was the call for the Akalis led by Master Tara Singh to hold back the Sikh Taxi Drivers: a few words for conciliation were needed. Failure to do so proved very costly. The sins of Calcutta Sikh Taxi Drivers were visited on their co-religionists in Hazara in Frontier in December 1946. But partition was still not on the cards. The Muslim League needed over two months to start in early March 1947, a mayhem. For instance, the community in *Pothohars*, from where Master Tara Singh came, was thinly spread out. There was a lot of loss of people, especially Kahuta. But Master Tara Singh still lacked a work plan.

Private papers of Lord Wavell refer to a British plan to have three way partition of the Punjab – between Muslims and non-Muslims, and between Hindu and non-Hindu areas to cater to the Sikh interest in Central Punjab including the Sikh states. Baldev Singh, who was not worth his salt, disclosed the message to Nehru. The way Baldev Singh behaved as a camp follower of Nehru caused deep resentment among the Sikhs.⁴

It will be seen that by the time, March 23, 1947, Lord Louis Mountbatten took over as Viceroy of India, the decision to partition India had already been taken. Mountbatten known for his megalomania, forced the pace of events and aggravated the problem.

The Sikh objective was clear, to avoid Hindu and Muslim domination. Ideas of various models, the Soviet, Swiss and others were there, but needed instant consolidation. For instance, Swaran Singh and Bhim Sen Sachar on April 21, 1947 demanded division of the Punjab into two or three autonomous provinces,⁵ the third meant separation of the Haryana area. The Sikh leadership should have come out decisively for a three-way division of Punjab, if nothing else.

Congress leaders were fully aware of the predicament of the Sikh leadership, and took full advantage of that, to deny them any meaningful concessions. For instance, the Sikh demand for exclusion of Haryana area from East Punjab, to pave the way for Punjabi speaking state, Punjabi Suba, was negated by Congress leaders in May 1947 itself when Mountbatten was hammering the partition plan down the throats of the Indian leaders. Baldev Singh's seeing the Viceroy by end May and telling him that "there was no sign of either party making any concessions to the Sikhs" marked the culmination of the failure of the Sikh leadership.⁶

It may be mentioned that the demand for a separate Jat state including the whole or part of Meerut Division of U.P. and large parts of Ambala Division, was mooted in April 1947 as the partition line would have been near Panipat in case of the Sikhs throwing their lot with the Muslim League. Giani Kartar Singh, after he had entered into serious parleys with Jinnah told Sir R. Jenkins that the Sikhs could let the Hindu Jat have Rohtak, Gurgaon, half of Karnal and Hissar districts; in Ambala, the Sikhs and Muslims were in majority.⁷ Since Giani Kartar Singh was frustrated by Tara Singh and Baldev Singh from outwitting the Hindu Congress leaders, the demand for a separate Jat state subsided, and the Sikhs were left to bite the dust.

By May 1947, both Gandhi and Nehru were seized of guilt complex. The Constituent Assembly was inaugurated on Dec 9, 1946, without participation of the Muslim League, but it soon entered the Constituent Assembly. Jawaharlal Nehru was nominated as the leader by Gandhi but he showed potentialities of immaturity and lack of sophistication. Inaugurating the Objective Resolution, he termed Gandhi as "*The Father of our Nation*". Earlier in *Discovery of India 1946*, he had termed the old patriarch of the Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji, as the *Father of the Country*. Surprisingly old fox Gandhi beamed in gurgles when there was no talk of partition of the Country. On May 28, they wanted Mountbatten to shelve the partition plan and enforce the Cabinet Mission Plan as an "*award in letter and spirit*". After being badly mauled, they were now willing to accept what was available to them for about a year from May 16, 1946. Matters had gone far ahead and it was not possible to reverse the trends. Because of the Sikhs throwing their lot with India, the whole of present Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir, parts of present Himachal Pradesh and Haryana could become part of India. But for that, the boundary line would have been somewhere near Panipat, as Hindus were in majority only in Gurgaon and Rohtak and parts of Kamal and Hissar districts of undivided India.⁸ Were Hindu Congress leaders grateful to the Sikhs for bringing about this addition to the Union of India? No, not the least.⁹

There were two people who till the last fought for Indian unity. One were the Pathans under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. The other were the Sikhs led by Shiromani Akali Dal. Describing the state of his people, Abdul Ghaffar Khan said, "Tied hand and foot, we have been thrown to the wolves."¹⁰ The position of the Sikhs was no different, except that they did not have the leadership to realize what havoc it had caused to the community. The Sikhs had been thrown to the wolves of

Brahminical vintage. For the first time in their history, they came under the tutelage of Brahminical Hindus. They were at the mercy of Gandhites, under pinned by ferocious Arya Samajists, who in alignment, aimed at their very identity. **Worst of it was a descendent of Gangu Brahmin assumed as Prime Minister of India. They were full of venom.**

Before leaving for Pakistan, Jinnah paid a farewell call on his friend Sardar Bahadur Sir Sobha Singh and told him, that, "The Sikhs by not opting for self rule had committed a big blunder." Sobha Singh said, "By fully trusting Hindus and linking our destiny with them, we have done well. The Hindus will never maltreat us or betray us." Jinnah quipped, "Sardar Bahadur, you had the Hindus only as your co-slaves; now, you will know the real Hindu when he becomes your master and you become his slave."¹¹

Jinnah was not far wrong. The process had already started. To cite only two instances. One, Gandhi by June 1947 had already resumed his attack on the Sikh identity and made his intentions very clear as to the treatment awaiting the Sikhs in independent India. Instead of thanking Master Tara Singh for bringing half of Punjab into India, Gandhi adopted supercilious attitude and administered him a rebuke when Tara Singh called on him shortly after the Sikhs throwing in their lot with the Hindus under the June 3 plan. Gandhi took note of Sikhs asserting of being a separate religion and averred that "all the poison was spread by Macaulay (he meant Cunnigham) who wrote the history of the Sikhs. Since Macaulay (sic) was a well known historian everyone swallowed what he said."¹² He was for removal of that poison. **This only showed that Gandhi's malice and ignorance went hand in hand.** Gandhi also averred that, "The *Granth Sahib* of the Sikhs was actually based on the Hindu scriptures". Also in this age of Atom Bomb, "the sword was a rusty weapon." Gandhi took a malicious note of the Sikhs living "in great material comfort". Later on August 5, at Punja Sahib, he ridiculed the Sikh concept of one Sikh being equal to *sawa lakh*, a legion.¹³

Two, Chaudhri Lehri Singh, a Congressite Hindu leader on July 9, 1947, wrote to Sardar Patel, "As you are no doubt aware, now-a-days in the Punjab the Sikh movement (sponsored by Tara Singh) for the creation of a Punjabi speaking province comprising the whole of Jullundur Division, Amritsar and parts of Ambala Division is gaining ground. This will result in isolating the Haryana Prant, viz districts of Rohtak, Karnal, Gurgaon and some parts of Hissar. To propose further division of the truncated Punjab is definitely actuated by the sole desire of establishing Sikh hegemony in the Central Punjab. This move on the part of Sikh leaders cannot be justified in any way." And, Patel wrote back on July 11, 1947, "I can assure you that at present there is no question of any division of the Eastern Punjab on the lines you have referred to."¹⁴ Hindus had started marshalling themselves against the non-existing 'Sikh hegemony' in the central Punjab, even before the partition had been effected .

The Sikh leadership emerged splintered from the Gurdwara reform movement, thanks to Gandhi's and later Hailey's machinations.

The leadership which came up was fractured and inept. Tara Singh was an ordinary graduate and could not match the top Congress leadership's sophistry or intellectual attainments. He struck to anti-imperialism as an article of faith and a fixed position, when a pragmatic approach dictated a compromise with the British and adoption of a rational outlook which could have put him at an advantageous position vis a vis the Hindus and the Muslims. He was handicapped by his deep commitment to the Congress and the perverse perception of the Sikh history, which saw purpose of emergence of Sikhism in protection of Hinduism. He did not learn anything and put the community, in a mess if not chaos.

Giani Kartar Singh though less educated was the brain of the Akali party and showed traces of brilliance which were marred because he could not come up as the supreme leader. Baldev Singh was very mediocre whose only qualification was that he was moneyed and financed the Akali party. He was not fit for the job he was entrusted with. He learnt only in 1952 when Nehru removed him, he did not have the capacity to write down his memoirs in Urdu, Punjabi or English. He died a disappointed man.

In short, the Sikhs had a collegiate type of leadership, of conflicting interests and pulling apart which lost opportunities when they were knocking at the door, in the process, jeopardizing the Sikh communal identity, and pushing it to untold sufferings.

1. Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History*, (Amritsar 2014), p.193.
2. Lecture delivered by an American Professor at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
3. Sangat Singh, op.cit., 219-20
4. Ibid, p.222
5. Durga Das (Ed), Sardar Patel's Correspondence, Vol. V. (Ahmedabad, 1971-74) pp.1292-93.
6. Ajit Singh Sarhadi, *Punjabi Suba: The Story of Struggles*, (Delhi, 1970) pp.128.
7. Note by Jenkins, *Transfer of Power* Vol, Document 113, p. 183.
8. Paying his tributes, C. Rajagopalachari attributed accession of half of Punjab and half of Bengal to Master Tara Singh. Jaswant Singh, (ed), *Autobiography of Master Tara Singh*, pp. 401.
9. As Gandhi was a great devotee of Lord Krishna, we may highlight the main deductions drawn by him from his life. A recent biography of Lord Krishna by Pavan Verma (Delhi, 1992) tellingly point out that,

1. Lord Krishna in early childhood was caught stealing butter, but he chose to tell a lie;
2. Lord Krishna ran away with the clothes of naked Gopis (taking both in a pool of water) who had complained to his mother against his butter-stealing campaigns, and dictated terms to them from an unequal position;
3. Lord Krishna could have come to the rescue of Daropti much earlier but did not, till the point of no return had been reached; and
4. Lord Krishna in Mahabharat War, made Arjuna to shoot arrows at Karan in violation of accepted principles of war, and kill him. Arjuna throughout his life did not forgive himself but Lord Krishna had no remorse at all.

Verily, *Satyamev Jayate*, truth lies in victory, not that, victory lies in truth.

10. Quoted in *the Spokesman* weekly, December 25, 1972.
11. Kapur Singh, op.cit. Pp.134
12. CW, Vol. 88, Pp. 4-5.
13. Ibid, Vol. 89, Pp. 284.32. Gandhi did not say that The Sikhs should have klashnikov headed by a kirpan.
14. Durga Das, op. cit., Vol. V, Pp.302-03.

2

GANDHI AND DUMMIRATE

I

On August 15, India became independent. Jawaharlal Nehru took over as Prime Minister with Sardar Vallabhai J. Patel as Deputy Prime Minister. Earlier, Jawaharlal Nehru at the instance of M.K. Gandhi had taken over in December 1946 as Premier of the Constituent Assembly. Both of them had shown immaturity. Sardar Patel had full control over the Congress Party's Operations and had shown an iron will. Naturally, he thought that taking over as Prime Minister shortly after August 15, was only a stop gap arrangement. He had a maturity in outlook, whereas Jawaharlal Nehru was gullible. But Jawaharlal Nehru's plus point was, apart from Gandhi's patronage as a Father figure, during a visit to Singapore he had developed a rapport with Lord Louis Mountbatten, who was suggested by him as the next Viceroy of India, which worked out.

Gandhi was sore with mass migration of Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab, and their endeavor to displace the Muslims, especially from Delhi and UP. Sardar Patel was blunt and wanted the Muslims in Northern India especially the cow belt, who were foremost in the demand for Pakistan, to cross over. Gandhi, screeching his teeth, was helpless before Patel. Gandhi met angry Hindus-Sikhs refugee camps

in Delhi in early September 1947, and was accused of hardness of heart towards them. "He had not suffered as they had. He had not lost his dear ones as they had, nor had he like them soon rendered homeless and penniless". Gandhi implored the refugees not to return evil for evil.¹

Gandhi now started speaking on the subject in his evening prayer meetings on violence allegedly generating from the Sikhs. He even went to the extent of sequestering Hindus from the ongoing violence in Delhi and its neighbourhood, and blamed the Sikhs as the sole blot on the fair name of India. Gandhi lashed out against the Sikhs, charging them left and right:

1. For instance, on October 2, 1947, Gandhi spoke against the Sikhs keeping *Kirpan*, and said, "The way people put out the Kirpan, these days, is an act of barbarism."²
2. On November 19, he went to the extent of saying that the Privy Council Judgment, that the Kirpan meant sword of any size now that Hindus have come to power, had become defunct.³
3. He also frequently talked about the drinking habits of the Sikhs, as if liquor was not consumed in Hindu premises and of the Sikhs selling *Kabab* and other flesh food, to the grave annoyance of Hindus.
4. At Guru Nanak's Birthday Celebrations in Delhi on November 28, 1947, Gandhi said that if a Sikh was equal to "*Sava Lakh*" i.e. literally 1,25,000, a first strike would be sufficient to kill a man. Why were they taking resort to sword? What he was seeking to drive home was, that the Sikh claims that one Sikh was equal to a legion was untrue.
5. On December 4, 1947, Gandhi mischievously added, who was Guru Nanak if not a Hindu? Further that "Even Guru Nanak never said he was not a Hindu, nor did any other Guru".⁴
6. On January 21, 1948, breaking his fast protesting against the Hindus for joining hands with the Sikhs, what he called, uprooting the Muslims in Delhi, Gandhi told delegation including Giani Kartar Singh, "I read your Granth Sahib. But I do not do so to please you. Nor shall I seek your permission to do so. But the Guru has not said anywhere that you grow beards, carry Kirpan and so on".⁵ Gandhi wanted the Sikhs to disown Guru Gobind Singh, cast off Kirpan, other symbol of the Khalsa, shave off their hair and merge into the ocean of Hinduism!
7. Around that time, there was a bomb blast at the site of his prayer meeting, Gandhi, without any verification, or an iota of evidence, and without thinking for a moment said that, that must be the work of a Sikh!

But Gandhi's continued outpourings were rattling the Sikhs mind. On December 24, 1947, some enterprising Sikhs took to him a bundle of press clippings of his anti-Sikh announcements to impress upon him the enormity of the pain and damage he was causing to the community.⁶ The most quotable quote frequently talked about during this period was Gandhi's pronouncement in one of his prayer meeting, "*Mane shuna hai, aaj Balimarran mei, ek Mushlman Bhai kele ke chhilke se phishl kar gir gya. Wo chhilka zaroor kisi Seekh ne pheka hoga*" – I have heard today in Balimaran (off Chandini Chowk in Delhi), a Muslim brother slipped off a peel of a banana and fell. That peel must have been thrown by a Sikh.

Gandhi really was out of his mind when talking about the Sikhs. Instead of making amends, in his usual style he laughed at the anger of the Sikhs. He did not deny the veracity of the press reports, but added that "As the Sikhs were a virile *race*, he certainly expected more from them", and that "Whatever he said, he had said as a staunch friend of the Sikhs."⁷ The Sikhs said, they did not need such a friend, but he had imposed himself as one!.

In between, there was a raiders attack on the Kashmir Valley and accession of Maharaja of Kashmir to the Indian Union. One thought of the apostle of non-violence to face the Kashmir Valley: the raiders would read his *fateha*. In the mid-1940, he had suggested "every Briton" to face Hitler's violence by non-violence.⁸ But here he sanctioned the use of armed forces. It were the Sikh soldiers of Maharaja of

Patiala who were the first to be sent to Srinagar to face the raiders, supported by Pakistani troops. But despite the praise of all the nation, Gandhi continued his attacks on Sikhism.

Gandhi had outreached himself by making new propositions which eventually sealed his fate. He said, "It cannot be said that Sikhism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism's are separate religions. All these four faiths and their off shoots are one. *Hinduism is an ocean into which all the rivers run. It can absorb Islam and Christianity and all other religions and only then can it become the ocean*"⁹ Also, whenever Dr. B.R. Ambedkar mentioned the word minorities in the Constituent Assembly, the Hindu Congressites cried in unison, "There are no minorities now."

Gandhi by the time was thinking of dissolving the Congress which had functioned as an overarching body for disparate elements in struggle for freedom, and for reconstruction of India from the Village level. By the time, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel were on breaking point and Gandhi had called both of them on January 30, 1948, to resolve their problem. This pointed to the end of the game so far as Jawaharlal Nehru was concerned, and perhaps Mulana Azad. That meant the end of the day. On January 30, 1948, before could Gandhi spell out his out-plan, he received four bullets - three from Nathu Ram Godse, an RSS worker, and one from someone else. No one wants to point out the source of the fourth bullet. Nehru was not unhappy, whereas Patel was deaf-mute at the turn of event. Lord Mountbatten made Nehru and Patel embrace each other and brought about a facade of reconciliation.¹⁰ Nehru went out to All India Radio to announce that the Light Had Gone Out. Thereafter, he buried Gandhism deep. For about five decades no one from his family ever heard of, nor did he confer on him the title of "The Father of the Nation". Nathu Ram Godse's last testament was kept in secrecy for a long time and he was sentenced to death at Ambala. It was treated as a "murder case" because Nathu Ram Godse was Chit Bhavan Brahmin, whereas Gandhi was a *baniya*. This was in sharp contrast to killing of Indira Gandhi which was treated as an "assassination".

Right from Nankana Sahib tragedy from 1921 to 1948, Gandhi never understood an iota of Sikhism. The first word in Digit 1 deciphered by Guru Nanak, or Guru Arjan Dev's scripture "na ko Hindu, na ko *Musalman*", we are neither Hindus, nor Muslims, or Bhai Gurdas's declaration of Guru Nanak's striking sovereignty in the World: "*Maria Sikka Jagat Vich*", were beyond his comprehension. Gandhi was against the Khalsa of Guru Gobind Singh which he never understood. When Aurangzeb read out the *Zafarnama*, he was full of penitence at the wrong done to him at the instance of crook hill chiefs. So far as Sikhs are concerned Gandhi was an intolerant, capricious and a hard core fanatic who worked for annihilation of Sikhism. He was worse than Aurangzeb. It was not for nothing that E.M.S. Namboodiripad later called Gandhi a Hindu religious fundamentalist.¹¹

One impact of Gandhi's murder in the context of unrelenting hostility towards independent entity of Sikhism constituted a watershed in the Sikh attitude towards the Hindus, and put them to serious thinking of their place in Indian polity. One offshot was that the Sikhs completely dissociated themselves from the Hindus. From early 1948 onwards, the Sikhs were not involved on either side in Hindu-Muslim conflict.

1. G. D Tendulkar *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, (Ahmedabad, 1969 reprint) Vol. 8, Pp.139.

2. CW, Vol. 89, Pp. 274.

3. CW, Vol. 90, Pp. 72-73, 96.

4. CW, Vol. 90, Pp. 177.

5. CW, Vol. 90, Pp. 470.

6. G.D. Tendulkar, *MAHATMA: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, (Ahmedabad, reprint) n.9, Vol. 8, Pp. 268.

7. CW, Vol. 72, Pp. 299-31.

8. Emphasis added CW, Vol. 90, Pp. 187-89.

9. CW, Vol. 90, Pp. 177.

10. Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History*, 8th edn. 2014, (Amritsar, Singh Bros), Pp. 246.

11. *Ibid*, Pp. 247.

The demographic change gave a decisive edge in East Punjab to 28 percent Hindu's vis a vis 13 percent Sikhs in undivided Punjab. For the first time after more than a millennium, Hindu's became a majority in East Punjab as then constituted. It, firstly, started gloating over East Punjab having become a Hindu majority province for the first time in known history. They sought to link the fate of Punjabi Hindus with that of their co-religionists from Hindi belt who, in their quest to have Hindi language replace English as the national language, were in an expansionist mood. They were in a mood to devour the other akin languages to inflate the number of Hindu protagonists.

Secondly, it wanted suppression of all, what it termed, communalism. The touchstone applied was that since Hindu's were in majority, all what they advocated constituted the national mainstream, as the Sikhs who were in a minority and who, per force, should be made to toe the line of the majority community.

The decision was not an act of isolation or a casual decision, but had the tactical approval, if not the active encouragement of the Congress leadership, especially of Jawaharlal Nehru who was carrying the big burden of legacy of Gangu Brahmin¹. The Hindu Congress leaders took a calculated decision to confront and contain them.

The Sikhs, because of their concentration in cis-Ghaggar area, for the first time in their history constituted a majority in a compact area of East Punjab States and eight districts of Punjab Viz - Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Kapurthala, Jalandar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ferozpur and Ambala.

Cut to the quick, Master Tara Singh considered the Hindu assertion of communal majority as a threat to the very existence of the Sikhs as an independent, vibrant, community. This forced him to drastically change his stance and declare on February 25, 1948, "We have a culture different from the Hindu's. Our culture is Gurmukhi culture and our literature is also in the Gurmukhi script." He asked for the formation of Punjabi suba, a Punjabi Speaking State, as a purely linguistic unit, and added, "We want to have a Province where we can safeguard our culture and our tradition". He made it clear that he didn't want a Sovereign Independent State, but as part of the federal unit. He asserted, "I want the right to self-determination for Panth in matters - religious, social, political and others. If to ask for the existence for Panth is communalism, then I am a communalist, and I am willing to face repression." The height of his agony was explained by his cryptic statement, "If the Panth is dead, I have no desire to live."² Tara Singh's response was an emotional response, having fought shoulder to shoulder with National leaders of Congress in attaining freedom.

General Kulwant Singh wanted five days to clear the raiders from Kashmir, but Jawaharlal Nehru, under advice of Edwina Mountbatten, who unofficially was in control of Ministry of External Affairs, stopped the military operations. They left the area now known as 'Azad Kashmir' in Pakistan: it had eastern part, now known as Northern Area, a Shia occupied in Pakistan. It was alleged that these people had liberated themselves from Maharaja of Kashmir. The dispute relating to Azad Kashmir, apart from Northern Area occupied by Pakistan, as part of Kashmir.

The formation of Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), a conglomeration of states in East Punjab, a Sikh majority territorial unit, on May 5, 1948, with Maharaja of Patiala Rajpramukh or head, elated the Sikhs. However, inaugurating the Patiala and East Punjab States Union on July 15, 1948, Sardar Patel declared it as "homeland of Sikhs". This was more reflective of the guilt complex in view of Patel's candid admission that "Master Tara Singh had been a long life companion and a comrade in the fight for freedom against the foreign rule".³

Things were coming to a head. Jawaharlal Nehru, candidly spoke to Sardar Patel on the Sikhs, and said "It was his government and one should work by his style." He would not like him to quit, unless he chose to. In that case, he should have to tell the people that You have not been a success in safeguarding the Father of the Nation." Sardar Patel had suffered a mild heart attack in May. He chose

to fall in line. Sardar Patel wrote in his diary that whenever the question of Kashmir or that of the Sikhs arose, Jawaharlal Nehru reflected “emotional insanity”.

The U.N. General Assembly in December 1948 incorporated Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Guru Tegh Bahadur’s martyrdom⁴ was unique and unparalleled in the annals of human history. He laid down his life in defence of religious tolerance, of freedom of worship, and of freedom of conscience. Here was a martyrdom which was self sought for the defence of basic human values, which centuries later, were incorporated by the U.N. General Assembly. It would have been appropriate by India to have proposed a befitting Guru Tegh Bahadur’s martyrdom anniversary, to be universally celebrated all over the World as *Freedom of Conscience Day*. But Jawaharlal Nehru did not put forth the proposal, as it would have highlighted an aspect of Sikh history that was quite distinct in the World over, but was not upto his family’s liking.

In 1949, UN Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) submitted its report. Sardar Patel said that if it were left to him he would have divided it in two part - Muslim and others. But it was not part of his concern. Jawaharlal Nehru was in charge of Kashmir Valley as his forefathers’ property - last occupier was Gangaram Kaul alias Gangu Brahmin who was a part of 17 member Kashmiri Delegation to Guru Teg Bahadur at Anand Sahib in May 1675 to plead against Aurangzeb’s religious policy to stand up against Mughal tyranny: he left a year or so before Anandpur Sahib faced disturbed conditions, to search for new pastures.

The general bias against the minorities was clearly discernible on the eve of the CA proceedings in May 1949. The CA on August 27-28 1947, had already abolished separate electorate and weightage for the minorities who retained reservation of seats on the basis of joint electorate.

By the time of Advisory Committee on Minorities meeting scheduled on May 11, 1949, Patel was openly advocating reversal of earlier decision on reservation of seats. Anglo-Indians and Christians did not want the reservation as it was of no use to them, and the Muslims had certain inhibitions as those who disagreed with Patel were told to pack up and go to Pakistan.

The Advisory Committee on Minorities, the following day, adopted a resolution for abolition of reservation of minorities other than Hindu Scheduled Castes in legislatures. The Sikh demand for lumping together of the Sikh and Hindu scheduled castes was not agreed to. Instead Sardar Patel offered to accept four Sikh scheduled castes of Mazhbis, Kabirpanthis, Ramdasias, and Sikligars, out of total of 31 scheduled castes, and that only in East Punjab, for being granted the facilities extended to Hindu scheduled castes.⁵

A deputation of Sikh legislators of Punjab Assembly led by Giani Kartar Singh called on Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Nehru separately, to press lumping together of the Sikh and Hindu scheduled castes. It drew a blank. ***Nehru point-blank told Giani Kartar Singh to take the concessions being offered on four Sikh scheduled castes as the ultimate price being offered for the Sikhs’ contribution to the freedom struggle!*** When reminded of the Congress pledges of 1929, 1946 and twice in 1947, Nehru without blinking eyelids said that *those were part of their ploy and stratagems*.⁶

Greatly disappointed, Giani Kartar Singh called on Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who told him, that in his reading the fountainhead of Hindu fundamentalism, *katarwad*, was none other than Jawahar Lal Nehru. When asked, how was he continuing in the Government and supporting Nehru vis-a-vis Patel, Azad reviewed the pitiable state to which the Muslims had been reduced and said that his only hope lay in Nehru’s being megalomaniac. It was his constant endeavour to pump that megalomania to ward off, as long as possible, the onrush of the Hindu fundamentalism, to which the Hindu Congressites after partition were rushing headlong.⁷

By now under pressure from Giani Kartar Singh, Bhim Sen Sachar was hammering the language formulae from East Punjab. This led to prolonged correspondence between Sachar, Nehru, and Patel. This yields some interesting facts.

The Sikhs were insistent that the whole of Jalandhar Division including Kangra District and two districts of Ambala Division, viz. Simla and Ambala, were Punjabi speaking areas. They wanted Ghaggar as the boundary between Punjabi and Hindi zones, but Hindu *narrow interest* stood in the way.

These confabulations in the announcement of the language formulae, known as "Sachar Formulae" on October 1, 1949. It was in the nature of a pact between two Arya Samajist Hindu Ministers, Bhim Sen Sachar and Gopi Chand Bhargava, and two Sikh Ministers, Ujjal Singh and Giani Kartar Singh, all members of the Congress.⁸

It demarcated East Punjab into two linguistic zones. Punjabi speaking zone consisted of Jalandhar division minus Kangra District plus Ropar, Kharar Tehsil of Ambala District, and all portions of Hissar District lying to the east of Ferozepur and Patiala side of Ghaggar river. The Hindi speaking zone consisting of Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal and Kangra districts plus Jagadhari and Naraingarh tehsil of Ambala district, and all portions of Hissar district lying to the south of Ghaggar river. Shimla district and Ambala Tehsil of Ambala district were declared bilingual areas.

Punjabi in Gurmukhi script⁹ was the main language or the mother tongue in the Punjabi zone and Hindi in Dev Nagri in the Hindi zone. However, parents or guardians were given the option to choose the medium of instruction in the two zones; and it was not applicable to unaided recognized schools which were required to provide for the teaching of Punjabi and Hindi as a second language.

Speaking on the third reading on the Constitution on November 21, 1949, Bhupinder Singh Mann referred "to the over-centralization of power at the centre", questioned the wisdom "of not allowing Sikh backward classes in East Punjab and U.P. and other parts, the same benefits extended to their Hindu brethren. Hukam Singh concluded "Let it not be misunderstood that the Sikh community has agreed to this Constitution. I wish to record an emphatic protest here. My community cannot subscribe its assent to this historic document." After the third reading followed the roll call for individual members to sign the Constitution. When Bhupinder Singh Mann and Hukam Singh were called upon to do so, they refused to append their signatures to this historic document saying, "The Sikhs don't accept **this Constitution**" and "**The Sikhs reject this Constitution**", respectively. Both of them strongly felt that the Constitution, as framed, was designed to ensure the supremacy of Brahminism over other sections of society especially minorities and Dalits - backward sections of society.¹⁰

Marshal Stalin, for the first time in life met any Ambassador - the Indian Ambassador Dr. S. Radhakrishnan at Kremlin on January 15, 1950, at 9.00 p.m. **He told him that Subhash Chandra Bose was in his custody and is held in Siberia.** Earlier, Jawaharlal Nehru had written to the British and mentioned of his inimical activities. Though Jawaharlal Nehru had earlier paid a visit to Moscow, the decision to disclose about Subhash Chandra Bose came as a great relief to him. Later in 1955 when Khrushchev and Bulganin visited New Delhi, some understanding about Subhash Chandra Bose was arrived at. A document was available at Calcutta Secretariate: it was destroyed by Jyoti Basu. **As a matter of fact neither Congress nor BJP, as it seems, are interested to spell about Moscow.**

The new constitution was inaugurated amidst chanting of Hindu mantras on January 26, 1950, when Dr. Rajendra Prasad took over as head of a so called secular state! How could the state be secular when the leadership was deeply imbued with the spirit of religious revivalism? Whatever the contours of the Indian brand of secularism, from its very inception it was inimical to Sikhism and maintenance of the Sikh identity. As inalienable rights proclaimed by the American Declaration of Independence 1776 did not impinge on Negro slavery for a hundred years, the Sikhs are yet to find an acceptable equation within the framework of Indian secularism.

The net result of the "religious game" played by Patel was that the Sikh Scheduled Castes not given the benefits in Punjab and PEPSU in several thousands and almost all Sikhs Scheduled Castes in U.P., about 2,00,000, reverted back to the Hindu fold.

Master Tara Singh was arrested, second time in independent India, on September 7, 1950 on charges of delivering objectionable speeches two months earlier. The High Court held that section 124A

Criminal Procedure Code was violative of the Indian Constitution and restrictions imposed on Master Tara Singh's speeches were ultra vires.¹¹ He was released on November 20, 1950.

Nehru was by now rattled by judgments of Bombay, Patna and Punjab High Courts on freedom of speech and press, and detention of people without trial. Being basically an autocrat, wearing a democratic mask, he now (when the Constitution had run its course hardly for one year) wanted to subvert the wishes of the framers of the Constitution by taking recourse to amendments. Speaking at Amritsar on December 3, 1950, shortly after his release, Tara Singh accused the Congress of creating a rift between the Hindus and the Sikhs for political reasons. Later, speaking at Delhi on December 13, 1950, he stated that the "Sikh religion today is in great danger and in order to protect it, great sacrifices are needed."

The death of Sardar Patel on December 15, 1950 brought an era to an end. It came as a great relief to Jawaharlal Nehru who was feeling ill at ease since Purushottam Das Tandon defeated Acharya J.B. Kripalani in the Congress Presidential elections. The last exchanges between Nehru and Patel were marked by "extreme irritation on trivial matters of administration".¹² Nehruites were on the run and Nehru himself remained uneasily perched as Prime Minister with the full knowledge that Patel was a dying man. The death of Sardar Patel led to elimination of his name from history books and merciless extermination of Purushottam Das Tandon and his collaborators. Jawaharlal Nehru emerged as the show boy of the Congress, to the extermination of Patel who did not find fresh life till 2014.

1. In a revealing passage about his 'making', Nehru wrote, "Behind me lie somewhere in the sub-conscious, racial memories of hundred or whatever the numbers may be, generations of Brahmin. I cannot get rid of that past inheritance...Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, (1936), (Delhi, 1980), p.596. In the words of Madhu Limaye, the socialist leader Jawaharlal Nehru practiced both racialism and casteism despite modern upbringing and outlook. See Madhu Limaye, "A Wealthy Bania and Socialist Brahmin" in the Weekend Telegraph (Calcutta November 21, 1987).
2. *Tribune* Feb. 26, 1948 also Rai, *Punjab Since partition*, (Delhi 1986), p. 273-74. When the time came, Tara Singh neither faced martyrdom, nor permitted Sant Fateh Singh to do so.
3. *Hukam Singh Spokesman* weekly, Oct 9, 1972
4. Guru Gobind Singh in his peroration address at the time of cremation of severed head of Guru Tegh Bahadur said:

To protect their right to wear their caste-mark and sacred thread,
 Did he, in the dark age, perform the supreme sacrifice;
 To help the saintly, he went to the utmost limits,
 He offered his head but heaved not a sigh of regret.
 He suffered martyrdom for the sake of his moral principles,
 He lost his life but not the celestial horizon of his communion with God;
 He disdained to perform miracles or jugglers tricks,
 For these fill men of God with shame.
 Having broken the potsherd (of his body) on the head of the ruler of Delhi,
 He went to the abode of the Lord:
 None has ever performed such a unique deed, That Tegh Bahadur has.
 When Tegh Bahadur passed away, there was mourning throughout the world,
 The world was stunned and amazed (at his laying down his life for others' religion),
 While the shouts of glory, glory, glory rent the whole heaven.

cf. Swarup Singh, *Guru kian Sakhian*, (1790), pp.78-80.

5. *Constituency Assembly Debates*, Vol. VIII pp. 353-54.
6. Sangat Singh, op. cit., p. 259
7. Ibid
8. Ibid p.261
9. Gandhi was an ignoramus, Punjabi falls within Indian languages against Sindhi which comes from the Arabic sources. Punjabi is written from left to right whereas Sindhi is written from right to left. Punjabi is elder to both Urdu and Hindi whose father figure was Amir Khusru (1253-1325). Punjabi was a fully developed language, with its own Granth, its own vocabulary, and its developed grammar, whereas Hindi or Urdu were in their primary stages.
 Gandhi, a decade earlier, had wanted the Sikhs to discard the Gurmukhi script in favour of *Devnagari*. He wanted to add that "There is no elegance about the (*gumukhi*) script. But I understand that it is specially invented like Sindhi to isolate the Sikhs from the other Hindus. (Letter dated Nov 13th 1936 to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, CW vol.64 page 41.)
10. *Constituent Assembly Debates* Vol XI, pp. 721-23.
11. *Jawaharlal Nehru; (Letters to Chief Minister (ed. G Parthasarthy) Pp. 791-92*
12. Sarvepalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography* (Delhi, 1986), Vol.2 p. 149.

3

NEHRU FINDS A PARTRIDGE IN KAIRON

Nehru in 1951 was hovering over new forces to overwhelm the existing order. In May 1951, he dismissed Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, as Law Minister, who was proving a hurdle in launching new amendments to the Constitution. He overwhelmed Purshottam Das Tandon in September: Nehru himself also took over as Congress President. He left untouched Cabinet Minister K.M. Munshi and President Dr RajendraPrasad, but kept Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and Ajit Prasad Jain in the Cabinet, after having resigned from Congress Party.

Nehru because of paucity of time for the forthcoming elections in early 1952, chose all those who took to fall to his side, whatever were their earlier predictions. He looked to Maulana Azad as an elder statesman, who, however, looked to his megalomania. Nehru in a short time perfected the instruments of Brahmin-Bania Raj, under pinned by Muslims and backward classes. It is another matter that he laid foundations for a modern but obsolete and corrupt India.

He kept in view Gangu Brahmin heritage and there was not scope for Akalis. He started with Baba Kharak Singh's birthday celebrations on June 20, 1951 and later towards schismatic Sant Nirankaris, and other Sikhs, to weaken Sikhism. He fell back on Khushwant Singh's book, *The Sikhs*, (London, Allen and Unwin, 1951), hurrying up the conclusions in the hope that Sikhism will meet its end by end of the century. It came as an assurance to Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders, that the policies they were pursuing were correct and should be persisted upon to yield the desired results.

In election campaign speaking on Gandhi Jayanti, October 2, 1951, Nehru dubbed Punjabi speaking state as a Sikh state. He adduced additional reason that conceding it would imperil the national border of India. Further Nehru's outburst at the public meeting at Patiala on January 4, 1952, "I will not allow India to be divided again". At the time he was being hackled by slogan shouters, *le ke rahenge Punjabi suba*, we shall have Punjabi speaking province. Nehru was seized of "uncontrollable rage."¹

The Congress won 45 per cent of total polls at the Centre, and 42 per cent of the total in states in total area, and in the words of Michael Brecher, "more than half the ballot expressed discontent with Congress stewardship during the early years of the Indian Republic."² That worked in favour of Congress which got 362 out of 489 seats in Parliament and a working majority in all states except Madras, Orissa, PEPSU, and Travancore Cochin.

Gian Singh Rarewala was sworn in as Chief Minister of United Front Government on April 20, 1952. He had the distinction of heading the first non-Congress government formed in any Indian state. Rarewala was unseated in February 1953, and had, under the Law, an option to continue as Chief Minister before getting re-elections to the house. But instead President's rule was imposed on March 5, 1953. On hearing of the development, Dr Ambedkar was so upset that, as he spoke in Rajya Sabha, Upper House of Indian Parliament, thereafter he would like to burn the Constitution.

Nehru waited to draw the blood of Potti Sriramulu's life, before announcing formation of Andhra Province. This was the first step in formation of linguistic provinces.

May 10 1955: Akalis started being arrested for violating prohibitory orders. Nehru lost his equipoise on May 28, and said: it was "vulgar, highly improper, unwarranted, non-sensible, obnoxious and born of parochialism". On July 4: first sacrilege after independence when shells fell within *sarovar*, holy tank of

Darbar Sahib, Head Priests of Akal Takht and Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) arrested, closed *Guru ka Langar* (Guru's Kitchen) by taking over the utensils, etc. Jawahar Lal Nehru after visit to Soviet visited Britain, when Western journalists tauntingly asked him that he was preaching *Panchsheel* all over, when a minority back at home was being put into jail over a trivial issue. Cut to quick, Nehru wanted Sachar to discontinue the arrests.³

Later, Sachar a man of conscience, went to the Golden Temple to apologise for hurting the susceptibilities of the Sikh people. But Partap Singh Kairon was an *amoral* person and a man without a conscience sent emissaries to Nehru and Pandit Pant, Home Minister, that Sachar had inadvertently helped the Sikhs. **This was the first time that Nehru found out a proper person, for induction as Chief Minister, Panjab, in Nov 1955. In two and a half years, surfaced a split in the Congress with Prabodh Chandra's complaining of high-handedness and corruption on part of the Chief Minister. The High Command found substance in Kairon's sons and nephews serving as alternate centres of power. The Congress Parliamentary Board fixed on Kairon the constructive responsibility for actions of his relatives, but Nehru on June 4, 1958, termed the charges of corruption as "foolish, frivolous and absurd", and Kairon won the vote of confidence the following day. Kairon, as quid pro quo, decided to change to the texture of Sikh institutions and 'secularise' them.**⁴

A group from visitors from Palestine called up Nehru: he made them sit. He used to relish narrating stories about *Santa-Banta*, and started stories about the hilarious and funny character of the Sikhs – their awkwardness and character as a joker, mimickry, ridicule, derision, prickiness, stupidity, foolishness, irritability, idiocity, clumsy and perverse character, etc. etc. **The Palestanians got up and said that "what you are telling us is about the Arabs: Jews narrate similar stories about we people."** Once, Nehru was telling similar stories in another get together. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur who hailed from Kapurthala family and Christian by faith felt hurt and told Nehru that he should not narrate such stories in the presence of senior people like Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir, President of Punjab Congress. Nehru said, never mind it: he had been defused/made without testicles (*khassi*) by Gandhi. **Such was the character of the Sikhs that was relished among the Congress – Ishar Singh Majhail, Baldev Singh, Swaran Singh, Partap Singh Kairon, Gurdial Singh Dhillon, Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan, Darbara Singh, Giani Zail Singh, later Buta Singh, Beant Singh or Dr. Manmohan Singh.** They were all kept as pets. Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur was told that she should not mind such characters. Such had been past time with the Nehru family get together.

Pressure was mounting up in the Punjab and various political elements were coming around to saner position. To begin with, Sant Fateh Singh laid emphasis on linguistic aspect of Punjabi Suba demand shom of any verbiage about the position of the Sikhs in the unit. **Ranbir of Urdu Milap on August 21, 1960, exhorted Punjabi renegade Hindus to own up their mother tongue and not be a traitor to their mother. Prem Bhatia, Editor, Times of India shortly afterwards tendered similar advice. And above all, RSS leader, M.S. Golwalkar, in early November 1960, when on a visit to Punjab, urged Punjabi Hindus to "accept Punjabi as their mother tongue" with all the consequences.**⁵

But Nehru (seized of Gangu Brahmin heritage) on November 17, 1960, at Agriculture University at Rudrapur, when some Sikhs interrupted his speech shouting Punjabi Suba *Zindabad* (long live). Nehru lost his equilibrium and betrayed his inner self or was seized by his Gangu Brahmins spirit when he burst forth, **"You fools, your Punjabi Suba has been left in Pakistan", and taunted them "Go to your Punjabi Suba. Why are you here?"**⁶ Fateh Singh after exchanges, fixed December 18, 1960 as he beginning of his fast. This made Jaya Prakash Narayan to reason with an obdurate Nehru in vain.⁷

Fateh Singh's adamant statement made Tara Singh to fly to Bhavnagar for personal talks with Nehru on January 7, 1961. **Nehru** and Tara Singh had sharp exchanges. Nehru said that he would not permit the Sikhs to continue this agitation any longer, or mount another one hereafter. He ridiculed at the overall Sikh percentage in India, and said imperiously he had had enough of them. And, if they persist, he would teach them a lesson that they would remember for generations. Nehru had both

Shankaracharya's crushing of Buddhists and the extermination of Melians in Ancient Greece following the Peloponnesian War around 410 B.C. in his mind. Pertinently, in **the negotiations preceding the War, the stand of Melo's, a small power, in the world of Greek historian Thucydides, was "rich in principle and high in moral content."** The Greeks, then a great power, conscious of their military might made their intentions clear by saying, "You know as well as we do, that right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power. While strong do what they can, the weak suffer what they must." In the ensuing war, each and every male Melian to the child of one day was killed and their women folk taken over by the Greeks.⁸ Nehru was not unconscious of the issues at stake, and in his usual Brahminical arrogance was bulging from the position of strength.

Tara Singh sought to disabuse Nehru of his reading of the Sikh history. He said he himself came from Hindu background, but knew the Sikhs very well. Nehru did not. If it came to that, the Sikhs would know how to defend themselves. The responsibility for disintegration of India would be that of Nehru, and history won't forgive him. Tara Singh continued that if they sit together for 15 minutes, they can solve the problem amicably. Thereafter that sort of opportunity may not present itself. Tara Singh's attempt to humor Nehru's megalomania by referring to his international standing for peace and amicable solution of problems drew no response. **He left in disgust, after thumping the table that Nehru was bent upon playing the role of Aurangzeb.**⁹

Meanwhile, at the instance of intermediaries, Seth Ram Nath and Harcharan Singh, Nehru decided to resort to another stratagem. There was nothing new in Nehru's empty and fraudulent statement, but Tara Singh read through Nehru's menacing nuances. He spent a restless night in Delhi. Contrary to the advice of his advisers, he sent a telegram to Fateh Singh to break his fast as, "It fulfills requirements of vow". Fateh Singh's breaking his fast on January 9, 1961, came as an anti-dimax. To the Sikh masses, it indicates that the struggle for Punjabi Suba was lost. Tara Singh was hooted at Manji Sahib on January 11, and again the following day. The Sikhs gathering at Mukatsar for Maghi Mela refused to listen to him. His influence was on the wane.

Nehru had three rounds of talks with Fateh Singh on February 8, March 1, and May 8, 1961, when he advanced specious arguments for non-formation of Punjabi Suba. Sant Fateh Singh said, "Panditji you are considering as if some Sikh state was being carved out. I may make it clear that Punjabi-speaking state would be like other states of Bharat." Finally, Sant Fateh Singh pointed out to his reputation of resolving international disputes and why could he not settle this petty dispute in our own country. Nehru kept quiet for a minute and said that *it was his final opinion that there would be no Punjabi Suba during this regime.*¹⁰

Shortly afterwards, Nehru recorded a note "For Eyes Only" for his successors that **no concessions whatsoever in future should be made to the Sikhs.** Mention may be made of **three mindless accusations levelled against the Akalis at various times during 1960-61 agitation. Only the Pakistan would train 10,000 Sikhs in guerrilla warfare; two, Kairon accused Tara Singh of starting Punjabi Suba agitation with the support and encouragement of Pakistan, and three, Tara Singh was accused of instructing Bir Khalsa Dal, Young Wing, to learn the technique of using explosives to attack opponents. These were indicative of the working of Nehru's mind and provided an outline to contain the Sikhs in future to subject them to state terrorism.** This outline came handy to his daughter, Indira, two decades later.¹¹

By now, there was material change in the national scene. A temporarily insane Nehru provoked the Chinese by his statement at Madras in Oct 1962 that he had asked the Indian armed forces to throw the Chinese troops out of certain border posts.

The **Chinese struck** in a major way scattering the Indian forces and made pyjama of Nehru. The Sikh soldiers who fought the Chinese valiantly were special target of Chinese atrocities. Accordingly to the testimony of B.N. Mullick (from Bihar), Director, Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India, "**The Chinese perpetrated untold cruelties on the brave wounded Sikhs. Many of them were tied and then**

dragged and their brains were battered.” This was spelled out by Mullick. The Chief Ministers of Rajasthan, U.P. and Madhya Pradesh moved at the bravery of the Sikhs, announced concessions for Punjabi soldiers. The Chief Minister of **Madhya Pradesh announced introduction of Punjabi in Gurmukhi script in 10th and 11th classes.**¹² This led to **special recruitment within Armed Forces. People from Eastern U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh were not willing for recruitment. The Sikhs were especially recruited into the Armed Forces, and a large body of young men found themselves there.**

But these had no impact on Punjabi-renegade Hindus and their helmsman Jawaharlal Nehru, who even in his wretched state continued to regard the Sikhs only as mercenaries.

The Indian setback caused national indignation and demoralization. People including Sikhs rose to support a humiliated Nehru. The opposition in Parliament for the first time sponsored a motion of no confidence in Nehru government. **The irrepressible Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in a telling statement in Parliament stated, “Are you looking for a traitor ?”** Pointing to Nehru, he continued, **“Here is he. His name is Jawaharlal Nehru”.** Nehru could not strike back in self defence, for he had none. The same evening he had a paralytic stroke which crippled his body: he had already been out of his mind since 1959. But he did not follow the democratic tradition and resign. To perpetuate his dynasty, he continued to stick to office, and always had a mind as successor in Indira Gandhi to succeed him.¹³ Subsequently on February 7, 1963, Sant Fateh Singh presented Prime Minister Nehru a cheque of Rs. 50,000 on behalf of the SGPC as its contribution to the National Defence Council. Similar were the feelings of Tara Singh group of Akali Dal.¹⁴

Kairon’s raising of auxiliary force namely Home Guards and going in for an air rifle factory with American collaboration caused doubts in members of Congress High Command about his intentions in post-Nehru era. A group of Congressmen submitted memorandum about his malfeasance and that of his family members. A deputation of joint opposition leader led by Master Tara Singh, and including Devi Lal, Abdul Ghani Dar, Jagat Narain and others, submitted a memorandum to President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, enlisting **32 charges of corruption, nepotism and favouritism against Kairon.** Nehru was forced to institute a one-man enquiry commission only on opposition charges, consisting of S. R. Das, though he publicly justified the need for continuation of Kairon – “a slave overseer... more heartless than any alien beast.” **The dissident Congress members of Legislative Assembly protested to Nehru for acquitting Kairon before enquiry and for confining it only to opposition charges and ignoring the charge sheet submitted by them.**

His last work was release of Shaikh Abdullah after a decade of incarceration and entrusted him to pursue a Kashmir solution after talks with President Mohamad Ayub of Pakistan. The two talked over. It was not an easy issue and needed another confabulation. What was in Nehru’s mind remained within his mind, and the bird flew away.

Dispirited, Nehru passed melancholy day till he passed into history on May 27, 1964. **It was whispered in a hush hush manner in the corridors of South Block that he had died of syphilis.**

With Nehru’s death Kairon’s exit was only a matter of time. An era passed away in the history of Punjab and of the Sikhs. Justice S.R. Das was now emboldened to give a report upholding four of 32 charges. A week before the report was submitted on June 21, 1964, Kairon resigned.

Nehru era was marked by a rapacious policy of negativism towards the Sikhs. Whatever the merits of the man, his policies and outlook, his attitude and mien towards the Sikhs were reflective of his deep seated hostility. Because of Nehru, India failed to emerge as a nation in emotional and cultural sense.

1. Ajit Singh Sarhadi, *Punjabi Suba*, Delhi, 1970, p.218, 225

2. Michael Bracher, *Jawaharlal Nehru- A political Biography*, London, 1959, P.442

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8. Gur Rattan Pal Singh, *Illustrated History of the Sikhs* (Chandigarh, 1979) p. 211-2
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4

INDIRA'S UNCONSTITUTIONAL SIKH WAR

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri a tiny, little man, had his hands firmly held by Nehru. But he rose many a time in height at the India-Pakistan War in August-September 1965. There was possibility of an American supplied Patton-Tank, and Army Chief Gen. J.N. Chaudhari, had ordered the Indian forces to withdraw to Beas to face the Pakistani onslaught. If the plan had been implemented, it would have meant cut off of Kashmir. Pakistan could have taken over not only the Valley but also Hindu Jammu, as part of Kashmir. President Dr.S. Radhakrishnan, was playing a silent role in the ongoing scenario and in his broadcast on September 11, he stated that Sant Fateh Singh who had agreed to postpone his fast, will be satisfied with the eventual solution of problem agreed to by the leader of Punjab. He held out certain assurances on Punjab imbroglio.¹ The Sikh Generals – General Harbaksh Singh and General Rajinder Singh Sparrow - refused to carry out the orders of their Chief, and decided to hold out. They put out chosen Jawans from the Sikh Regiments as *suicide-bombers* fully laced with explosives to lie down amidst sugarcane/other grasses, to explode the oncoming Patton Tanks. This had its desired effect.

The Patton Tanks became useless. One Patton Tank, which had escaped, was brought to New Delhi for popular display. This caused wide jubilation amongst the people. The Army was heroically supplied by civilians (read Sikh) population in its three-pronged thrust in the Lahore sector. The Army authorities acknowledged the role by civilians in the conflict. The performance of the civilian truck drivers was spectacular. The Sikh peasantry rose as a man to back the troops in providing Jawans their provisions – the basic necessities of life. The zeal, enthusiasm and daring spirit displayed by the populace put to shame Punjab-renegade Hindus (only Arya Samajis) and their cohorts – the cohort of Satan - who were out to play tricks. Shastri was in his spirits and chose some Sikh farmers to go over to Kutch: they in course of time overturned saltpeter land to become fertile to defend the people.

After the cease-fire on September 26, Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda was for a cooperative solution based on goodwill and a reasonable approach. Parliamentary Consultative Committee was constituted under Speaker of Lok Sabha consisting of nominees from the two houses of Parliament. Obviously, no Parliamentary Committee presided over by the Speaker could make its recommendations to any one, except the Parliament. Shastri, Nanda and Indira Gandhi were fulminating at the turn of events.

After the event some Congress (I) Hindus said that the Sikhs had acted as mercenaries and next time, they may side with Pakistan. This led to adjournment motion in Punjab Assembly on November 3, 1965, over the issue of the arrogance and insulting remarks made, and Gurnam Singh visibly agitated, stated, "We cannot tolerate these insults. Have Hindus taken the monopoly of loyalty to the country?"²

With Shastri's death at Tashkent and induction of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister on January 20, 1966, Nehruvian line was back with vengeance. She wanted to circumvent the Parliamentary Consultative Committee to set aside its recommendations. The Committee had recommended the present state of Punjab being reorganized on linguistic basis and the Punjabi region specified in the First Schedule to Punjab Regional Committee Order, 1957, to form an unilingual Punjabi speaking state. She set up a three member Committee, consisting of a sitting Judge, J.C. Shah and two retired Civil Servants,

S. Dutt and M.M. Philip. Krishna Huthee Singh, Jawaharlal Nehru's sister, not knowing Indira's game plan, wrote, "I am sure Indira was overruled." Reflecting Gangu Brahmin heritage, she went on to add, "If it were upto me I'd ...send a fire squad to hasten them Sainthood".³

There was again a breeze of fresh thinking on Punjab by the national leadership of both Jan Sangh and Rashtriya Swyam Sevak Sangh. For instance, Balraj Madhok in his Presidential address to Jan Sangh in April 1966 pleaded for his party's acceptance of the division of Punjab on linguistic basis and berated the "extremists elements among the Akalis and the Arya Samajists" who were dissatisfied with reorganization.⁴ He and RSS leader M.S. Golwalker, who toured Punjab in April 1966 urged the Hindus of Punjab to acknowledge Punjabi as a legitimate language and Gurmukhi a proper script for the Hindus to accept.⁵ Again as in 1960, it was the anti-Sikh family tradition of descendants of Ganga Ram Kaul alias Gangu Brahmin that held the sway.

The Shah Commission worked in a most arbitrary manner. It declared certain areas hilly, and transferred to Himachal Pradesh. It worked with vengeance in its discretion in depriving Panjab of as much as it could. As a result of web created by herself, Chandigarh was created as a centrally administered territory, shared by both Punjab and Haryana. Central Government took over Control over Bhakhra Dam and reservoirs, certain channels and headworks. It was working on a polity as if it were working for secession. Sant Akali Dal dubbed Shah Commission "to be the worst type of communal commission." Master Tara Singh saw it another move to enslave the Sikhs.

The break up of the Shiromani Akali Dal had a deleterious impact on the Sikh community. The Khattris, Aroras, Ramgarhias, Jats, Mazhbi, Ramdasias and others presented a solid force. Master Tara Singh's leadership of Shiromani Akali Dal helped to solidifying the various elements. It was expected that around 1944 the emergence of Sikh Students Federation would help to usher in the educated classes, and will serve as a nursery for the Shiromani Akali Dal. But Master Tara Singh failed the Sikh Students Federation in mid 1950s, and this led to people like Fateh Singh to come up. The Jat background of Sant Fateh Singh was propped up by people like Kairon and Communists who successfully infiltrated the new Akali Dal.

Jats also smashed Mazhbis, Ramdasias and other backward classes of Sikhs. This brought about inferiority complex and humiliation. Indira also used Giani Zail Singh to play havoc with Ramgarhias, who had a vast presence at international level including Britain, Canada, USA, apart from East Africa. During the British period the Khattris, Aroras, Ramgarhias, and bulk of Sikh Mazhbis, Ramdasias and other backward classes were firm in their Sikhism, whereas Jats many a time were firm, while some of them were wavering in their form. But all of them owed their fealty to Sikhism. Jats straightaway from Partap Singh Kairon including his sons and nephews started playing with the Sikh backward classes, especially in Malwa, and disrupted if not wrecked the Community. The failure of Master Tara Singh in finding someone from the Sikh Students Federation, even a Jat, would have brought about a sobriety and solidarity. **If Master Tara Singh was a semi-qualified, Sant Fateh Singh and his collaborator Sant Chanan Singh and later Sant Longowal, were quasi-qualified.** If Sant Fateh Singh's Driver won a seat in Parliament, later it was a heyday with people like Tohra and Talwandi who never opened up their mouth in Parliament, except when they were inducted as Members. S. Kapur Singh ICS, could not be inducted, despite his comprehension, grasp and assimilation. When Sant Longowal signed an agreement with Rajiv-Longowal accord, he had to depend on two Sikh scholars, who betrayed him. That was the state of affairs of the Sikh Panth.

Indira Gandhi was on a life and death struggle with Syndicate which was bent upon removing her. The issue was decided in Presidential elections - V.V. Giri vis-à-vis Sanjiva Reddy. Akalis of whatever hey had bitter experience with Nehru and Indira. Her defeat would not have been unwelcome. Even Akalis remaining neutral would have been seen him lose. **Gurnam Singh faltered in offering her support. Akalis should know that gratitude has no place in politics. Not being adept in the game they wasted the opportunity to rue later.** He played a fax pass in voting for Giani Bhupinder Singh in place of

Jathedar Santokh Singh, he lost the Chief Ministership when Congress betrayed him. This led to Parkash Singh Badal as Chief Minister on March 27, 1970.

Indira was now on high road to establishing a personalized rule with loyalty to her being equated with loyalty to the nation.⁶ She was now on a much better position to carry forward her family vendetta against the Sikhs. The forces of evil had been greatly strengthened.

Indira now sought to strike decisive blow at any prospects of Akali Dal and Jan Sangh coming together. **Dr Jagjit Singh Chauhan was let loose on international arena to propagate, what he called, Khalistan. Since Indira by the time was having a war of words with Pakistan over the crisis in East Pakistan and influx of Bengali refugees to India, Chauhan came into contact with foreign governments, and their intelligence set ups too. The U.S. Under Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger and Pakistan's President Yahya Khan, looking for a break through, fell into the trap and extended support to Chauhan.**

Chauhan on September 18, 1971, in a press interview in London raised demand for Khalistan and stated that a rebel government would be formed with headquarters at Nankana Sahib; if necessary, the Sikhs would fight the Indian army and obtain arms from Pakistan and China.⁷

Dr. Chauhan's gains through CIA yielded rich dividends. Half a page advertisement in the *New York Times* on October 12, 1971, for the Sikh demand for independent state was backed off with demonstration before the United Nations Headquarters. Chauhan's, setting up an office of Khalistan Headquarter in Quito in Latin America and two other offices – one in Paris and another in London were also paid for by CIA. Chauhan duly arrived at Nankana Sahib on Nov 2, for Guru Nanak's birthday celebrations. He was ceremoniously presented with the *Keys of Gurdwara Janamasthan* on birthday of Guru Nanak.

Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan walked nonchalantly through Wagah border, and was received by a R&AW officer: he was fully debriefed. This included some Sikhs from USA who had developed close relationship with some from Pakistan hierarchy with whom they had developed fine relations. Being American passport holders, they had freedom to move out. Dr. Chauhan was adept in deceive, chicanery and hyperbole, but he was told that he must tell them truthfully about others what they had in their mind. Dr. Chauhan was being used as an agent provocative to bring out the truth – the truth Indira wanted to listen. He had the vast field of R&AW offices in UK, Canada, USA and other places to help him appropriately. He, on arrival at Delhi, was closeted with Indira Gandhi. This was openly mentioned in the press, and it was not long that Pakistani's learnt the truth about Chauhan. It was obvious that **Indira Gandhi was acting as a mother of Khalistan movement**, whereas Dr Chauhan was acting only as an intermediary, though he had put on a lot of airs.

Indira's prestige reached new heights following India's victory over Pakistan leading to the creating of Sovereign, Independent, Bangladesh, and with 93,007 Pakistani Prisoners-of-War in hand. Besides, Dr. Chauhan's activities abroad were deliberately projected by the media to form part of Sant Akali Dal's doings, and scare away Jan Sangh from it. Indira Gandhi paid and bribed to bring about the downfall of Akali Ministry in 1971.⁸ The Akalis had no answer to this downfall/type of character assassination campaign by the controlled media. Hindus tilted the balance in Punjab. Giani Zail Singh was inducted as Chief Minister of Punjab, on March 17, 1972.

Indira Gandhi lost her nerves at Simla Conference on the mid-night of July 1 /2, 1972, when she put her signatures on the Simla Dedaration. She lost her objectives to make Z.A. Bhutto to agree to the line of control as the international borders between the two countries. In the process, he made her to wash out India's victory. In a year or so she released Pakistani prisoners of war but not wanted the release of 54 persons - bulk of them were Sikhs with sizeable Hindus from various provinces. She let them rot in Pakistani jails. Some wrote to their family members to take up their case with Indian foreign office. Some spirited persons took up their cases with the Indian Supreme court, but Indira had no mercy.

Sant Fateh Singh died on October 30, 1972, and Sant Channan Singh followed suit in another month. Tohra, a past master in effective alliance, with his solid support of leftists infiltrators, seized Presidentship of SGPC, on January 6, 1973. That, he has been able to seize over two decades without his active links with Communists being questioned reflects the bad days to which the Akali leadership has fallen. Tohra under advice of Marxist leader Harkishan Singh Surjeet, and also Giani Zail Singh (from whose Faridkot district many Naxalites came), started bringing in former Naxalites in employment in various Gurdwaras. So was the case with the induction of Communists, Naxalites and agnostics. This accelerated the downhill journey of the Sikhs in socio-religious sphere. This is not to downplay the role of *Kendri Sri Guru Singh Sabha* under the leadership of S. Hukam Singh to carry on the work of *dharam prachar*, starting 1973.

India on May 18, 1974, had exploded at Pokhran a nuclear explosion with the words, Buddha is Smiling. Indira thought that she could survive with the nuclear power. It was another matter that Soviet Union despite being a Super Power and a World Power, could not maintain the soviet position and was reduced to a Russian Federation.

The declaration of the state of emergency on the night of June 25-26, 1975 was an eventful event. She resolved now to have only committed Judges. She went the whole hog to bend the judiciary by capricious transfer of judges, suppressions and by weighted new appointments. The Sikhs, as we shall see, were the worst sufferers. Indira got into her head that only the Sikhs constituted a threat to her imperious and dynastic rule. She started up with two punitive measures to inflict permanent injury to the Sikh economy: One - she came up with a bitchy award on March 25, 1976, allocating the Waters and Hydel Power of the Punjab rivers under section 78 of the Punjab Reorganisation Act of 1966 to Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi and Punjab. **Parkash Singh Badal not unexpectedly failed to get Indira's Hydel Power Award of March 1976, removed as one of the emergency excesses. Akali were the only ones to have run a *morcha* from day one to the last day of emergency. They could have walked out of Government of India.**

Two, Defence Ministry **for the first time issued orders for recruitment to the armed forces to provinces based on population. This meant a reduction of the Sikhs to just 2 per cent.** The Defence Ministry orders also provided for induction of members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Army Chief, Tapishwar Narain Raina, another Kashmiri Brahmin,^{8a} **put down the induction of Scheduled Castes and Tribes into the armed forces**, though in the case of Sikh backward classes, the members of Sikh Light Infantry had won laurels. This has been a continuous discrimination with the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, but their leaders have not taken it up to look at it. Look at how Eklavya was cheated of his thumb by Dronacharya – who said the sort of perfection he had attained in archery was beyond the competence of Arjuna, and could pave way for power and sovereignty. The entry into armed forces is a certainty a road to power. The induction of lower castes needed to be taken up by the new classes of Scheduled Castes and Tribes that is coming up.

Indira Gandhi used another two stratagems. Firstly, she introduced drugs from across the borders and entrusted through Partap Singh Kairon's sons and nephews, apart from some others, to wreck the Sikhs' physical strength to produce inertia; another aspect was not to be able to join the armed forces. Two, she brought Biharis into the Punjab as labourers. Shortly, they came into droves and brought along with them their families. This was a process of coming and going. They were back to Bihar at the time of elections. Later, in course of time, Badal used them as surrogate Sikhs for vote at Gurdwara elections.

Reflecting a change of tactics, she assisted by her thoughtless cronies committed to Khalistan in 1978, and managed for them a lot of publicity. **There was truth in Atal Behari Vajpayee's assertion that both Giani Zail Singh and Darbara Singh were supporting the Khalistani movement.**⁹

The next state was marked by Dr Chauhan's simultaneous announcement for formation of Khalistan in June 1980 from London and Amritsar, as if all in a great fun. The Intelligence Bureau in Amritsar was

more interested to find out the reaction of journalists. The inaction of authorities gave credence to the Akali Dal (L) charge that Khalistan movement was a political stunt by Congress (I).¹⁰

Indira Gandhi collected all the data about Gangu Brahmin and his ancestry by a reference to the family records maintained by Pandits at Mattan shrine in Kashmir Valley. A small team led by Yash Pal Kapoor, a former M.P. in 1980 collected the data. This firmed up her resolve to carry on her war against the Sikhs to its logical conclusions.¹¹

When Indira was inaugurating the digging of Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canals on April 6, 1982 at Kapuri, near Patiala, and Akalis were holding a protest meeting at Ghannaur, 6 kms. away, gave a new stage to the Punjab situation. **Several heads of cows were placed before the Hindu temples at Amritsar, the following two days. This shows desperation of Indira Gandhi, at whose instance, Darbara Singh's Congress(I) agents were activated. It was on record, some Muslim butchers from Saharanpur recruited to throw Cow heads at Hindu worship places,** were arrested at Amritsar but the inconvenient news was suppressed. **The orders must have come from highest command.** The denial of Dal Khalsa activists was deliberately got locked out. According to government's media management, Dal Khalsa claimed responsibility but their patron Giani Zail Singh wanted to spell the truth. He was told not to intervene.¹²

When she was thinking of cow heads, she had thought of Giani Zail Singh who could play the role of a joker, placed above the card in a pack; she nominated him as President of India in July 1982. He announced his roles as one who could sweep her floor, if need be. In the end, he fulfilled his role, causing her no obstacles.

Bhindranwale now had taken full circle and matured into a bitter critic of Indira. In the words of Bhai Gurdas, young cuckoos flutter in discomfort as they grow, and a time comes when they part company. The time for Bhindranwale had come by May 1982. Indira Gandhi entered into two agreements in October and November 1982 through Rajinder Singh Bhatia and Swaran Singh, and reneged within a few days of each other. A Congress (I) leader told Kuldip Nayar that "Mrs. Gandhi herself sent for Bhajan Lal, Haryana Chief Minister and told him about the proposal" about Chandigarh and territorial adjustments. The agreement was torpedoed. Bhajan Lal took the responsibility that no Akali crossed into Delhi to create disturbances during Asian Games. Bhajan Lal issued blanked orders prohibiting travel of all Sikhs through the state. Every Sikh without any inhibition, including Congress leaders like Swaran Singh and Amarjit Kaur ruling party M.P., despite their telling them who they were, retired Army Generals, senior officers, visitors from abroad or citizens were treated alike. They were subjected to harsh treatment and humiliated.¹³

Bhindranwale said on September 3-4, 1982. "She either wants to liquidate all the Sikhs or make them lick her chappals.... Born in a Brahmin family, what does Mrs Gandhi know about the problems of the Sikhs. She is more interested in establishing here dynastic rule than anything else."¹⁴

By October 5, 1983, there were engineered incidents as the intelligence agencies now operating for a sufficient time had reached the stage to upgrade the centre of operations in Punjab. The killing of 6 Hindus and one injured at Amritsar Delhi roadways was one such incident; this led to dismissal of Darbara Singh government. Bhindranwale said that six Hindus have been killed and the government has fallen, whereas 200 Sikhs have been killed by police and nothing has happened. When a similar incident of killing of four Hindus on November 18, 1983, of hijacking of Punjab Roadways at Moga, Bhindranwale categorically condemned the incident. *Tribune* categorically exonerated the Bhindranwale or Harchand Singh Longowal's involvement. The Government was on high road to enact its drama. Bhindranwale said that earlier we did not ask for Khalistan. It is for the Government to make up its mind on the question whether it wishes to remain with us or not. But till the end he made no statement in favour of Khalistan. **Both Nehru and Indira and their henchmen like Kairon, Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan, Harkishan Singh Surjeet and others have been talking about Khalistan, sometimes inciting, provoking or rousing up the Sikhs in any offensive manner.**

S. Kapur Singh I.C.S., and some time member of Parliament, had told Dr. Rattan Pal Singh, Advocate, (married to his niece), in January 1983, **he could see a situation that Indira Gandhi could enact a genocide of the Sikh community, the same way Hitler did enact a genocide of the Jews. What Jews could have done?**

Two Sikhs in USA too reached the same conclusions sometime around Baisakhi, April 1984. **Dr. Narindra Singh Kapany, a spirited Chairman of the Sikh Foundation, at Palo Alto in California**, persuaded 150 Sikhs from all over the U.S. to verge to the U.S. Congress in Washington D.C., about “the impending danger in Punjab”. Apart from Congressman Jim Corman, Dr. Kapani addressed the House of Representatives, in Washington D.C. when he **warned U.S. officials that “information gathered shows the government of India instructed by Indira Gandhi is getting ready to attack the Golden Temple and we strongly advise them not to do so, because if they do – it will be the beginning of the end.”** Following proceedings, the Sikh foundation sent a telegram to Indira Gandhi stating that, “The Golden Temple is under serious threat of being attacked by the Government of India and we strongly urge you not to do such a thing”. To aid in the situation, the Sikh Foundation proposed that a group of Sikhs from the US would come to Delhi and Punjab to pacify the situation and convince elected leaders that an operation like this should never be undertaken. A copy of this letter was sent to K. Shankar Bajpai, India’s Ambassador to the U.S. However, no reply was received.¹⁵

Indira by the time was egged on by KGB for an operation at the instance of Marxists who had their own objectives. Besides, Margaret Thatcher at the instance of Indira Gandhi poked through Special Air Services (SAS) Regiment’s Counter Terrorist Wing to look into Clinical Extraction Operation, to remove ‘enemy’ quickly and so often secretly. **The British plan ensured minimal loss of life. That was against the grain of Indira Gandhi.** The Indian Army thought the plan a foolish one: Indira’s plan expected a gigantic achievement. Hence, the SAS programme was dropped.¹⁶

A lot of works have been written on *Operation Blue Star*. I have also made my contribution. I don’t want to dilate on Operation Blue Star in detail. Sufficient it to say on June 1, 1984 Singh Sahibans of Golden temple Giani Kirpal Singh and Giani Sahib Singh termed it as an invasion of the Golden Temple by *dushts*, wicked people, and called for their liquidation. Sant Longowal made efforts to talk to Zail Singh who warded off the calls. The realization started on June 3, 1984, when Ramesh Inder Singh took over as Deputy Commissioner Amritsar.

The infantry was facing stiff challenge and Gen. Subeg Singh’s placing LMGs nine inches above the *Parikarma* floor made crawling impossible. RAW’s Estt-22, especially equipped, could not get any closer to Akal Takht despite use of chemical gas canisters, in violation of international conventions. The use of prohibited gas did not yield the desired results because of stiff breeze and heavy sand bagging of windows and entrances. They asked the Tank support. After seeking Indira’s approval, APCs and seven of the army’s main battle tank, Vijayanta, were brought within the Golden Temple complex in early hours of June 6. Another 20 tanks were stationed in strategic positions. The leading APC was knocked out by the Chinese made Rocket Propelled Grenade tender (RPG-7). Hence, all the seven Vijayanta used their 105 mm main guns to fire at Akal Takht with devastating results. The Golden Dome was damaged and Akal Takht almost completely destroyed. So was the case with *Darshani Deodri*, entrance gate, of the Golden Temple. The infantry assault led by Madras Regiment to capture Akal Takht met stiff resistance and it suffered 80 per cent loss.

There was no comparison to General Subeg Singh’s services rendered as Military Advisor of Sant Bhindranwale, that the battle of June 1984 is connected with few renowned Sikh battles fought in the world history. He was a renowned organizer of *Mukti Bahni*, that the Bangladeshis mentioned his name with great respect. When the news was splashed of Gen. Subeg Singh’s martyrdom in June 1984, the Bangladeshi Ambassador at Kabul saw me at a reception held at the Embassy (I was then an Indian diplomat) and mentioned of his high performance in Bangladesh, though because of circumstances, it was not possible for him to pass him such tributes.

Ved Parkash, former Police Commissioner, Delhi, in his *Uncivil War* mentions of armed forces death in June 1984 at 35 percent of an Army Division, i. at 5600. This can be accepted. *This includes killing of jawans of two Army Divisions in confusion.* Gen. Subeg Singh had created such a disorientation and bewilderment amongst the enemy forces that they functioned as a confused lot. Now, when we are accepting Sant Bhindranwale, Beant Singh and Satwant Singh and others, it will be in fitness of things we should accept Gen Subeg Singh's contribution not only as a martyr but also put up a Martial Art Academy in his name.

I had earlier mentioned that Army cirde gave out that *Sant Bhindranwale* did not have God's word on his lips at the time of his death. **His last words were, 'Tell her (Indira), she is daughter of a bitch' ...** He was tortured and died with bullets in his forehead. Now at the last stage of my life, I need to tell the people asking me what type of tortures to which he was subjected? **The Lt. General put a cigarette on his lips, and he blurted out, the words he spoke about Indira.** *Taken aback, the Lt. General straight away shot at his forehead. He was martyred.*¹⁷

The Army Unit in Amritsar was feted by the Hindus and this went on all over Punjab. *Durgiana Mandir* Management offered Rs.7.5 Lakhs to Army authorities. They considered it a great victory of Hinduism over Sikhism.

Indira started relay of regular kirtan, singing of hymns, from Darbar Sahib, to coincide with Giani Zail Singh's visit on June 8, 1984, on his arrival at *parikarma*, circumambulation. Ragi Surinder Singh sang, to coincide with Zail Singh's movement, of *bitchy* nature of the rulers, (Cf. Bhai Gurdas): *kuta raj bahalye mur chakki chatte* – a dog becoming a ruler cannot desist licking chakki. It was taken as a challenge to the occupying forces. Obviously, Guru Ram Das was shower a deluge and fuselage of shame on Giani Zail Singh. Did he listen to the Guru's voice? No, he did not want to.¹⁸ On June 12, he stupidly said, that what she has done in *Darbar Sahib*, the Sikhs will not be able to raise their head for 50 years. On June 17, he put a seal of approval of Indira's misdeeds.

Apart from full destruction of Akal Takht, the dome of *Golden Temple* had over 300 bullets all over. Indira Gandhi, Buta Singh and Tejwant Singh of Skipper group (whose father Prof. Harbans Singh was President of Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, and who had congratulated Indira on Operation Bluestar) were involved in replacement of upper golden leaves, which were of high value, by inferior quality golden leafs secured through Dubai from appropriate makers as per design, without customs clearance at the Airport. So was the case with the leafs presented to reconstructed *Akal Takht*, which was later pulled down.

Indira was vigilant as to the happenings in USA, Maj. Gen. (Retd. Jaswant Singh Bhullar had taken over as Secretary General of the World Sikh Organization established in New York on Jul 28, 1984 to provide the Government of India access to all what was happening at international level on Sikhism.

The Sikh Foundation of America arranged Twenty Congress delegates to travel to New Delhi to meet Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and visit Punjab to speak with prominent Sikh leaders on the seriousness of their situation and changes that needed to take place, and come back to the US and issue a report on their findings. As this trip was being organized, a letter of the proposed mission was sent to Ambassador Bajpai.

Instead, Bajpai responded forcefully saying that no country even a democracy, allows self constituted delegation from other countries to come and pry around in its domestic affairs calling it "an unwarranted intrusion into the internal affairs of India". Ambassador Bajpai denied issue of visas for the panel to come to India thereby infuriating the Sikh community in the USA, even more.

After that episode, a local television journalist intervened and organized a well received tele-conferencing between Dr Kapany and Ambassador Bajpai, that was broadcast around the country to

educate Americans about the attacks on the Sikhs and the atrocities committed by the Indian government. Bajpai said as normalcy returns, the political dialogues will be resumed. Dr Kapany brought light to the fact that, "the Punjab had been sealed off for more than 10 weeks. If there is nothing to hide, then why is it being hidden," he asked.¹⁹

I had mentioned of civilian deaths at about 100,000 to 120,000 of Sikh's in all over Punjab between June 3 to 7; army deaths continued as part of Operation Woodrose and tolling of Sikhs vastly increased. By end of October, it was clear to her that there was little change of her gaining absolute majority in the elections by the end of the year.

It was publicly mentioned at least twice in Sept-Oct 1984 by Balram Jakhar that Indira could kill lakhs of Sikhs at a moment's notice. A Sikh industrialist told the select persons, during the same period, at a reception held by S. Gurdial Singh, Uganda's Ambassador at Delhi,²⁰ that the killings of Sikhs would start from Guru Nanak's birthday, Nov 8, 1984. But the (Sikh) President with a sizeable Sikh staff at his disposal remained unconcerned.

Indira must have felt encouraged at mass scale killing of Sikhs in *Operation Blue Star* and *Operation Woodrose*. She hoped to start a genocide of the Sikhs. She must have entrusted to someone to place orders for mass scale of iron rods and crowbars that were distributed at a mass scale to the Youth Congress proponents. These rods were got prepared through a Sikh industrialist in August. Other items needed were cans, kerosene, inflammable powder, fire-arms and lathis. These news somehow leaked to the Sikh manufacturer. Now, when he wanted to convey the news, few Sikhs chose to believe him.²¹

Indira drew a diabolical plan, named Operation Shanti, to carry out a general massacre of the Sikhs, of genocidal proportions, around November 8, when the Sikhs would assemble in various Gurdwaras on Guru Nanak's birthday celebrations. According to the plan, large scale skirmishes virtually amounting to war, were to take place all along the India-Pakistan borders. And, it was to be given out that the Sikhs have risen in revolt in Punjab and joined hands with Pakistani armed forces which had made considerable advances into the Indian territory.²² The Sikhs all over Punjab, especially in Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Kapurthala and Jalandhar districts were to be subjected to massive aerial bombardment, apart from being slaughtered by Army and para military forces. The Sikhs all over India were to be subjected to mass scale massacre, loot, arson and incendiarism by lumpen elements organized by Youth Congress (I) activists. Elaborate preparations were made by Youth Congress (I) network all over India; they were to await a coded signal to start the mayhem.

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

Meanwhile, the plan to provoke hostilities with Pakistan had leaked out to major international intelligence agencies because even the top secrets in Prime Minister's secretariat were being sold for a song by personal staff of P.M.'s Principal Secretary, P.C. Alexander.²³ President Zia ul Haq made earnest attempts to ward off the war with India. He instructed his Ambassador in New Delhi, Humayun Khan, to convey directly to Indira of his great concern at the deteriorating India-Pak relations, and suggest resumption of direct talks between the two. Consequently, Humayun Khan bypassing Indian Foreign Office, called on P.C. Alexander on October 25, 1984, to convey his President's proposals for summit level talks, without any preconditions.²⁴

Indira was not receptive. In view of her nefarious Sikh genocidal plan, she paid a sudden visit to Kashmir on October 27, when, however, she got the omen of her imminent death, through her family astrologer in Srinagar.²⁵ Back in New Delhi, the following day, records Alexander, "Indira sent for Gen. Vaidya and asked him in my presence about the preparedness of the Indian Army in J&K to meet any unexpected outbreak of trouble." General Vaidya assured her that Army was very well prepared for any eventuality and there was no danger of it being taken unawares by the Pakistanis.²⁶

After General Vaidya's departure, Indira asked Alexander to fully apprise Vice President, R. Venkatraman of the developments in the Punjab and J&K, and "remain in close contact" with him for "it would be helpful to keep him fully informed of all developments and get his views on them". Alexander records, "I do not know what prompted her to give such instructions to me at that time." Alexander met Venkataraman on October 30 and apprised him of Prime Minister's "concern and fears."²⁷

Indira wanted to involve Vice President from that very stage, as he was to be the acting President once *Operation Shanti* was operative, and inconvenient Zail Singh was bumped off. Significantly, Zia ul Haq stated at Indira's funeral that it was with great difficulty that he had been able to avert a war with India. His then No. 2, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, after demitting the office of President of Pakistan in July 1993, stated that Indira had planned to attack Pakistan but was shot dead some ten days before the D-Day.

The omen of her imminent death weighed on Indira for the rest of her four days of life. That was uppermost in her mind when she spoke of her violent death at the public meeting at Bhubaneswar on October 29. Later in the evening, she broached the subject with Orissa Governor, B.N. Pandey, at the dinner table.²⁸ The thought lingered on, as she returned to Delhi on October 30 night. But unlike Aurangzeb who was remorseful at the 'burden of sin' he was carrying, Indira, not being religious, was unrelenting.

Beant Singh, Sub-Inspector in Indira's security, got the contours of Indira's Sikh-genocidal plan from R.K. Dhawan, Special Assistant to Prime Minister. He decided to act to thwart it. He commissioned Satwant Singh to assist him. Beant Singh had cautioned Satwant Singh to ensure that his friend Dhawan, was not hurt in the melee.

In the morning October 31 1984, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was going to be interviewed by Peter Ustinov, well known filmer, playwright and director, for BBC programme around 9 a.m. Beant Singh with his service revolver shot Indira in the abdomen and pumped five bullets, In less than a minute at his call, Satwant Singh emptied his automatic carbine in Indira's abdomen region. There were some guests from Italy at her house who too were prepared to put into her body some bullets. One of the bullets pierced her ribs and another her spleen. Satwant Singh said bullets were coming from different sections. Actually, one bullet in the head would have been sufficient. But abdomen was chosen because, they have been assured that she would not be wearing her bullet jacket, and secondly, they did not want to hurt anyone else, which a shootout at head might have entailed. As things worked out, there was nadir at Indira's bungalow.

After shooting Indira, both threw down their weapons. And, Beant Singh said, "I have done what I have to. You do what you want to do." In another six minutes, the forces behind the shootout had the two shot by Tarsem Singh Jamwal and Ram Saran of Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP). Beant Singh died immediately, while Satwant Singh managed to survive to face the hangman's noose.

Dhawan while in All India Institute of Medical Sciences, where efforts were being made to resuscitate Indira, rang Prime Minister's residence a number of times, enquiring about Beant Singh and Satwant Singh. He must have been nervous at Beant's disclosing of Indira's Sikh-genocidal plan, *Operation Shanti* as the motivating factor of his act.

Beant Singh and Satwant Singh definitely shot Indira Gandhi, but there were others also who had contributed to her being shot. Who knows whose bullet pierced her nervous system, who were they! Were they relatives of Sonia Gandhi or family friends? Thakkar Commission report suggested an investigation into it. But the Rajiv Government put out a veil over it. The Judges were not interested in it. Nor were the Judges interested to look into her post-mortem. The Judges were told they would get promotions. Their mouths were shut and their brains were locked. And so they sold their conscience, so they ignored to go into relevant evidence.

What was Dhawan's motivation? Did he do that at the instance of some outside agency? Or, was it just friendship with Beant Singh and/or general indiscretion? Thakkar Commission pointed needles of suspicion towards Dhawan. The American Magazine Newsweek had named the outside agency possibly involved. Rajiv Government chose to ignore these, as these did not fit in its Sikh-genocidal policy. Rajiv had to pay a high price later, as similar agency masterminded his slaughter.

Whether Dhawan or someone else was involved in shooting of Beant Singh and Satwant Singh by ITBP? Who was the man who asked ITBP men to finish off Beant Singh and Satwant Singh, killers of Indira Gandhi? Or, did they act on their own? No one has sought to go into these questions, or at least the findings still remain highly classified. Beant Singh's death prevented the full story from coming out, and that suited the government very well.

Beant Singh, the mastermind behind the slaying of Indira, as also Satwant Singh, were motivated by highest considerations, of the good of the *Panth*. But for their timely action, with Indira's Sikh genocidal plan, *Operation Shanti*, getting through, the Sikhs all over India including Punjab would have suffered immeasurable and infinitive losses. What happened in Delhi and Hindi belt grievously hurting the Sikhs in loss of 12,000 to 20,000, some say 30,000 to 40,000, lives, and billions of worth of property, was on a much lesser scale than originally planned. Little is known about the Sikhs wiped out from Himachal, and some aspects came out from Haryana.

The final reckoning of the last phase of Indira's Sikh War could have been far more severe had she been able to carry out her blitzkrieg planned around November 8. That would have enabled her goons to commit genocide of the Sikhs with downright thoroughness. The Sikhs would have become a rarity. Referring to the atrocities perpetrated on the Sikhs, Hindus tauntingly said, *yad karega khalsa* (Khalsa shall remember) in parody to the Sikh litany *raj karega khalsa* (Khalsa shall rule). How true they were!

Verily 1984 was one of the worst years in the Sikh history when they suffered immense losses affecting their dignity as a people and their *charhdi kala* (loftiness of spirit) leading to fall in their self estimation. This can't go off their memory.

Amia Rao in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Delhi, of December 8, 1984 makes an extraordinary assertion, that riots "would have burst forth even if Indira Gandhi had been alive," whereas, **Ivan Fera in the *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, (Bombay), of December 23, 1984**, observed that "the nature and extent of the violence point to the fact that the riots were pre-planned." **Robin Jeffrey, in his work, "What's happening to India? Punjab, Ethnic, Conflict and the Test for Federalism** (Macmillan, 1986), observes that, "it would constitute perhaps the most vicious piece of mischief in post-independence

history.” Cynthia Keppley Mahmood, *Fighting For the Faith and Nation: Dialogue with Sikh Militants*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), mentioned of two Senior Officers from Intelligence Agencies, sending their wives and children to the United States for security in 1984.

Acharya Rajneesh called OSHO (d. January 19, 1990) in *True Name, Talks on Japji Sahib of Guru Nanak Dev*, (7th edn. 2015, P.453-454) has observed: “If a beggar falls you won’t laugh so much; if Indira falls you will be unable to control your laughter ... there is unconscious desire to knock Indira down ... The saint also laughs. His laughter carries no sting, no thorns ... The saint sees man’s helplessness behind this, how weak he is and yet so proud. **He had a Himalayan ego, but he is brought down by a lowly banana peel. He struts about the idea of defeating God, but is defeated by a banana peel.**” OSHO twice mentions of ‘banana peel’ i.e. both *Beant Singh and Satwant Singh have done the job very well and both of them are blessed by God*. Further he talks of Indira’s efforts to defeat God, it means she wanted to kill one Crore of Sikhs, and this was not in scheme of God, Waheguru, Bhagwan, or Allah. So, OSHO says, “if a saint laughs ... within him is the bliss which overflows into mirth and merriment.”²⁹

What can one do so with Osho, that Indira had become a **vampire**; so was the case with her ancestors starting with her father/grand-father upto Gangu Brahmin.

The Sikh leadership regarded Indira as a political factor, as dominant one, but she regarded the Sikhs simply as *enemies to be defeated in detail by all the possible avenues of statecraft and vast resources available to her*. It was the difference on the two sides that played a havoc and enabled her to inflict severe losses on the unsuspecting Sikhs. Similar was the situation in 1960/1961 and way back in 1949. The stupidity committed by Master Tara Singh in 1946 has been the root cause of our nemesis.

Indira Gandhi’s murder (Cf. murder of M.K. Gandhi at the hands of Nathu Ram Godse, a Chitbhawan Brahmin) at the hands of Beant Singh and Satwant Singh, two Amritsari Sikh, caused Giani Zail Singh to search for a successor. The natural successor was Pranab Mukerjee, No.2 in Cabinet. Twice, in death of Nehru and Shastri, a stop gap arrangement was made till a final successor was selected. Krishnaswamy Rao, Cabinet Secretary, was also of the same opinion. **On his advice Press Information Bureau got his data vetted from Pranab Mukerjee.**³⁰ But Giani Zail Singh thought over, that once an interim Prime Minister takes over, it could cause split in the Congress Party. Indira already had attacked *Darbar Sahib* and had been murdered, that also should have caused him to go in for Pranab Mukerjee as the interim Prime Minister to let the events settle down. That could have made him the interim PM to control the situation. Giani Zail Singh’s main quality was, as Indira Gandhi once earlier said, that he could play the role of a joker. Zail Singh could not even think of himself, but only of Jawaharlal Nehru’s successors and that is what he did (*Indian Express*, Feb 18, 1988). He did not have the capacity to write to Rajiv Gandhi, but sought Kuldeep Nayar to help him out. The channel used was his Asstt. Press Secretary, Tarlochan Singh who had his own objectives³¹. He continued to live in obloquy for bulk of his stay at Rashtrapati Bhawan.

1. *Sarhadi*, op. cit, ibid. p. 414

2. *Ibid*, 420

3. *We Nehru’s*, p. 360, quoted in Gurmit Singh in the *Spokesman Weekly*, February 25, 1973.

4. Crag Baxter, *The Jan Sangh, A Biography of an Indian Political Party*, (Philadelphia, 1969) p. 255

5. *Ibid*, p. 256

6. Inder Malhotra, *Indira Gandhi, A Personal Biography*, (London, 1989,) p.22.

7. *Hind Samachar* Jallandar, Septmebr 21, 1971.
8. Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History* (2014).p. 332
- 8a. Cf. Another Kashmiri, a Lt. General and Chief of Army Staff, Brij Mohan Kaul, instead of facing Chinese onslaught in North East in 1962, simply ran away, leaving the armed forces in disarray.
9. Satinder Singh *Khalistan: An Academic Analysis* (Delhi, 1982) p. 33
10. *Ibid*, p.55
11. This information was passed on to me by Yash Pal Kapoor himself in early 1990 when he was deputed to attend an "International Conference" at Baghdad. I had been deputed by the Ambassador to look after his requirements. He said, he had retained a (photo) copy of his collection. When, on my retirement, I contacted him at his house at Golf Links, New Delhi, he thought he had committed a mistake, hence, he was stunned at my request and did not say anything.
12. Cf. Gopal Singh of Himachal University, (ed) *The Punjab Today* (1987), p.227. *Spokesman Weekly*, March 25, 1985, Giani Zail Singh in *Dinman*, 'Main Mejboor Tha', Jan 30, 1988
13. Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh, *Tragedy of Punjab : Before and after 1984*.
14. Kuldip Nayar op., cit. Pp. 73.
15. Article by Sheena Singh, Sikh Foundation, Org. memory of 1984 outrage.
16. *Outlook* (New Delhi), January 27, 2014; *Tribune* (Chandigarh) Feb 6, 2014.
17. Lt. General K. Sunderjee shortly afterwards was seized of repentance and reproach; his wife tells us that he was conscience-stricken and rueing, and it caused his earlier death (Feb 9, 1999). As against that, his no. 2, Maj Gen K.S. Brar, a Sikh, who was treated as a dreaded monster for 45 days in Darbar Sahib, was told by his mother and other relatives that you have brought ignominy to the family; get lost and your face should not be seen by any one. He chose to spend his days in Bombay, with no one looking after him or his whereabouts. Around 2012, civil authorities decided to reduce his security. He went over to R&AW, met them at London, and was involved only in a fraka. The *Tribune* (Chandigarh)'s correspondent cogently analysed that the people who met Gen. Brar were not trained terrorists, were amateurs or novices, and not sufficiently motivated to go for the kill. They did not use firearms, but seem only interested in sending a message. In the first go, Gen Brar spoke of a small knife used by terrorists, while his wife spoke of *Kirpan*. This variation speaks volumes. They came out hurriedly from London, otherwise Scotland Yard would have made mincemeat of them. The bally-ho raised by the Indian government raised a furor. His security was restored, and the people in London unnecessarily harried the people into London jail. This needs to be looked into by Pira Singh Uppal in Wolverhompton, apart from the Sikh Council UK, and Sikh Federation, U.K.
Kanwar Sandhu is his great exponent despite his monstrosity. He is now spreading his new-fangled wings in Aam Admi Party.
18. Zail Singh did not present as a good Sikh, but one with full of conceit and vainglory. He was on a visit to Darbar Sahib and saw the destruction of *Darbar Sahib*. Over a white *achkin* he had got a fitting of red rose. A *darban* flew a *chhattar* over his head. He was wearing socks over *jutis*. He came over from Serai, entered through Manji Sahib, through *Parikama* and *sarovar*. He showed a height of disrespect and arrogance. He reversed back. He paid no obeisance, he was not fit for that. He was accompanied by Punjab Governor Arjan Singh and Indira's Special Assistant, R.K. Dhawan. Zail Singh had his Asst. Press Secretary, Tarlochan Singh who per force had to leave Without paying obeisance to Darbar Sahib.
19. In course of time there was a visible change. He was on a visit to New Delhi, in March 1995, he was staying in a Five Start Hotel. I rang him up to find out if I could see him, if convenient? No reply. On publication of the 1st edn of *The Sikhs in History* at New York, I visited San Francisco in August 1984. I rang up, if I could see him if convenient. He was not available and received my message on his answering machine. He rang up the next morning and was told by my host, Sardar ji, with whom I was staying that I had left for the day for Stockton and would be back in the evening. He conveyed, he would receive me the next day. The Sardar Ji with whom I was staying said that he would take me to his house. He rang him up, and was told that he was not willing to receive me.
Later in 1998, he founded a Sikh Chair name after his mother Kundan Kaur Kapani Chair in one of the campuses of California University at Santa Barbara, and it was headed by a McLeodian scholar. At the moment all Chairs in USA and Canada are headed by adversaries: No one is willing to interpret *Guru Granth Sahib* and Sikh history in correct appreciation.
20. S. Gurdial Singh had played an important role on overthrow of Idi Amin from Uganda. After taking over in Uganda he was nominated to be Uganda's Ambassador to New Delhi. He was Uganda's Ambassador during 1981 to 1986, and oversaw Indira's final days right from *Operation Blue Star* to her funeral. He saw through the induction of Rajiv Gandhi and the dance of death. I was posted during 1982 to 1984 at Kabul.
21. I came to know of the Indira's Sikh genocidal plan after my return from Kabul only in November, 1984.
22. Some one close to R.K. Dhawan, Special Assistant to Prime Minister came just to see me. He met the author around October 22, 1984, and said that war with Pakistan was around the corner, and could take place in the first week of November 1984. He, however, agreed with the author that there was no causes belli for the war at the time. The author got the contours of Indira's nefarious Sikh-genocidal plan in second half of November 1984.
23. Despite his being privy to selling national secrets or because of it, he was rewarded with High Commissionership in London, and later with Governorship of Tamil Nadu, etc.
24. P.C. Alexander, "My Years with Indira Gandhi, XII", *Economic Times*, Delhi, October 22, 1990.
25. Inder Malhotra, *Indira Gandhi, A Personal and Political Biography*, (London, 1989) p. 304.
26. P.C. Alexander, op cit
27. *ibid*.
28. Inder Malhotra, op. cit. 1, p. 178.
29. OSHO according to a lot of people was subjected to slow poison as per USA and later in Pune for writing truthfully on Indira Gandhi.
30. Pranab Mukerjee in his recently released Second Volume of his memoirs does not correctly recount the chain of events. Personally I got the information from No.2 in the Press Information Bureau. It may be mentioned, Rajiv Gandhi did not include him in his Cabinet. Living in the same road, and a neighbor, was seen in the Forest for morning walks. I always had a company of Shri K L Arora, who had poor opinion about him. I once chose to walk to him in the Forest and told him that I was a Senior Officer in External Affairs. He instantly told his

security to enquire how this Sardar Ji is living in his neighbourhood. They found out that I was a owner of the house. It was then that I realized the correctness of Shri K L Arora's opinion about him.

31. He used the opportunity on regular basis to pass on the information to Buta Singh, Home Minister who served as a tube to Rajiv Gandhi. The only one to gain in the process was Tarlochan Singh. On retirement of Giani Zail Singh, Rajiv Gandhi publicly stated that Tarlochan Singh should take over as Joint Secretary, in Delhi Administration. He was appointed as Vice Chairman of Minority Commission. He took over the office of Parkash Singh Badal for 1997 elections, and was rewarded in due course as Chairman of Minority Commission. Through Badal's intervention with Chautala, he was inducted from Haryana quota to Rajya Sabha. In between cropped up Punjab Chief Minister Amarnath Singh enactment of Abrogation of Treaties and Agreements since 1981 with retrospective effect on SYL. Tarlochan Singh was the only Sikh to put forth, because he was still to get the Rajya Sabha seat from Chautala, that he wanted Punjab to abide by Supreme Court Judgement on SYL. On election to Rajya Sabha it must be conceded that he did quite a good work, on retirement he was nominated by Manjit Singh as Chairman, of Guru Tegh Bahadur Khalsa College, Delhi University. He was told, you should be satisfied with Chairmanship; don't interfere with the nominations to the College, which is being taken care of by himself.

5

Untempered State Terrorism

Rajiv Gandhi taking the oath of office at 1845 hours (with three members of cabinet) gave him the wherewithal to "teach the Sikhs a lesson". He did with a vengeance. He kept aloof the Home Minister, PV Narasimha Rao from Delhi, and took it over the police view management himself.

The Congress (I) set up got two full days and three nights to wreck a vengeance on the Sikhs. Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) buses were commissioned to fetch people from Haryana and rural areas throughout the night.

It was for the first time after independence that places of religious worship of a community were sought to be destroyed wholesale. It was worse, as recorded by Misra Commission, the lumpen elements under Congress (I)'s inspiration defecated at Sri Guru Granth Sahib and Sikh religious literature on a large scale. They acted the way their ancestors had done with the Buddhist holy places and holy books in the 9th century. In the present case, they did that with full state support – of the Prime Minister and his party stalwarts whose hands were soaked in Sikhs blood; of the police which either actively participated with the mobs, or where required deprived the Sikhs of their licensed weapons to the glee of the unruly-hoodlums, or stood by; of the DTC which diverted its buses to Haryana and to rural areas to gather together lumpen elements at the instance of Congress (I) leaders; of the Doordarshan (Indian TV) which carried slogans of Sardar, Quam ke Ghaddar (Sikhs, traitors to the nation) and khoon ka badla khoon se (blood for blood) raised by lumpen elements at Indira's dead body which lay in state; of the judiciary which made no suo moto move to discipline the state after gruesome details of happenings, for instance in Block 2 of Trilokpuri, were published by the media. It was a case of silent anti-Sikh conspiracy, the upshot of months of Goebblian-type propaganda painting the Sikhs in lurid colours.

No distinction was made between one set of the Sikhs as against the other. The Sikhs associated with Congress (I) were not spared. So was the case with Harkrishan Singh Surjeet, termed as Indira's agent on Sikhism, Ramgarhias, Nirmalas, Nirankaris, Namdharis, Radhaswamis and others. However; "No one failed to notice the absence of the middle class from the perpetrators of this violence in the very middle class area that it occurred. The sign already was ominous that this was the handiwork of marauders from outside, not a spontaneous outpouring of grief."¹ But mischief mongers were having a hey day to "resurrect fear and hate in Hindu-Sikh relations".

¹. The Delhi Riots: A People's Verdict", *Indian Express*, February 10, 1985.

He took another two prolonged action: one blowing over of Air India's AI-182 ; and two, a declaration of Khalistan on April 1986 to which I shall refer to shortly.

On June 23, 1985, Air India's Jumbo, AI-182, Emperor Kanishka, on its flight from Toronto to Delhi was blown away off Irish coast with 329 passengers on board. **Another Air India plane the same day at Tokyo had a narrow escape. Zuhair Kashmeri and Brian McAndrew were convinced that it was a handiwork of Indian intelligence agents who had penetrated Canada in a very big way** ².

The Canadian government came to know of the story, that bomb was placed in the Indian Diplomatic bag but could not permit the Judiciary even after a couple of judiciary commissions. Sardar Gurtej Singh in scintillating analysis concluded that the bomb blast was the work of Indian Government placed in the Diplomatic Bag from Toronto and plane blown up off the coast of Ireland in 1985. Much later, Justice John Major In 2006 who even threatened to quit was not permitted to see the papers.³ Court to look into the evidence, for fear of Indian government's threat to harm their trade ties.

It was another year that Longowal and Rajiv met on July 23-24, 1985 when the two signed the Memorandum of Settlement, also known as Rajiv-Longowal Accord. It, interalia, provided for rehabilitation of the army deserters, enactment of all India Gurdwara Act, withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab by January 26, 1986, and time bound adjudication of territorial and river water claims. For the first time, contiguity and linguistic affinity, with a village as a unit was recognised. Besides, there were unwritten understanding between the two sides on many points. The worst part of it was that Barnala and Balwant Singh in a hush hush manner kept Logowal in the dark and sold the interests of the Sikhs by agreeing to a dyarchy-with Centre maintaining its stranglehold over law and order in return for their coming into power in Punjab. Longowal was later was shot by militants with the connivance of the Security Forces⁴. Justice Ranganath, sitting judge of Supreme Court was entrusted on April 26, 1985, to enquire into 'organise violence' in Delhi, was extended to cover Kanpur and Bokaro (and later Chas Tehsil) in Bihar under the Accord. Misra was followed to concede that "violence in Delhi was indeed organised" and "that the pattern followed at Kanpur and Bokaro was the same."⁵

Top Congress leaders were apparently enraged; they had nothing but abuse for Rajiv Gandhi without understanding the game plan. Shiv Shankar took the responsibility to play havoc with Commission envisaged in the Accord while Arun Nehru and Buta Singh were waiting in the swings to turn the things upside down. As it comes out, not one of the clause of the Accord was implemented. On top of it, on April 29, 1986, at Darbar Sahib, 'Panthic Panj Member Committee' (Panthic Five Member Committee) without a date distributed to press reporters, vetted in Buta Singh's office, a press release: the statement Khalistan had come into being was amended to read the fight for Khalistan had begun. Rajiv Gandhi was working on Indira's lines. Buta Singh was kicked up as Home Minister in May 1986 as a reward. Because of the overwhelming evidence,

With the words 'go ahead,' Air Force airlifted Special Action Group (SAG) of 1000 commandos of National Security Guards (NSG) and their equipment to Amritsar on May 11 and 12. Meanwhile exchange of firing had gone on intermittently. 800 pilgrims had been evacuated on May 10, but recitation of *gurbani* had stopped. He was appointed Chairman of National Human Rights Commission, but expressed his disappointment, soon he was put into the Rajya Sabha. He acted as a Commission Agent, and not as Judge of Supreme Court. The first to use the term State TERRORISM in this phase was Minister of State for Home, Kanwaljit Singh, who visited Batala area in

². Zuhair Kashmeri and Brian McAndrew, *Soft Tag: How the Indian Intelligence Service Penetrated Canada*, Toronto 1989, pp. 86-89 and ad passim.

³. Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History*, 2014 pp.605, 631

⁴. Two main agents, Dr. Attar Singh expected an appointment as ambassador to Moscow, but he died a disheartened man at PGI Chandigarh. I don't want to go into the circumstances of his death. Pritpal Singh expected an appointment as Vice Chancellor to a University, but accepted appointment as pro-Vice Chancellor at Amritsar.

⁵. Report of Justice Ranganath Misra, *Commission of Inquiry*, vol 1.p. 30,44,57, and ad passim

June and was grilled by 800 Sikh villagers.⁶ Revenue Minister Major Uboke dismissed the massive Khalistan headquarters as 'Operational Fraud' or '*Operation Pakhand*' charade. He contended at a cabinet meeting that "innocent Sikhs and even women" were being harassed and tortured by the security forces. This resulted in Barnala's unsavoury meeting with Ribeiro who refused to relent.⁷ Uboke legitimately asked, "Is he (Ribeiro) superior to Barnala's government?"

There were sporadic killings of innocent villagers by RPS and BSF. But Home Ministry refused to order investigation, 'as security forces were accountable to nobody for their action'. Even the killing of individuals showed a pattern. By Guru Nanak's Birthday, October 1986 saw the induction of *Rashtrya Sikh Sangat's* entry in the form of Hindu *Pracharaks* entry into the fold of Sikhism. The *Sarbat Khalsa* on Diwali, November 1, 1986 appealed to Amnesty International to expose the fake encounters resorted to by the police and security agencies to eliminate the Sikh youth.⁸

Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh were hanged to death on January 6, 1989. Early in January 1986 to the end of 1987, functioned as super cop overriding everyone. Barnala was against the extension of Ribeiro. Instead, he was dismissed and President's rule was imposed on May 12, 1987. Verily, Dilip Bobb observed, "All over Punjab the issue of fake encounters and 'state terrorism' has become overriding and emotional one". And, Reibeiro and his police force today have the power and the image – of an occupation army...Even Congress (I) MLAs who had supported President's rule are disillusioned...Police rule had become repression."⁹ In June 13, 1987 14 people were killed in Delhi, followed by waylaying a bus at Lalru in Patiala district and slaughtering 38 Hindu passengers on July 6 1987, followed by two passenger buses in Fatehabad, Haryana leaving 32 dead.

Significantly, the *Times of India* in front page editorial linked to "the grand destabilisation theory favoured by Congress (I) hacks."¹⁰ By the end of 1987, in the words of Inderjit Badhwar of *India Today*.

From the beginning of 1988, there was a spurt in the orchestra test violence in Punjab.¹¹ The state supported terrorist groups started murderous assaults from end-1987 including families of militants and their sympathisers. Their houses were put to fire. The units were placed under Izhar Alam Senior Superintendent of Police, Amritsar. Sushil Muni appealed to Rajiv Gandhi on January 5, 1988, to release Jodhpur detenues and other head priests, "He favoured the idea but there was tremendous opposition to it from within the government."¹²

Confusing signals representing union government fractured policy continues. By end of March, heads of militants outfits warned the people against the government outfits killing Sikh families. The very next day, April 1, 1988, state terrorists gunned down 37 persons in Patti and Tarn Taran subdivision. This was shown as "the handiworks of police outs."¹³ Punjab was now entering the new phase of state terrorism – Untempered State Terrorism, which was signified by induction of K.P. Singh Gill, Director General in Punjab Police, at the cost of Ribiero shifted as Advisor to Governor. Gill was conceived as 'Slave overseen more heartless...than any alien beast.' He gave the police force the licence to kill the Sikh youth without any qualms.

Illegal detention and elimination of the Sikh youth, thanks to Gill's implementation of the Union Home Ministry's policy of untempered state terrorism, were of the day all over Punjab especially since the middle of

⁶ . *India Today*, June 30, 1986, p. 29

⁷ . Shekhar Gupta in *India Today*, August, 1986, p. 32.

⁸ . In a separate department, the Government of India decided to intervene militarily to suppress Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka. Tavleen Singh mentions of union government's uneasiness at the existence of Sikh Light Infantry (SLI) in tact as one of the factors for the decision. It was the first and was badly mauled. It was taken back, and put it into action the second time, and was withdrawn after the decision of Rajiv Gandhi government, when the govt. decided to wind up the intervention.

⁹ . Dilip Bobbe al. "The Spectre of Terrorism", *India Today*, July 31, 1987, p. 31

¹⁰ . Cf. *Sunday*, July 19, 1987, p. 15

¹¹ . To vitiate for Jain Muni Acharya Sushil Kumar mission, for release of army deserters, release of Jodhpur detenues, probe into 1985 rioters and fake police encounters

¹² . Sushil Muni's interview, *India Today*, April 30, 1988, pp. 71-73

¹³ . *The Telegraph* (Calcutta) April 3, 1988.

1988. Youths between 15 and 35 years of age, or better still catch them in the streets, and tied hand and foot, with weights tied around their waists, the bodies were pushed into the canals or river beds to appear years later, with tell tale marks not without anyone being able to recognise their kiths and kins. Someone told me in Gill's office when I was there in 1988 that the police had taken into custody about 30,000 school going boys who had taken *amrit baptism*, and they were not being released. Later, the author met the head of CRPF who entrusted a very senior officer to find out about my nephew whom I was searching for. He stated that Sumaid Saini SSP Ludhiana and Bahuguna head of CRPF unit in Ludhiana had liquidated a large body of the Sikh youth, and that he said was more or less true for the whole of Punjab.

Satwant Singh was only a hitman, not the key figure. The best course in the cave would have been to adopt the same posture as adopted by Nathuram Godse. But his lawyer was playing jugglery with the case in light of his idiosyncracies. Kehar Singh's case was based on circumstantial evidence. Both were hanged on January 6, 1989, one legally and other unjustly. They were termed Shaheed.

The day of recokning came in November, 1989 when Rajiv lost elections. He withdrew the fictitious conspiracy case against Simranjit Singh Mann whose party won 6 of 13 seats, with four going to candidates backed by them. There was obvious need for 'Nuremberg' type of trials for 'guilty' political officers. Mann candidates had plurality of votes in 74 out of 99 seats, and though should have formed a government in Punjab, at the cost of Badal and Barnala sections. This was not acceptable to not only Congress (I), but also BJP, CPM and Dy PM, Devi Lal. Atal Behari Vajpayee of BJP and Harkishan Singh Surjeet were full of venom. Devi Lal, Gujral and Indrajit Gupta of CPI were the lone voices wanting elections. But VP Singh needed courage: Full of remorse he publicly stated. "One thing I will regret all my life for which I will not pardon myself, that publicly acknowledge my mistake in not holding elections (in Punjab) within six months of the Government coming into power."¹⁴ He had 23 months and did nothing. KPS Gill throughout remained to head Punjab and continued to play havoc. He was told to remove him, but to no avail.

Chandra Shekhar was one of the few leaders who had condemned Indira's Operation Blue Star. He now took over as Prime Minister, with the support of Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I), who had its own game plan. In the very first meeting, he transferred Gill to Director General of CRPF, and inducted General O.P. Malhotra. Meanwhile at ground level 100,000 to 150,000 troops were spreading out since November 1990 on Punjab borders to carry on Rakshak 1 exercises to plug the border and extend support the civil administration, even in remote areas. To add to the deception, Chandra Shekhar offered to talk to any one, including militants on all matters, inclusive of Khalistan.¹⁵

Various Akali Dals fell to the trap. Mann met Chandra Shekhar on December 28, 1990 and presented a memorandum. It emphasised the Sikhs resolve to assert their right of self-determination granted to them by International Law and Article 51 of the Constitution. Both the CPM and Congress (I) were disturbed at the tenor of the talks. A number of Sikh representatives like, AISSF (Manjit), Damdami Taksal, and Panthic Committee led by Manochahal and Zaffarwal saw Chandra Shekhar in July 11, 1991.

Unaware of the goings on, Mann awoke to the threat posed by the Army's passive involvement in Punjab. In a statement on February 14, 1991, Bhai Kulwant Singh Babbar on behalf of five militant organisations aligned to Panthic Committee (Dr. Sohan Singh) stated: "The militants had no doubt that Mr. Shekhar is flying on borrowed wings (he) could hardly give anything to the Sikhs." He casts doubts on government's credibility. The Mann by end of February wanted Governor withdrawn for "having the whole townships searched and insulted lawyers and intellectuals, gagged the press and robbed every Sikh of his self respect. "He characterised Chandra Shekhar dummy government, and added, recently, killings of the Sikhs, by the security forces in false encounters reached the proportion of a genocide."

¹⁴ . *India Today*, October 15, 1990.

¹⁵ . *India Today*, December 31, 1990.

Chandra behaved like a crafty purbea, and elections to Assam and Punjab both for Parliamentary and provincial assembly were delinked to June 7 and 21 respectively. Mann faced an uphill task, and was at receiving butt of the rest of Sikh groups in and outside of the elections. Mann's appeals to the militants to stop fratricidal war, and come to the line fell on deaf years.

It brought back KPS Gill as DG Police. He placed them as SSP (Senior Superintendent of Police) at district level. They began their service career with extra legal powers of life and death, outside the pale of civil power, judiciary or even the constitution. He also drafted as SSPs cold blooded rankers who had excelled themselves in cruelty and heartlessness.¹⁶ Right from the word the Operation Rakshak II, by the army meant terror for all around, everywhere. "During the searches, the women, other relatives and children are systematically beaten up, maltreated, sexually abused and even raped."¹⁷

Sukha and Jinda were tried under TADA by a designated court at Pune but were acquitted under TADA but convicted under section 307, 302 and 34 of Indian Penal Code. They should have gone to Maharashtra High Court, but the Supreme Court was in a hurry to confirm the death sentence. Chief Justice M.H. Kania and other judges made a mockery of the Chief Justice cost (Krishna Mahajan, Indian Express Oct.11, 1992). The legal luminaries were aghast. Sukha and Jinda had no confidence in Supreme Court, and did not appeal for reconsideration, much less tender a mercy petition to the President. They were hanged on October 9, 1992, and became Shaheed.

A large number of Sikhs were liquidated. These included notable persons from Khalistan Liberation Force, Babbar Khalsa International, Bhindranwale Tiger Force of Khalistan, Khalistan Commando force & c. There were a number of cases of mistaken identity and in the words of Capt. Kamaljit Singh of Akali Dal (Kabul), "Cash rewards given to the police for killing militants is turning them into mercenaries". Shahid Chaudhary, *Probe India*, talk about human rights to a recitation of human scriptures by *Satan*.¹⁸

The issue of mass cremation of Sikh youths as unclaimed bodies came to the fore in early 1995, thanks to the spirit of Jaswant Singh Khalra, of Akali Dal's Human Rights Wing. In three police districts of Amritsar, Patti and Tarn Taran, he spotted 25,000 such cremations till he himself was made to disappear, publicly, by the Punjab police and martyred. Additional Session Judge, Patiala, in November 2005 sentenced to life imprisonment DSP Jaspal Singh and ASI Amarjit Singh, and four others from Punjab Police to 7 years imprisonment in Khalra murder case. KPS Gill was left untouched to the dismay of the people.¹⁹ The Punjab and Haryana High Court later on October 16, 2007 enhanced the sentence of Sub-Inspectors Satnam Singh, Surinder Pal Singh, Jasbir Singh and Head-Constable Prithipal Singh to life imprisonment too.

The case went up to Supreme Court and National Human Rights Commission, with usual acerbic comments about the doings of the police under KPS Gill, but no more. The Akalis as usual, promised to set the things aright, while Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao, at the centre extended his full support to Gill despite Supreme Court's apparent exasperation.

¹⁶ . Cf. Joyce Pettigrew, *The Sikhs of Punjab*, London 1995. pp 108-09

¹⁷ . Khuswant Singh, *My Bleeding Punjab*, Delhi 1992. p.76.

¹⁸ . For Jalandhar seminar, see. *Punjabi Tribune*, December 13, 1993.

¹⁹ . Cf. *Tribune* Editorial. November 21, 2005 and October 17, 2007.

6

Badal's Shenanigans Or Kharmastian

Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh sealed his fate when in June-July, 1995, he spoke on Satluj-Yumna link (SYL) Canal; he was emphatic that not a drop of water could flow out as he had no surplus water. Haryana Chief Minister, Bhajan Lal threatened Beant Singh with dire consequences, for speaking out for Punjab. A bomb blast on August 31, 1995, did rip up Beant Singh and a host of others at Punjab Secretariat, when he was reaching his car.¹ Bhajan Lal had his hunt: so was with K.P.S. Gill.

The Union Government straightaway appointed a Commission to look into the affair. KPS Gill's veins swelled over. If the truth was known, that will mean the end of Gill. Involved also was Bhajan Lal. The Union Home Ministry was instantly told about the fax pass.

KPS Gill straightaway produced a host of Sikhs from Punjab, Haryana and Delhi, those belonging to Akhand Kirtni Jatha, and others on trumped up charges. He instantly said that the killing of Beant Singh had been solved instantly.² As a matter of fact, only few policemen were involved. It was very difficult for one to pinpoint the course of events with car laced with ammunition. At last, they found out one policeman Dilawar Singh Jaisinghwal who agreed to drive the car with ammunition to blow up Chief Minister. He had his own objectives – good of Panth. The actual perpetrators of bomb blast and their collaborators were never questioned, much less put to harm. It started a series of innocent Sikhs being put up to trials. One result of all this was the unceremonious exit of KPS Gill on the last day, December 31, of 1995, in a most humiliation manner. He was replaced by O.P. Sharma, the real man behind the Punjab atrocities.

KPS Gill soon adjusted his vision as a pre-eminent person in the Union Home Ministry. He maintained his position as a most distinguished person with whatever government was at the Centre, including Lal Krishan Advani and Rajnath Singh in 2014 era, including maintaining his residential quarters in New Delhi. His objectives especially in 1997, when Badal took over was to rally the demoralised police force and prevent breakthrough of the morale. To that end BJP and Badal's Personal Secretary Ramesh Inder Singh, to whom I shall refer later, came quite handy. Shiromani Akali Dal³, in February 1995, at Moga Conference, transformed itself as a Punjabi Party to the glee of anti-Sikh and anti-Akali forces. Akali Dal had ceased to be a Sikh party. It had been very fair, they should have formed a new party. But they wanted to use the nomenclature of Shiromani Akali Dal because of its history. Badal's objective was the formation of a family-oriented party. There was a reason for shunning of Capt. Amarinder Singh, who had a history of his own. He had shown a clear indication that he was an equally good Sikh, and could provide a plausible challenge as a successor in the party. He could also articulate the issues much better.⁴ Badal knew his limitations. As such, Amarinder was not given a ticket for one of Patiala seats, to which he

¹ . I heard of Beant Singh's being killed, the same evening at Toronto on just arrival from San Francisco. Dixi Road Gurdwara's President was running a Radio Programme. He was known to be Government of India's agent, and I suspected his motivation in collection of people's comments. I wanted to convey to Gill to reach Bhajan Lal, but resisted my comments.

² . This was KPS Gill's solution of the problem and shamefully Government of India agreed with it.

³ . He had shunned Congress and later formed part of Barnala Government. He had performed a sterling performances at village Kandu Khera in 1986 enumerations, showing how it broke Haryana's links with Abohar and Fazilka. He had quit Barnala Government for indiscretion, at Rajiv Gandhi's instance taking over National Security Guards into the Golden Temple complex.

⁴ . Prakash Singh Badal had miserably failed to get emergency excesses committed, when Akali Dal was the only party to continue till the last date till the withdrawal of emergency, in withdrawing Hydrel and Power agreement, 1976, by Morarji Desai, failing which to withdraw from the Central Government.

had a right. Tohra had his own objectives. Badal right from 1996 thought about shunting out Tohra: he had no confidence in him, as against BJP, whom he could trust.

Election of Badal's Akali Dal in the end of January 1997 spoke, inter alia, of setting up of Punjab Human Right Commission and redressal of people's grievances.

In the elections held on February 6, 1997, Badal Akali Dal got 74 seats to BJP's 18 (the highest so far) with one joint Akali-BJP winner, Congress 14, CPM 2, Akali Dal Mann 1, Bahujan Samaj Party 1, and independents 6. A 10 member Akali-BJP ministry under Badal took over with Akali Dal's eight and BJP's two, including Balram Ji Das Tandon. The worst part of it was that Ramesh Inder Singh (who had taken over as Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, on June 3, 1984, when the Army operation started) took over as Personal Secretary⁵ to Chief Minister.

Badal on floor of the assembly on March 13, 1997, had agreed to set up a Judicial Commission to find out the truth. A Senior Akali Minister stated: "Supporting the police's controversial method that ushered peace in Punjab could be politically suicidal for us."⁶ The ruling Akali Dal was in a dilemma. The civil liberties organisations which were filing the cases are believed to be working in close association with the politically marginalised hardline Akali factions and the Government is wary of giving them a political handle. Already State Government had shelled out 80 lakhs as compensation in 18 cases. Each time the Court awards compensation, 50 to 100 fresh petitions flow in. Rattled by the growing number of adverse CBI report and left to fend themselves the affected policemen are resorting to desparate shortcuts: offering money for out-of-court settlements. The civil liberties⁷ groups, however, vigilante scuttle such moves.

That was the situations when DGP Ajit Singh Sandhu, twice decorated with President's award for gallantry, under suspension in 16 cases of atrocities, was widely reported to throw himself in front of the Himalayan Queen, on May 23, 1997.⁸ Now what is the position? Former Director General, Punjab Police, Shashi Kant, publicly made a disclosure on 10 December 2015, "That Ajit Singh Sandhu is actually living in Canada, after he faked his suicide. Even those who prepared his medical record after his 'death' had played a role in his escape."⁹ How such happens? The Government of India's Intelligence Agencies have a quota to push through their men in countries like USA, Canada, UK, all over Europe especially Germany, France, Italy, etc, and some others, and people are given special passports and visas, with residential permits. In 1995 in New York, I was told that there were 500 such persons in Americas (both USA and Canada), and when I was there in 2000, I learnt that this number had gone up by another 1000 to 1500. Even about the people I wrote about, were found in UK running Gurdwaras and religious societies apart from Canada and USA and living comfortably. In escape of Ajit Singh Sandhu the role of Badal Government in the Punjab and that of LK Advani can be spotted. They were in collaborations.

Overawed by the quantum of pressure by questionable forces, the Punjabi Hindu mindset, or possibly his own weakness of reading of the situation, Badal succumbed. That mainly plains why Badal did not take action on many points in the election manifesto. The police officers like KPS Gill and the BJP, were crowing and felt elated at Badal's reticence and their first apparent victory.

⁵ . I asked an Intelligence Officer around 2005, how Surinder Kaur Badal was very close to Ramesh Inder Singh? What is their relationship? He took five months to give me the answer. He said, Ramesh Inder Singh is his mother's brother's son, (1st cousin). Because of his position Badal was never put up in jail but kept in posh residences: sometimes his wife stayed with him. His son and nephew were moved over to America in 1990s. So, he said, was the case with Tohra, because of his closeness with Harkrishan Singh Surjeet.

⁶ . Internet.

⁷ . Ibid.

⁸ . When Ajit Singh Sandhu reportedly threw himself before the Himalayan Queen train, following was the position of Punjab police officers: Total strength- 70,000; total case registered-1200; officers facing prosecution-140; officers in jail-30; officers on bail- 100+; CBI probing cases involving partially identified or unidentified bodies-2000. 85 CBI and 91 judicial probes. The worst part of it was that there was polarisation of opinion on plight of police officers under judicial scrutiny. Punjab Hindus represented by Laxmi Kanta Chawla, Punjab's BJPs General secretary went to Amritsar jail to express solidarity with jailed policemen. The position of Balramji Das Tandon was not much different. Even Badal Government finally chose to give these policemen judicial assistance. Cf, India Today, June 9 & 16, 1997; Times of India, Sept 29, 1987

⁹ . Internet, May 19, 2016

This was despite the fact that Police Director General, P.C. Dogra, came out that police did play a role in promotion of militancy. This was after September 1997, even British intelligence agencies sent secret information regarding involvement of some senior Punjab Police Officers with extremist set ups in U.K. and Europe¹⁰ but Prakash Singh continued to maintain Sphinx like attitude.

It was not long that Badal was insipid and lacking in spirit:

- a. Justice Kuldip Singh on April 2, 1998, against the wishes of Badal wanted him to set up a Lok Commission, or people's commission by following Baisakhi to go into the police atrocities against the people; their patience was getting exhausted. So were utterance of people like Satwinder Kaur Dhaliwal, Akali M.P. from Ropar, who earlier in February had stated that now was the time for people taking revenge against dishonour at the hands of the police. Kuldip Singh was not bluffing though he still was willing for Badal's proceeding against them through the state apparatus. Balramji Das Tandon, senior BJP Minister rejected the Commission putting Badal into a dilemma how to meet election promises. A public interest petition before Punjab and Haryana High Court got it a stay, before the Commission was finally smashed.
- b. There was great expectations of Khalsa Tri-centenary celebration 1999. *Gurmat Chetna Lehar* with a programme for *Singh Sajo Lehar* were in line. But there was great despair and despondency in store. The enthusiasm withered away. I specially visited Chandigarh and thought that I will at least be able to talk over to Badal. **When I reached his office, I was told that I could see him only through his personal Secretary: when I looked at the name plate, Ramesh Inder Singh, I asked an acquaintance if he was the same person who was Deputy Commissioner in Amritsar at Operation Blue Star? He confirmed. I became cold, and decided not to see him.** So I came back disappointed. I found a Brahmin Lady incharge of Anandpur Sahib Celebration, a government affair, who had her own views. This was reflected as Anandpur Sahib Memorial which was full of an echo of Hindu tinge at the cost of Sikh principles. On Baisakhi 1999, all such persons who were cronies of Giani Zail Singh, Darbara Singh or Beant Singh had a prominent position. They were shown their consideration, and given a place of honour. By the time, they had won plum positions. Some one said that Badal had fallen a prey to the forces hostile to pristine Sikhism.
- c. **In 1998-99, there were secret meetings at the instances of RSS, between BJP led NDA Government at the Centre with Badal led SAD-BJP Government in power in Punjab, when it was suggested to release all the Sikh prisoners clearing all the detenues and clean the slate, as the part of Third Century of Khalsa Celebrations. This was the golden opportunity to solve the problem. Badal said that he was not in favour of solution of the Sikh prisoners, as "such a move would create difficulties for his rule in Punjab".¹¹ This was based on leakage of Badal papers in 2005. It was obvious that Badal was advised by his *Sala* Ramesh Inder Singh (who was killer of mass scale of Sikhs at Amritsar), and his close connect KPS Gill, living close by Badal. Was Badal an agent of Gangu Brahmin whose one daughter, Indira, had firstly in June killed mass-scale Sikhs in Punjab and later in November had wanted to kill One Crore Sikhs in India? It has been a great misfortune we have had such a type of our leaders? If you have such friends, what is the need for enemies?**
- d. Disclosure under Amarinder Singh of existence of Sukhwinder Singh Sukhi like 2145 state militants operating in Punjab right from late 1980s through Badal's five years in power down to the present times. Sukhi had been

¹⁰. *Sant Sipahi*, October 1997.

¹¹. *Tribune* March 15, 2005. Cf Sangat Singh Opsit pg 549; *Itihas 'ch Sikh*, 2008 pg 639.

travelling around the world at state expense on passport and visas being issued. **Significantly, no Court or Human Rights Commission came forward to take notice of the use of state militants to kill the genuine Sikhs, or use the medium of slogan of Khalistan to trap them. Verily, there was collapse of justice system especially concerning the Sikhs. Badal knew about them but put a veil over them to befool the Sikhs.**¹²

Before proceeding further I would like what I wrote in 2002 as part IX of the *Future of The Sikhs*:

There are two elements that have been foremost in causing an irreparable damage to Sikhism. One, KPS Gill, who unnecessarily twisted his moustache, as the real power during the era lay with O.P. Sharma, later appointed to a gubernatorial post in North-East. He worked under direct supervision of Director General, Intelligence Bureau, Government of India. Inspired by mercenary elements, Gill and his cohorts had full support of state terrorism. Akali groups were made to boycott 1992 elections to the state assembly. That brought in Beant Singh, a robot, when the police, and para-military forces ran an unhindered campaign of rape and rapine. That made the Sikh youth, especially in the country-side from 1994 vulnerable, in face of clearcut choice to shed their hair, *keshas*, to show that they dissociated themselves from the philosophy of Bhindranwale, or face elimination/disappearance.

Two, Parkash Singh Badal, who as a president of Shiromani Akali Dal, now a Punjab Party, refused to read a party manifesto, a month after his coming into power as Chief Minister in February 1997. **He shattered the romanticised Sikh belief that election of Shiromani Akali Dal would resolve their imbalance in their favour or make them assertive. He did nothing to stem the tide of apostasy, directly or indirectly, through SGPC – apparently a Sikh institution – which owed him fealty. There is no need to repeat his refusal to appoint even a Truth Commission, or look into the cases of those detained in jails or continued suicides by farmers. He even did not get a single sheet of paper/record, despite union government’s admission that the army in June 1984 removed bundles of SGPC library material. What for was Shiromani Akali Dal part of National Democratic Alliance, Atal Behari led, government at the centre? Above all, he made the people of Punjab, especially countryside, fully drenched in drugs and wine, with malevolent people in Chandigarh gaining wanton control over people’s profligacy. His Punjab-isation of Shiromani Akali Dal in the circumstances only helped to break the shield of Sikh principles, *gur maryada*, that served as the defence mechanism with the people surrounded in hostile environment. His playing a subservient role to Hindutava forces tended to decimate Sikh ethos among the people. Suffice it to say that the monthly *Spokesman*, Chandigarh, in mid 2001, on the basis of the mass scale survey, came to the conclusion that during his entire era, Badal government had not performed even one pro-Sikh act.** That constituted a fair commentary over Badal’s performance. He continued to indulge in theatrics like celebrations of Tricentenary of Khalsa, or Bi-centenary of Coronation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The quantum of apostasy among the Sikhs during his regime gained tremendous proportions. During this period, however, there were deafening noises of corruption amidst corridors of Chandigarh and urban centres of Punjab. It is debatable that he will ever be able to run an agitation on SYL. The Punjab farmer was scheduled to lose his control over water resources thanks to Badal, and go into oblivion of ignominy, unless Congress change its course.

The ground for both these elements was prepared by Gurcharan Singh Tohra, who according to his own admission (Khushwant Singh, History of the Sikhs, Vol.2, p.344) came over from Communist Party of India. Throughout the period, according to Kuldip Nayar and Mark Tully, he maintained close liaison with Harkrishan Singh Surjeet of CPM who had emerged as Indira Gandhi’s main confidant (I am not using the more appropriate words, agent) on Punjab. Tohra was the President of SGPC for over a quarter of a century.

¹². *ibid* pg 557.

According to Amarjit Kaur, he brought in a lot of Communists, Marxists, Naxalities and even Agnostics into the Gurdwara administration. Prof. Manjit Singh who had miserably failed as Acting Jathedar of Akal Takht when apostasy first struck the Sikh community in 1994 was his nominee or his creation. The whole of Gurdwara administration needs to be revamped but it is debatable that the Judiciary, which is under state control, would permit that. Badal learnt of Tohra's baneful influence only after the two fell out in 1999! Surjeet's main efforts will be to romp home the frustrated and clean shaven ruralite Sikhs into the Communist Party once their break with Badal Akali Dal is complete.

I cannot desist from making a mention of unanimous adoption on July 12, 2004, of the Punjab Termination of Agreement Bill, 2004, on their lines adopted by the Punjab Assembly. It was given assent to by the Governor the same day.¹³ It must be remembered, it was Captain Amarinder Singh who got the farmers what they had wanted. He was willing to do his job, if needed. Badal was no comparison to him.

Amarinder Singh lost in 2007 Punjab elections because of two factors: One: The Congress stupidly announced that no one will be projected as the prospective Chief Minister: Sonia had not forgotten Amarinder Singh's adoption of *Punjab Termination of Agreements Act, 2004*. It was surmised that even if Congress won the forthcoming elections, Amarinder Singh will not be the Congress nominee for Chief Ministership. All this only created confusion and also dismay. Sonia Gandhi saw that perforce it will be better to lose election. Two, the urban Hindu voter, especially in Majha and Doaba, could not bear Punjab's getting its due share of river water, as against their co-religionists in Haryana and Rajasthan; hence BJP secured 19 out of 23 seats it had fought as against 3 obtained in 2002. Rajinder Kaur Bhattal replaced Amarinder Singh as leader of Congress Assembly party and took over as leader of Opposition.

Shortly after induction as Chief Minister, Badal on March 5, 2007, spoke publicly of his resolve to remove Article 5 or *Punjab Termination of Agreements Act (2004)*. He at first spoke to Atal Behari Vajpayee and Lal Krishan Advani in New Delhi. They flattered him. Haryana and Rajasthan took advantage of public posture and approached Supreme Court. Badal's or Punjab Senior Advocate denied any intention to scrap Article 5 of PTA Act. How stupid Badal was?

Rajya Sabha required to fill eight seats meant for prominent persons, including eminent intellectuals.

S. Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa, Cabinet Minister, and leader of Akali Party in Parliament, suggested my name for membership to Rajya Sabha against one of 8 seats, and forwarded my bio-data to the Home Minister, Lal Krishan Advani. I had mentioned that my work had been evocatively acclaimed by Prof. Noel Q. King of California University as one of the greatest works on Sikh history. It had mentioned of my extra-perceptory work in External Affairs especially on Pakistan and Iran. In two days, came in the newspapers that seven people had been approved – leaving one seat available. **I immediately sought an appointment with Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and for the purpose rang his Secretary. He instantly said, he very well knew me. A word from Parkash Singh Badal will do. In a split second, I ruled that out.**

Another notable event was the *Hukumnama*, edict, of July 10 2003, to excommunicate from the *Panth*, S.Gurbaksh Singh Kala Afghana, now resident of Canada. Prof. Gurtej Singh, who earlier was named National Professor of Sikh History, from Chandigarh had waited to no effect, for a hearing on behalf of Khalsa Afghan on his explication of the Gurmat and Gurbani, Sikh religion and Philosophy. But the 5 jathedars not knowing of

¹³ *Tribune*, June 13, 2004. Later, Captain Amarinder Singh in an interview with the *Indian Express* (July 13, 2008) revealed that he was advised by top legal authority when in New Delhi on Saturday, July 10, 2004, that abrogation of treaties with retrospective effect was the only solution to the vexed SYL water problem. Only that could ward off the handing over of the canals to Central Public Works Department of Government of India on Tuesday, July 13, 2004. He arrived at Chandigarh on Sunday, and the bill was ready by next morning, Monday, July 12. Akalis were told of the bill only an hour before its introduction in the state Assembly, then in Session. The Governor signed with demur, in the belief that the Chief Minister had just been to New Delhi and had been advised so by the Central leadership.

Amarinder Singh was aware that he could be sacked in the process, but did not care. Sonia Gandhi was furious and did not talk to him "for a good eight months". Amarinder Singh did not ask the central Congress leaders as he was sure that they would not do so. That was Amarinder Singh's greatest contributions to Punjab's welfare.

decca of Gurmat, excommunicated him for his absence. Some of them, including the head-Jathedar were in pay of RSS, and could have excommunicated even Guru Nanak. Subsequently in 2004, they excommunicated

S. Joginder Singh of *Spokesman* and later in 2005 issued orders that people should stop reading that newspaper. Such was the quality of Jathedars? The power of Takht Chiefs to ex-communicate was challenged- to no results.

With Badal's induction in 2007, his *Sala* took over as Chief Secretary, Government of Punjab. It became free for all with people against whom were multi-horror charges in the police. KPS Gill's position got strengthened.

- a. Badal shortly after his take over, issued orders that the Rozana *Spokesman* should not be given any advertisement by Punjab government as if Akal Takht had become adjunct of Punjab Government.
- b. By March 2007, Malwa region MLA pleaded with Sonia Gandhi to bail out Gurmat Ram Rahim on three CBI charges, viz, killing of Sirsa based journalist Ram Chander Chhatrapatti, a former inmate Ranjit Singh, and for sexual abuse of a number of Sadhvis at his house named The Cave. A Jalandhar Newspaper, closely connected to Badal, highlighted his blasphemy, belittling Guru Gobind Singh's administration of amrit. This invoked upsurge with naked swords and with violence in the streets. Gurmat Ram Rahim became a prominent and prestigious person. Around May 16, Dera staff released a CD and photograph showing Sukhbir Singh Badal sitting on the chair and Prakash Singh Badal with folded hands; Badal was told to lower the people's resentment, failing which they threatened to release another CD and photographs showing Surinder Kaur Badal visiting Dera Chief visiting his house, or The Cave. This flattened Badal completely. To prevent that, and cover up the dignity of and honour of his wife, Badal accordingly passed on a hint to Jathedar Vedanti. This led to a meaningless *hukamnamah*¹⁴ Shortly afterwards Gurmat Ram Rahim got from Haryana Z+ plus security, - the No.2 in hierarchy or he became a celebrity in the eyes of Government of India.
- c. Another case of involvement of Surinder Kaur Badal as also of Parkash Singh Badal related to Divya Jyoti run by Noormahalias. The disclosures of amorous activities by one of their inmates, wrought havoc over seven offices of *Spokesman*, as if these had been hit by a hurricane, with impunity. These ranged from Batala, Amritsar, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Moga, Muktasar to Patiala. At some of places, like Patiala *Divya Jyoti* inmates were taken into custody too. The police was in advance in the know of *Jyoti Divya* attack. Parkash Singh Badal did not even seek a police enquiry into Noormahlila activity. No court took notice of it. The *Spokesman* mentioned of the loss of 40 lakhs straightaway. However with people's consent, the price of Rozanna *Spokeman* was increased from Rs 3 to Rs 4 per copy.¹⁵ Also, he puts, a multiplying at the cost of lands. It is for someone else to work out how much people contributed by paying 1 Rupee extra from 2007 to 2016. To me, it seems the Sikh Community must have contributed about 65% of the cost and it is still rising. The total cost now is estimated at Rupees 600 crores. But he has only one daughter. It is obvious that the *Ucha Dar Baba Nanak Da* should have a meaningful control over the complex. S. Joginder Singh has worked and what happened thereafter? Obviously, a cooperative spirit should be introduced straightaway. The Sikhs have already lost the daily *Hindustan Times* and I would not like such a situation to arise in a future.

A new law was formally laid down by Additional Sessions Judge, Delhi, Rajender Kumar Shastri in a November 1984 anti-Sikh killings case, registered after a decade. On March 26, 2007, Shastri sentenced to life imprisonment three accused. Citing Supreme Court judgement altering death penalty to life imprisonment – in case of Kishori and Manohar Lal – the court affirmed that these could not be treated as “rarest of rare” cases. Nirajan Singh was Head Constable with Delhi Police, on duty at Shahdara Railway Station on November 1, was killed, while his 17 years old son, Gurpal Singh and son-in-law Mahender Singh were killed next day, November 2,

¹⁴. *Spokesman*, July 17, 2007. *Tribune*, July 27, 2007.

¹⁵. Sangat Singh Op cit, pg. 570 *Rozanna Spokesman*, Sept 30, 2007. S. Joginder Singh in 2016 mentions the loss at 6 times to what it was mentioned in 2007.

1984. For killing of Sikhs, even on government duty, and in whatsoever manner, no Hindu or a Muslim could be sentenced to death.¹⁶ Veil was no-lifted on 12 years old former Chief Minister Beant Singh's killing case. As mentioned earlier, this was a trumped up case and there was no rule of law for the Sikhs. The prosecutor put out extraordinary large number of witnesses. Special judges were frequently changed to prevent them from applying their mind, or bump off those who showed more inquisitiveness. The result was miscarriage of justice. On July 31, 2007, Special Judge, R.K. Sondhi, sentenced Jagtar Singh Hawara and Balwant Singh (formerly of Punjab police) to death, and three others Lakhwinder Singh, Gurmit Singh and Shamsheer Singh to life imprisonment, and Nasib Singh to 10 years. Navjot Singh earlier had been acquitted, and some others were reported to have escaped into a neighbouring country. People upholding Sikh values had been uprooted. Is Supreme Court even now (2016) do justice? Let us see what is in store for us.

The bomb blast on October 14, 2007, at Uphaar Cinema Ludhiana, leaving migrant Muslims 7 dead and two dozen injured on eve of Id, left the police clueless. But it indulged in the number of speculations, ranging from Babbar Khalsa, to Kashmiri Militants, HUI, short of running after Hindu militancy. A large body of Sikhs were harassed. KPS Gill's statement that "There is no ideological content left to facilitate the return of terrorism and the old terrorists have all retired", only showed that police was not willing to investigate Hindu terrorists.

The farmers rally of 30,000 to 40,000 on February 26, 2008, was a flop. Badal Government did not do what Haryana in case of Arthiyas. The whole situation was a cruel joke on farmers. Similarly was the situation of government school teachers in rural areas where there were no teachers.

What type are Badals – Parkash Singh, his son Sukhbir Singh Badal, and her daughter Harsimran Kaur, and members of their party Akali Dal, A Punjabi Party? All of them went over to *temple*, wore *Muktas*, and *tilak* on their forehead. Sometime worship *Shivlingas*, conducted *Ramayan Paths*. So did Sucha Singh Langah, and Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa; whereas Navjot Singh Sidhu had *dhoti* and *janeau*, and participation in *yagyopavit*.¹⁷ Lakshmi Kanta Chawla was clear that they don't worship outside the temple. So, the Congressite Sikhs do not go to temples for worship. What is wrong with the Sikhs of Badalites. They know nothing about Guru Nanak's Sikhism? Jaswant Singh Neki, who was a founder member of ISSF in 1944 now in 2007 said, "*murti which vi rabb hai*". There is God in *Murti*, statue; Guru Nanak did not find God in *murti*, but a new type of scholars have cropped up who think differently.

II

The struggle for release of the Sikhs in jails launched by Bapu Surat Singh has spread into wide spread spectrum, and have earned a wide escalation. There is, however, no reaching any resolution to the problem, and the Government is trying to trivalise the intentions.

- * Babri Masjid on December 6, 1992, was a cooperative work with Sangh Parivar, Narasimaha Rao Government at the Centre, and the Supreme Court. At convenient times, A.S.Liberhan Commission took 18 years to give the report, so that no one from Sangh Parivar, including Lal Krishan Advani, comes to harm.
- * Hyderabad's Mecca Masjid Case and other numerous of cases, including Samjhauta Express Case were conveniently pushed out.
- * Very recently, August 2015, Lords of Supreme Court had Sushil and Gopal Ansal of criminal negligence on several counts' but set them free.

There are forces working for responsibility in authority, but the Judges are working for Higher Class people.

¹⁶. Those who are asking for death sentence of Sajjan Kumar and Jagdish Tytler for their role in 1984 program should ponder. Death sentences have been overruled in their cases as no Hindu can be sentenced to death. *See editorial *Tribune*, too little, too late" March 27, 2007: also Hindustan Times, March 30.

¹⁷. Between 2006-08, see pp. 557, 569, 578 and 580.

- * As against two studies from June 2013 to January 2015 based on interviews with existing sentenced to death, are numbering 385. Among those sentenced to death, numbering about 93.5 percent are dalits and religious minorities dominate. In the case of death penalty, from 2000 to 2015, there is rampant overuse of the death penalty.¹

Verily, Supreme Court later spoke of terror and related offences, and waging war, will affect national security, without going into veracity and accuracy.

- * How the Supreme Court on April 12, 2013, did not accept the death sentence of Bhullar, and how the action narrated about the bomb blast in 1993, ordered by KPS Gill (and brought about by his Deputy Sumad Singh Saini) is narrated in Appendix IV. Manjinder Singh Bitta, the beneficiary of the the bomb blast, spilled out the beans under emotional imbalance was narrating the scenes from 12 O'clock to midnight on April 12, 2013 at various TV Stations. The Prime Minister on April 12, Chief Justice on April 26, and the Union Home Secretary at PM's instance at my submission on May 28, 2013 were told that NEW FACTS HAVE COME TO LIGHT IN 1993 Bomb blast, but all of them were not able to order a CBI enquiry. The whole machinery of government just got into a stop at the instance of one person (KPS Gill), but no one – neither PM, nor Chief Justice or Home Secretary, had shown up the courage. Right or wrong, government was shown on the wrong foot, but telling the truth about Bomb Blast was not on the bill of the government. The Government machinery including the PM and Chief Justice smacked of weird outlook. Last of all, Justice Markandey Katju went to Prime Minister, just after the defeat of the Government in 2014, to release Bhullar, but he said there was a lot of pressure on him (who were people?), and he could not do anything.

Where was impartiality, integrity and justness?

Badal is Hinduistic in Sikh grab. His commitment to Guru Nanak's philosophy is non-existent. His commitment to diverse sects from Gurmat Ram Rahim to Divya Jyoti, to Ravidasia Dera, to numerous Sant Babas and Sant Samajs, apart from Hindi Mandirs, of one section or the other, is endemic. That type of politics is not done even by the Congressites. From the end of the last Century, he has gained control over Sikh shrines, through SGPC, and is using their resources for political gains. Even BJP's protagonists say that they only pray at their temples, but Badal has no *dharm*a or moral scruples and surpasses hurdles in search for power and wherewithals for wealth. This had made both SGPC and DSGMC at his disposal, who have gone through various phases to USA, Canada, Britain and Europe for collection of funds, not for Gurdwara purposes, but for use in election purposes. Of late, there has been a back-lash. The RSS and Rashtriya Sikh Sangat have mugged up *Nanak Shahi* Calendar since 2010, and the Sikhs can't do anything about it. SGPC members are not in the position to provide leadership. They have also overcome the Sikh *Nishan Sahib*, subjecting it to *bhagva*, ochre colour. That is also the colour used by men and women at the instance of Gurdwara set ups. Above all, Badals had drenched the ruralite Sikhs into drugs and alcohol at the cost of education and employment.

Punjab, on the face of it, seems once again at the edge of precipice. It implodes at several places and over dissimilar matters. There has been clarity about what is agitated on different groups but not what they want. Yet the danger of these brookes of fury converging lurks in the state. Several things are worrying:

- * Almost a decade of Akali Dal rule in the state had resulted in the political party slowly getting metamorphosed into a family business now under complete control of Badals.
- * A combination of corruption, wrong agricultural policies and rampant drug abuse has resulted in a repeat sequel since 1980s in the state.
- * Repeated episodes of killing / injuries caused people involving Badal, family abuses, and over bearing attitude of millions cause a furore, short of a trigger.

1. *The Economic Times*, August 09-15, 2015.

- * Farmers realised their GM cotton crops failed because of sub-standard pest control supplied, and the government's act pay too little, too late; farmers suicides cause anger; the impact is not only on the family but also on society.
- * Unemployed Teachers Association and Unemployed Linemen's Association were a perennial problem. Approach on unemployment and inflation were streaming in.

All these small brooks resulted in a torrent in the form of sacrilege of *Guru Granth Sahib* which was stolen under a plan at Burj Jawahar Singhwala Gurdwara, Faridkot District, on June 1, 2015. In the process, two other villages of Bargari in Kotkapura and Panj Grain in the jurisdiction of Faridkot-Moga area, canvassing the whole of Malwa region. The Sikh activists alleged the followers of Dera Sacha Sauda were behind the theft. RSS Sarsangchalak Mohan Bhagwat's half a dozen visits to the Punjab, till the oncoming of desecration of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* when Bhagwat became tongue-tied. It is generally believed that Gurmat Ram Rahim could not have done so till he had tacit support of the RSS. The police conducted half a dozen meetings but instead of acting upon the people named, they gave them security. They instead acted upon those who reported against them. Sumed Singh Saini, Director General of Police, considered blue eyed boy of Badals, thought of breaking the morale of anti-Dera Sacha Sauda elements instead of trying to solve the problem with the passage of time. This aggravated the problem. *The Singh Sahiban* of Akal Takht, who are brainless people under full control of Badals, on September 24, exonerated Gurmat Ram Rahim of charges of denigrating Guru Gobind Singh? Was it a coincidence or a well throughout plan thinking that Gurmat Ram Rahim was falling to the trap of Badals? This made one of the followers to splash the handwritten posters on the wall of Gurdwara Burj Jawahar Singh Wala, and otherwise using derogatory language against the Sikhs on September 24-25 challenging them to find out the missing volume of *Guru Granth Sahib*. Both these posters are in the custody of police, but nothing was done. On October 12, early in the morning people going over to Gurdwara Sahib, Patshahi Daswin, Bargari, found the missing pages of *Guru Granth Sahib* splintered by miscreantes around Gurdwara Bargari Sahib. This made the people including SGPC member Sukhdev Singh Bath who was eventually insulted and shunted, to confabulate at the issues confronting the Sikhs, and some of them were arrested and later released. On October 14, police sought not to permit a protest demonstration and right from early morning sought to arrange various types of vehicles to transfer the people to jails. Lot of people were subjected merciless beating, and 15 leading persons were subjected under various sections of arms act and causing harm to government property, etc. In the process, two Sikh youngmen, Bhai Krishan Singh Niamiwala and Bhai Gurneet Singh Srawa(N) were killed and about a dozen of others including very seriously injured Beant Singh.

From 15 October, several SGPC members started to quit. Avtar Singh Valtaha, "listened to my conscience" as SGPC has "completely failed in protecting the dignity of Sikhs". So was the case with Sukhdev Singh Bhaur and Rajinder Singh Sidhu.² The decisions by the group of Jathedars reversed their own decision regarding Gurmat Ram Rahim. This only showed they were immature persons.

The BJP leaders too had stepped in to prevent a clash between the Sikh groups and Hindus, for instance at Jalandhar on the issue of *hartal* and have condemned desecration of *Guru Granth Sahib* and demanded swift punishment against the guilty. The Chiefs of *Akal Takht* have gone incommunicado, but to the embarrassment of SGPC, the *Panj Pyaras* (the five beloved of Guru) summoned the Sikh High Priests to clarify the pardon to Ram Rahim.³ They directed SGPC to terminate the services of Chiefs of all the Takhats. There was onrush of political elements who saw an opportunity to extend a challenge to Amarinder Singh, Partap Singh Bajwa and Shakeel Ahmed as well as Aam Aadmi Party. Punjab Convenor Sucha Singh Chhotepur has extended welcome support. They looked at the mass protest as a wake up call.

² . Manmohan Singh Chinna and Kanchan Vasev, in *The Sunday Express*, October 25, 2015.

³ . The SGPC President should have restrained. He, at first suspended them and then restored them

This did not help matters. Radio and TV stations drew their attention at the goings on at Kotkapura and Behbal Kala(n)'s occasions, how the Sikhs were being maltreated. There was no news about what was happening to several people at Kotkapura. Eventually, late at night, 10 of them including Bhai Panthpreet Singh were taken to the Duty Magistrate who gave a remand for one day. The Badal Government issued orders for release of ten persons, but by the time last rites of two martyrs, Bhai Krishan Singh Niamiwala and Bhai Gurjit Singh Sarwa(n) had been performed. Charanjit Sharma, SSP Moga was suspended for killing of these two.

On October 24, Arvind Kejriwal arrived at the house of the two martyrs in Kotkapura and spoke a few words of sympathy. It was surprising Badal was not seen anywhere. The last rites of the two martyrs were performed on October 25, amidst a gathering of 50,000 people. The presence of five *Panj Piaras* from Darbar Sahib was noticed. Makkar, however, restored their jobs. The same day, the Punjab Government removed Sumed Singh Saini from Director General of Police who was the cause of all mischief. He was principally responsible for not looking into Guru Granth Sahib's misplacement in the first instance. There is one person who can tell you about full story, and it is for consideration of CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation), it is he; the other person could do so was Sukhbir Singh Badal, who was the Home Minister, who, shall be fighting for 2017 elections. If you cannot touch the Home Minister, you can also not touch Sumed Singh Saini, because of protection to him of KPS Gill who has control over the CBI through Union Home Ministry. Khalsa Mission is earnest about expelling of Parkash Singh Badal from Panth.

III

The *Rozana Spokesman* wrote on an editorial in three instalments opposing against convening of *Sarbat Khalsa*. In support of the last day, he quoted Giani Kewal Singh's similar views. Professor Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon had been of similar views. As a matter of fact, *Sarbat Khalsa* was a peculiar invention of the Sikhs in 18th Century, and played a useful role. The last *Sarbat Khalsa* was convened in 1765, and thereafter there has been no meeting of *Sarbat Khalsa*. It continued in disuse. Ranjit Singh never convened *Sarbat Khalsa*. It was a meeting of his Council of Ministers, and not of *Sarbat Khalsa*. After martyrdom of Akali Phula Singh in 1824, Ranjit Singh took over Darbar Sahib in 1825 under command of his government⁴, and it was that practice which was followed by the British, and later Congress when it took over power in 1947. It was Tat Khalsa spirit which has triumphed eventually in 1925 ousting the so called *Sehajdharis*, *Udasis* and *Nirmalas* who on their own admission were Hindus. Tat Khalsa split in two sections in 1925 and they did not achieve what was expected of them. It passed through various faces.

Now Tat Khalsa was reborn in new shape at Village *Chabba* at Amritsar-Tarn Taran Road on Nov, 10th 2015, in the presence of Lakhs of Sikhs. It was an upsurge of the people who were longing for a breakthrough to achieve their objectives. The huge gathering of the people itself was indicative of that. The opening was needed and it came out to be the propitious.

⁴. *The Quomi Singh Sabha Patrika*, a magazine issued by Kendri Sri Guru Singh Sabha Plot, No 1 Sector 28 A, Chandigarh, June-July 2016 issue, carries editorial at p. 2, talks of historical *Sarbat Khalsa* and three wonderful papers: 1. *Sarbat Khalsa di Roop Rekha* (A Draft), by Karamjit Singh and Harsimran Singh pp. 4-17, 2. *Sarbat of Khalsa di Bantar*, by Jiwanjot Singh, pp 18-21, and 3. *Sarbat of Khalsa – ik Drishti Kaun*, by S. Gurprit Singh California pp. 22-23. These papers need to be read and re-read by the Sikhs. These papers need to be reproduced in various *Sikh Dailies, Magazines and Journals*. These need to be circulated amongst Gumat institution and the like. The first paper makes a telling observation, whereas *Puja Akal ki* and *Parcha Shabad ka* are obvious but not so is the third part of *Didar Khalse ka* which remains unobtrusive. This started disappearing in 1825 when Ranjit Singh took over the *Darbar Sahib*. He did a great disservice. No Sikh was placed as a Minister, as against Dogras and Brahmins who dismantled the over hundred years of Sikh achievements. This made Khalsa to start Singh Sabha, Amritsar in 1873 and culminated in 1925, but splintered, because of machination of Hailty, supplemented by M.K. Gandhi.

As soon as United Akali Dal's General Secretary announced the name of Bhai Jagtar Singh Hawara, fictitiously involved in Beant Singh murder case, amidst Bhai Dhian Singh as acting Jathedar Akal Takht and its acceptance amidst *Jaikaras* by the crowds started the process of proceedings. All the four Jathedars namely of Akal Takht, Kesgarh Sahib, Damdama Sahib and Patna Sahib stood removed. How did they leave out the fifth one of Hazoor

Sahib who violates Guru Nanak's principles of householder is beyond description. The new Jathedar, named apart from Bhai Jagtar Singh Hawara were Bhai Amrik Singh Ajnala (Kesgarh Sahib) and Baba Baljeet Singh Daduwal (Takht Damdama Sahib): honours were conferred on number of people. Parkash Singh Badal was withdrawn in title '*Fakhr-e-Qoum*' and Avtar Singh Makkar in the title '*Shiromani Sewak*'. Badal has been accused of making the structure of Akali Dal into a commercial and family concern, in selling of sand, bajri, media, transport, cables and alcohol mafia. Because of corruption, farmer's crops have been destroyed. People involved in desecration of *Guru Granth Sahib* have not been revealed, but false cases have been lodged against Gursikhs. There is need for Nanak Shahi Calendar.⁴

Simranjit Singh Mann showed maturity in keeping mum. People from Congress, Aam Aadmi Party and Bahujan Samaj Party were also present in the gathering in their capacity as Sikhs. Congressites left their mark in insisting on keeping items like: continuation of struggle for Sikh Raj, a pet theme of Indira Gandhi, without explaining its contents or rather what it means to Congressite Sikhs in Punjab? The Sikhs in Punjab have unique situation of not understanding the meanings of various terms used.⁵

We need to understand? Whatever was happening at Chabba was a welcome development, and what need further is to develop the theme at the next meetings. I have firstly not liked the term *Kharkoo* used by the correspondent of *Rozana Spokesman*, and secondly, only two resolutions would have inserted a new life to the Sikh community *Spokesman*, editorial S. Joginder Singh, of November 15 is beyond understanding. We must understand first is first. The first work is to demolish Badal's empire constructed through deceit and fraud by cheating through the populace not to fulfil their objectives. For that his sala Ramesh Inder Singh and KPS Gill have been two archpillars who have silently constructed artifice of Badal's decipherable personality. What the *Spokeman* suggests can follow in due course. It is not necessary for things to happen in that order. It is not necessary that Hindus are acting against us. Look at what RSS stalwarts had suggested through Vajpayee using Badal in 1998-99, on eve of Tri-centenary of Khalsa, (to wipe out the slate clean of the Sikh militancy).⁶

The gathering of 10,000 persons soon filled 2 kms on Amritsar-Tarn Taran road. Soon 500 Sikh organisations from the country and foreign nationals participated in the congregation. According to organisers, it filled 5 lakhs Sikhs; according to Punjab Police intelligence who were bewildered, the gathering was around 1.5 Lakhs to 2 lakhs, Youngmen of 25-40 years were seen with memorabilis of Sant Jarnail Singh and Gen. Subeg Singh printed on T-Shirts. The rural area was full of posters depicting the affairs: people talked of new corporate-culture of Badals.

The people talked about 1. need for a unifying Sikh Calendar, 2. create World Sikh Parliament to represent global Sikh order under aegis of Akal Takht; 3. Sikh must safeguard sanctity of *Guru Granth Sahib* and deliver

5. Of over 25 prominent Sikhs intellectuals who were founders of All India Sikh Students Federation in 1944 at Lahore were asked. In 2014 at a specific Conference held in Gurdwara Rakab Ganj, New Delhi, have you gone through what I have written in my work, *The Sikhs in History*. None of them, including some of those to whom I had presented a copy of my book, have gone through it. I wrote in the last Chapter, *Future of the Sikhs, (Itihas 'ch Sikhs)*. **I have delineated very clearly that a declaration of Khalistan was not needed to achieve their objectives. It is Gangu Brahmin descendents like Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Jamura Rajiv Gandhi have played upon certain terms in our lexican to crush us.** They have used people like Dr. Jagjit Singh Chauhan and suprisingly Gurmit Singh Aulakh from Washington D.C. for the purpose. We should discard this type of lexicon used against us. I said, in the presence of *Chardikala Time T.V.* who was present in conducting of the proceedings, that there was not a single person in Punjab who understands what I was trying to convey. I wrote in the very first edition published in New York in 1995 that-

'A declaration of Khalistan or a declaration of war is not needed for a people to fight for their liberation. A Hungarian Scholar, Istvan Kende, after considerable research has observed, (Development Peace, Vol.4, Spring 1983, pp.35-36), that since the Second World War, over a period of thirty years, 1945-76, 120 wars have been fought in 71 countries involving the forces of 84 countries, and not in a single case a formal declaration of war was made. India has fought three wars with Pakistan without making a formal declaration of war. In recent times, Russia and Chechenya have fought a full fledged war without making a formal declaration.

"The self-styled Panthic Committees, or individuals who made formal declarations of Khalistan did so either under external inspiration or without much deliberation or even basic knowledge as to how such struggles are organised and conducted." *Sikhs in History, Last Chapter, sec: VIII, any edition.*

6. You must understand what Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi were doing were descendants of Gangu Brahmin, and they wanted to teach the Sikhs a lesson through the agony of Sikh peripherenalia in comprecency Sikh looking jamuras like Partap Singh, Giani Zail Singh and host of others.

justice in accordance with Sikh tenets; 4. Recognise Sikh political prisoners as the Sikh national assets and facilitate their release unconditionally; 5. Revive the SGPC's democratic relationship system to manage the internal Sikh affairs; 6. Vatican-like status for political temple complex, stop construction of caste-based gurdwaras and cremation ground. Last but not least which was inserted by Congress was Sikh struggle for sovereignty which I have already stated is designed to crush the Sikhs.

A number of Sikh organisations, including one from USA, were busy distributing of *Langars* to the participants. Diwali which followed the following day was treated as a black day, with no celebrations.

Badal government was caught in disarray, whereas Makkar's SGPC was full of chaos. The *Five Piaras* wanted Akal Takht Jathedar not to read his normal message over the congregation for *Bandichh or diwas*, November 12. Badal government was busy in arresting as many as it could, but Dhian Singh Mand marked his presence on November 12 at Akal Takht made his *Bandichh or* address wherein he stated that whereas Guru Hargobind had been released from Gwalior on Diwali day, in present times Badal had chosen to put behind the bars the *Panthak* leaders. Therefore Badal should be boycotted by the people, before he could be arrested. Prominent among those arrested were Amrik Singh Ajnala, (Ferozepur District), Baljit Singh Daduwal (Hoshiarpur), Dhian Singh Mand (Nabha Jail), Simranjit Singh Mann (preventive custody at his house), Wasan Singh Zaffarwal (Gurdaspur Jail), United Akali Dal leader Gurdeep Singh (Bathinda Jail) and United Akali Dal's Mohkam Singh (Chief Organiser of *Sarbat Khalsa* in Ludhiana Jail), Satnam Singh Manawa (Pathankot Jail), Jaskaran Singh Kahnsingh Wala (Ropar Jail), Rajinder Singh and Gurwinder Singh both from Bhatinda, and Karanbir Singh from Amritsar Jail. Simranjit Singh Mann said that those arrested should be released, but Badal had no botheration about law and order problem.

Sarbat Khalsa was a product of all sections of Sikhs – whether Congressites, AAP or Bahujan Samaj Party; it had no scope for Badal led Shiromani Akali Dal who are worshippers of diverse gods and goddesses apart from shivlingas etc. They know nothing about Guru Nanak, but they cannot discard SGPC for 10 crores per annum budget, apart from control over DSGMC: Both these institutions are used as fund collectors for election purposes. In 1980's Talwandi surmised that SGPC cannot get rid of three musketeers, i.e. Tohra, Talwandi and Badal, till all of them are confined to their graves. Tohra and Talwandi have gone, Badal is still there and he has now found extended dynasty to carry on gravel. It will be a problem to get rid of such a lot, despite *Udta Punjab's* speaking about the drugs instilled into the Sikhs since 1980s. It will be a problem to get rid of them. Sukhbir Singh Badal is irksome and provoking the Khalsa. He is running around spherically not knowing how to blame Congress or AAP or someone else. The persons detained on 10th November and roundabout, or not the ones who are to be blamed. Badal is determined to use police power thoughtlessly.

In December 2015, there were news about disclosures made Inspector Gurmit Singh alias Pinki, and Surjit Singh ASI posted at Tarn Taran, and others but neither the High Court/Supreme Court nor Human Rights Commission are interested in going through the cases, knowing that there is a lot of truth in them. But they are not interested in truth concerning the Sikhs. Badal was never interested in that. Amarinder Singh made the disclosures, but could not follow up the truth. (Similar is the situation about 1984 cases, despite the elapse of 31 years in that).

There was an admixture of drugs with Heroin with AK-47 with barrel-grenade launchers, on December 31-January 1, 2016, for an attack on Pathankot Airbase by six militants launched by Hizbul Mujaheddin Chief, Syed Alahuddin. On the night of January 1, 2016, Salwinder Singh DSP, was travelling at midnight without his driver, with Rajesh Verma, a jeweller (his agent to check the *hiras* on commission basis), and his cook Gopal Das. Ikagar Singh, another smuggler who came out with his Scorpio was killed; while the militants cut the throat of Rajesh Verma, who however survived, and Salwinder Singh and his cook were dumped; they ran away with his official car which gave them the freedom to enter into the Pathankot Airbase. For hours, he did not inform the seniors or others about the infiltration of Mujaheddins. Salwinder Singh, it must be known, was in close collaboration with Deputy Chief Minister, Sukhbir Singh Badal. Seven army men were killed including three / and later another

Mujaheddin was killed, while two others spotted at another quarter were blown out, but surprisingly no weapons were recovered.

India's Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar, wanted a strict action, but at the instance of Sukhbir Singh Badal, Home Minister Rajnath Singh took a lenient attitude and after a lot of drama covering polygraphy tests for both Salvinder Singh and Rajesh Verma they were let off. Rajnath Singh had been talking about use of drugs by Badal administration, e.g. at Anandpur Sahib, but he now chose to bail them out.

The conviction of all the 47 policemen convicted in 25 year long case of killing 25 Sikh tourists in Pilibhit area were waylaid in jungles in 1991, when 10 of them were killed and 11 others have not yet been found. The CBI court upheld the decision at Lucknow on 1st April, 2016.

The issue of *Panj Piaras* (the five beloved ones) is stuck at the throat of SGPC; the Sikh congregations have found acceptance for them. They have been vocal at the boycott of Jathedars. The Sikh Sangat at Virgiana, USA wanted the Panj Piaras to visit them at their Gurdwara. Some suggest some of them to act as Jathedar of Akal Takht, till Hawara is out of Jail. Balbir Singh, at Darbar Sahib at Amritsar, with folded hands denied a *saropa* to Parkash Singh Badal on June 3. Earlier on June 20, he had denied *saropa* to Sukhbir Singh Badal. There is rising resentment at mismanagement of Punjab governments functioning. The other issue lies in considerable bhagvakaran, ocherous, of Sikh institutions by gurdwara functionaries. RSS is showing its face increasingly.

Modi had earlier spoken at London and now in Washington in June 2016 on India's universal ambitions, without talking about the issues of freedom to religious minorities - Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and Sikhs. So far as the Sikhs are concerned, there have been victims of R&AW who have been creators of Sikh-phobia among people in UK and Americas (both USA and Canada), through some chosen Sikhs who are willing to sell themselves for mercenary motives. The Rashtriya Sikh Sangat's insertions are case in point, at international level.

Starting Mumbai High Court, (and decision upheld both by Punjab and Haryana Court, and Supreme Court) *Udta Punjab* hit the country when the film on drug problem in Punjab found widespread acceptance; Badal government felt peevisish at its doings of eleven years of drug abuse which has affected almost every family in rural area seriously affected by drug problem. The Bombay High Court held that the censorship was not the problem of the Punjab's drug problem. This also affects the ruralites, the Sikhs in particular, victims of serious drug problem, and may also effect its scope in the forthcoming elections. Punjab police, BSF and Badal government are adversely affected by the decision.

The hoodlum and mayhem caused by five day long Jat agitation was led by former Chief Minister Hooda and his political advisor, Prof. Virender Singh caused rabble-rousing virtually amounting to sedition, in the bulk of Haryana area, where law and order ceased to exist. It caused widespread loss of property on a massive scale, public property like vehicles, railway stations, police stations, malls and hotels apart from private property. The industry led by Assochem estimated the losses due to trade, industry, small business and transport amount to Rs.20,000 crores. The BJP MPs and Ministers were special targets in destruction of their house and their property. The malls and showrooms were razed. So was done to educational institutions. The army kept silence, so was the case with the Government, whether Central or State, they observed politics of silence, paralysing law-enforcement, facing a possible 'coup'. For the Punjabi community in Sonapat, Rohtak, Gohana and Karnal, the violence resumed the Partition horror, "both the Hindus and the Sikhs. It will take years for inter caste trust is to be restored. Thirty people according to government resources, died, with hundreds injured and women assaulted. It was the mad idea of Jawaharlal Nehru who did not want a *Jatistan* consisting of Delhi, relevant areas from Haryana and West UP to be formed. Now the area lies in three different sections, may be with some parts from Rajasthan.

Sehajdhari were never part of SGPC set up as per 1925 Act; it was a work of Partap Singh Kairon, a *patridge* of Nehru, who sought to introduce this term in Gurdwara affairs. But Indira Gandhi never used this term in Delhi Gurdwara Act in 1972, and nor was it introduced by Haryana early in 2010s. Modi Government has not followed it. So Sehadhari has been pushed out, but the threat of Rashtriya Sikh Sangat, which is another name of Hindutava,

looms large over the horizon. The Rajya Sabha had adopted a Bill, which has now been adopted by Lok Sabha, and assented to by the President in 2016. Their collaboration with Badal Akali Dal, which is another name of Hindutava is already entered into Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee / Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, and needs to be ousted.

People from villages Bhagta Bhai and Bargari witnessed a large body of Sarbat Khalsa Jathedar and panthic Jathabandies were held at the instance of Badal government who was bent on suppression. Baljit Singh Dhariwal and Dhian Singh Mand and Panch Piaras, five beloveds ones were arrested on July 16-17, 2016, alongwith number of followers. On July 15, United Akali Dal President Bhai Mokham Singh, General Secretary Bhai Gurdip Singh Dhinda, and Wasan Singh Zafarwal, Baba Chamkor Singh Bhai Rupa, Hardip Singh Mehraj and Surinder Singh Nathana along with over 200 Sikhs were arrested and transfered to different jails. There was the rush of thousands of Sikhs from Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Moga About 100 Sikhs were arrested at police station *Smalsar*. DSP Satpal Singh indicated that the large body of Sikhs have been arrested from all parts of Punjab. A large body of detainees raised their slogans against suppressions of Badals. They mentioned there was nothing like Punjab Law and Order situation and their struggle for getting justice continues.

Pangat Singh and Inderbir Singh Balaria were suspended from Akali Dal. This spread of miscarriage of Sikh is widespread.

7

Panthic Problems

I

Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, near Connaught Place is an important historical place. Where Guru Harikrishan had stayed with Raja Jai Singh. It was a vast spread out place. With the English started planning out New Delhi and the Presidential Palace, they were given land in grant in both Gurdwara Rakab Ganj and Gurdwara Bangla Sahib in Canal Colonies in Punjab. Main centre place of New Delhi was Connaught Place. Now known as Baba Kharak Singh Marg was one of the diagonal road. It hit the Gole Dakhana, very important centre. It had five roads- Baba Kharak Singh running through the Gol Dakhana on both the sides, on the one side was Kali Bari Marg, and on the other were two roads- Pandit Pant Marg touching Central Secretariat and Ashok Road (running across Kali Bari Marg). Baba Kharak Singh and Ashok Road constituted two wings containing Gurdwara Bangla Sahib. Around Gol Dakhana (opposite Pandit Pant Marg) was St. Columbus School and Auditorium Sacred Cathedral. Then followed Bangla Sahib Road running from Panchkuian Road (a wing of Connaught Place) crossing through Shaheed Bhagat Singh Marg and finishing at Baba Kharak Singh Marg. A parallel to Bangla Sahib road was Bangla Sahib Lane starting from Jain Mandir Marg entering through Baba Kharak Singh Marg running through the side of Gurdwara Bangla Sahib on one side in between was Hanuman Road which was parallel to Jai Singh Road by the side of Ashok Road (YWCA). Bangla Sahib lane took a turn at YMCA to join Jai Singh road. A small part of Gurdwara Bangla Sahib was cut out at YWCA by the Britishers. The Gurdwara plot was divided into two parts – one by the side of Ashok Road and the other along with Baba Kharak Singh Marg by the side of Bangla Sahib lane.

During the English times, Gurdwara Bangla Sahib was controlled by two roads now known as Ashok and Baba Kharak Singh roads with a huge estate forming part of Gurdwara Bangla Sahib. Because of historical reasons, Gurdwara Rakab Ganj had got a wall constructed in 1920 but because of changes in 1930s, the boundary wall of Gurdwara Bangla Sahib had remained as it is. But that does not mean, any changes could be added.

During the British times, Gurdwara Bangla Sahib was located midst the open ground along with the road side. Going by Gol Dakhana or by Bangla Sahib Road, once one entered the Gurdwara, people parked their cycles into the open space. Once they entered the Gurdwara, it was located near where there is now *Nishan Sahib* facing East. After crossing Gurdwara few steps further was a *spring* which provided *amrit* to devotees.

In 1949, when Master Tara Singh announced to hold in February Nankana Sahib Annual Conference within Gurdwara Rakab Ganj parameters on February 20, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, a descendant of Gangu Brahmin, told Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and his Home Minister to stop holding of this conference. Sardar Patel said, "We shall not allow the Akali conference to be held in Delhi in any shape or form" (Patel to Nehru, Feb 9, 1949, SPC Vol. pg 122). This led to Master Tara Singh and collaborators held up at Narela, within Delhi, and Akali leaders arrested. Bengal Regulations III of 1818 (under which Tilak and Lajpat Rai were taken into custody by the British on 1907)¹ This led to Sardar Patel's police came into action in holding scores of Akalis in Delhi and Punjab. They could not do much damage to the Sikhs within Gurdwara Rakab Ganj and Gurdwara Sis Ganj, but Sardar Patel's police entered into Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, camped a small party along (now known as) Baba Kharak Singh Marg and shortly afterwards through New Delhi Municipal Committee in 1950 introduced a road splitting Gurdwara Bangla Sahib into two parts (by introduction of roads facing Bangla Sahib road) from (now known as) Baba Kharak Singh Marg to Bangla Sahib lane (joining to Jai Singh Road). This became a regular feature.

In 1962, when Chinese did shoe-beating to Nehru in NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Area), the Sikhs position jumped up in the Armed Forces recruitment. In 1965 the position considerably improved because of India-Pakistan 1965 war. This made the NDMC to agree to dismantle the road (from Baba Kharak Singh Marg to Jai Singh road) but wanted Delhi Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee to pay Rs 1 Lakh. Still, a map later in 1995 published by Eicher City Map wrongly depicted at Pg 77 the deleted road dividing two parts of Bangla Sahib Gurdwara and showed the "Traffic Training Park" a much bigger one as against the actual position just opposite to the road facing the public booth by the side of un-named parallel to Bangla Sahib Lane. This, so called Traffic Training Park was an infiltration handiwork since 1949.

Now for better understanding, one may look into Birla Mandir (also known as Laxmi Narayan Temple) on Mandir Marg nearby. I had a close connection with Birla Mandir as it was next to Harcourt Butler Senior Secondary School where in the evening Punjab University's Camp College's classes during 1952 when I was studying for M.A. at my times were entertained. In the break period, we used to go to Birla Mandir for gymnastics. Opposite Birla Mandir was LDO (Land and Development Office) park which in 1950s was given over to Birla Mandir for Parking purposes. If they had paid for the plot, they could have got it for a pittance. But they were a lethargic people and let it by. In 1998, a Minister from Atal Behari Vajpayee's Government enforced to handover the plot they would construct a underground parking for them for free and they will have some Library and some other construction. But soon, the Minister was removed from Atal Behari Government. Now in 2014, the NDMC has entrusted its construction purposes. They will construct a multi-pronged underground parking for free and they will have a commercial setups. Already, they have entrusted for them an underground passage from the park to Temple. The point is that if the NDMC is willing to construct a underground parking for Birla Mandir on LDO owned plot what was the purpose of an agreement with Paramjit Singh Sarna, President of Delhi Gurdwara Parbhandhak Committee in 2005 about Gurdwara Bangla Sahib which was a Gurdwara land?

Sarna was frankly a most gullible man. I had told him in 2005 very clearly that Dr. Jatinder Kaur Jolly, Principal of Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, had told me that she has seen the papers which indicated that the total area of Gurdwara Bangla Sahib running from Baba Kharak Singh Road-Jai Singh Road belonged to Gurdwara Bangla Sahib. I also told Sarna that you know her and she knows you, and there was no need to put me to put up into her. I also told Jatinder Kaur, Principal Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, of my talks with Sarna i.e., she was well aware to play

¹. This showed Defence Minister Sardar Baldev Singh a cypher and Sardar Sardul Singh Caveesher counted for nothing. He was told for his choice to be with Nehru or his opponents – and he eventually chose his selection for Nehru. This was the first time that Master Tara Singh was arrested in India after freedom.

her role. Now, in 2016, Sarna told me that what time he had to look into Dr. Jatinder Kaur? He now he wanted me to tell her phone number. I told her she had a hammehorage some time back and she had passed away. Sarna could have no time to look into Dr. Jatinder Kaur in 2005, he could at least send one of his deputies, or some senior staff member? Frankly speaking, Gurdwara top was so much enmeshed in filthy lucre (wealth), they did not bother about the records. And Jatinder Kaur denied to me Sarna's ever speaking to her. Sarna was not willing to talk to her or to me - he must have been thinking of us as fools.

II

St. Stephen College & Mary and Jesus College (for Women) are the two Christian Institutions who have systematically maintained a minority institutions. They have the right to admit Christians upto 50 percent of students and make their own admission for other category of students.

There are four Sikh Colleges under Delhi University – viz. 1) Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur (SGTB) Khalsa College (Delhi University), 2) Mata Sundri College (for Women), 3) Guru Gobind Singh College of Commerce, and 4. SGTB (Evening) Khalsa College, now known as Guru Nanak Khalsa College (day time) at Dev Nagar. These four institutions have played a havoc; especially since 1984 when there was need for a discipline in maintenance for admission and recruitment of Staff.

For instance, Guru Gobind Singh College of Commerce right from beginning in 1984 was only admitting Bachelor of Business Economics (BBE), apart from other disciplines. Right from the beginning out of 40 students for BBE (Bachelor of Business Economics) they cared only for 4 Sikh students (including Women), and chose to award 36 seats for Caste Hindus on the payment of money. First principal Jaswant Singh Phul remained in office for over 15 years or so and the later Principal was Dr. Jaspal Singh. He continued such a situation. Once one of his colleague asked for admission into BBE for his son. Jaspal Singh frankly told him, No. A person who was conducting BBE students test, showed Dr. Jaspal Singh that your colleague's son too has got admission. Dr. Jaspal Singh told him abusively that when he had turned down the boy's admission, why did he help him? He was a brilliant student qualified in 2003-06 and is now holding a senior position. Similar has been the position about Dr. Jaspal Singh's successors. There were other classes for Sikhs in Colleges and they had hardly 15 percent admissions. In SGBT Khalsa College at Delhi University, the Sikh students with superior score in 12th were not admitted, whereas Caste Hindus had admissions with less marks because they could pay. I was told by one of Vice Principals that he was disturbed at the situation. Mata Sundri College had worst situation. The point is that since 1984 to 2015 the Sikh boys did not get proper admission into Sikh Institutions now for thirty years. Our students were worst sufferers. Such was a corrupt situation often times people of questionable character were deliberately chosen at Management Level. It was only in 2012, Minority Commission Delhi declared all the four Sikh Colleges as Minority institutions. This was too not implemented. By the time there was increase in Hindu Lecturers who had wangled through Sikh Colleges. They contended that Sikhism is not a religion apart from Hinduism. They raised the matter with the High Court. It was quite inevitable to Manjit Singh GK who was taken over from Sarna, the DSGMC to continue cast Hindus for money. It was only in 2016, the High Court have chosen to start admissions on the basis of Minority groups. Even now DSGMC including Manjit Singh GK or Badal Akali Dal and Manjinder Singh Sirsa from BJP are playing up chicanery because their intentions are not clean. What is required is in each discipline with quota in Hons and pass courses should be specified for Sikh students.

Paramjit Singh Sarna was a person of a questionable character. I was the head of Iran Desk and had helped his father-in-law, a resident of Iran. His son rang up Sarna's wife (his sister) that his father had speaking of my high work and advised his sister to help him accordangly. I knew also his father too. So, I accompanied by my son, his wife and his son fixing up appointment, saw him at his residence. My request: my grandson scored 84 percent marks in 12th class from Don Bosco School, he should be getting admission into Guru Gobind Singh College of Commerce or failing that Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Khalsa College in the University. Sarna was accompanied too by

his brother, who had high position in concerned Colleges and also his wife. They were not willing for anything. I told him, you forget my position as being the greatest historians on Sikh history (Sikhs are least bothered about a Greatest Historian), but it was an undeniable fact that I was a Lecturer in SGTB Khalsa College. He said, you were Lecturer at Dev Nagar College (but it was only at that time the College was located at Dev Nagar), and your grandson can be granted admissions at Dev Nagar. So, I left. I found Post-Graduate D.A.V. College had advertised for admissions in B.Com (Hons). So, the boy went to the College and got his admission. On the last date of admission, I got a phone call from Sarna to go to Dev Nagar College for admission of my grandson. So, I went over to Dev Nagar College for admission in B.Com (Hons). The next two days my daughter-in-law with her son went to PG DAV College, and thanked them for admission. Because of changed situation, now they wanted to pay, after deduction of whatever charges the balance amount and return him the documents. Sarna, however, said that if your grandson scores first class marks in next two session, he would send him for admission in Guru Gobind Singh College. The next year, I happen to see S. Tarsem Singh's staff. I was told that Sarna had got my telephone number and wanted to do something on it. I had seen Sarna only once in his office and I found the atmosphere was not congenial. Now, he was not available at his office and I thought if he rings me up I would response. But no telephone came. My grandson said that some students had been transferred to Guru Gobind Singh College of Commerce on whatever consideration. I did not enquire. On his 3rd year, a team came in Dev Nagar College in 2013 and said that they regard all students who secured 73 percent in the University as equal and they will interview all of them. My grandson was a football player and had travelled all over the World along with his father and family. So, they gave him a hefty salary to join on completion of his Graduation. Since my grandson was planning for his further studies, so he did not accept the offer. PG DAV College was making admission to anyone. Sarna has using admissions as a money making machine. I'm sorry, that was correct about all Sikh's in DSGMC setups. I have referred to the case of admission of my grandson simply because if he does not get admission, what could be the situation of the common Sikh?

III

At one time, Guru Harkrishan Public School teachers were much better paid as against Government schools. But 6th pay commissions in 2006 brought radical changes in pay scales in Government institutions including schools. Hence the pay scale of Guru Harkrishan Public Schools were suppressed, as against Guru Tegh Bahadur Schools who were given 95 percent grant. Their position as against Guru Harkrishan Public Schools were jumped up. But Sarna did not look into Guru Harkrishan Public Schools; he continued to treat them shabily. With the coming up opposition party in 2013, they agreed to attend to 6th Pay Commission. Some schools teachers were told to get 40 percent of arrears as pay and forget about 60 percent of it. Some teachers took over the case to High Court and they got to 100 percent as per 6th Pay Commission. Still these were not implemented and some teachers went for contempt of Court; they contended that some of their colleague had paid 40 percent in most of teachers. The High Court ordered that this should pay the full scale as envisaged in 2006. Now, they have decided to pay the balance of 60 percent at the scale of 1 percent every month. This is really shameful. The High Court again wanted to clear the 6th Pay Commission areas in 5 equal instalments. It has not been done. Their objectives is to get out the few months and then face elections. They have lot of money which they are squandering filthly.

They had 28 vacancies in Guru Harkrishan Public Schools in 2015 and they chose to collect haftly amount from anyone who can pay. So, these were available at sale. So are the vacancies in Colleges. If some caste-Hindus pay and if they contend that they have purchased Guru Nanak, Guru Harkrishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur or Guru Gobind Singh, they will not be far wrong. It is the Sikhs who sell in the name of Guru's name, posts and studentsh ips.

IV

Gurdwara Bangla Sahib starts Parkash of Guru Granth Sahib around 0200 hrs and starts Sukhmani around 02.15 for 1.30 hrs. They make quick reading of *Paath* and take 14 minutes on singing for only one Saloka, No. 24.

In Salok 24, 7th Pauri 7th line, the word imtY (mittai), they pronounce it, “mltY” (meetai), in 8th line the word is ‘chhutai’ (CutY), they pronounce it as ‘Chootai’ (CutY). In 24 Salok of last two lines are “bni” (bni) they pronounce as ‘Bani’ (bwnl) and for last line they read suKmwNl Sukhmni instead of Sukhmni.

This type of sacrilege is continuous since 2010 since Sarna’s time. I have written five times to Head Granthi Akal Takht about the matter but he pays no attention. Since Manjit Singh GK became President, I told him when he came over to our colony in 2013. But to no effect. Paramjeet Singh Rana became incharge of Dharam Parchar. I met him in his office. He had never listened to Sukhmni at such an early hours. He does not understand the point. Bhai Ranjit Singh, Head Granthi Bangla Sahib, who was present said, he would mend the situation. But to no effect. Once I went early in the Gurdwara and asked the Granthi: Why is he bent upon misreading Sukhmni, why *Guru Granth Sahib* is opened before him. He said, he has read from a particular *Taksal*. I told him that no *Taksal* teaches to put *lagaan, Kannan*, but to no effect. Once, they put a young man incharge of Sukhmni but he was soon transferred. The Tata Sky TV has channel no. 815, Amritvani, they continuously for 24 hours recite Gurbani. They start around 0200 hrs Sukhmni and last for 1.30 hrs. Early they had five cassettes. I told them two cassettes are correct and three were incorrect. They disbanded all the five and they placed with two cassettes which were quite correct. By now they have added another 2-3 other cassettes. All of these are correct. I say, Tata Sky was willing to listen to me but the Sikh Gurdwara Bangla Sahib or Akal Takht are not willing to do some sensible thinking.

I request the congregation at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib to look at the mischief of recitation of Sukhmni done everyday and smash them.

V

Delhi Gurdwara Management Committee through their President Harvinder Singh Sarna had a laudible achievement in starting *Chardikala Time TV* in 2007 at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib. It was managed by S. Jagjit Singh Dardi from Patiala. It started the morning programme at 0200 hrs. After the *Parkash* of Guru Granth Sahib and *Hukam*, it started with Sukhmni Sahib for about 1:30 hrs and went on with Japji Sahib through with three banis attributed to Guru Gobind Singh Ji and ended with Anand Sahib (taking about 50 minutes). Then begins with Shabads–kirtan and *hukam* around 5.00 in the programme whether in summer and winter or spring or autumn remains same. Whereas the time in *Darbar Sahib* varies from 03.00 hrs to 04.00 hrs the programme for Gurdwara Bangla Sahib is static and fixed. That is the only commendable achievement of Chardikala Time TV.

In Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, one is straightaway served Gurbani or Katha. There is no scope of adulteration. But in Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, once you listen to any programme, there are two bands announcing a series of programs bestirring your attention. This is very difficult to concentrate one’s mind on Gurbani. I once asked one compere for his comments. He said that he need a constant advertisement for sustenance of TV Channels. It does not have a ‘A’ grade stations. It has virtually become a propoganded for sysmatic Sikh Sant Babas and others eating into vitals of Sikhism.

Some years ago, there was a great flooding in Utrakhand when the rivers were over flooded including lakes. Kedarnath shrine was totally wiped out and a large number of pilgrims were wiped out. Such was the case with Alaknanda river along with Gobind Ghat Gurdwara where a large number of cars along with drivers were wiped out. The large parts of Gurdwara at Gobind Ghat was also wiped out. This made a large number of Sikhs had to pay out an exhorbitant money to hilly area people who had no mercy to pilgrims. This was also the case with Hindus pilgrims from plain area.

This virtually caused a halt towards Hemkund Sahib. Otherwise, Hemkund Sahib has nothing to with Guru Gobind Singh. It has been a ficticious character. Taking advantage of the situation, *Chardikala Time TV* people led by Jagjit Singh Dardi looked at from business angle and took over Hemkund Sahib management. He now propogated Hemkund Sahib visit even if the people are dammed and drowned. This year (2016) he told that this is a great opportunity to visit. This year too saw great flooding with cloud burst caused a great havoc but this man

was busy with *amrit sanchar* at Hemkund Sahib even if they lost their lives. He does not tell them the position about the mass situation but keeps mum.

He propagates at scroll regarding *Guru Granth Sahib's* path. This is quite unobjectionable. But he chose to Sant Babas whose death anniversaries are celebrated. These are meaningless, so far as Sikhism is concerned.

VI

Now, we come to Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta Doom who recited 8 paras, what is called an order of succession of first five Gurus in *Rag Ramkali* at Pg 966-68 of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*.

Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta were known as ecclesiastically renowned musically intoners of Gurbani at the assembly of Guru Arjan Dev.

Little is known about them. What was their relationship with each other? Someone say, they were father and son, others say they were brothers. Some says they were cousins. Others put out some other relationship. What is known that they were great experts of Guru's lineage. This showed their mastery was excellent.

In second para, line 10 says, 'puqrl koaulu nw pwilau' Guru Nanak's two sons did not fulfill his wishes. In line 11 says, 'idil KotY Awkl iPrin' their hearts were full of malice and they were full of revolt. In 4th para, 8th line isKW puqrW GoiK kY, i.e. Guru Nanak made a searching inquiry admist the Sikhs and his Sons. That is what led to the succession for Guru Nanak which made him to bow before Bhai Lehna, now known as Guru Angad Dev.

Bhai Gurdas had been amanueuses when the first writing of *Granth* was written. He has written extensively on the Guru period: he recorded *Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta* wrote the order of the succession. There was no reference before the compilation of *Granth Sahib* in 1601-1604.

There is no mention about any derogatory reference about Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta in 16th Century, 17th Century and 18th Century. During 18th century, 15-16 books on Sikh history including some derogatory writings were written.

For the first time, a reference to Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta came upon in voluminous writings of the Sikhs account by Bhai Santokh Singh in 19th Century. Sahib Singh Bedi, a descendant through Lakhmi Chand was a successor of Guru Nanak, and their descendants were ever hostile to the Sikh movement, especially emergence of revolution of Khalsa in 1699. During 18th Century, their successors never participated in horrifying accounts of Khalsa. In the first decade of 19th century, they appeared as Sahib Singh Bedi; a descendant of Guru Nanak and emerged as a Saint amongst the Sikhs. The people straightaway referred to Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta's writing in *Guru Granth Sahib* as ones who did not follow Guru Nanak and had malice in their hearts. This made Sahib Singh Bedi approached Bhai Santokh Singh to bail him out. This led to Bhai Santokh Singh making out a story about Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta and also brought out one forgotton Bhai Ladha. This type of insertion was made by Bhai Santokh Singh, under the influence of Brahmins attributive who were a derivative (plagiaristic) and derisive working on Sikh history. Bhai Vir Singh copied from Bhai Santokh Singh's voluminous writings, he included in the Sikh history without referring to history of the 16th to 18th century and without applying his mind. He did also write about Guru Gobind Singh's early birth at Hemkund. This was a cannard. Bhai Vir Singh's such type of writings have damaged the authenticity of his writings. Not only that, Guru Nanak's descendants malice did not get reduced but increased with time since 19th century to 20th century till the first decades of 21st century when they seem to have disappeared in history. It is known in 19th century onwards, he was for cushion with pillows and head rest at Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. He was for succession as 15th Guru of the Sikhs. It was with a great effort the Tat Khalsa, charging with professor Gurmukh Singh struggled against such unsikh practices.

The Nirmalas and Udasis were great followers of Sahib Singh Bedi and his descendants and were treated as Hinduism explotatives of Sikhism. They were treated outside Gurdwara Act, 1925, but surreptiotously have sought to enter in post 1927-44 era. They were a great votaries of Bhai Santokh Singh and another Nirmala, continued plagiaristic, and second hand unoriginal offshooter.

It is time that the Sikhs must follow the original, the 1st exponents of source of succession of 1st five Guru in *Guru Granth Sahib* and should be inserted in *Darbar Sahib* in one of 8 paras in section at early morning. In no way, the source of Rai Balwand and Bhai Satta contribution gets diluted. The Sikhs will continue to pay highest tributes to the two Gursikhs who have excelled in their performance and would not permit any one to belittle such high characters. Off late, Akal Takht Jathedar, who knows little about Sikh history and theology, has entered into this fray.

VII

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur has at last, because of inhibitions of Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) and BJP (Bharitya Janta Party), thanks to Punjab elections in 2017, have struck at sovereignty at Chapar Chiri in Sirhind in 1710, without any restrictions.

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's achievement in conquering Sirhind was a unique event of unequalled importance. Its significance lay in not that he worsted Sirhind; the fundamental question was one of Sikh sovereignty.²

We have full knowledge what went on between Guru Gobind Singh and Madho Das earlier known as Lachhman Dev. He met him at 1695 at Kankhal/Rishikesh near Haridwar, when he was staying with a group along Oghar Nath Jogi (from Nasik pilgrimage centre). At that time Guru Gobind Singh made an assessment about him. Now, fourteen years later, he had chosen to reclaim him. Madho Das asked: "Who are you? Guru Gobind Singh; You know me!" Madho Das said, are you Guru Gobind Singh, whose father Guru Tegh Bahadur had sacrificed his life at Delhi? When Guru Gobind Singh told him in the affirmative, Madho Das raised the next question: why killing of 4 animals at his Sadhu's Vegetarian Dera? Guru Gobind Singh: "I wanted to draw your attention towards Hindustan where hundreds and thousands of innocent men are being killed? I just wanted to awaken you, from life? I had no other purpose"? . This shocked his inner self, and Madho Das said from inner most of his heart, "I am your devotee. You may entrust me hitherto."

The very next day, Madho Das was administered *amrit*, baptism, by Guru Gobind Singh along with four others, and he became a full fledged Khalsa. Guru Gobind Singh Ji remained at Nanded for over a month. There was interaction between Madho Das now known as Gurbaksh Singh and Guru Gobind Singh besides a lot of others, There were 25 persons who chose to accompany him. Eventually, he was chosen as Jathedar of Panth and named Banda Singh. Five Sikhs were constituted as the Council of Five: Bhai Bhai Bhagwant Singh, Koer Singh, Baz Singh, Binod Singh and Kahan Singh to entrust and advise him. Guru Gobind Singh Ji entrusted his *Sri Sahib* from his command, one Mohar, five arrows from his command, and Nishan Sahib and Ardas when needed to take these to Punjab. Two constant factors were there. One, the character of Khalsa as a casteless society, and two, land to tillers irrespective of Muslim, Hindu, Sikh or backward classes. It caused a revolution: the contemporary writers were very explicit about the impact³ In case of crisis situation, resort to *Ardas*. He was given the title of Bahadur when he won at Chapar Chiri.

². Here it is important to know about importance of Sirhind. Punjab at the time was divided into Lahore and Multan provinces. Then there was sub-province in Sirhind which was directly administered by imperial Delhi. The Hindu hill rajas of Shivalik Hills were under administration of imperial Delhi through the Lieutenant Governor of Sirhind.

The objectives of Banda Singh Bahadur in conquering Sirhind was not one of making revenge for the martyrdom of two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh Ji, and his elderly mother. To say so would constitute a petty thought process. The petty minded people cannot think big, and cannot even present the truth or events in its proper perspective. These however could provide inspiration to his forces. Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) or Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal)'s petty minded people taking over a procession from Hazur Sahib Nanded to Sirhind to celebrate Sirhind Victory Day, is to be seen in this very light.

³. Cf. Muzaffar Alam, the crisis of empire in Mughal Northern India, Awadh and Punjab, 1710-48 (Delhi, 1986), chapters on Punjab and ad passion.

Khalsa began to recite the couplet, *raj karega khalsa* (Khalsa shall rule), in their congregation as part of their litany, in all Gurdwaras⁴ right from 1710. Banda Singh chose Mukhlispur at the foot of Himalayas as his headquarters. He introduced a new calendar dating from his capture of Sirhind and struck coins and seals as a mark of Sikh sovereignty.⁵

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur had a vast field to operate. To begin with, he had function from Karnal to Ludhiana; then he operated in Gangetic Valley – Saharanpur to Behar, Ambheta and Nanauta, etc; from Kiratpur to Raja Ajmer Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur) a mischief monger, to other hill states through Doaba into Majha. His unconventional exploits touched the imagination of the populace and signify that oppressors were liable to be called upon to account for their sins of omission and commission. Ghulam Mohiuddin author of *Futuhat Nama-i-Samadhi* (1722-23), who fought against his forces, testifies that Banda Singh Bahadur adopted codes of conduct for his forces “to present themselves as embodiment of moral values.” Banda Singh should have firstly, confined merely to destruction of oppressive forces and not to organise an alternative administration which made him overextend his meager resources. In other words, he should have continued to operate as a guerilla leader rather than a conventional military leader which led to his defeat. Secondly, he violated Guru Gobind Singh’s instructions regarding corporate leadership of Khalsa provided by the council of *Panj Piaras*, (five beloved ones) named by him to aid and advise him. He struck at the root of the corporate leadership and emerged as the social and absolute leader.

Banda Singh Bahadur, however, died a heroic death. It was remarkable that not a single one of over 700 Sikhs, a majority of whom had been arbitrarily taken over from Lahore to Delhi, reneged his faith. They smilingly courted martyrdom, bulk in March 1716, and Banda Singh and his aides in June 9, 1716.

On third centenary day of conquest of Sirhind by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in 2010, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee combined with Sharomani Akali Dal (Badal) took out a procession from Hazur Sahib, Nanded, to Sirhind to celebrate what they called Sirhind Victory Day, and not as day of Sovereignty. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had affirmed his presence at Fateh Garh Sahib tri-centenary celebrations. But Manmohan Singh was not present. Why?

It may be recalled that Manmohan Singh visited Amritsar in 2004 on the 4th centenary of compilation of Pothi Sahib. Not realizing his feeble position and anti-Sikh tenor of the ruling elite, he had promised a National Institute of Studies in Guru Granth Sahib at Amritsar, may be, at Guru Nanak Dev University. Eventually, that proved an empty rhetoric. The Government of India backed out of it. Now, Manmohan Singh had affirmed his presence at Fatehgarh Sahib, to attend the celebrations connected with Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. The least he could do was to promise that a portrait of Banda Singh Bahadur would be installed in Parliament House. Some analysts would

4. Attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, the couplet forms part of Bhai Nand Lal’s *Tankah Nama* (Code of Conduct) for a member of the Khalsa. The full couplet reads “Khalsa shall rule, and no one will challenge their authority. Humiliated in defeat, all will join their ranks and be alone will be saved who seeks their refuge.” Cf. Ganda Singh, “How the Sikh Raj Came About”, *Punjab Past and Present* (hereinafter PP&P) Vol. XV, October 1981, p. 433.

5. The Persian inscription on Banda Singh Bahadur’s coins was as follows:

Obverse

*Sikka zad har do alam tegh-i-Nanak wahib ast
fateh Gobind Singh Shah-i-shahan fazl-i-sacha sahib ast*

Coinstruck for the two worlds with the sword of Nanak, and victory granted by the grace of Gobind Singh, King of Kings, and the true Emperor.

Reverse

*zarb ba aman-ud-dahar masavarat sahar
zinat-ut-Takhath-i-Mubarak Bakht*

Struck in the heaven of refuge, the beautiful city, the ornament of the blessed throne. The inscription on Banda’s seal became a model for future inscriptions on Sikh coins and seals:

*degh o tegh of fathe o nusrat-i-bedrang
yaft az Nanak guru Gobind Singh*

Through hospitality and the sword to unending victory granted by Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.

have burnt mid-night oil over the proposition and come to the conclusions, that Banda Singh after Guru Gobind Singh was the first person to give shape to the Sikh concept of sovereignty, at a time when Hindus were content in their slavery. To put his portrait in Parliament House would amount to installing the portrait of a horse or a camel amidst the congregation of sheep. Shivaji had been a first person to give shape to the concept of Maratha nationalism which some erroneously call Hindus *nationalism*. He had been inspired by his Guru, Samrath Ram Das who ingrained such ideas only following a chance meeting with Guru Hargobind in Shivalik Hills on his way back from Badrinath. Samrath Ram Das admitted that he had got the right inspiration and will make it work in Marathawada. This means that the concept of Sikh Raj and Maratha Raj owed its origin to the Sikh Gurus. At that time there was no concept of Hindu identity even. This had its beginnings in 1882 with the publication of novel Anand Math by Bankim Chander Chatterjee: General S.M. Manekshaw, India's only Field Marshal contended by end of 20th Century that India was not yet a nation. In such circumstances, to place a portrait of Banda Singh Bahadur in Parliament House was not acceptable to Hindus of all hues, including Badal's 'friends' BJP or Badal himself. Manmohan Singh never let it be known of his projected absence from Fatehgarh Sahib.

The huge congregation of May 14, 1710 was being directly telecast from Fatehgarh Sahib. At Fatehgarh Sahib's stage, a series of leader from SGPC and SAD (Badal) were present. Chief Minister Badal, his son Sukhbir Singh Badal, other Ministers, Sikh MPs and MLAs, Avtar Singh Makkar (President SGPC), both head-granthis of Akal Takht (mischievously called Jathedar) and Darbar Sahib, office holders of SGPC, and various others including co-travellers of BJP. Its President and two others – were especially invited for this function. This was not a government function wherein their presence was a must. Like headless chickens, they raised their pitch over Banda Bairagi. When that Bairagi after taking baptism became a Sikh and later faced his martyrdom like a true idiocy. BJP had monopoly in that.

On third centenary of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's martyrdom near Qutab Minar, or near about Khawaja Bakhtiar Kaki's Mazhar, is being enacted a scene, for installation of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's statue around Qutab Road. A huge ceremony has been held around July 3, 2016. The first spokesman was Dr. Jaspal Singh, Vice Chancellor, Punjabi University. He said nothing was known about, what happened between Guru Gobind Singh and Baba Banda Singh Bahadur.

Punjab Chief Minister Parkash Singh Badal and Deputy Chief Minister Sukhbir Singh Badal said that Baba Banda Singh Bahadur instituted coin in the name of the Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, issued seal in the names of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, he granted land to the tillers, and otherwise brought about a social revolution. Also coins were introduced with proper Persian inscriptions. Sukhbir Singh was continuously briefing the Prime Minister Modi about Banda Singh Bahadur achievements: he mentioned that for the first time after 1001 when Anangpal got defeated, Banda Singh Bahadur was the first Sikh hero emerged on the scene, he issued coins and seal in the names of Guru Nanak Guru Gobind Singh, and not in his own name. As such, Prime Minister Narendra Modi spoke eloquently about Banda Singh Bahadur's emerging on the scene as a Sikh hero. There was no talk about Banda Bairagi, as was the case during 2010. There is some controversy about grant of land for Banda Singh Bahadur's statute, on Aurobindo Marg-Tarawala Park. One tells me that it will be sorted out shortly. But the indication on 70th anniversary of Independence tells something different. Modi has been overruled. This only shows it will make it difficult to enable the grant for land for Banda Singh Bahadur statute at the marked site.

There was a talk of Parkash Singh Badal's grant of Rs 100 crores for Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's statute. Earlier Paramjit Singh Sarna had spoken of Palki of 10 kgs of gold to be handed over at Gurdwara Nankana Sahib. But Pakistan Prime Minister found out that it contained only 1.5 kgs. Again, a similar type of Palki was inserted for Hazur Sahib in 2008. The Sikhs of Badal *marka* will insert some shoddy material. In the new situation the option is to leave Rs 100 crores as a reserve park for forthcoming DSGMC (Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee). This will cause stomachache both for Badal and the DSGMC who will try to install Banda Bahadur Singh statue, at an alternate place. That will be an unfortunate situation. But still it will be a remarkable achievement for 2017 elections.

The Sikhs of this or that brand have become thoroughly corrupt in Gurdwara matters. As Bhai Vir Singh says, koel hirAw bUt rihau rl, some budding green plants remain; the Sikh community shall revive and throw out useless and unproductive management both SGPC and DSGMC who believe in minting money.

8

2017 Elections – A Forecast

Punjab is heading towards a tri-partite elections in 2017. Badal Akali Dal is in alignment with Bhartya Janata Party. This time it seems that BJP will have a bigger cake; they have won a victory in Haryana, and it tells them to have at least 15 seats in Malwa on the strength of Gurmit Ram Rahim's group which earlier had supported Congress. RSS's involvement compliments the matter. That is one reason that neither the Punjab police (headed by such a *pate khan* like Sumed Singh Saini or the Deputy Chief Minister, Sukhbir Singh Badal, nor the CBI (Central Bureau of Investigation) dared to untie the knott. BJP is playing a shady game, in the hope of gaining a plurality of votes. Badal is certainly going to lose the Sikh votes.

It is obvious Congress will be on the loser side, at least in face of seats termed to be in the pocket of Gurmit Ram Rahim. Manpreet Badal cannot fill the gap. Then there is filling by the leftists and the Bahujan Samaj Party. Will they be able to fill the gap for the mahan-alliance to skip through? It will be a hazardous guess.

Here comes the AAP (Aam Aadmi Party). It is an upcoming party. It is not Delhi AAP, citizens AAP, dwellers AAP, residents AAP, led by the convenor Sucha Singh Chhotepur under the command of Arvind Kejriwal. The AAP is coming up rapidly in Punjab, though ruling Badal Dal is very upset; so is the position of Punjab Congress led by Amarinder Singh. Kejriwal presents a clean image. He has touched the nerves of Punjab's multiple problems, viz. drug mafia (putting his nerves on Revenue Minister Bikram Singh Majitha being hands in gloves with the drug mafia), farm crisis (farmers committing suicides), desecration of Guru Granth Sahib - a major issue facing the masses with no one in authority to go into the truth of the matter), - reaching out to Industrialists in Punjab (working in an environment of rampant extortion and corruption), delay in the disbursement of the subsidies, incentives and VAT (refund to genuine entrepreneurs), Businessmen (who are subjected to goonda tax which he plans to put to end in 24 hours after coming into power), promises 25 lakhs jobs, Wi-Fi to school children extending support to Dalits. The Badal government deliberately kept lakhs of jobs vacant for many years; this crippled working of several essential services. CBI was not really cooperating in anti Sikh pogrom, called riots; Kejriwal sanctioned 769 teachers in Punjabi language, and 610 in Urdu this year in Delhi.

At the end of Doaba tour, Kejriwal met some NRIs – Representatives of Indo-Canadian NRI Society in Phagwara's Chehru village. He had talks with former Minister Herb Dhaliwal, Dr. G.S.Gill and assured them of hearty cooperation. He lashed out at Badal leaders, and said he has developed more knowledge about Punjab than them. He would make Punjab once again a flourishing state and the best investment distribution in the country.

Avtar Singh Makkar, President SGPC instantly launched a case in the Court of Ludhiana against Ashish Khetan, Party Spokeman and Kanwar Sandhu,¹ Punjab Dialogue Chief on July 7, 2016, following showing disrespect to *Guru Granth Sahib* and hurting Sikh sentiments. Sandhu was the principal actor and well aware of Sikhs sentiments. Khetan, Sandhu and HS Phulka, a senior AAP leader offer sewa in *langar* on July 10. Subsequently, AAP Chief,

¹. Avtar Singh Makkar, who is the parrot in the hands of Badal when Bikram Singh Majitha mentioned about denigrating of Guru Gobind Singh bani in context of Arun Jaitley. Frankly, he could not go to the court. But he straightaway filed a case before a Ludhiana Court in July 2016 relating to Kanwar Sandhu of AAP, What could a parrot do?

Kejriwal with support of battery of his workers, *serviced* at langar., on July 18, 2016, though Captain Amarinder Singh said that Kejriwal was not involved, as against Kanwar Sandhu who was granted interim bail on July 18 by Additional Session Judge, Ludhiana.

I have mentioned of Kanwar Sandhu being a part and parcel of Major Gen. K.S. Brar. It would be better to keep him away from AAP.

Parkash Singh Badal who is past master in one after another series of felonies committed in front of Akal Takht says that the sin of Arvind Kejriwal cannot be wiped out, whereas it is obvious that Arvind Kejriwal is not involved in it at all. It was the opening up for Kanwar Sandhu. Kejriwal performed *sewa* at Darbar Sahib. Prakash Singh Badal does not need a *sewa* at Darbar Sahib because he is a chronic sinner. Badal has now become desperate.

On July 18, coincide with Arvind Kejriwal *sewa* at Darbar Sahib, Navjot Singh Sidhu, threw a sixer to shook out the Punjab's stratosphere. Introduction of Navjot Singh Sidhu caused a vibration which was to shake up Badal and also Amarinder Singh, and possibly enervate AAP.

Bhagwant Singh Maan has been bamboozled by BJP, Akali Dal and Congress at compromising 'security' at Parliament House. In this age of "Google Map", when anyone can buy satellite images of any building, this issue of security at Parliament House is meaningless. They must be sensible.

All the three established parties find themselves rattled because of the kind of power to pull or motivate power, the AAP is getting in the rural Punjab. This is a new phenomena.

The manner in which Central Government is using Delhi Police and other agencies to harm and harass the AAP MLAs in Delhi. This should be a matter of concern for all democratic voices. Witch-hunting must stop. But is Modi sensible?

The case against drugs smuggling was entrusted to Niranjn Singh who was earnestly looking into it; he had reached almost near about the smugglers end, but the authorities wanted to transfer him from the project. High Court put a break and wanted Niranjn Singh to continue against the smugglers. Somehow, he was pushed out of the project as it was not unsuitable to Badal. Earlier, Rajnath Singh, Home Minister, had spoken of drug smugglers in Punjab, and in that case too Badal intervened. This shows Badal had close connections with someone seriously involved. Somehow, BJP and RSS decided to make up with Badal, as against their fighting forthcoming elections in Punjab single handedly. So they chose to not to look into Punjab Drug situation.

People close to Niranjn Singh and others knew about drug smuggling and large people knew about the twist. Now Kejriwal and his collaborators like Sanjay Singh, Ashok Khetan, talk of drug smuggling. He must be talking squarely about the people. Bikram Singh Majithia who has no option but to go to Court in Amritsar when they chose to use Punjab Police instead of Court Server to issues summons. They can bamboozle an ordinary individual, but Kejriwal and Co. are different people. Majithia knows that Ram Rahim is facing a court case on number of killings, murders, rapes for years, and such cases are prolonged. Who knows Niranjn Singh, who is a man of character, on retirement may make a disclosure about the smugglers. Kejriwal has got bail on July 29, 2016. Bikram Singh Majithia has six months for power. Significantly, on July 30, when Naresh Yadav was hauled up in fictitious case but the Sub Division Magistrate at Malerkotla did not bail him out. Straightaway, Session Judge granted him bail, saying he is innocent till proved otherwise. The point is, that the Courts are vigilant about the people. Majithia has a host of people around him but once he is out of power, how many will look after him? The fact is that drug has eaten up at least one youth in each rural family. Noose of justice waits, sooner or later.

Now this brings up to *Rozanna Spokesman* editorial of July 29, 2016. Nimrat Kaur has extended what she has written. I can only say she is immature, is not fit for either Editor's job or running up a TV Channel. She is the only daughter of S. Joginder Singh. He needs her to be seconded to someone who may be heading the TV Channel in due course. That was the strong point for Majithia also.

Sucha Singh Chhotepur has done a wonderful job despite keeping a low profile. AAP had at one time thought over Navjot Singh Sidhu but found him unsuitable. Sidhu had similarity in make up as was that of Badal, that they had serious differences on their work plan.

Sidhu was now thinking of jettisoning BJP who did not wish his presence in Punjab. If BJP had decided to go it alone in Punjab, that would have suited Sidhu, but for tactical reasons it has decided to go along with Shiromani Akali Dal. There could be a conflict over seats; BJP would obviously like to act as a major actor.

It has not been positively said that Sidhu has broken up from BJP. On the other hand, clear signals are available of Sidhu's availability for BJP. His wife continues her wires with BJP. Sidhu's dithering even after independence day, August 15, was enigmatic. Two days later, the cat came out of the bag. In a despatch by Kanchan Vasudev ([Indian Express](#), August 18, 2016), tells us that Sidhu not only wanted both of them, himself and his wife, also an overall command with his taking over prospective Chief Minister. Mind it, he is still a member of BJP, and would also like to take over AAP. This would make Sidhu to duplicate RSS or Rashtriya Singh Sangat: whether he formally quit BJP or not, will be meaningless. What is wrong with AAP and Arvind Kejriwal?

The same day, BJP government led by Narendra Modi announced without consulting Parkash Singh Badal, VP Singh Badnore, a RSS ideologue, from Rajasthan (with whom they have serious differences over Water issues) as Governor of Punjab, and simultaneously announced a separate Administrator of Chandigarh. This only shows what does BJP/RSS think of this stupid man Badal? He kept quiet on appointment of the Rajasthani person as Governor, but approached Prime Minister and Home Minister that any plan for a Chandigarh administrator would deal his party a death blow at Assembly polls. Both Congress and AAP blamed the 'instantly unjust move' that was aimed at 'snatching' Chandigarh away from Punjab. BJP thought that Badal is already on the way out - this way or that.

The oddity of BJP and Shiroman Akali Dal, or Congress's doggedness presents an opportunity to AAP. Arvind Kejriwal has the potentiality to emerge as the celebrity. His popularity outstripped that of his party. In the words of Saba Naqvi (Tribune, August 18, 2016). A C Voter Huggington post in the course of 2016 showed a curious disconnect in the fact that it indicates that AAP seems likely to win nearly 100 seats of the 117. Navjot Singh's popularity has not crossed 16 per cent. The popularity of Kejriwal has risen from 51 to 59 percent, against that of Amrinder Singh's has risen from 26 to 37 per cent. Parkash Singh Badal figures very low. The popularity of Navjot Singh Sidhu has not crossed despite his somersaults. The worst part of it is that Sidhu meanwhile, is inserting his people as AAP Candidates. The AAP has already started nominating Candidates which will be difficult to drop them at once, Sidhu makes an about turn. The names of such candidates need to be kept in abeyance. Mind it, Sidhu continues to be a member of BJP, both the husband and wife. They have a gameplan, and AAP should not fall into it. Also, they need not, as was done at the instance of Kanwar Sandhu, fall the trap of religion.

One hopes, 2017 spells a new vistas for Punjab in the form of an AAP Government with an opening up of all sections of society in an equilibrium, including the so-called downward classes, in various spheres of life.

August 22, 2016

BOOK TWO

9

Mini Memoirs

After Nehru's China war, the Indian Foreign Office had created an East Asia Research and Co-ordination Division under the aegis of Dr. Sumal Sinha, once a Chinese knowing Professor in Shanghai University and then a Director in External Affairs. I was one of the four persons recruited through Union Public Service Commission and entrusted as a sinologist specialising on guerilla warfare. After the India-Pakistan war of 1965, cropped up the Rann of Kutch Case which was entrusted to an International Tribunal, under U.N. auspices, to arbitrate on the issue, with justice Jaggergren as Chairman, and two members one each from India (Justice of Yugoslavia) and one from Pakistan, (Mr. Nasrolla Entezam from Iran). Since, I could read Urdu very well (being the first language read at School), I was drafted to Rann of Kutch delegation. Thereafter, through Inter alia records of the Salt Department available in National Archives of India. I too looked through records available at our Mission in Karachi and our Consulates in Lahore and in Dhaka. Thereafter, I was deputed to go through the records available in Indian Office Library in London. It was during this period I had a look at records concerning the Sikhs, also. I was a member of the Deputation to International Tribunal at Geneva, in 1967. On return, I was entrusted to write a work on Pakistan's Foreign Policy, this was later published in a book form by Asia Publishing House, published in Bombay, London and New York, 1970, a pirated edition was published in Pakistan in 1970s. This placed me as a renowned expert on Pakistan.

Meanwhile, East Asia Research and Co-ordination Division was transformed into a Policy Planning and Review Division, with Jagat Singh Mehta, of Indian Foreign Service, an intellectual, as Joint Secretary. As a member of that Division, when K.R. Narayanan, was Joint Secretary (who later became President of India), I put up a paper around December 22, 1970, a week after general elections in Pakistan. I had analysed that Pakistan was breaking up with a mass scale massacre of the people in the then East Pakistan and possibly a war with India. Of the 14 studies made by various set ups, mine was the only study which had made such a projection. This was despite my Joint Secretary (K.R. Narayanan) disagreeing with my analysis. It made no difference, my papers had the normal circulation to relevant sectors.

The issue arose up about the Islamic Summit Conference of Organisation of Islamic Countries held in Morocco in September 1969: it was attended by S. Gurbachan Singh, India's Ambassador in Morocco. He attended the summit on the opening day. Yahya Khan from Karachi got an equivalent message from his sources at Karachi that if Gurbachan Singh attends the next day's Conference, on arrival at Karachi his throat will be split. Gurbachan Singh was chucked off from the conference. This represented a furore in the Indian media. The Indian Foreign Office decided to have an analysis as to where did India go in the wrong. This was a work for West Asia and North Africa (WANA) Division. But no one of the IFS (Indian Foreign Service) officer was willing to sacrifice his head; they decided to give it to me in February

1970 for an analysis of the situation. I was shown all the secret and top secret communications, and told that I will not mention about telephonic communications but only go by what is written therein.

I analysed the situation very quickly, and came to a definite conclusions. It emerged that Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University was per chance, to be present in Rabat, and it was he who was to attend the Islamic Conference. It occurred to Indira Gandhi's Minister for Power Farkruddhin Ali Ahmad who was to attend the Islamic Conference. Obviously, at the instance of Indira Gandhi, Foreign Secretary, Tikki (Triloki Nath) Kaul, put up a paper without making any mention about what was available from the files, suggesting Farkhruddin Ali Ahmad to be Indian nominee to attend the Rabat Conference. In the absence of earlier understanding, Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University withdrew. I felt that when Foreign Secretary suggested about Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed; he should have asked the Aligarh University's Vice Chancellor to be available at Rabat to give laurels to Indian Muslim presence. I felt, Vice Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, would not have objected to senior position of Farkhurddin Ali Ahmed. As it actually happened, Farkhruddin Ali Ahmad fell on the day of his departure in the bathroom and was not in a position to move. In the circumstances, Gurbachan Singh had no option but to attend the Islamic Conference on the opening day.

I had fixed the responsibility squarely at Tikki Kaul, our Foreign Secretary, for the lapse. Since, I was going to New Zealand and Australia, on U.N. Human Rights Fellowship, I delayed putting up my papers, for another fortnight, till March 31, 1971.

I reached New Zealand for a study on Social Security and Labour Welfare in New Zealand. I found situation in New Zealand quite different later what I found in Australia. Australia, to begin with, was a criminal centre. New Zealanders were a very much polished people, and spoke fluent English as it is written. They were surprised at the flowing language of my English, and appreciated me. Similarly, the Maoris were a different type of people, belonging to the broad spectrum of people in the Pacific Ocean Islands including Hawaii. They were quite different from aboriginies in Australia.

I had a very nice time in New Zealand. I was to finish my report for submission to the New Zealanders in 30 days, and I did that well in time. I gave them a couple of suggestions and they immediately conceded correctness of my reading.

When I reached Australia in May 1971, I had to face two problems. Whereas New Zealand was a single unit, Australia was divided into six states, and had to overcome that; secondly, I had to still overcome my, so called, medical problems.

When I was asking for Visa on UN assignment, as per Australian High Commission, I sent them, duly authenticated my Chest X-rays, with Wellington Hospital, New Delhi, Doctor's reports. They had another round when my doctors at Wellington told me there was no problem with my Chest. However, he suggested to me to have an X-ray from Jessa Ram Hospital; their machines may be better. He endorsed those X-rays to Australian authorities. The Australian High Commission said they have been told by Australian authorities, that I shall have to report myself to them for further Chest check ups. So I got a visa on that condition. On arrival at Sydney, I was told that I would start from the next day from Melbourne.

On arrival at Melbourne, on the very first day I was deputed to a No.2 person in the Australian Health authorities. We were just talking when someone stepped in. He introduced me, saying here is a Minister of Health, and gave my introduction too. We had a very hearty talk. This made me to understand that the Australian people are very formal, and open hearted people. This made me talk to

him that I wanted a Chest X-ray; he said there is no problem, "You go two streets down, you will find Sister Stella, and she will do your X-ray". So, the next morning, I approached Sister Stella, and she sent me at my hotel where I was staying, a small printed card, written NAD, NAD, NAD, i.e. nothing abnormal detected.

I had done my work at the Health Ministry, and was working on Labour Ministry. They were a very nice people. Actually, wherever I went, I found the people very congenial and friendly. After about another five days, I was told by a lady from Australian Foreign Office who was overall in charge of my project, that I had committed to submit to Australian Health Authorities about my Chest X-ray, and she advised me since I was going to Canberra, I should do so there. I told her that frankly there is nothing wrong with my Chest, I already have got a Certificate from one of your Health Authorities, what you are doing is simply an harassment for an Asian. I told her about my X-ray; she could refer me to Sister Stella. Thereafter, I faced no problem.

When I was still working on Australian Human Rights assignment a special unit was created in Pakistan Division under J.N. Dixit, as Director to look into the holocaust in East Pakistan. It was during this period they learnt about my work. Joint Secretary of Pakistan wanted to acquire me immediately, but was told that I was in Australia, and could be back in September. That to him seemed too long.

I submitted my reports to Australia to be sent to UN Human Rights Commission. Then, I started with my work with Australian National University, Canberra's, Research School of Pacific Studies. I was working on Australian Foreign Policy. On return, Mr. Avtar Singh, Secretary, told me that my writing on Pakistan was one thing, but they cannot permit me to write on Australian Foreign Policy. If I criticise on the other party, they will have it: they knew that the Ministry of External Affairs had paid for my work. I had written two chapters, and to finish another three. Since, I have now been working on the Sikh history, I have forgotten writing anything about Australian Foreign Policy.

Indira Gandhi at Simla Conference on the night of July 1-2, 1972, lost her nerves and threw away the gains of 1970 war when she could not make Bhutto agree to make the 'line of actual control' as international borders on India-Pakistan. Bhutto straightaway started saying that even Prophet had to sign a type of Agreement that he had signed. It calls for another round. I had put on a paper to Joint Secretary, Pakistan saying that one year before the fall of Mecca, the Prophet found that his soldiers could be annihilated, so he agreed to a truce: the agreement was written by Ali, Prophet's nephew and son-in-law, wherein he at the bottom of the agreement, wrote Mohammad Rasool Allah. The Meccans said that That is our contention that you are not a Rasool Allah. The Prophet understood the point, and with his own pen cut out the words Rasool Allah and signed the agreement. After a year the Prophet's forces came and overwhelmed the Meccans. That was the point Bhutto was making to the people of Pakistan about his signing the Simla agreement, without conceding the cardinal point. My Joint Secretary (Pakistan) wanted me to withdraw the paper. I did not do so for three days. They did not want me to go back to Policy Planning and Review Division, and usher in this paper. Eventually, Mr. R.K. Kapur, a colleague and a friend wanted me to withdraw the paper and I did so.

Hitherto, the Chiefs of Armed Forces Committee had control over the policy planning apparatus. It was now taken over from the Chiefs of Armed Forces Committee to the Cabinet Secretary, with a senior IAS Officer to head the new Joint Intelligence Committee, as the Supreme Policy Planning body, with heads of 7-8 Intelligence agencies, apart from a member from Foreign Office. I, consequently in 1972 became an Alternate Member of the Joint Intelligence Committee with a meeting once a week; one

meeting in a month being held only by the Top Hierarchy. This made me to rub shoulders with a lot of persons from Intelligence set ups. Of course, R&AW was the principal actor in Indian foreign missions, but Intelligence Bureau had its primacy in internal affairs.

In early 1975, the Union Public Service Commission selected me as Director Joint Intelligence in Ministry of Defence. Before that, I had headed the very first 500 strong Jatha to Gurdwara Nankana Sahib (and was deputed to receive two Pakistani groups at Sirhind and Kalia Sharif, Roorkee district) in January and February in 1975. I told my Joint Secretary that I would like to go to Panja Sahib in April in 1975 and then join the Defence Ministry. The Jatha for Baisakhi constituted 2,000 persons. Apart from pilgrims, there were people from Pakistani police and paratroopers for security, etc. As it happened, there was a Cat Strike at Lahore railway station. This made Bhutto to engage over 400 buses to transport people from Wagah to Panja Sahib. I was at the Borders looking after the welfare of the pilgrims. We were the six people sponsored by Ministry of External Affairs for visa, viz. myself, my wife and three children, and my uncle who had retired from Armed Forces Headquarters, at a very senior position.

On the suggestion of Pakistani's concerning my security, we occupied three seats for us in a Bus. It was night when we started at Wagah. I suggested to Security Officer, I was feeling very tired, that if he permits, I could lie down on the top of the bus. He did so. We started from Wagah at sunset, crossed through Lahore, and reached Gujranwala. I found because of construction work, the two cities had become one. Moving further down, I found on my right Wazirabad, and I was now nearing Kharia where Pakistan had an underground Tanks field. By the time we crossed Ravi and Chenab, I looked at the bridges carefully. Our bus came to a halt. A Sepoy came up the top of the bus and said that this bus cannot move, unless I decide to come down. So I came down, and sat on my seat. My uncle said, how when other buses are moving on, our bus has put to a halt? I told him that these Security Personnel don't want me to have full view of the Kharia Underground Base. So we moved on, and after some time I had a sleep. I by now had crossed Jhelum, and reached Gujar Khan when I woke up. It was not long that we reached Panja Sahib.

One thing I noticed was that Pakistani side had a very good roads set up, four lanes, with appropriate bridges. At Punja Sahib, we were invited for the evening reception hosted by their Transport Minister. I spoke to him very highly of their roads, and bridges. I said I had seen through the four-lane new Bridge constructed at Chenab, but I had missed through the Jhelum. He said they have constructed four lane road from Lahore to Peshawar; they had widened new bridges at all the roads, including Jhelum and Indus. I had seen the type of road from Wagah to Lahore: I asked him what was about Landi Kotal where I said my father had contracts to supply meat to the British garrison in 1930s. He was delighted at listening to Landi Kotal and that I was well versed with the area. He said they had constructed the extended road from Peshawar to Landi Kotal too. During the British times, Landi Kotal, the last point in India, had a large No Man's Land, which was not the part of British Empire, nor of Afganistan. This was kept aloof, away from Kabul. Bhutto in 1971s started his forward policy, to extend area into No Man's Land. The No Man's land had a large element of Sikhs carrying on their business and living peacefully. Because of Pakistan's forward policy, some of the Sikh families were moved over to Nankana Sahib. I had visited them last in early 1970s.

On return to Pakistan, I joined in May 1975 as Director, Joint Intelligence in Ministry of Defence, which already had three intelligence agencies, namely, Directorate of Military, Air, and Naval

Intelligences. I paid a courtesy call on Director, Military Intelligence, headed by Maj. Gen. S.K. Sinha. I asked him what he thought of threat from Pakistan? He said, the forces from Kharian Underground Base will take two days to reach Wagah; his intelligence sources tell him that they will construct a new bridge at Chenab only in 1977. I told him that I had personally traveled by the road a month back, and I have travelled through the new bridge with four line road, as against 18 feet road available earlier. I told him the whole story, my talks with the Pakistani's Transport Minister. He wanted me to send him a note; I immediately sent a paper. I spoke to him ten days later. He said that now, their assessment was Pakistan could attack India within four hours: hence, they have entrusted their Pathankot Air Base to look at the Kharian Base late at night. That was result of my contribution. I thought, what type of intelligence agencies do we have? I have IB, R&AW, and Air Force Intelligence, apart from some others.

After two years, Ministry of Defence wanted to confirm me. I told them that theirs were a lousy organisation, and I would not like to continue there. They took a lot of time to release me.

On return in January 1978, I spoke to my people that I had had enough of Pakistan, and I wanted to do something different. They said, they had opened a Desk on Iran and I should go into what was going on there.

I accepted Iran as a challenge. I went through the top secret in secret papers, but I thought it was not sufficient. USA had a very close relationship with Iran, and Americans had produced a high level of works on multiple aspects of Iran's rich facet of life. There were multiple journalists and magazines. Since I could read 100 pages, with understanding in an hour, I went through a lot of literature. In six months, I produced a voluminous work on the current situation in Iran. I came to the conclusion in August 1978 that Shah of Iran was being overthrown by the religious hierarchy led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. My analysis was accepted by the Foreign Secretary, Jagat Singh Mehta, (of Rajasthan). By the time, Ayatollah Khomeini had shifted to Paris. In course of time, two eminent personalities and our Joint Secretary travelled by different flights and stayed at diverse hotels. Under top secret instructions to the Indian Ambassador, they were put into three different cars to converge at the place where Ayatollah Khomeini was staying. They conveyed him Government of India's well wishes &, and left his place separately. This was a well kept secret.

Ayatollah Khomeini arrived from France on February, 1 1979, (meanwhile Shah of Iran had left on January 17, 1979). My Joint Secretary said that he had been able to trace a person who was a student of Ayatollah Khomeini at Qom in good old days; the point was how to get him a Visa. This was around February 7/8, 1979. I told the Iranian Counsellor that some one had got a message of serious condition for his relative: he said "I will give him a Visa". As instructed, visa was issued to him. The next day the person came to see me and my Joint Secretary also came over to see me when we handed him the money from the secret funds for his expenses. To cut long story short, he was a success in reaching Qom and did the work entrusted to him.

Meanwhile, Ayatollah Khomeini appointed a Prime Minister on February 11, 1979, and the government set up by Shah collapsed. The revolution was a success. It was Sunday, February 11, 1979, Prime Minister Morarji Desai was in Andaman & Nicobar Islands, and Foreign Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, alongwith Foreign Secretary, Jagat S. Mehta were in Peking. Joint Secretary and I were in his office. Senior Vajpayee was a Secretary, and after a lot of time he came over from his home and soon got together in Joint Secretary's office. I was kept out of the conversation. The two sat together, produced one, two, three, four and eventually five drafts. He was a synic: the draft was eventually

approved. When the Joint Secretary showed me the draft, I straightaway disapproved it. I said, I knew that Shah of Iran had been of use to us in context of Pakistani antics at Islamic Conferences, etc., but now he has been overthrown, we should send a speaking message of our goodwill. Joint Secretary too thought of the same thing. He now took up the courage and rang up at Peking and discussed the issue with Jagat Mehta, he also mentioned of me. So we upturned the message approved by Bajpayee. We prepared another message. It was this message what was eventually sent to Khomeini.

I had a chance meeting with Atal Behari Vajpayee in the first floor corridor in South Block near Foreign Minister's office. I had never met Atal Behari Vajpayee and I think his security personnel must have identified me. As we faced each other, he raised his arm and held me in close embrace; he said that "I had produced a remarkable paper on Iran. Congratulations."

It was not common for recipients to respond to papers written. One Indian Ambassador wrote asking, "Why does Dr. Sangat Singh want Shah of Iran to be overthrown?" My answer was that I don't want him to be overthrown, what I have written is what I am foreseeing. And for foreseeing, I had always shown a higher echelon that caused heartburn as we shall see.

After the event a Counsellor at US Embassy in Sri Lanka, told our Counsellor there that there were only two Foreign Offices which had correct appreciation of events: one was French Foreign Office and the other was Indian Foreign Office.

Here was the case for Bharat Ratna, barred by Morarji Desai, a true Gandhian. i.e. a fraudulent character. For himself, he accepted Pakistan's highest award, *Nishan-i-Pakistan*, which also carried a cash award of Rs. one lakh. One can legitimately ask, what for was this award? The Americans had asked for permissions to overfly and also refuel the American Air Force aircraft to bombad to smithereens Pakistan's Kahuta nuclear plant project. Morarji Desai refused. But he accepted the award from Pakistan. Poor Sangat Singh got nothing, not even a two line letter that I had beaten both CIA and KGB, the premier intelligence agencies of the two super powers in my analysis not to talk of our R&AW.

A Diplomat from Japanese Embassy saw me and wanted me to move the Filipinos to grant me Magsaysay Award. Keeping in view the Indian Secret's Act, and a fact that I was a technocrat and not from Indian Foreign Office, I dissuaded him from the idea. Later, I learnt the photocopies of my papers had come to the hands of numerous intelligence agencies and almost all the governments. An Indian Foreign Service probationer allotted Persian Language, was also issued one. He went to Tehran and occupied the accommodation vacated by a senior officer. After a few days he was shifted to a proper accomodation for third secretary, and in the process he left behind the paper. The owner delivered it to the Iranian Foreign Office. They made a photocopy of it, and gave back the original paper to the Indian Ambassador. A Counsellor in Tehran told me that they were surprised to see after the event correctly analysing the Iranian imbroglio as if it was written after the event.

In June 1980, there was a top secret meeting convened by a new Foreign Secretary. He was from Gujarat. The invitees were two senior relevant professors from the Jawaharlal Nehru University, three top journalists, and Shri K. Subrahmanayam, from Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis. A Senior Officer took me along with him. I asked him if I had to take minutes of the meeting. He said, No; you just listen. The Foreign Secretary posted the problem. The two Professors from JNU, one after the other, spoke for some time, and endorsed the proposition. Then came the turn of three journalists, and all the three of them did the same thing, and spoke positively. The last to come was K. Subrahmanyam who too supported the proposition. Foreign Secretary's loop went up. Then, Foreign Secretary turned

to me and wanted me to express my opinion. I demolished in three minutes what all these six luminaries had suggested, and gave my reasons. On the face of it, I said it was an impossible and improbable proposition. Then tea was served to all of us and simultaneously started second round. Foreign Secretary asked two Professors of JNU one by one, both of them turned back their propositions and supported me. Then came the turn of three journalists. All went back what they had earlier said, and supported what I had submitted. Last came K. Subrahmanayam, Director for Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis. He too backed out, and said that what Dr. Sangat Singh had said was absolutely correct. All the six people were paid through envelope from secret fund, but I got nothing of it was the proposition made by me that was found ultimately suitable. Foreign Secretary's face faded. Foreign Secretary thought that a junior officer normally does not speak or make blah blah. I thought they were asking for my honest opinion. And so I spoke. It cost me heavily.

Nonetheless, Foreign Secretary told R&AW to go ahead with the project. In another four months it ended in a fiasco. By the time Iran-Iraq war had started over Shatt-al-Arab; a Committee consisting of non-aligned Foreign Ministers, Foreign Minister, Malmierca of Cuba as Chairman and Ministers of India and Yugoslavia were members. This made me as head of Iran desk to frequently see Foreign Secretary. He chose an IFS Officer dealing with Iraq. I was kept away from Non-aligned Foreign Ministers get-together. Though I was made to work hard to prepare papers for non-aligned Foreign Ministers, my new Joint Secretary said, Sangat; refuse to write papers if you are not interested in the work." But I went on. Foreign Secretary could not overcome my forthrightly expressing my opinion whenever I saw him. The rebuff India had got weighed heavily on him. He could not bear how a technocrat had a superior and explicit perception vis a vis IFS officers. He, therefore, issued orders in 1981 to abolish our cadre. Since our cadre had an identity with the persons from a long lasting Historical Division, that also stood abolished. They took a decision that once an incumbent retires, his post will be merged with the IFS. The existing persons will be given postings, to keep them away.

Jawaharlal Nehru got shoe-beating at the hands of Chinese in 1962, and as a result our Division was created in 1963 to do something different. Now a Gujarati had decided to abolish it, 18 years later despite my extra perceptory vision. It was beyond his comprehension.

From January 1978 to April 1982, I had paid seven more visits to Pakistan. It was well known that there was continuous smuggling activity, on both sides of the borders. Punjab Police, BSF, CRPF, and some other sections regularly participated in smuggling. With Indira Gandhi's induction of drugs in Pakistan, the trade gap widened, but induction of lot of items from India the trade gap widened. This led to induction of a series of Goldsmiths at the Gurdaspur borders, which provided an easy access to both sides.

After migration of Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab, only two Sikh families remained in Punjab. One family from Talah Gang lost its identity early in 1970s. The other family had three young children, two young men and one young daughter, in full Sikh shape in various ages in 20s, and were on regular visits to Lahore and Nanakana Sahib. They expected marriage proposals, but there were no offers for girls from India for marriage to a Sikh in Pakistan, and accept a Sikh girl from Pakistan. I saw them last in 1979 and 1980, but did not see them in 1981 onwards. This indicates they must have converted themselves to Islam.

There were 200 Hindus and Sikhs who chose to remain in North West Frontier Province and there were about 150 similar people in No Man's Land. Almost all Hindus chose to convert themselves to

Sikhism because it gave them a big image.²⁰ In Tirah area across Landikotal, the last point on the border, was one Dr. Mohar Singh, who had a good practice in medicines. He contacted me at Lahore, during June 1980, and mentioned that his son had qualified Inter at Karachi University, with Physics, Chemistry and Biology with approximately 55% marks in each subject; he wanted me to get him admission into MBBS. I told him that it was not possible for a man with such a low scoring to get into any Medical Institute. However, I suggested to him one solution: to approach Abdul Ghaffar Khan known as Badshah Khan, who could send a letter through his nephew to Indira Gandhi, to give his son a seat in MBBS. Dr. Mohar Singh acted soon. He was already on lookout to sell off his property and came over to Rajouri Garden, New Delhi. The letter reached Indira Gandhi, and instructions were passed on to me (as I was in charge of 11 medical seats- 6 for Iran, 3 for Afghanistan and two for Pakistan). I gave him a seat and he was admitted in October 1980 to Medical College at Amritsar.²¹

In 1981, when I visited Nankana Sahib in October-November, I found there were about 125 Sikh families that had shifted from No-Man's Land and NWFP at Nankana Sahib. Obviously, Pakistani armed forces had annexed the No-Man's Land, obviously because Soviet's had occupied Afghansitan.

After Nankana Sahib, we left for Punja Sahib. There I met Mr. I.H. (Ishtihaq Hussain) Qureshi, who had topped our school at Matriculation (and his name was mentioned at the Scroll). He was a Duty Magistrate at Punja Sahib. We were together in the school hostel. He said, Sangat take a police jeep and go over to your school.²² I was looking for my wife and children, and they were, I was told out on shopping. I told Mr. Qureshi that it was now getting late, next time when I visit, I will avail of the offer. I was at Punja Sahib for *Baisakhi*, April 1982. I had got clearance from my Joint Secretary for visiting my village. I told the Security people who looked after me, that this time my wife and children had not come, and I was accompanied only by my mother. I would like to visit our Village; he was aware of the offer made by Mr. Qureshi, who I was told would be soon on duty. I told them we shall take a taxi. He said, then there will be two persons from their side, one from police and another from security. I told the Halwai to prepare two very big baskets of *Ladoos*, for distribution at the village school next morning. My mother said, that if I should take over those *Ladoos* in the evening, Halwai might give me some concession. I cautioned her that if they say that there was some 'poison', I will have it. So the next morning, we alongwith the two persons from security and police were at the Halwai shop who was ready for the very big baskets of *Ladoos*; I made the balance payment and we started.

I found the general upkeep of roads in Pakistan was excellent. Our school, a distance of 10 kms was a *kachha* road with last two kms. consisting of ravines which were narrow. Now the entire road had been asphalted and duly broadened where needed. On reaching School, now a middle school, Headmasters met me accompanied by two security personnel representing the authority. Soon the Teachers got together and they collected the entire school to introduce me, as one who was a product of that School. I spoke to them how our Class was to be small, 15-20 students. The main emphasis was on *Kitab-Muraqa-Adab* Part I, II, III, IV, and Arithmetic from Second class. In Fourth Class we had to

²⁰ . Hari Singh Nalwa's image is mentioned evocatively by Gen. Mohammad Ayub Khan.

²¹ . Later he was married to Sindhi girl who did her MBBS from Karachi and came to India for marriage. Shortly afterwards his elder son was President, Gurdwara Sri Guru Singh Sabha, Rajouri Garden, a very powerful Gurdwara in the area .

²² . Khalsa High School, Sukho District. Rawalpindi, was one of the prominent school in the area.

learn only about North, South, East and West directions of our districts touching our area.²³ Ladoos were distributed. We had 'Lassi.' Thereafter we left for the Village, and we soon got out some persons well known to my younger brother. We saw our Mohalla had been fully demolished. My Mother said where was our house? I told her we were standing at the same place. It was here. On the back was the wall of the Village Nambardar. So we went to some Village persons, who knew my mother very well. The Sayyad of one of her sister were her friends. I took a round of the Village along with the person from Security. Very few people knew me. That was a part of life.

We left the village around noon, and took our meals on the way, at a house belonging to one of the security person's relative. We took back a different route by which we had gone. At a point, I wanted to take a drink. They put me to a halt. When I got out, I told them it was Rawat. I said we had been served some eatables at this very site by the Bride side at the age of 5, when I accompanied my father for marriage in the family. Earlier, we had taken the route of Mandra, a railway junction. I thanked Qureshi for doing something which cannot go out of my memory and that of my mother.

A select of visitors were taken to Murree to see President Zia-Ul-Haq at his Presidential Palace. As a matter of fact, the Presidential Palace was under construction, and it was a stop gap arrangement. Once it consisted of S. Gurbachan Singh, our Ambassador's father's house. In the evening, the gathering got together in the huge open space. We had a good look at the huge complexes that had come up for what had been earmarked as Pakistani's Capital. It was a memorable experience.

I reached Kabul by the end of April, 1982. Afghanistan was under Soviet Occupation. There were lot of restrictions in outer areas of Kabul. There was no point in going out to areas like Bamiyan, to see Lord Buddha's tallest statue.

Kabul had a sizeable Sikh population, with multiple Gurdwaras, and a Udasi Dera related to Bala Sri Chand. Karte Parvan had a big gathering of the Sikhs. The Indian Community was quite rich, and in course of time had splintered to USA, Canada, UK, and India. We had a big presence in Indian Embassy. Our relations were extremely good. We were considered one of the Donors, and there were a large number of students carrying on their studies mainly in Delhi with scholarships granted by us.

²³ . Born at Village Darkali, Khurd, Rawalpindi district, on June 30, corresponding to Asarh or Har 18, 1931 we were shortly shifted to Landi Kotal, where my father had contracts to supply mutton to British forces. I spent my childhood there amidst Pathan students. My mother got worried at my speaking more of Pushto and less of Punjabi. She brought me back to my village. We had a Sikh mohalla surrounded by Gurdwara which had few students. She used to give Bhai Sahib some money, who used to give one paisa each day for my studies. In four to five months I not only picked up the Alphabets, but also had started reciting *Japji Sahib*. Then, she got me admitted to the Primary School. The Head Master was a Brahmin. She told him about the date of my birth as 18 Har, he knew that *Har* comes after *Baisakhi*, so he wrote 18 May. Then he asked her, if he was 6 years of age. She said, not yet. So he did my year of birth as 1932. This is how my date of birth certificate stuck to me. After Primary, I joined my District Board's Anglo-Vernacular Middle School at Adhwal, a biggest village in district in Campbell. It was towards west of village on 6 kms away joined the Boarding House. When in 7th class, I was initiated to *Guru Granth Sahib*. Also, Punjabi was introduced as language in the school. After completing 8th class, I joined Khalsa High School, Sukho, towards North of my village, about 10 kms away. My father had told me to get Science, as he had a plan for me to go in for engineering in Roorkee University. It was a brilliant school, with 100 percentage in Maths, 90 percent in History etc. When we were back after *Dussehra*, it is common for the school hostel to change the Granthi and put in one from 9th class. I was *Granthi* of the School Gurdwara for 1945-46. I was to have a bath everyday. Some Superintendent of the school hostel, Master Sewa Singh, every morning came calling for me at around 4 a.m. After the bath, I was busy with my studies, till the morning, when I was to do Parkash at Gurdwara Sahib. The Sikh students, mostly came with their own gutkas when we joined together for morning path – *Japji Sahib, Jaap Sahib, Swayyas and Shabd Hazare*. I was required to perform Ardas, and took the *hukam*. Thereafter, the students would go for morning breakfast. The whole of Sikh students were getting together at the school, at initiation of early days and I had nothing to do with that. (The Muslim students, and Hindus mostly, were required to sing the prescribed songs). After the school time was over, I was required to perform a close ceremony for *Guru Granth Sahib*. Later, I was required to sit at a *thara* near hostel, and I was required to recite *Rehras*, and perform *Ardas*. Thereafter, the students were to depart to the Kitchen for their dinner. The hostel used to serve meat once a month- Jhatkas and Koshar for Sikhs and Muslims. There was never any problem.

Apart from a first grade Ambassador, we had a Counsellor, Four First secretaries, a number of Second and Third Secretary, Army and Air Attaches and other diplomatic staff, a couple of interpreters, and a host of other staff members. Then there were a lot of people from India attached to miscellaneous works in Afghan government. Last of all we had a Children's Hospital run by Indian Doctors.

Our work was going on quite smoothly. Around 1984, the Chinese Ambassador in Kabul invited the whole diplomatic staff of Indian Embassy for a dinner. Our Ambassador asked all of us to cancel other invitations, if any, and we presented a solid phalanx at the Chinese Embassy. They had a seven course dinner, with each course having sixteen-seventeen items. On the top of it was Mao Tai, a Chinese Royal Drink. It was a gala dinner.

The moment we reached our Embassy, we were all collected to Ambassador's office. He said, he was very much worried about the Chinese's intentions. They wanted to collect from us our secrets as we had good connections with the Soviet Union. Therefore, he wanted our diplomats not to accept single invitation unless it was dubbed with some of our other diplomats. I told him that yesterday, Chinese Prime Minister had arrived in Pakistan, and they wanted to signal to us that there was nothing anti-Indian in that. I told him that he had a stunt in Pakistan Division, and since you are destined to be sometimes Foreign Secretary, it would be better to have a stunt in China Division to understand how Chinese work. I told him that Chinese had control over a number of lakes spread over Afghanistan, wherefrom they had control over fisheries; it was some of fish produced from these sources, that they had served over to us. We don't have such sources. This made Ambassador to ask Counsellor to write to the Ministry about Chinese Prime Minister's visit to Pakistan, and their signal to us in the matter.

We had taken serious concern at the turn of events in Amritsar in June 1984. We had no confidence on what All India Radio was feeding us. The news coming through New Delhi were not supplied. When I heard of Bhindranwale's martyrdom on June 6, I asked my wife to prepare *Karah Prashad*, and we prayed to *Guru Granth Sahib*, that the group of martyrs had reached the Almighty Lord, and I took a decision to rewrite the Sikh history. Earlier, S. Hukam Singh of Kendriya Sri Guru Singh Sabha entrusted me to rewrite Sikh history and now I made it a firm resolve on news of S. Khushwant Singh's decision to renounce Padma Award. I thanked God that I had not got one.

Soon news came about the Operation Blue Star, and atrocities committed to Afghan Sikhs who happened to be in Amritsar as part of it. They passed through hellish, inhuman, monstrosity, before they were emplaned to Kabul. It was a Saturday and they went to *Karte Parvan Gurdwara* when they narrated barbaric and dreadful atrocities. In the Indian Embassy, we did not hold the full picture of the scene at Amritsar. I got a phone call from *Gurdwara Karte Parvan* to come over to the Gurdwara and listen over to their tale of woes. I ran up the Ambassador about the message that they wanted me to come over: I wanted to take him into confidence for doing so. He said, that I should take one Second Secretary from R&AW to accompany me. Earlier, it was headed by one Sardar Bedi Ji, and I could do so, but the new Second Secretary from R&AW to me was not acceptable, as to what do I tell them, and who knows what this man could report back. Instantly, I got a phone call from Ambassador, that he had spoken to R&AW's Second Secretary, he will accompany me to the Gurdwara. I told Ambassador that if he had no confidence in me, I would not go to the Gurdwara. Meanwhile, a lot of time had elapsed, and *Karte Parvan Gurdwara* people had gone to their houses. But I took it to my mind.

On Sunday, Ambassador spoke to some people from *Karte Parvan* and wanted them to come over and see him at 1 O'clock on Monday. Ambassador told me that I should also be present there. Some

people went over to Afghan Prime Minister and said that they were residents of Afghanistan, and were not from India. Why should he call us to see the Indian Ambassador? The Afghan Prime Minister wanted Indian Ambassador to come and see him at 1'O clock on Monday. So the meeting from Afghan nationals to Indian Ambassadors was called off. What happened between the Afghan Prime Minister and the Indian Ambassador was not known, but the message was quite clear.

This incident was rattling in my mind and shortly I wrote to Foreign Secretary in New Delhi asking for my recall, as I was not willing to serve any longer in Afghanistan. Afghanistan was a very lucrative posting, but I decide to make a sacrifice.²⁴ By the time my orders came, Ambassador was already in Delhi. He learnt of it from his secretary from Kabul. So I came back from Afghanistan by the end of August 1984, I rejoined immediately the Ministry. The Joint Secretary and Additional Secretary were pucca Punjabi Arya Samajis, and were on look out to fix me. But they could not find anything against me. They did not give me a placement, despite two Joint Secretaries wanted my placement in their Division. I was not bothered about that. On the news about the death of Indira Gandhi, I was present in South Block. It was generally said by Senior Officers, that since she had suffered multiple bullets, her body would immediately need cremation. They wanted me to look at the incoming of Iranian guests. I was therefore required to reach in the office at 8 a.m. on November 1st. The situation had of course become different with induction of Rajiv Gandhi. I was sitting the whole day of November 1st in the office of the person who was immediately the successor of R&AW. I spent two days in the Ministry of External Affairs and another two days at External Affairs Hostel. My wife and three children were in the house; since our name had been deleted from the Gurdwara electoral list because of our going away to Kabul and we were the only people in the area, we escaped from the hands of marauders. My son had completed his B.Com Hons from SRCC, and had joined Chartered Accountancy and was the only member at the house. Our coming back from Kabul, it seems was designed by God to serve as a protection to my son along with other members of the family. It was a great blessing of God's graciousness.

I was shortly put into XP Division, (External Publicity Division). I enjoyed the work. I had no medical problem, but somehow I felt something was amiss to me. It appeared in the press that the Government had approved Apollo Hospitals, Madras, for carrying out heart surgeries: it were the hospitals in UK and USA that were chosen by the MPs and these were very costly. I rang up the Joint Secretary, Health Ministry, as to whom could one choose for Heart surgery? He said there were three persons who could do it: these were: One, Director, AIIMS, New Delhi, Two, Pant Hospital, New Delhi headed by Khalilullah, and Three, Dr. Nigam of Wellington Hospital, New Delhi.

Dr. Nigam had earlier in 1984 was sent to Kabul by the Government to look into the heart problem of our Ambassador. At the time, I had invited all medical practitioners of Kabul and Indian Doctors present there, a good gathering of 50 of them, for dinner. I went to Dr. Nigam that with this heart I could not go to Ulan Bator; he suggested one test, Treadmill Test, and asked if you were found positive, I would have surgery. It did: he put it through his Director, and recommend to Apollo Hospital, Madras. I was in touch with the Head of Apollo Hospital, Madras, and was advised to come over some six months later on January 6, 1986. I was advised by some of the people who had got surgery that there were three doctors for surgical operations and they suggested me a particular doctor. On January 9, 1986, I was subjected to surgical operation. Seven parts of three different arteries were blocked. His No.2 Dr. V.

²⁴ . I had earlier quit the appointment as Director, Joint Intelligence in Defence Ministry.

Dixit put 3 cm long insertions in the arteries and Dr. M.R. Girinath did triple bypass. My recovery was very fast and the operation, instead of 25 days lasted for 11 days, when I was discharged from the Hospital. After recovery, I rejoined the office from March 1, 1986, with full strength. I never had heart attack before the operation and never had since then till now. I had a stroke in April 2016 and my weight went down to 60 kgs, but is now normal at 65 kgs.

In 1984, one Director had retired and two others soon left on postings. Consequently I was the senior most officer left after our Joint Secretary. All other officers were Under Secretaries or subordinates. There were shortage of Directors for over a year, when another officer joined. This made me to look after all sections, and also look over the Parliament work. Prime Minister was involved in opening of Cultural centres at various missions abroad, and our Joint Secretary invariably accompanied him. This made me a couple of times, to brief Foreign Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao on the given subject. He also came to know of my potentiality.

There was a regular Hindi Committee meeting relating to two Houses of Parliament concerning External Affairs. It had thirty members – twenty from Lok Sabha and ten from Rajya Sabha all members of Congress. They made two special propositions: One, the Foreign Minister should deliver in Hindi his address to the U.N. General Assembly, and Two, to install upto four portraits of Hindi Literateurs in various missions abroad. Foreign Minister seemed reluctant. He said that Atal Bihari Vajpayee had once done so, and it was a very costly affair, with arranging payments towards various translators, and he was not in favour of installation of portraits at various missions. At my presence at Hindi Committee Meeting, they raised the issue, as to how was a Turbaned Sikh being present. The Hindi Officer asked me as to why you are present? I asked him, you are asking me, so I am present. I told him that he should see out his records, how was my predecessor invited. So for two months he did not send me any invitation. He, however told me that Foreign Minister had agreed to both the demands. He sent me a note to suggest which of the upto four Hindi Literateurs could be nominated. I took hardly a day and put down a one-and-a-half page note. I said Hindi was earlier known as Braj Bhasha and its founder and father figure was Amir Khusro (1253-1325). He was a great exponent of Brij Bhasha which were included in his qawali of which he was also the inventor. Second was Sur Das (D.1584) who is termed as Sky In The Ocean. Third was Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khana (Akbar's Courtier), whose *dohas* are widely recited all over the Hindi world. And last of all could be Guru Gobind Singh who was termed as the biggest exponent of Hindi literature in 17th Century. I sent it quickly back to Hindi Officer. He put the note to his Joint Secretary and through his Secretary, it went to Foreign Minister, who wrote "Approved". This one and a half page, with covering note containing "approval" of Foreign Minister was circulated to Ministry of External Affairs, Hindi Committee Members, who lost their wits. They immediately withdrew their proposition. They also withdrew their objection to my attending the Hindi Committee meetings.

In the spring of 1987, I had another colleague, a Bengali well versed in Bengali Literature and we worked in close collaboration. We were heading towards two International Conferences. One was at Harare in June and other at Peru in August. We made a neat division; Harare for him and Peru for me. So, we went together to go to hospital to get him Yellow Fever Injection. They said that this injection can be administered to two persons together otherwise the second half will go waste. I pointed out that I too was going to Peru, a Yellow Fever area, and I too can be given the other half of injection. So we together had Yellow Fever Injection. It was not long that issue of Tamil problem in Sri Lanka framed up. Sri Lanka had been surrounded by Indian Navy. R&AW was not willing to put out one of their officers at

High Sea. It was eventually decided to put my colleague into the High Sea to carry out the negotiations. This came out to be a prolonged affair. Eventually, he sent a message that he had been out of sleep now for two weeks, and it would not be possible for him to go to Harare. He recommended that Dr. Sangat Singh, who had Yellow Fever Injection, along with him, should be sent instead.

During this period, Indian sources made a landing in Sri Lanka.²⁵ There was an Information Ministers Conference at Harare, and our delegation consisting of Information Minister, A.K. Panja, his Personnel Secretary, his Joint Secretary Mr. Baidwan, a Senior Correspondent, and myself from External Affairs. We had a night halt at Frankfurt. There we had a chance of meeting with their Delegations from Sri Lanka. It was not headed by Minister, but one from their Information Ministry. We told him that what was happening between us was very unfortunate, but we should see to it that this issue was not raised at Harare Conference. He agreed. We told our Minister of what had been agreed between us.

Harare had a big complex: it consisted of a 5-star Hotel, and a huge Conference Hall with multiple facilities. Once we checked in our rooms, we were willing to face the media and Harare TV. First to come was a Lady who asked only relevant questions for 4-5 minutes, and thereafter another person who confined only for 3 minutes. Now, came the Harare TV authorities. The questions and Mr. Panja's answers went about for 24-25 minutes. In this, he was asked for and Panja went on answering about the India-Sri Lanka problem in current aspects. I was disturbed at the level of discussion. I wrote a note to his Joint Secretary, Baidwan, that "this will not go". He said back on a slip, "He is trying to complicate problems back at home". The moment interview stopped, I left at the person recording the interview and said that if this interview was broadcast, our relations with Zimbabwe would plummet. [The problem was not about our relation with Zimbabwe but furore it would have raised at the very start of the conference at the instance of Pakistan]. Panja was caught in the web, looked askance. But soon he understood that something had gone amiss, and kept quiet. I told them we will pay for the cassette, and wanted them to re-record the interview only concerning the theme of the conference. Eventually, they relented and let us have the cassette. They re-recorded the interview for 4-5 minutes, and the matter was over.

Soon, the matter reached the Correspondent of PTI, who was present and knew what had happened. Since Information Ministry pays a lot of money to PTI, Panja too inserted pressure on PTI not to carry out the news. (At the Peru Conference, I met the Chairman of PTI, he said Sangat you were making the news, and we were busy in killing it. He said, it was a big news that a junior officer of another Ministry (of External Affairs) had seized the cassette of another Minister. It was really a big news, but we eventually killed it). The next day when I met Mr. Panja, (the other members were busy in conferences)

²⁵ . In parenthesis, it was a very unjust war. Indira Gandhi had instigated Tamil people in Sri Lanka vis a vis Buddhists. A person, who was an Army Officer and later one from R&AW told me that he had been instrumental in training them in Warfare. Tamils were getting money and armaments. A time came, they wanted Rs 500 crores to meet their requirements, and they were promised that. But actually what they got were only Rs 300 crores; there could be pilferage in various sources. The Tamil movement had gained strength; now Indira Gandhi feared them. They thought Tamils from Tamil Nadu would seek secession to join the greater Tamil Nadu. Hence, this campaign was against Tamils in 1987. And, who were deputed to suppress them? It were the Sikh Light Infantry (SLI) who were in intact after 1984, and Rajiv Gandhi thought he will kill two birds with one action. In the very first action, the SLI was very badly mauled, and withdrew, but shortly afterwards it was reintroduced in Sri Lanka. Buta Singh was kept in harness as a surrogate. It remained till his last, after Rajiv's overthrow, when the new Government withdrew them from Sri Lanka. This made LTTE to regroup its forces, and on May 20, 1991, it blew up Rajiv Gandhi without leaving a trace of him, by a human bomb known as Dhanu (the blessed one - real name Kalaivati) of LTTE at Madras. A RAW - issues a agent a mole Gopalaswamy Mahendrarajan alias Mahattaya in January 1993 his Jaffna eliminated Prabhakaran, Commander Kittu, seized Mahattaya, tortured for weeks and died. Thus, in course of time, Sri Lanka broke through Tamil resistance in 2000, including extermination of lot of Tamils Cf. Manmohan Sharma, What Ails the Indian Army, (Gautam Budh Nagar, 1998), ad. passion. Times of India Aug 16, 2016.

at a reception. He said what you have done is very well. His Personal Secretary told him that Dr. Sangat Singh had saved his job; earlier, Mr. Bhagat, Minister of External Affairs, had lost his job at the instance of PM. My worry was that this news should not be bared, otherwise my Joint Secretary (Administration) who was a pucca Punjabi Arya Samaji and who was already looking for a plank to sack me, would try to find something amiss without rhyme or reason.

I was a member of Non-Aligned News agencies Conference in August 1987 at Peru, Latin America, when I was elected as Rapporteur General of the Conference. It was led by Chairman, PTI, and two other members from Information Ministry, and myself from XP Division. I simply was a delegate at annual conference in October 1988 in Indonesia. In between a representative of Information Ministry and me were at a Radio Conference at Larnaka, Cyprus.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi paid three visits to Pakistan during 5 years of his tenure. Everytime his Information Advisor called for a policy paper on Pakistan. My Joint Secretary gave me hardly 30 hours to prepare a paper, i.e. a paper asked for at 10 a.m. in the morning would be ready by 5 p.m. at the maximum next day. And, I was ready for 10-12 pages of material on the relevant subject. I never met the Information Advisor, (he might have seen me at Vigyan Bhavan Conference but I don't know), and was seeing Prime Minister at Rajiv Gandhi International Conferences, held at Vigyan Bhavan, but never had one-to-one meeting with him. I avidly recollect paper on Prime Minister's visit to Peshawar on the news of death of Badshah Khan / Bacha Khan, named Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, despite security scare raised to stall his attendance by Zia-ul-Haq. I wrote that Badshah Khan had a greatest contribution in freedom struggle especially in NWFP and Baluchistan, keeping in view the type of people he led, on dawn of freedom, he said, "We have been thrown to wolves". He had suffered throughout his life, despite his compromising his principles and accepting Pakistan. But it was never accepted. It was under such circumstances, Rajiv Gandhi conferred on him *Bharat Ratna*, for the year 1987. There was no talk of 'Bharat Ratna' till Badshah Khan's death; the question arose, only at my note which raised the issue, and clinched the award.

There was a heated argument between Joint Secretary Pakistan and Joint Secretary, XP, JS (Pak) said that the Ministry's paper was approved by Foreign Secretary. Who is Dr. Sangat Singh to give another paper on Pakistan. My Joint Secretary said that Media Advisor gets a paper from Dr. Sangat Singh, and he forwards it to one Media Advisor without changing a coma. So far Dr. Sangat Singh is concerned, he is internationally known expert on Pakistan. Pakistan Division was not reconciled to conferring Bharat Ratna on Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan. But once Government announcement is publicly made, one had to honour it.

The Joint Secretary (Admn) was adamant not giving me a posting. I put up papers in 1989, giving 90 days notice, seeking retirement. I wrote to Dr. Bhagat Singh, Vice Chancellor, Punjabi University, Patiala, seeking an appointment as Professor. In 1973, the then Vice Chancellor was offering me a Professorship, but soon made up his mind saying that I cannot be put above Dr. Kirpal Singh, who was only a Reader. So I dedined. Now, fifteen years later, when I was on a verge of producing a magnum opus on the Sikh History, he wrote back that they can offer me only a Readership.²⁶ By the time, Foreign

²⁶ . In 1996, I had a chance meeting with Dr. Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia, Vice Chancellor, Panjabi University, Patiala at Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan and he offered me D.Litt Degree. I declined for various reasons.

In April 1998, when the *Sikh Review*, Calcutta, published a letter from Canada and mentioned one clean shaven Sikh turning to be a Gur Sikh at Toronto, while two others such Sikhs in Edmonton, Canada, becoming *amritdhari*.

Minister came across my papers, and called me as to why I wanted to retire. He suggested, I should withdraw my resignation and go to a small posting before retirement. I wanted a posting as Consul General at Basra, but the authorities put me up to Baghdad. On reaching, I realised Guru Nanak Sahib probably wanted me there. I brought out new information on Guru Nanak's visit to Baghdad which was not earlier available.²⁷

This was the period of fasting for the Muslims. It was well known who were the people who had shown an interest in Guru Nanak. Imam of the Oldest Mosque in Baghdad, some Professors and some Journalists had made their contribution to Guru Nanak. I therefore chose eight such persons who could be invited to Iftar party and chose a Sikh employee who was well versed in Arabic. I said he will today talk only about Guru Nanak. Hence, my first diplomatic party was confined to such persons.

In Baghdad, there was a plaque which was discovered in 1917 by the Sikh soldiers sent there during the first World War. It was a great discovery made by them. Earlier Bhai Gurdas had made a mention of Guru Nanak's staying amidst a grave yard, in the company of a Sufi Darvesh. Every Friday (public holiday) there was a *kirtan*, recitation of Gurbani, when *guru ka langar* was served freely. The employees of numerous Indian Companies, would use the huge gatherings for social interaction, and were supplemented by Pakistani pilgrims to Shrines in Iraq. All of them enjoyed the Indian *dal, roti, vegetables and pudding (khir)*, that was administered regularly. For services of *langar*, the space had been widened to cover more area. In the autumn of 1989, some people had met President Saddam Hussain of Iraq and complained that the graves of their ancestors, which were there, had been removed. In Islam, grave had a different connotation. Consequently, the regular weekly *kirtan* was stopped and so was the *langar*. There was general ban for Indians to go over there. The move for restoration of graves restarted and the complex which consisted of the main room of about 14'x 8', and the outside hall were also subjected to some changes. Feeling disturbed, without prior consultations with the Ambassador, I took my diplomatic car three weeks later, and walked amidst the considerable staff doing construction work. I thought that the maximum they could do was to object to my visit, prevent me from going any further, and declare me persona non grata, to leave the country in a week's time. I was willing for that. Our Ambassador was a Punjabi Mohyal Brahmin who traced his background to Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das. I briefed him about the undesirable changes being wrought. He took up the matter with the Iraqi authorities immediately before Auqaf Department could do so in the matter. So, I continued my forays into the shrine almost every three weeks. They knew that I was an Indian Diplomat but the worst did not happen.

In 2004, Foreign Secretary stated that they had no indination to what was happening in Nepal. He thought if someone like me was there, he could have produced a paper, telling something different. For instance, I wrote in 2009 for the *Sikhs in History* that "a Gujarati is coming over at the Centre either at

Dr. Harbhajan Singh Soch, Vice Chancellor, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, wrote a very beautiful letter and avocatively reffered of Bhai Gurdas's letter about such people. I felt that he wanted to award me D.Litt. But, I chose not to respond to his letter because I was not willing to go in for D.Litt.

Later, Prof. Noel Q. King, in his Foreword to the 4th edition of *The Sikhs in History* wrote in 2001; "Sardar Sangat Singh proves himself among those few who in masterly style have set forth a comprehensive and rounded account of the history of this remarkable nation..... It becomes immediately clear that this book stands in the upper echelons of the genre, taking its place with the greatest of the works which have followed from the days of Cunningham and Macauliffe."

In November 2013, *International Gurmat Vichar Sammelan (Conference)*, UK, at a congregation at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, New Delhi, conferred on me the title of being a **Mahan Sikh Itihaskar – Great Sikh Historian**.

²⁷. Cf *The Sikhs in History*, Ch.2, fn. 14-15

the strength of BJP or insensitive people like Badal, and cause conditions that would accelerate overthrow of Brahminical rule". This was published in 2010 edition of *The Sikhs in History* and reproduced in 2014. A lady came over to me in 2014 and told me that she had been sent by Sonia Gandhi to ask me how can we stop Modi. I told her that neither you can stop him nor retard him.

There was news about Modi's forthcoming published in *New York Times*, and some UK papers. This earlier. Even in 2014 this projection was not mentioned neither by any of Indian agencies, nor by a select international agencies, to whom this information was provided. Modi is going into his third year; it is not advisable for me to say anything more.

Appendix 1

JAPJI SAHIB

I

When was *Japji* composed? There is some controversy about it. That, however, is immaterial. It is certain, that *Japji* was not composed at a time. Its different meters and the variation in length of various stanzas point to its being a compilation, rather than being a composition. The bits of stanzas were composed by Guru Nanak at different times. When these were brought together in the form of *Japji* cannot be said with certainty. On the authority of Bhai Gurudas (1560-1639 A.D.), *Var 1*, it is however known that when Guru Nanak settled at Kartarpur (around 1521), the daily routine of Sikhs consisted of recitation of *Japji* in the morning.

Since then the recitation of *Japji*, at the ambrosial hours of the morning has constituted the regular feature of Sikh life. It is never sung as a hymn with musical instruments. It is a poem of surpassing beauty, which the devotee remembers by heart and recites. It is in the form of meditation and provides a great inspiration and solace to the followers of Guru Nanak.

The *Japji* is a key to the *Adi-Granth*, and an epitome of its doctrines.

1 The Invocation

1 OANKAR sati namu karta purakhu nirbhau nirvairu akal murati ajuni saibhan gur prasadi.

The *Adi-Granth*, the sacred book of Sikhs, popularly known as *Guru Granth Sahib*, opens with the Invocation, given above in Roman script, which succinctly sums up Guru Nanak's concept of God. In its entirety, the Invocation is known as *Mul Mantra*, the basic precept, which in short gives the essence of the cumulative teachings of the Sikh Gurus and various Bhaktas in the *Adi-Granth*. The whole of the *Adi-Granth* may be said to be a commentary and elucidation of the Invocation, which in its entirety, or in an abbreviated form, is repeated time and again in the *Adi-Granth*.

The Invocation has been translated and interpreted variously by the different Sikh and non Sikh scholars. Principal Jodh Singh, with whom Prof. Sahib Singh and Bhai Vir Singh broadly agree, paraphrases it as follows:

"This Being is One. He is Eternal. He is Immanent in all things and the Sustainer of all things. He is the Creator of all things. He is Immanent in His Creation. He is without fear and without enmity. This Being is not subject to Time. He is beyond birth and death. He is Himself responsible for His own manifestation. (He is known) by the Guru's grace."

M.A. Macauliffe in his monumental work *The Sikh Religion* has given three translations of the Invocation which vary only in one respect – the translation of the term *gur prasadi*. The translation at page 35 of the *Sikh Religion, Volume I*, reads: "There is but One God whose name is True, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and bountiful." At page 218 of the same Volume, the term 'bountiful' has been

replaced by the word 'beneficent' while at an earlier place at page 195, in deference to the opinion of the majority of the learned Sikhs consulted by him, two words *gur* and *prasadi* (great and bountiful), were joined together as one word, and translated "by the favour of the Guru."

The Invocation, however, consists of fourteen monosyllables. Each word is distinct from the other, a unit in itself and gives an attribute of God. From the view-point of Sikh theology, it would be of interest to determine the meaning of these monosyllables. The most important of these are the first two, 1 and *Oankar*, which are being dealt with in detail.

1. The first word in the Invocation is the digit 1 (not in words). This digit is commonly pronounced in Panjabi as *ik*, but Guru Nanak himself has pronounced it as *ekankar* :

ekam ekankar nirala. (Alpha, *ekankar* is unique – unlike any one else). Bilawal M(ahala) 1, Thitti, (1), *Adi-Granth* (A.G). page 838.

Again, *hari simri ekankar saca, sabhu jagatu jini upala*. (Contemplate God, the *ekankar*, the Eternal, who created the whole universe.) Tukhari M. 1, (6), A.G. 1112-3.

Bhai Gurdas, ameneuses to Guru Arjan in compiling the *Adi-Granth*, who was the first to write commentary on the Sikh scriptures, and whose hymns were termed by Guru Arjan as key to the *Adi-Granth*, has elucidated, firstly about the pronunciation of the digit 1, and secondly that the two words 1 and *oankar* are quite distinct, beyond any shadow of doubt:

eka ekankaru likhi dikhalia, ura oankar pas bahalia. (The digit 1 was written and shown as *ekankar*; *Ura* as *oankar* was placed along by). VARS, 3-15.

Again, *ekankar ikang likh, ura oankar lakhaia* (Writing *ekankar* distinctly, *ura* was deciphered as *Oankar*). VARS, 39-1.

What is the meaning of *ekankar*? *Ekankar* is combination of three words, *ek* plus *an* plus *kar*. *Ek* means one; *an* stands for infinity, and *kar* means 'the Only'. *Ekankar*, therefore, means the One Infinite Only, or the Only Infinite One.

Guru Nanak's emphasis on 1 emanated from two aspects of his thinking. One, that He is One only, and there is no other to equal Him. Words may change their meanings and concepts in course of time, but the connotation of a numeral is always the same and unchangeable. It emphasises the unity of God in unmistakable terms. Guru Nanak's emphasis on 1 was because the populace had forgotten the One God, and was running after the minor gods and goddesses who were His creation.

Two, Guru Nanak used the digit 1 and not the word, as he wanted to emphasise that the Universe had emanated from One God and not from the zero, or void, the state of dispassion, or lifeless, unconscious matter. Guru Nanak has, in Rag Maru (*Adi-Granth*, pages 1023-38), elucidated that before the beginning of the creation, there was nothing but chaos and chaos for aeons of years, but even at that time the Only Infinite One was there, and He was wrapt in Himself in His eternity, in absolute trance, was alone and detached, had no rival, and sat in judgement over Himself. Only His Order, *Hukam*, prevailed, and He created Universe out of Himself.

According to Guru Nanak, the Universe sprang from the Only Infinite One, out of His Absolute Self, and He breathed His own light into His creation. In his primal form, he was *Nirguna* unmanifest, and when he revealed Himself in His creation, He became *Sarguna*, manifest.

Oankar : The second word in the Invocation is *Oankar*. This also sometimes is written as *Oamkar*, which, however, is not correct. Guru Nanak himself in his hymn *Dakhani Oankar* spells out the word as *Oankar*.

Swami Vivekananda would make us believe that the word *oankar* is of Vedic origin. He wrote : *Oankar is the most holy word of the Vedas. A symbolic word meaning the Supreme Being, the Ocean of Knowledge and Bliss Absolute.*

But the Sanskrit shape of the word was ॐ and later this got two other forms ॐN and ॐm all of these are pronounced *Om*. In his *Dakhani Oankar*, Guru Nanak spells it as *Onam*. If n is taken as nasal sound, it would pronounce as *Om*.

All these three forms were considered holy, an attribute of Almighty, and an object of concentration in prayer. According to certain interpretations Om consisted of three alphabets, A (a), a (o), and m (m). These three were interpreted to represent the Hindu trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva.

Guru Nanak adapted the word oankar a and gave it distinct shape and meaning. It is combination of two words: oan plus kar. Oan means the Supreme Being (God), and kar means 'the Only'. Guru Nanak's emphasis was on the Only Supreme Being (God), who had no rival or equal to Him.

Guru Nanak rejected the theory of incarnation, but retained the use of words Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, and also many others, to illustrate the different and varied aspects of Almighty's functions, in the language understandable to the people.

By combining the first two monosyllables, we get the word 1 *Oankar*, the Only Infinite One, the Only Supreme Being (God), from whom emanated the Universe. 1 oankar, therefore, is known as the *bij mantra*, the basic formula in Sikhism, which is the subject of meditation.

Sati: The literal translation is Truth. But in context of the sum total of Guru Nanak's testament, it would be apt to translate it as Eternal. It is only God who has no beginning, no end, is not subject to change. He was, is, and shall for ever be alike.

Namu: The literal translation is The Name, rather the Divine Name. In Sikh theology, *Namu* for all practical purposes is synonymous with *Sabad* (Word). Divine Name is not something distinct from the Almighty. It instead is revelation of, and coextensive with, the Infinite One. It is expression of the nature and being of God in terms comprehensible to human understanding. According to Guru Nanak, before creation of the Universe, there was the Infinite One engrossed in Himself in trance in His True Name, His True Glory and His True Throne. When He created the Universe, He breathed his own light in his creation. In *Japji* (19), Guru Nanak says: "Whatever He created was (manifestation of) His Name; There is no place where His name does not pervade." *Namu*, therefore, is the Universal Light or Spirit which is all-pervading and immanent in all His creation.

Besides, *Namu* is object of meditation. The contemplation of the Divine Name helps in realisation of the Lord in self. The *Namu*, kindles the inner light and helps in its mingling with the Supreme Light.

The Name of God and names of God are quite distinct and are not to be confused. The *Adi-Granth* uses various names of God prevalent at the time, such as Bhagvan, Gobind, Gopal, Ishwar, Ram, Allah, Rabb, Rahim, Khuda, but these are not essential. *Namu* is the total expression of God, manifest and unmanifest. It is expression of His Light or Spirit which is immanent in His creation.

The two syllables, *Sati* and *Namu* combined are known as *Nam Mantra*, and its recitation is ordained in the Sikh scriptures.

Karta: God is the Creator. He created the Universe. Before the creation of Universe, the power of creation lay in the Supreme Being unmanifest. In his long poem, *Dakhani Oankar*, Guru Nanak has dwelt upon the attributes of his Supreme Being, who is also the creator and spread His light in His creation. The Creator is indistinct from God. There is no Parallel to Him. He is omnipotent. Through His powers are winds, water and fire; and the earth is created out of dust. All is through His power, for He is the Creator Lord. His Name is the holiest of the holy.

Guru Nanak in this respect differed from all six schools of Hindu philosophy which either placed God as coeval with others like Soul, *Prakriti* or *Maya* in bringing about the creation, or otherwise relegated the position of God as the Creator.

Purakhu: The word is of Sanskrit origin and means He who is All-Pervading; who pervades in each and every particle. In context of human body, the word *Purakhu* gives the meaning of Soul, and in context of the Universe, it means God. Its literal meaning is Person. In *Adi-Granth*, the word *Purakhu* has been used in various contexts meaning person, man, great man, God, Soul, All-Pervading.

Guru Nanak has used adjectives to illustrate the attributes of the *Purakhu* who is the only Eternal entity, distinct from other persons. He is from the very beginning (adi purakh), All Pervading and Eternal (sat purakh), Creator (karta purakh), Immortal (akal purakh), and without the duality of maya (niranjan purakh).

Purakhu, as such, is the Universal Mind or Soul (*Parmatma*) which is omnipresent and omniscient. The human mind or soul (*atma*) formed part of the Universal Mind or Soul before it was parted, and is eager for communion. Guru Nanak has used this simile to delineate God as the supreme bridegroom and His creation as the bride eager to meet Him.

Purakhu therefore is that Being, Mind or Soul which is All-Pervading.

Nirbhau: Literal meaning is Without Fear. The word is to be interpreted in sum total of Guru Nanak's testament. In *Var Asa*, (*Adi-Granth* 464-5) the hymn 4 illustrates the meaning of the word. "In His fear, nay discipline, is the Universe, the wind, rivers, fire, earth, sun, moon, stars, wrestlers, divine heroes, demigods. The writ of Lord's discipline is over the heads of all. The Formless One, Eternal, is alone without fear or discipline of any other. He alone is 'fearless,' all other incarnated gods, demigods, are dust before him." *Nirbhau*, therefore, means Sovereign. He alone is the Sovereign and the whole universe, the globe, the galaxies and nether regions, move within His discipline, as ordained by Him.

Nirvairu: Literally means Without Enmity, but the translation does not seem to be apt in context of Guru Nanak's hymns. The Infinite Lord is the Supreme Being, without parallel. He is Sovereign and the Universe is in His discipline. There is no equal to Him. Therefore, there is no question of His having an enemy to challenge Him. *Nirvairu*, in this context, means that he is without inner contradictions, or inconsistencies which pull Him apart. *Nirvairu*, therefore, means Harmonious.

Akal: Literally, it means Timeless. He who has a beginning, has an end. The Almighty is without beginning and has no end. He is not subject to birth or death. He is not encompassed within the limits of Time. *Akal*, therefore, means immortal.

Murti: Being Immortal, the Supreme Being is not without form. He is both *nirgun*, unmanifest, and *sargun*, manifest. It is in the latter form that he can be expressed in definite shape.

In *Adi-Granth*, *Akal* and *Murti* have come together at a number of places to give the meaning, the Being who is Immortal. He is embodied, but it is His spirit that lies in His products. The Almighty embodies in finite forms but is Himself Infinite. *Murti*, therefore, means Embodiment.

Ajuni: The Almighty is beyond the pale of birth and death. There is no cause of His coming into being. "He has neither father, nor mother, nor sons, nor kins, nor wife, nor lust." Guru Nanak rejects the Hindu doctrine of incarnation of God in human form. "He works through all ages; He is always Harmonious, He is not involved in strife, nor comes nor goes." *Ajuni*, therefore, means non-incarnated, or un-incarnated.

Saibhan: Self-existent. There is no cause for His existence. He is not produced from some other being. He is Himself the cause and effect of His existence. He is produced from the Self.

Gur: Who was Guru Nanak's Guru? There is no other answer than God Himself. Here, Guru Nanak described Him as *Gur*, the teacher, preceptor, enlightener. Guru Nanak has used the word *Gur* for the Infinite One.

Prasadi: Bountiful. Guru Nanak here describes the element of Grace in God. It is from this aspect of His personality, that Guru Nanak develops his doctrine of Grace. Other equivalents used are *kirpa*, *nadar*, *karam*, *bakhshish*, *bhana*, *daya*, *mehar*, and *taras*. All these have some degree of difference in interpretation.

Prasadi is the positive form of his attribute, that He is the Giver. "His many bounties cannot be recorded: He is a great giver and has no particle of covetousness" (*Japu*, 25, *Adi-Granth*, page 5).

Gurprasadi: The Sikh theologians, and following them the European scholars have joined the two words to give the meaning 'By the grace of Guru'. In *Adi-Granth*, this expression does occur and the interpretation 'by the grace of Guru' is also correct. In Sikh theology, there are ten *Gurus*, and the light of the first Guru premeated the following ones, and that light now vests in *Adi-Granth*. As such, *Gurprasadi* is interpreted as, by the grace of Guru's word, which is contained in *Adi-Granth*.

This, however, is a development later to Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak in the Invocation gave in monosyllables the attributes of God of his conception. In the Invocation, the interpretation 'by Guru's grace' would be incorrect.

The Invocation: In short, the *Mul Mantra*, the Invocation, as translated above reads:

The Only Infinite One, the Only Supreme Being, the Eternal, the Universal Spirit, the Creator, the All-Pervading, the Sovereign, the Harmonious, the Immortal, the Embodiment, the Un-incarnated, the Self-existent, the Enlightener, the Bountiful.

2 The Japji

JAPU popularly known as *Japji* or *Japji Sahib* has the privilege of being the first testament following the Invocation in *Adi-Granth*. *Japji* has two *slokas*, one in the beginning, the other at the end, and in between are contained 38 *pauris* (stanzas).

1 The Theme

Japu means meditation. The object of meditation is God whose concept is deciphered in the *Mul Mantra*, the Invocation. Since, technically speaking, *Mul Mantra* does not form part of the *Japji*, Guru Nanak has elucidated the object of meditation in the first *sloka*. It is the Supreme Being who was Eternal in the beginning before the Time started in the Primal age, is now and would be for all times to come.

In the very first stanza, Guru Nanak raises two pertinent questions: "How is the Truth to be attained? How is the veil of falsehood to be torn aside?" These are two sides of the same coin. *Japji's* theme revolves around the answer to the twin-problem. In the process Guru Nanak dwells on the existing religious practices, his concept of God and enunciates his doctrine of *Nam-Japna*, meditation on His Name, for communion with the Almighty, as light mingles with light and water mingles with water.

2 On Existing Religious Practices

Guru Nanak makes specific mention of some of the existing religious practices and totally rejects them or declares them inadequate for achieving the union with God.

In Guru Nanak's times, the people in northern India were either following traditional form of religion by performing pilgrimages to holy places and making offerings and obeisance to various gods and goddesses, or were under the spell of *Naths* and *Yogis* who had a considerable sway, especially in the Panjab. Guru Nanak sets both these paths aside.

He contends that unity with God cannot be achieved by pilgrimages and austerities, as also by showing mercy and giving charity which, however, bring some merit, but are not sufficient in themselves as a driving force.¹ The external cleaning of body by bathing myriads of times at holy places leads nowhere. Fasting does not cure craving for worldly goods, which rather gets accentuated.²

The traditional Hindu belief about the trinity, Creator, Preserver and Destroyer in Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva is unreal and without foundation as these gods have no separate entity. It is His Will that only prevails and they function within His discipline.³ Nay, God is Himself the Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, Parvati (Shiva's consort), Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth, Vishnu's consort) and Maya, in subtle conjunction with whom Brahma is supposed to have brought about the creation.⁴ He performs all these functions, and there is no other separate entity. He is all alone and all in all.

Similarly, Guru Nanak sets aside the doctrine of *Naths* and *Yogis*. God cannot be achieved by the vow of silence and going in a trance. Myriads of devices and clevernesses which formed an essential form of their tenets, are of no avail and not even one would help in obtaining access to Him.⁵ The extension of life span to four ages, nay ten times more, by the *Hath Yoga*, and attainment of name and fame all over the world, would not do to bring Him any nearer.⁶ The working of miracles is vain and an empty show.⁷ For, He Himself is the Nath, Lord of all⁸ and in His word lies the *Yogis' Wordless Harmony*.⁹ The whole world is on his strings.¹⁰

Besides the futility of *Yogi's* religious doctrine and practices, Guru Nanak also disapproves his way of living, especially his earrings, bowl, wallet, ash-smeared-body, patched coat and the staff.¹¹ All these lead one astray.

Guru Nanak retains the use of terms Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, *Siddh*, *Buddh*, *Nath* and others, simply to illustrate different functions performed by the Almighty and to drive home the idea of One God, Supreme, to different sections of society, in the language which they understand.

God is Supreme

Guru Nanak makes specific mention of a number of gods, goddesses, other socio-religious leaders and objects of worship in various stanzas of *Japji*. These broadly are:

1. Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and their consorts;
2. Indra (god of gods), his kingdom and enchanting beauties of his court;
3. Krishna and his consorts (*gopis*);
4. *Yogis*, *Naths*, *Siddhas*, *Buddhas*;
5. *Pirs*, *Sheikhs* (Muslim Divines), learned Seers, Saints, Sages;
6. *Vedas*, *Puranas*, Semitic texts – *Torah*, *Zabur* (Psalms), *Injil* (Gospel), and *Quran*;
7. Gods, goddesses, demons;
8. Celebrates, zealots, warriors, brave and peaceful ones;
9. Earth, Sun, Moon, under worlds, heavens, spheres;
10. 68 places of pilgrimages, jewels, kings, king of kings.

All these in unison are shown in obedience to One God who is the Creator of all and is Supreme.

For instance, in stanza 26, many of these gods, goddesses and socio-religious leaders are mentioned concentrating on God, and describing Him according to their light and understanding. For example, *Vedas* and *Puranas* describe Him as Eternal, Harmonious *Brahman*, whereas Brahma and Indra describe Him as the Creative and Sustaining Power of the World. *Gopis* and Krishna speak of Him as Love, and Shiva talks of Him as Destructive Power. To *Siddhas*, He is the Power achieved through Occult Ways, and to *Buddhas*, He is the Void of the Nirvana. To demons, He is the Strength, to gods He is the Spirit of Goodness. It is in this vein that Guru Nanak mentions of the learned, saints, ascetics, votaries of different sects speaking differently of Him in accordance with the preachings of their respective religious orders.¹² There is no end to the ways He has been described. Millions of millions have described Him in millions of ways.¹³ Actually, none of them could describe Him adequately. He is One, Ineffable, beyond comprehension and expression. Only a perverse and a most unwise could contend that he does know the limits of God and His Creation.¹⁴

Guru Nanak recounts all these gods and goddesses, and socio-religious leaders, as also His creation, which includes the solar system, galaxies, earth, jewels, 68 places of pilgrimage, kings, emperors in the next stanza, 27, glorifying Him and singing His praise according to their own precept and understanding. He is the object of all prayer, all worship. Above all, all these luminaries are His creation and subject to death, whereas He, the Creator is Immortal. He is the Eternal One, Supreme Lord, Universal Spirit and works according to His Will. He does what He likes. His creation works within His discipline and cannot interfere in His Order.

Pertinently, the Guru uses the terms Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva and others as diverse manifestations of God. It is in this vein that he mentions various luminaries. According to him there is not one Brahma, but countless of them who are performing constructive acts, are constructing and reconstructing the world. There is no end to them. So also Vishnu, Shiva and others. It is in this context, that he enumerates these gods, goddesses, demigods, demons, His creation – the Universe – and socio-religious leaders in stanza 35 and, says that these are beyond number, beyond count. As a matter of fact, Guru Nanak refers to them symbolically to highlight the Supremacy of One Lord. This sort of knowledge forms an essential part in man's mind for a proper perspective and appreciation of God.

God is Ineffable

According to Guru Nanak, God is Ineffable and far exceeds the most exalted conception which the mind of a man can perceive. One who is exalted and achieves communion with God is like a drop in the ocean, and is not in a position to describe its extent. It is because he lacks both the knowledge and expression to describe Him.¹⁵ It is beyond his capacity. Indeed, myriads of men have given myriads of descriptions, but there is no end to that. They have failed to describe Him.¹⁶ His expanse is infinite. Countless have struggled to find His limits, but in vain, for His limits cannot be ascertained. The more one says, the more he has yet to say to describe Him. God is great, and one could describe Him only if He is as great.¹⁷ But God can be as Great as He pleases, *i.e.*, He can surpass the greatness achieved by anyone else. He cannot be sized. As such, He is Unfathomable. Only God knows how Great He is. It would be a blasphemy if one were to contend that he has such a knowledge: only an outright stupid could presume that.¹⁸ He is the Primal Being, Infinite, without beginning, without end and ever alike.¹⁹

His Creation is Infinite

As is God Ineffable, so is His creation. His creation is legion and His works are countless. If one were to sit and write the account of His creation, how staggering it would be! It would be beyond one's capacity and power to do so.²⁰ His creation is infinite, and limits of His creation are beyond comprehension.²¹

For instance, when was creation started? What was the time, season, day, and month of creation? No one knows.²² The Pandits did not know, otherwise they would have written a *Purana* on that.²³ There is no mention of that in the *Quran*. *Yogis* do not know it. Only He, who created the universe, knows it.²⁴

Guru Nanak rejects the theory of evolution. According to him, God uttered one Word, and the whole universe throbbed into being. Myriads of rivers of life came gushing.²⁵ He made various species, orders, colours, regions of earth, the heavens, the universe.²⁶ His creation is boundless²⁷ and He keeps watch over His creation.²⁸

The universe was created through His Word, His Name (Word and Name are synonyms) and it is the mainstay of the world.

Guru Nanak delineates in countless numbers his creation on earth, in nether and upper regions, functioning in different ways.

One earth there are countless people who worship, love, adore God, recite sacred texts, ponder on his attributes. So is the position of men of piety and mercy; and those who perform austerities, remain detached from the world or perform acts of bravery and heroism.²⁹ The number of people who are performing bad deeds is also countless, beyond number. These are fools, thieves, robbers, oppressors, murderers, sinners, liars, wretches and slanderers.³⁰

After giving a description of His creation on earth, Guru Nanak dwells on nether and upper regions. His spheres are beyond count, beyond all imagination. So is the position with their names and their location.³¹ It is beyond comprehension.

God is All-Pervading

There are hundreds of thousands of nether and upper regions and the research-weary scholars have not found the limits. His work cannot be described in writing because that is impossible. God alone is great in His knowledge.³² Thousands of learned men, the eighteen *Puranas*, *Vedas*, and the semitic texts, namely, *Torah*, *Zabur* (Psalms), *Injil* (Gospel) and *Quran* tell in unison that in reality there is only one God, the Essence or Principal from Whom emanated all things.³³ It is only the Essence which is Real, Everlasting.

Mainstay of the World

The universe, nether and upper regions, the earth, planets and sky move in His discipline according to His law, which is Harmonious. The planets move in patience, in equipoise on the course set by Him and create the balance of the world. That is the true position. The Puranic belief about the Bull supporting the earth is myth. What great load can he carry? And there are worlds upon worlds, beneath, beyond, and who is it that supports them? And

who supports the Bull? Obviously there is no Bull. It is God who in His Order (*Hukam*) keeps the universe in equilibrium.³⁴

If the question arises who supports the Bull, question can also be raised who supports God? According to Guru Nanak, God is self-existent³⁵ and formless.³⁶ He is neither created, nor established by somebody. He is spotless and pure.³⁷ The Creator is Everlasting, True, the Lord. He does what he pleases. He is Sovereign.³⁸

God is Great and Bountiful

He is great and His greatness is testified by His creation.³⁹ He is true Lord. So is His Name, and it is uttered with endless devotion by His creation. Why? Because, He is bountiful and there is no end to His Bounty.⁴⁰ His creation prays and begs of Him, and He gives and gives, but more and more. He is Eternal giver.⁴¹ He bestows virtue on non-virtuous and gives piety to the pious. But none, in turn, can do Him any good.⁴² He does not ask an iota in return.

Like Him, His bounty is Ineffable and beyond description. His store house is every where, and He filled it once for all.⁴³ He has no need to replenish it. His treasure is priceless and beyond expression. So are His deals, His weights and measures. Countless are His customers who make priceless purchases of devotion and absorption in Him.⁴⁴

There are many mighty gods and goddesses who beg of Him. There are many others whose number cannot be conceived at His door, who beg of Him. Countless are those who get but are self-indulgent; who get but are not grateful; who merely believe in eat, drink and be merry; and countless are those who live ever in distress and hunger, which is also His gift.⁴⁵

Rebirth and deliverance depends upon His bounty. No one can interfere with it. He Himself knows to whom He may give and He does give, though very few acknowledge it. But he is the king of kings, on whom the Lord bestows the boon to sing His praise.⁴⁶ That is the highest form of His gift, and surely leads to communion with Him. How is the 'boon to sing His praise' to be obtained? For that the Guru provides a rigorous test.

3 Submission to Divine Order

Guru Nanak develops gradually his answer to the twin-question, "How is the Truth to be attained? How is the veil of falsehood to be torn aside?" In the very next line he provides a terse answer that it lies in "submission to His *Hukam*, Divine Order, which is ingrained in oneself."

What is *Hukam*? What is ingrained in oneself? These are two aspects of the answer and need closer examination.

Guru Nanak proceeds in next stanza, 2, to expound his concept of *Hukam*: "The *Hukam* cannot be expressed in words (but this much can be understood that) all form was created by *Hukam*, that life was created through the *Hukam* and that greatness can be achieved in accordance with the *Hukam*. As a result of *Hukam*, some are high, others low; and in accordance with it, some get pain and suffering, others pleasure and joy. Through the *Hukam*, one is blessed and obtains union with God, and the other is condemned to everlasting transmigration. All are subject to the *Hukam*, none is beyond the pale of this Authority. Says Nanak, if any one comprehends the *Hukam*, he is purged of his *haumai*, ego, self-centredness."

Some conclusions which emerge from this description are as follows:

As God in His fulness is Ineffable, beyond human comprehension, so too is the *Hukam* in its full range;

To a precise extent, it can be understood that it is the source of all forms, life, and distinctions in one's conditions, e.g. of greatness, of differences between high and low, misery and happiness, salvation and transmigration, which seemingly are beyond human control;

All are subject to *Hukam*, rather His *Hukam* directs the path; and

Understanding of *Hukam* leads to destruction of ego, I-am-ness.⁴⁷

Verily, ego is the veil of falsehood that prevents one from attaining the Truth. Ego is the carbon which prevents ignition of inborn in self. When mind is decarbonised by *Hukam*, ignition is obtained and inner self is illuminated.

Precisely, what is *Hukam*? Somewhat later in *Japji*, Guru Nanak says that God created universe through His Word⁴⁸ while in stanza 2, quoted above, the same is achieved through the Agency of *Hukam*. Obviously, *Sabad* (Word) and *Hukam* (Order), are consonants: whereas Word and Name are synonymns. As such, *Hukam* and Name are congruous and harmonious.

*His Order is in His Name alone,
through the True-Guru, I realise it all.*⁴⁹

His Name is revelation of and coextensive with God. It is the Manifestation of the Universal Light or Spirit that He infused in all His creation. The Name therefore is ingrained in oneself in the form of *Atma*, soul, which forms part of *Parmatma*, God. The word is essentially a vehicle for revelation of His Name and serves as a means of intercommunication.⁵⁰

Guru Nanak instead of *Atma*, uses the term *man**(*manas*) which is rather difficult to render into English. It is something of a combination of mind, heart, soul, psyche, and conscience.

As such, submission to *Hukam* means listening to the voice of man, and acting accordingly. *Man* is in a state of separation from the Supreme Being, and yearns to unite with Him. This is possible through meditation of His Name which serves to ignite the inborn spirit and manifest God in self.

Meditation of Name

What is the way to achieve such a state of mind and a vision of His court? What words should we utter to invoke His love? Guru Nanak raises these two points and proceeds to give a simple reply:

*At the ambrosial hours of the morning, meditate on God the true name, and converse on His greatness.*⁵¹

That is the only way to catch His sight, win His favour, achieve a robe of honour and reach the gate of salvation.⁵² Meditation is the means to catch His sight – receive His grace, His benediction – which leads to union with Him. Those who worshipped Him certainly had the honour to have His vision. The true way is “to hear and believe of Him with love, devotion and concentration of mind.” That makes us to shed the misery of this world and leads us to Bliss, Beauty, the Home of Happiness.⁵³ When one hearkens to the indwelling Name and ignites it, his mind becomes more precious and illuminated than the gems, jewels, and rubies.⁵⁴ Such a man, the mind, becomes holy of holies, a sacred Fount to bathe within.⁵⁵

God is the Treasure House of Excellence⁵⁶ and there can be no meditation of His Name without creating virtues in oneself.⁵⁷ The virtues which are pre-requisite for one to be able to concentrate his mind on God are enlisted in various stanzas of *Japji*. These being, chastity, compassion, contentment, devotion, discipline, divinity, faith, humility, knowledge, patience, renunciation (non-covetousness), self-respect, truth, and understanding.⁵⁸ Most of these are connected with the purity of *man* and when mind is defiled it is cleansed by devotion to the Name. So, it is the recitation of his Name which transforms vicious into virtuous⁵⁹ and leads to the victory over passions of mind, which is the way to salvation from this world.⁶⁰

*Not to be confused with the singular form of men.

The recitation consists of uttering God’s name numberless times. “Where one tongue to become a hundred-thousands, nay twentyfold more, and each tongue utter the name of God a hundred thousand times, that surely is the path to ascend the Stairs of Lord, and become one with Him”.⁶¹ One who recites His Name without leading a virtuous life does not catch His sight, receive His grace, benediction, and achieve salvation. His efforts go waste because his mind is imbued with falsehood.⁶²

Since he does not divest himself of ego, and submit to *Hukam*, he is not equipped to acquire virtues.⁶³

Guru Nanak proceeds to delineate the state of mind of one who hears His Name with love and devotion,⁶⁴ and whose mind is satiated with God,⁶⁵ separately, and sums up his conclusions in first part of the next stanza.⁶⁶

One who listens to His Name with devotion acquires courage, contentment, holiness, learning, royalty, truth and wisdom. He learns of real nature of earth, the power that supports it, firmament, upper and nether regions, islands, continents, as also of *Shastras*, *Smritis*, *Vedas* and other scriptures. He learns of secrets of body and nature, and achieves scholastic distinction. By listening to his Name, those who are blind in mind see the way to salvation. One has no need for pilgrimages: his mind easily concentrates upon God, and sounds the depth of the sea of virtue. He fords the fathomless, and conquers the fear of death. His sorrows and sins are destroyed, and he achieves a state of happiness and joy.⁶⁷

One who obeys Him, concentrates His Name in mind and realises God in self achieves a state of bliss which is beyond expression. There is no paper, pen or writer to decipher it. His mind, intellect and consciousness are moulded with the Name, and he acquires inner knowledge of spheres. He is virtuous, does not suffer punishment and is absorbed in God. There is no obstruction in his way and he departs from this world with honour and distinction. Indeed, he becomes the source of his kin's benediction. He moves on the highway and not the byways which lead astray. He not only himself achieves salvation, but also saves his disciples, and followers.⁶⁸ Such persons – who submit to His *Hukam*, who believe Him to be true, praise Him, Hear his Name and obey Him – are honourable in God's estimation. They are the approved ones and leaders of men. They shed luster at His door; their mind, filled with His Name, is fixed on God alone.⁶⁹ Lord is great and His seat is exalted, but His Name, which one realises in self, is at a still higher pedestal.⁷⁰

*Truth is higher than everything,
higher still is true living.*⁷¹

His Name is all pervading and subsists everywhere in the universe.

The Divine Grace

In Guru Nanak's scheme of things, *Nadar*, His Sight, Divine Grace, forms an essential part for achieving salvation. In *Japji* the theme is writ large in various stanzas.⁷² The salvation can be achieved only through His Grace. It is a pre-requisite to attaining union with Him.

The significance of the theme lies in the fact that it conveys God's recognition and acceptance of one's labour by putting seal of the approval.

*The grace of Lord is on those who have meditated upon Him with single mind, for they
have found favour in His heart.*⁷³

Meditation surely is the means to catch His sight and win His favour. But such meditation must be with full devotion, and of a virtuous mind. Sustained effort is necessary to find acceptance.

4 The Ascent

Guru Nanak delineates five realms or stages in one's spiritual progress leading to the ultimate unity with God. This is done in stanzas 34-37 which is rather in the form of summing up of what he said in earlier stanzas.

The first stage is that of *Dharam Khand*, realm of law, of cause and effect. At the initial stage, one understands that it is God who created days, nights, dates of the week (there is nothing auspicious or inauspicious in them), seasons, climate – air, water, fire – and nether regions. In this context, God created the earth as temple of law, abode of righteousness, to practice truth, lead a virtuous life and listen to the voice of conscience.

On earth, He created creatures of diverse kinds with multitudes of names. He put it to His creatures that they would be judged according to their deeds. None could expect to get undue favour, for Lord is true and dispenses nothing but the truth. He Himself would strictly judge one's actions, distinguish between good and bad. The elects, those who have elevated themselves, would be honoured and anointed by Him.⁷⁴

As one sows, so shall he reap; good actions would have their rewards whereas bad actions would merit punishment. Before God, true and false would stand revealed.

With this basic understanding, one enters the second stage, *Gian Khand*, the realm of enlightenment wherein one's horizon is widened. One learns of diverse geographical regions of various climates – wind, water and fire. One learns of many forms and agents of preservation (Krishans) and destruction (Shiva) in nature and many creative forces (Brahmas) in nature which create many forms, colours and appearances.

One gets the comprehension of many lands and mountains, inhabited and uninhabited regions, to practice *dharma*, moral law, many preceptors – religious schools of thought – many agents of thunder and lightning (Indras) and many solar systems – suns and moons – which generate and reflects divine light.

One learns of many religious traditions describing many types of men of occult power (*Siddhas*), of religious enlightenment (*Buddhas*), leaders of many sects (*Naths*), many divine forms (*Devi Ves*), the mythologies of many gods, demigods, demons, sages, and jewels in the ocean.

There are in nature many sources of life – the many types of flora and fauna – many customs and manners and many historical traditions, as also many traditions of divine knowledge and many followers of these systems.

Really, there is no end to what one comes across in the realms of enlightenment.⁷⁵ At this stage, in one's mind the light of divine knowledge is resplendant and he perceives myriads of joys of sound, sight and deed.⁷⁶

Precisely, *Gian Khand* marks a widening of one's understanding, a wider and better appreciation of creation's manifold qualities and significance of great figures that have preceeded him. One conceives of brotherhood of man, and unity of mankind in the world, where everyone is equal, none higher or lower. It leads to weakening of one's *haumai*, self-centredness, egoism, and puts him in a correct perspective.

With this realisation of one's proper place in the universe in context of one's relationship with the Creator, one enters the third stage, *Saram Khand*, the realm of action, of effort, wherein one practices and works hard to mould his life according to the realm of law and truth. At this stage are fashioned creations of surpassing wonder, beyond description, better to be left unsaid rather than hazard a guess. Here, the faculty of one's inner perception, discernment, and cognition of mind are fashioned; and one's understanding of a divine hero or a spiritual adept is developed.⁷⁷ There is inner illumination of mind.

Henceforth one enters the *Karam Khand*, the realm of grace and fulfilness, when one catches His sight and is honoured. There one perceives the power of God in self; ego is obliterated. One becomes a divine hero, throbbing with the spirit of the Almighty; his mind is inextricably knit in His praise. In such a state of bliss are congregations of devotees, holy men, with the manifestation of indwelling truth. With God in their hearts, they surpass the cycle of duplicity and death. Their state of affair is beyond description.⁷⁸ This is the stage of a *Jivan – Mukta* i.e. one who attains salvation while still living in the world.

Till the fourth stage one retains his individuality. It is in the next stage, *Sac Khand*, realm of truth, that one achieves union with God, when *atma* submerges in *Parmatma* and loses its entity, as light mingles with light, and water with water. At this stage there is no devotee; he is merged in God. The final consumation being the goal, the ultimate purpose of human existence is achieved.

The *Sac Khand* is abode of the formless One, who bountifully keeps a watch over His creation – the earth, upper and nether regions and spheres, beyond limit, beyond count – wherein He is manifest, all-pervading, He delights in contemplation, for His *Hukam* is ingrained in everyone, everywhere. It is really difficult to narrate a description of such a Being.⁷⁹

Finally, Guru Nanak cites the example of minting a gold coin and puts forth that if one wants to achieve the Truth, he should follow this process. "Let chastity be the Smithy, patience the Smith, understanding the Anvil, knowledge the Tools, discipline the Bellow, austerity the Fire, devotion the Pot, immortality the Mould. Thus in the mint of Truth, Word Name is coined. Those who catch His sight and find acceptance, succeed in their toil. They by His grace achieve salvation."⁸⁰

The final *Sloka* is in the form of summing up of the overall theme of *Japji* and of the philosophy of Guru Nanak.

The first couplet refers to God's process of creation. It refers to "air as the guru, preceptor, and water as father, earth as the mother with great production capacities, night and day as two nurses in whose lap the world plays." This is the literal translation of the couplet. It however needs illustration and closer examination.

Guru Nanak at another place has himself explained the couplet which is translated by Dr. Gopal Singh as follows:

*Thou Thyself art the air, the Guru;
and also water, the father.
And the earth, our mother, too,
whose womb giveth birth to all we need;
And night and day, the two nurses,
in whose lap the world playeth.*⁸¹

Bhai Gurdas has also in *Var 6* explained this *Sloka* in similar terms, that God is the guru (air), father (water) and mother (earth).

The classification of air as guru and water as father has probably to do something with Guru Nanak's conception of the process of creation. According to him, God from Himself, first created air, which cleared the darkness and chaos of aeons of years. As such, he terms the air as guru, the enlightener. From air, He created water which had all the ingredients of fertiliser. It was from water that the Universe – the three worlds, the earth, upper and nether regions – sprang up. Guru Nanak, therefore, terms water as father. Earth is mentioned as mother, as one talks of motherland:

*From the True One, came the wind;
from the wind came water;
From the water sprang the three worlds;
and He, the Lord, pervaded all.*⁸²

Guru Nanak mentions mother earth as Mahat which "in Sanskrit means stretched out, expansive, hence great. In Sankhya, it means Cosmic Intelligence, or the first product of the Cosmic Substance (Prakriti)."⁸³

The second line of the *Sloka* refers to day and night as two nurses in whose lap the world plays. What are these two nurses? When we translate day and night as truth and falsehood, the meaning of the first couplet becomes clear.

*The egocentrics are asleep
and thus robbed (of their inner Treasure),
While the God-conscious beings
remain awake and whole.
...The false ones throughout the night
(of life) practice falsehood.*⁸⁴

The first couplet, as explained above, therefore refers to God's process of creation of the universe and states that the world works in the lap of truth and falsehood.

Guru Nanak then proceeds to highlight that God Himself would, with the touchstone of truth, judge one's good and bad deeds, and according to their acts some would be judged nearer to Him, and others far from Him. Those nearer would get salvation, merge with God and become part of Him, while others would continue to be subject to the cycle of birth and death.

The essence of *Jap(u)*, meditation, is summed up in the last couplet:

*Those who meditated on His Name,
their toil is over;
Their faces are lit with joyous radiance,*⁸⁵
*yea, they save many more.*⁸⁶

Such are the people, who are elect, the leaders of men, and they not only save themselves, but also their disciples, followers, whom they show the true way.

1- Stanza, (hereafter S), 21.	2- S.1,	3- S.30,	4- S.5,
5- S.1,	6- S.5,	7- S.29,	8- S.29,
9- S.6,	10- S.29,	11- S.28,	12- S.26,
13- S.30,	14- S.26,	15- S.5,	16- S.3,
17- S.24,	18- 26,	19- S.28-31,	20- S.16,
21- S.24,	22- S.21,	23- Guru Nanak rejects the age of world given in Puranas as of no consequence. If Pandits really did know, it would have formed the subject-matter of a separate Puran on the subject.	
24-S.21	25-S.16,	26-S.27,	27-S.24,
28- S.27,	29-S.17,	30-S.18,	31-S.19,
32-S.24,	33-S.22,	34-S.16,	35-S.5,
36-S.16-19,	37-S.5,	38-S.27,	39-Ibid,
40-S.25,	41-S.4,	42-S.7,	43-S.31,
44-S.26,	45- S.25,	46-Ibid,	47-S.2,
48-S.16,	49- <i>Eku namu hukamu hai, Nanak sati guri dia bujhae ji</i> , Sri Rag M.1., ghar 3, (1), A.G.71-		
72,	50-S.19,	51- Guru Nanak's prescription of meditation at	
ambrosial hours of the morning forms an essential part of Sikh faith and theology.		52- S.4,	53-S.5,54-
S.6,	55-S.21,	56-S.5,	57- S.21,
58-S.10, 28, 29, 38.	59- S.20,	60-S.28,	61-S.32,
62- Ibid,	63- S.33,	64-S.8-11,	65- S.12-
15,	66- S.16,	67-S.8-11,	68-S.12-
15,	69-S.16,	70-S.24,	71- <i>Saco</i>
<i>Urai Sabhu ko, upari sac acar.</i> Sri Rag M.1., Ashtpaadis (14), A.G.61-62 stanzas, 4, 7, 16, 19, 23-5, 32-33,37-38			72- Foreg.
73- <i>Khasam ki nadri dilahi pasande, jini kari</i> eku dhiaea. Sri Rag M.1. ., (27), A.G.24. <i>eku dhiaea</i> . Sri Rag M.1			74- S.34,
75- S.35,	76-S.36,	77-Ibid,	78-S.37,
79-Ibid,	80-S.38,	81- <i>Paun guru panni pitjata, udar sanjogi dharti mata.</i>	
<i>Rain dinas doe dai daia, jag khelai khelai he.</i> Maru solhes, M.1.,(1), A.G.1020-21		82- <i>Sace te pavan bheia, pawnai te jag hoe, Jal te</i>	
<i>tribhawan sajjia. ghati ghati joti samoe.</i> Sri Rag M.1.,(15), A.G.19-20.		83-Dr.Gopal Singh Sri Guru Granth Sahib English Version), Vol 1, p.12, f.n.l.	
M.1I, (5), A.G. 1024-5	84- <i>Manmukh soe rahe se lute, gurmukh sabat bhai he...</i> <i>Kure rati kur kamawai.</i> Rag Maru		
The believer saves his kith and kin, and the followers.	85-Cf.S.16. The elects shed radiance at His door.		86- Cf.S.15:

II

OSHO: The True Name: Talks on Japu Ji Saheb of Guru Nanak Dev

(Pp.519, 7th edn.2015)

OSHO stormed in 20th Century in the USA as a hurricane spreading his mumbo jumbo philosophy amongst a semi-hungry Americans starved of Christian values. This was clearly an era of Brahminical Hindu values, devoid of human values that was the bane of Hindu memesis. If Osho said he was not a Prophet, he was not wrong, for Hindus never had a Prophet, sorry, Hindu word was not ever mentioned before 710 A.D.²⁸ The People of Hindustan

28. Mohammad Mir Qasim was the first to use the word Hindu at the time of his Sindh's conquest in 710 A.D. The Sindhi's had looted a ship in the Indian Ocean area and were told that it was common for the ships to be looted, but they should hand over the half a dozen Arab women they had taken over. The Sindhu ruler demurred. Kasim, a nephew, told his uncle Khalifa of Baghdad that they were not a cultured or civilized people, but were Hindus – in *Lughat* (Dictionary) of Persian it meant, Thieves, Highwaymen, Robbers, Slaves, etc.

In 1000, when Mahmud Ghazni started his campaigns in Hindustan, his General was Tilak or Tilaka son of Jaisen or Jayasena, educated in Kashmir, and a Buddhist. He had a grudge against Hindu Shahi dynasty which they founded by overthrowing Buddhist rule in mid-9th century; and exterminated Buddhists and disfigured Bahmryan statue of Lord Buddha, the biggest in the area in 854 AD and at Gardes and Laghan. Mahmud Ghazni's campaign against temples and breaking idols, for instance at Jawalamuki, Mathura and Somnath etc., became a common feature, and was a retribution for destruction of Buddhist places of worship. The Hindus places for destruction now became a common feature, and the people were subjected to nomendature of being Hindus – thieves, highwaymen, robbers, slaves, etc. Brahmins had nothing but to accept the word Hindu in the face of the hostile arms. They got the unity among the divisive people under a hostile situation. They became a slave for over 800 years.

During the British era, Punjab High Court in Lahore pronounced the Persian Dictionary origin of the word Hindu, and a High Court for Punjab and Haryana, Chandigarh, in 1962 interpreted the same meaning. There was nothing creditable for Hindus in that.

were not Hindus, but the people practiced various fisms, related to Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, various diverse Devis, their consorts, mutually different and diverse faiths, contradictory in content and often hostile to one another.

Guru Nanak had a Revelation at the age of 30. As OSHO mentions of 30 years, 6 months, 4 days, he disappeared at Rivulet Vein for three days², but mentioned nothing about his Revelation. That was not part of his culture. But OSHO (pp.11-13) says, "When Nanak disappeared in the Vein, the story goes that he stood before the God. He experienced God." Then, he plays juggelery of words but comes to the conclusion: "But Nanak who returned was also God himself. Then each word uttered became so invaluable as to be beyond price", and added mischievously, "each word equal to the words of the Vedas". This was not what Guru Nanak made explicit. In the words of OSHO (Pp.229-251), Guru Nanak quotes small stanzas of 5 lines, from pauri 22 of Japji, when he said:

1. There were millions of underworlds and infinite skies above;
2. The Vedas say millions have searched and searched, only to end in exhaustion;
3. The holy books claim eighteen thousand worlds, [correct translation: Thousands of Saints, 18 Puranas and Semitic Texts viz. Tohra, Zabur, (Psalms), Injil (Gospel) and Quran], but the all One power behind all creation.²⁹
4. If anything could be written we would keep the accounts, but all estimates are destructible. (His creation is beyond count)
5. He is the greatest of the great. He alone can know himself..

OSHO straightaway eats his words about Veda's relevance in context of Guru Nanak's revelation on meeting with God. But he continues with his demurrage. At (p.250) says, "Life transforms the moment *Surti* awaken, the revolution takes place with you.... The quest for new birth is religion." Bhai Gurdas said, *maria sika jagat wich Nanak nirmal (later Khalsa) Panth chalaya*. OSHO keeps mum on that, or keeps it under wraps. Guru Nanak never quoted Vedas, Shastra, Smritis, Puranas and other Hindu literature as an authority for whatever he said.

OSHO sums up the relevance of Hindu trinity in contest of Guru Nanak's *Japuji* (stanza 30) at (pp.350-374), in six lines:

1. By skillful means one Maya has given birth to three disciples;
2. Brahma, the Creator; Vishnu, the sustainer, and /Shiva the Destroyer;³⁰
(Guru Nanak does not mention their names)
3. God directs them by His will and by His orders. (He directs them as He likes);
4. He watches them but cannot see him, that is the wonder of wonders;
5. If you bow, you bow to Him;
6. He is the Primal being, pure, without beginning or end.

Guru Nanak here demolishes the importance of Hindu trinity and OSHO is fully conscious of that. What is left out is only a husk.

Guru Nanak visited outer space and saw the phenomenon of the thousands of Suns, Sky's, and Constellations, before he faced the God. Guru Nanak during the process of revelation gained new vistas of cosmic consciousness, that divine light permeates the entire Universe, and is the only source of light in all human beings. Fatherhood of God, universal brotherhood of human kind, and equality of men and women – a concept far ahead of his times – caste or sex, and common heritage with equal opportunities to all, or a rational distribution of economic resources – all the formed part of his revelation. God of Guru Nanak's concept was the sole fulcrum of what scientists now recall the extensive universe and exceeded the concept of God and the whole gamut of Hindu literature and Semitic Texts. All are equal. All human races are one, and worship the same God without distinctions.

2. If he had not appeared on 4th day, Brahmins a hostile class, would have pressurized his father to perform his Chautha (4th day) – they would have presented that Nanak, who was seen in villages, towns, cities, in the fields, forests, mountains was his *bhoot* and not Nanak himself. Guru Nanak had to prevent that scenario.

30. Brahma, Bisan, Mahes na ko; (There is no Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva) – Maru Mallaha 1. SGGGS p.1035

During his meeting with God, Guru Nanak summed up the divine personality of God. This constituted the *mul mantra*, basic precept. It consists of 14 monosyllables, each word having a personality of its own. It consists of 14 (in digit, not in words), *Onkar, Sati, Namu, Karta, Purkhu, Nirbhau, Nirvair, Akal, Murti, Ajuni, Saibang, Gur, Prasad*. (It signifies, 1. The only Infinite One 2. The only Supreme Being, 3. The Eternal 4. The Universal Spirit, also called *Nam*, 5. The Creator, 6. The All Pervading 7. The Sovereign, 8. The Harmonious 9. The Immortal 10. The Embodiment, 11. The Unincarnated, 12. The Self existent, 13. The Enlightener, and 14. The Bountiful.)

Thereafter, the composition, immediately starts *bani* of *Japu* or *Japji Sahib*, with two Salokas – one in the beginning and one at the conclusion – and in between are 38 jems of Guru Nanak's philosophy to ignite the spirit to realize God in self, by meditation combined with true living.

OSHO never mentions of 14 monosyllables of *Mul Mantra*, basic precept. Guru Nanak mentions each and every one of them separately and distinctly, as one of reflection of God's personality. But OSHO talks purblind of the mantra of Ek, Omkar, Satnam, of three words, the crux of Guru Nanak's philosophy:

First word, Ek is undisputable.

Second word he chooses Omkar in place of Guru Nanak's onkar. Guru Nanak in Dakhni Onkar (in Guru Granth Sahib) clearly spelled out the word Onkar. Bhai Gurdas, 1st exponent of Sikh philosophy also spelled out Onkar. But he continues to persist in Omkar, which is distortion to what Guru Nanak said. Osho wrongly insists Guru Nanak mentioned of Omkar and continued: "There is one name the only that is not given by man and that is Omkar, and Omkar means the sound of Om. (P.14)" With such false prophet it is not possible to persist with arguments despite his arguing, "Om has no meaning. Om is not a word but a resonance that is unique, having no source, no creation by anyone". Guru Nanak in Dakhni Onkar however advises a Brahmin to concentrate on Onm to ferry across the world.

The third word is combination of third and fourth monosyllable in Satnam is already in use. He does not want to use four words, may be Brahminical triplet Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, without mentioning of it. OSHO says, "The word *Sat* seems to be understood. In Sanskrit there are two words, *Sat* means beingness, existence and *Satya* means truth and validity.....God is both. He is *Sat* as well *Satya*, existence as well as truth.....what religious seeks is both. Looking from any one angle, you will fail; from both directions, then only shall you attain" (pp.16-17). He does not explain how *Sat* did become *Satnam*, though he had the opportunity to use the word *nam* as a fourth monosyllable. He falsely alleges "The first words uttered by Nanak after *Samadhi* were Ek Omkar Satnam" (p.18) He wants to build up his understanding of *Japji* around three words. That is his limited understanding, despite his vast learning. Then he mentions as addendums, (pp.17-18):

"He is creator, beyond fear, beyond rancor,
His is the limitless form
Never born, self creating
He is attained by the Guru's grace"

Guru Nanak in the process of universe's formation, God is in un-manifest form and on his becoming *Karta* he manifests himself. All this way beyond OSHO'S comprehension.

OSHO make a claim for a living guru. He says, "The Vedas are utterance of the gurus. Much has been deleted, much added Look at Gita – how many commentaries are there: The whole Gita was written by Sanjay, who was more than a press reporter of his day the third person." Then there are *the Bible, the Koran, and the Granth Sahib*. But he does not mention that of all the religious scriptures, Guru Granth Sahib has been the most authentic Holy Scripture (compiled by Guru Arjan Dev in 1604 and updated by Guru Tegh Bahadur in 1675) which had the distinction of being granted in 1708 by Guru Gobind Singh as the title of Guru or living Guru in the entire world. But people like OSHO have no conscience to speak the truth.

OSHO wanted to gain a cheap publicity by visiting Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, bare-headed (p.50) and was prevented. It is a sacrilege to visit any Gurdwara bare headed, and visitors are provided scarfs to cover their heads, if needed. A Sikh shrine has a norm of head-dress, both for ladies and gents. Guru Nanak maintained various robes of religiosity, both Hinduistic and Muslims, during his period of pilgrimage, till 1621 when he discarded the

religious garbs, and assumed the normal house holders dress. OSHO's eventually says "that is the way of God; he is in the world and yet not in it. And this should be your path too.

He is the ordainer and by his order does the universe turn. Says Nanak: He is without a care, endlessly blissful.

He is cheerful, filled with bliss, blooming like a flower and yet he has not a care! He is concerned about you – but he does not worry." In short, says OSHO "put this experiment into practice in your life: work, mind your shop, but let there be a distance between your work and your being.... Be an actor, let the art of acting become your life's thread; because that is the way of God and that should be your way, your practice."

In five *khands*, Guru Nanak spoke of many solar systems (p.430-59), OSHO says Christianity was far behind Hindusim, but plays down Guru Nanak's original contribution which is the cause of new scientific discoveries and continuation research. In chapter 19, (pp.460-86), Realm of Grace or Fulfilment the words used in the hymn *tithe sito sita mehma mahe*, that the men are inextricably knit in His praise; there are no reference to Sita or Ram in Japji. This is a hallucination of OSHO.

In his magnum opus he has brought about a lot of irrelevant material. In almost all chapters, he has brought Mulla Nasaruddin, a hilarious character who continues to provide lighter side of the life.

Appendix 2

Punjabi language is the oldest language as against Urdu and Braj Bhasha

(Khari Boli, Hindvi/Hindi language)

It had a Granth with a scientific vocabalry and a grammer,

Sanskrit was not the mother of the Indian languages,

Prakrit was the first language based on grammer.

We may now say something about the Punjabi language.

It is obvious that historically Punjabi language is a very old language, older than both Urdu and Hindi - earlier known as *Braj Bhasha*, around 17th century *Kharrri Boli* (KVI boll), and from 18th century onwards as Hindvi followed by Hindi - languages.

Both Urdu and Hindi had a common ancestry. The father figure, or originator for both Hindi and Urdu was none other than Amir Khusrau, of 13th century (1253-1325) as part of process to evolve *Hindustani*. His father was a Persian *Amir*, or noble; he came over from Persia or Iran to India and married an upper caste Hindu woman who, of course, now got a Muslim name. After his father's death, Amir Khusrau, then about 8 years of age, came under the influence of his mother who initiated him into various facets of Indian music or Hindu music, and Hindu classics including Sanskrit language. His Qawalis (of which he was the founder), Ghazals and other form of poetry in Persian, Turkish, Arabic and Indian languages (viz. Hindustani: Urdu and Braj) fully reflected his cosmopolitan upbringing. His being father figure for Urdu language is fully acknowledged by everyone. But because of fanaticism of Brahminical mind, having control over Sanskrit literature, his being father figure of Hindi-language is skipped over. They are not willing to acclaim anyone else either. Besides, it is falsely contended that Sanskrit is mother of all languages born in India. When Panini penned down his Sanskrit grammar, he drew heavily on Prakrit grammar (already in existence) and language, which were better developed. In the words of Nirad C. Chaudhuri (*Hinduism : A Religion to Live By*, Oxford, 1979), Sanskrit lacks words for conscience, soul, spiritual or spirituality (the word *adhyatmik* - concerning the self - was in his words 'grotesque and illogical'), and even culture; or martyr. It has been an imperfect language.

Urdu and Hindi/Braj ran parallel for over five centuries with their separate scripts. Muslims like Malik Mohamad Jaisi, Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khana, Qutuban, Majjan, Rasleen and others have played a prominent part in continued development of Braj/*Kharri Boli*/Hindi. A German Padri in 17th century wrote a grammar for *Hindustani* giving both the scripts: earlier he had penned down grammars for Tamil and Telugu languages also. All the three Grammars were used by East India Company for training of their employees sent to Hindostan. This continued till the very end.

The incoming of M. K Gandhi in 20th century and that of Golwalker did not help a rational mind; the modern day Hindu is ashamed to acclaim a Muslim to be the father of what they call their language or mother tongue.

After being declared India's national language in 1949, Hindi got separated from Urdu only in 1950s when under Hinduistic influence it discarded Urdu vocabulary. Even now, its script is crude, as it lacks certain alphabets and, for instance, cannot decipher correctly Urdu or Punjabi characters, as we shall see.

As for Punjabi language, thanks mainly to Guru Nanak, we have a main composition of 12th century in absolutely pure (TyT) Punjabi, and two other compositions which spell out the distinct Punjabi characteristics. These help us to date the language, as well.

The first is Sheikh Farid's composition in a very simple, fluent, pure and rich Punjabi language dating back to 12th century, preserved only in *Guru Granth Sahib*. Here, from the flow of Sheikh Farid's compositions, it is very obvious that it was not only a fairly developed language, but also represented at least a couple of centuries old background.

By the time it was obviously a fully developed language. It also had a Punjabi alphabet V, later hard *r* for Urdu or hard *d* for Hindi. Hindi even now does not have an improvised alphabet for that, while the shape of Urdu alphabet in 17th century was which later developed into modern .

It is surmised that Punjabi language was a colloquial language of the people of Punjab and later had a place in the Taxila University. What Baba Farid picked up in 12th century was a fully grown, mature, and foolproof language, with a lot of background literature. It is unfortunate that not much is known about other such compositions before that.

The first Punjabi alphabet-composition is produced by Kabir in 14th century in his *Bawan Akhri*. This is reproduced in *Guru Granth Sahib* at pp. 340-43; according to Hew McLeod it appears in the same form in Kabir *Bijak* or Kabir's compositions. Here, Kabir gives the sounds of Punjabi alphabets now also called Gurmukhi script. He does not mention only of alphabet V, because coming from Benaras, he was not in need of using this particular alphabet. As I mentioned at page 3 of this book, Brahmins of Benaras, a very fanatical lot, reacted very violently and took up wooden poles at Kabir's use of Dev Nagri script to write his compositions, as they said it was a *Dev Bhasha*, the language of gods, and a weaver like Kabir could not use it. Kabir at the time, recited Punjabi alphabets (*kakka, khakhkha, gaggga &c*) in his *Bawan Akhri*, as the script of his compositions; he had picked up the script on his way to numerous visits to Punjab on his way to Mecca, as he himself affirms in his compositions. Obviously, this script was much earlier in use, popular and widely prevalent.

The second Punjabi-alphabet is composed by Guru Nanak himself in 15th century in his composition *Patti Likhi*, writing the alphabets, as a child does in a school. Here one finds all the 35 alphabets alongwith acronyms used in the compilation of huge *bani* composed by Guru Nanak and other Sikh Gurus, Bhaktas from various denominations, Bhats, and certain Sikhs in the first recension of *Pothis Sahib* in 1604, now after insertion of Guru Tegh Bahadur's hymns is known as *Guru Granth Sahib*. Guru Nanak's alphabets include the word V which was later incorporated in Urdu language. At the end of *Patti Likhi* (pp. 440-42 of *Guru Granth Sahib*), Guru Nanak mentions himself as a *shair*, poet. The word *shair* comes in the compositions of Guru Nanak only thrice in the entire *Guru Granth Sahib*. There are certain other couplets (for instance at p. 991, koel AwKY BUqnw ko khY byqwlw - some say Nanak was devilish in character, some say he had lost equilibrium) which indicate that those were also recited by Guru Nanak during the early period; he had refused to accept cotton-woven thread at his *Janeu* ceremony from the Brahmin, and wanted him instead to put on him something that would help him control his senses or his being sensuous. Guru Nanak admitted that he had become mad in his love for God. The

Patti Likhi, writing of alphabets, was done by Guru Nanak obviously in his earlier life before he got revelation in 1499. Both Kabir and Guru Nanak do not name the script they were using.

Guru Granth Sahib has 22 *Vars* or long compositions, bulk of which were recited as per popular and secular compositions of the time, as mentioned therein. Fortunately, these compositions are available, but not the ones which preceded the compositions by Sheikh Farid. Apart from that, Punjabi Muslims recited a large body of popular lores known as *kissas*; this was written by them in Urdu script, known as *Shahmukhi* script. This made for the addition of five additional sounds in Punjabi language by putting a dot below five existing alphabets to give new sounds. This enabled a correct writing of the popular lores written by Muslims in Punjabi language. These new alphabets, added in 19th century, are S, ^, Z, z, & (sh, kh, gh, z, f as in father).

This enabled Gurumukhi script to stand parallel to Urdu or *Shahmukhi* script. Dev Nagri script cannot, for instance, write the common Muslim name Khan, or that of India's first Muslim President Zakir, without corrupting it. Similarly it has no word Singh (iSMG) the common Sikh name, and mentions every one as i sMh (iSMh) which is incorrect. Sanskrit has the word Singh (iSMG) but not Hindi.

It is falsely mentioned by some thoughtless people that Guru Angad was originator of the Gurmukhi alphabets, as it contradicts the evidence that is contained within *Guru Granth Sahib*. What is needed is introspection. It is a product of ill informed mind, and needs to be corrected. *Guru Granth Sahib* or even Bhai Gurdas does not mention of the name of the script that was being used. The script for Punjabi was taken for granted as it was in existence for long. As I have said earlier (cf. p. 21 ante) when Guru Nanak gave the alphabets and the acrophils the final shape, he named it *Gurmukhi*; he meant to convey that it came from the mouth of the Guru, and in his case, God, to put it at a higher pedestal than Dev Nagri, the language of (minor) gods. He coined new vocabulary and in some cases used the old words giving them new meanings. He also played with the caste system by placing Khatri at No. 1, followed by Brahmin, Sudra and Vaishya. He placed Sudra for his constructive work above Vaishya. This playing with the caste system was designed to lay emphasis on the uselessness of caste in one's advance in spirituality or position/place in life (Guru Nanak, *SGGS*, p. 878).

Guru Arjan Dev's *Bawan Akhri* (*Guru Granth Sahib*, pp. 250-62) mentions an order of alphabets which does not follow either the current Dev Nagri or Gurmukhi order of alphabets. The current order of alphabets of both these scripts was obviously finalised later.

The reassertion of Punjabi language posed a threat to the dominance of Sanskrit. By the time both *Braj Bhasha*, precursor of Hindi, and Urdu were in their formative stages as against Punjabi which had blossomed into a full fledged language with its own *Granth*, a distinct grammar and an unambiguous philosophy vis-à-vis mumbo jumbo of creeds and rituals/incantations. As a result, Guru Nanak or Sikhism earned a lasting hostility of a section of Brahminical Hindus which has been and is a constant factor in their history.

Appendix 3

The 3rd Centenary : Conferment of Guruship on Granth Sahib

The conferment of living Guruship in perpetuity to *Granth Sahib* which now became *Guru Granth Sahib* or *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* (SGGS), and to the Sikh Panth (the community) on October 5, 1708, was an unparalleled and unique event in the world history. Hitherto, no holy book/Granth had been conferred that title; neither the Old or New Testament, or the Quran, nor any of the other works of religions/dharmas that arose in India. Hinduism, earlier known as Sanatan Dharma, that was the oldest *dharma* in the world

was not a religion in proper sense, but a conglomeration of heterogeneous thoughts and doctrines, often at conflict with one another. The incoming of Islam, however, helped to give it a sense of unity in servitude.

SGGS was straightaway accepted as the living Guru of the Sikhs who were ordained to search for Guru's directions from the holy *Word* (sbd). Practically, the Guruship was conferred on the *Word*, and not the volume. This was widely mentioned by the contemporary and near contemporary sources. Even the hostile source like *Gurbilas Patshahi 6* written by Sohan Kavi in 1718 took due note of the 1708 edict. At that time there was no other Granth/book that could come up to stand as a rival, nor was anyone authorized by Guru Gobind Singh to search for some alternative source. It was an irrevocable, conclusive and final decision taken by Guru Gobind Singh putting to an end the line of living Sikh Gurus.

The various works on Sikh history, contemporary Court historians, and about 30 European works do not mention at all of any "Bir/Granth/ manuscript of *Dasam Patshah ka Granth*, or *Bachittar Natak Granth* with matching contents of presently published Dasam Granth as corrected (1895-97) and published (1900)."¹

A small brochure, titled *Bachittar Natak* of only 14 Cantos, written by whom and at what times, one does not know, could have been in circulation. So may have been the case with *Charitropakhyan*, a product by *Vam Margis* who used sex as a medium of achievement of communion with gods/goddesses. Also *Chaubis Avatar* may have been in production and use.

Significantly, *Gur Sobha* of Sainapat a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh and produced in 1711, of hostile *Gurbilas Patshahi 6* written by Sohan Kavi in 1718, *Gurbilas Patshahi 10* of Koer Singh in 1751, Kesar Singh Chhibbar's *Bansavli Nama of 1769*, Sarup Singh Bhalla's *Mehma Parkash* of 1776 and Sukha Singh's biography of Guru Gobind Singh in *Sarab Loh Pustak* (book) (to use his own words) 1797 are cases in point, of absence of any mention of a work like *Dasam Patshah ka Granth* or even of *Bachittar Natak*. Chhibbar mentions of a mysterious *Vidya Sagar Granth* which was lost in over-flooded Sirsa rivulet. Sukha Singh, *Granthi* at Patna Sahib Gurdwaras, after helping himself with *bhang*, hemp, reproduced or produced a *Sarab Loh Pustak* (book) of an armed struggle between apocryphal *Devi/Devtas* (means, Aryans) and *Daints* (Demons, means natives including Dravadians) i.e. Aryans and Aborigines, as also later Muslims, but added considerably, without any reference to the earlier struggle, a biography of Guru Gobind Singh. This entire work, he averred a *bihangam* (peripatetic, on the move) *Sadhu* had delivered him, saying that it was work of *Guru Gobind Singh* in pre-Khalsa period. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha raises legitimate questions as to how could it mention of Khalsa, and certain other events leading to *Gurgaddi* to *Guru Granth* and *Panth*, and of certain other events which happened is post-Guru Gobind Singh period. He, therefore, legitimately rejects it for its spurious character, or worst a spurious work of Bhai Sukha Singh himself.² Patna at the time was part of Calcutta Presidency. This variation in outlook of people outside Punjab especially those that came under the influence of the English, and those struggling inside Punjab against foreign invasions and local forces for political supremacy was a fact of life.

Some factors need to be kept in mind. One, because of struggles and vagaries of life, the Sikhs in Punjab could not lead a settled life from atleast 1715 to 1765 i.e. for full half a century, if not more. This resulted in new people, joining the forces of Khalsa, being kept unlettered about the teachings and philosophy of the new faith.³

Two, the Sikh shrines during the period were taken possession of and managed by Udasis and Nirmalas (later, some from the two classes degenerated as Mahants) who interpreted Sikh scriptures in the light of Vedanta. To justify this infiltration of Vedanta, a canard was spread that Guru Gobind Singh had sent five Sikhs clandestinely to Benaras to learn the secrets of Brahminism, and that they came back after several years. This virtually amounts to character assassination. The Sikh Gurus never in their various facets of life indulged in any such thing, and such an assertion goes against the kernel of Sikh philosophy. What was there that was not known about Brahminism or not discussed by Guru Nanak or in the Sikh scriptures?

Three, Brahmins, I am not talking here of general body of Hindus, were almost hostile to Sikhism or Guru Nanak's philosophy, and they cooperated most heartily against the Sikhs in 18th century,⁴ till they

resorted to a strategy of infiltration, and subversion. They had earlier done that to Buddhism as well. Here was a human material that was readily available on sale for a price.

Before proceeding further, we may now look at what the partisans of the British and now those of Gandhi/*Gangu Brahmin*, or Hindutava/RSS (*Rashtriya Svymsewak Sangh*) all of which have a community of outlook, have to say. They have endless representatives: I am here talking of only one of them, namely, Gurinder Singh Mann from Leicester U.K. He himself mentions that people like him are “branded about like ‘Brahminical Octopus’,” or are “labelled as agents of RSS”⁵. Though there is no evidence that there was any work such as *Dasam Patshah ka Granth* in Punjab or Delhi, or one can say anywhere in India, he says, firstly, that “since the late 1700s the *Shri Dasam Granth* has been seen as the equal of the *Guru Granth Sahib*”, and secondly, “In the period of the Misl(,) Gurmattas were taken with both Granths lying side by side” i.e. when they swore by unity. With such thoughtless people arguing for a concocted and fictitious cause, and also laying down the guidelines for the mercenary Sikh clergy, about which we shall talk later, the *Tat Khalsa* faces an uphill task, especially when the Government of India is controlled by hostile forces.

This brings us to the first Satan of the 19th century in Lt. Col. John Malcolm, the most powerful military and political leader in East India Company’s service in India; he by 1810 invented a rival *granth*, *Dasam Patshah ka Granth*, to distort Sikh history, religion and philosophy. His principal objective was political: to weaken the Sikh power which had Guru’s *Word* and *amrit*, baptism, as its fulcrum. He knew that sometimes the Sikhs fought amongst themselves as a result of *Brahminical* contrivances, but used to rally together when faced with a national calamity. He sought to break them from their commitment to the *Word* and ushered in a rival work advocating *Hinduisation* of the Sikhs – acceptance of idols and idolworship, multiple gods, goddesses and goblins, and acceptance of whims, rituals and superstitions⁶.

John Malcolm came to the Punjab, upto river Sutlej, in the terrain of Lord Lake in pursuit of Holkar. He himself mentions that Raja Bhag Singh of Jind in 1804 presented him a recension of *Guru Granth Sahib*, as obviously such a thing as *Dasam Patshah ka Granth* was not heard of, much less available. It was during this period that he made an assessment of the Sikh’s political power, their ideology and commitment to the ideals they cherished most – the unity of the “*granth*” and the “*panth*”. The English worked silently upon the Sikh rulers, and by May 3, 1809, issued a proclamation taking Cis-Sutlej Sikh Chiefs under the protection of the East India Company. This was the first strike at the Sikh unity, as it struck at the body of the Panth dividing it into two. Secondly, Malcolm told Bhag Singh and others that the “*Granth*” which they had was only an “*Adi Granth*” i.e. a preliminary or first *granth*, and envisaged a subsequent one⁷. In his work *Sketch of Sikhs*, 1810, he talks of *Dasam Patshah ka Granth* procured by Colebrook with “indefatigable research” in 1805. It seems that Nirmla priest Atma Ram of Calcutta worked with Bhai Sukha Singh at Patna and other Nirmalas to ‘create, compile and promote’ this *granth*. He hoped that Nirmalas and Shahids (he meant Nihangs) who read the sacred writings, may hereafter introduce some changes”⁸.

Sukha Singh implanted parts of his *Sarab Loh book* into *Dasam Patshah ka Granth*. Malcolm’s work incorrectly mentions of creation of Khalsa in 1696 in his *Sketch of Sikhs*. It seems, he never came into contact with Bhai Sukha Singh, nor had he access to 18th century works on the Sikhs, like Sainapat’s 1711, Koer Singh’s work of 1751, Kesar Singh Chibbar’s or Sarup Das Bhallas works.⁹ He was groping in the dark, but had clear objectives. Malcolm, significantly, accepts the contribution of Atma Ram, whom he knew in creating *Dasam Patshah ka Granth*.¹⁰ It was a hanky panky business, and it was soon planted into India Office Library.¹¹

The English in late 1820s got wind of entente cordiale between the Nizam of Hyderabad and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and proceeded to contain its impact. This eventually led to Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s sending troops to Hyderabad and their later assignment to construct the shrines at Hazur Sahib. After the passing away of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708, for over a century his followers, especially Nihangs at nearby Mata Bhago shrine, Nanded, a live centre in Western India, had been carrying on the worship in the same manner. Meanwhile, as a result of English alacrity, around 1830, some Sadhus aligned to Nirmla Atma Ram with a tinge of Kali shrine at Calcutta took over some shrines at Nanded. The construction of the shrines by Ranjit Singh around 1837, some with huge residential complexes, and

the land grants caused considerable enhancement in the revenues/income. The settlement of the Sikhs from Ranjit Singh's army there led to a small but devoted set of followers. This was a general period of infiltration of *Brahminical* contrivances in Sikhism, and what finally emerged in Hazur Sahib only reflected a negation of Sikh ideology.

The affirmation of John Malcom's invention about *Dasam Patshah ka Granth*, without any independent evidence, by Bhai Santokh Singh in his *Suraj Parkash*, 12 Vols., 1825-43, speak only of this lack of application and commitment. But during the period, the English inspired the manufacture of a spurious letter allegedly from Bhai Mani Singh to Mata Sundari written in 1720s about the *bani* of Guru Gobind Singh. This letter is written, firstly, with a nib, invented sometime in 1830s, and secondly, it uses separated Punjabi words with some diacritical marks which were not in use in early 18th century in Punjabi language. This rendered the exercise suspicious and betrayed its dubious character, but only for those who have an open mind. It speaks volume about the truth.

The success of English since late 1830s, firstly, to the events of First Sikh War in 1846 could be seen to yield dividends in the betrayal of the forces of Khalsa at the hands of *Brahminical* Hindus including the Dogras.¹² Secondly, the Sikh States in Cis-Sutlej kept a loof and let the annexation of Punjab finally in 1849, against all solemn commitments. After the treaty of Bhairowal (1846), when the English virtually became masters of Punjab, *Dasam Granth* was rewritten in February 1847 under English supervision. Under Orders of the Governor General of India some parts of *Shabad Hazarey* and *Khalsa Mehma* were deleted, and instead *Chhake Bhagauti ji ka*, with 137 *Chhands* added. A copy was donated to British Library too, and it was mischievously, presented as the work of Guru Gobind Singh, founder of the Sikh faith. This constituted, in the words of Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann, a "very important evidence of British involvement".¹³ Meanwhile, in 1840s Rattan Singh Bhangoo, a descendent of Mehtab Singh, of Sukha Singh-Mehtab Singh fame, was commissioned by the English Resident in Ludhiana to write the history of Sikhs based on what he learnt from his elders, and some from his personal memory. In the process, he was made to dilate on the compilation of *Bachittar Natak*, as if an extended one. His writings constitute the very first one, however brief on the subject, reflecting the dubious briefings he got from the English. Bhai Sukha Singh-Mehtab Singh's forage into controversy over extended *Bachittar Natak* was a myth, shady and very questionable. It, however, had an objective. The English bias against the Sikhs controlling their shrines in Punjab soon translated themselves into British prejudices standing as a bulwark. By early 1880s, the Hindu and Muslim shrines were liberated from the government control, the Britishers continued to keep their foothold over the Sikh shrines.¹⁴

This brings us to the second set of two Satans in end-19th century to give a formal shape and respectability to *Dasam Patshah ka Granth*: this by now had grown into 32, possibly more, versions, and needed reconciliation, or rather a final one. The obverse side of the coin was represented by Bhai Manna Singh who was Secretary of Gurmat Granth Pracharak Sabha, Amritsar. This Sabha was an affiliate of Singh Sabha Amritsar controlled by Sir (Baba) Khem Singh Bedi who represented reverse side of the coin, and the real propeller of the show from behind. He had grown from a Baba to a Prince, since the annexation of Punjab by the English. As a result of increase(s) in his Jagir he controlled 28,272 acres of land in Montgomery Distt alone, and enjoyed Government's munificence with a title of Sir. He was a bitter opponent of Tat Khalsa led by Lahore Singh Sabha of Prof. Gurmukh Singh, Giani Ditt Singh and others. He openly preached that Sikhs were Hindus, considered *Guru Granth Sahib* as fifth Veda – the essence of Vedanta and Upanishads. He claimed descent from Guru Nanak's son Lakhmi Das, but since 16th century, his descendents have seldom played a constructive role in Sikh history – even *Guru Granth Sahib* mentions that Guru Nanak's sons had evil in their mind and were in revolt at the decision of their father transferring Guruship to Bhai Lehna, now named Guru Angad.¹⁵ Khem Singh claimed himself to be the 15th Guru of the Sikhs.

The other Sikh organizations especially Lahore Singh Sabha had serious reservations about the exercise of finding out the authentic version. Their three letters published in *Khalsa Akhbar* of October-November 1895 cast aspersions on the distortions being practised in editing of *Dasam Granth*. It found fault with the evidence being adduced at the forthcoming exercise to dissect various copies of *Dasam*

Granth and wanted Sardul Singh of Sodhak Committee to take corrective steps to arrive at a right solution. It kept the general body of the people aloof.¹⁶

- * The general body of Sikhs, held back, contributed only Rs. 53 as against the expenditure of Rs. 603; the balance was contributed, of course, by Bhai Manna Singh, but actually by Sir Khem Singh Bedi who constituted the spirit behind the move.
- * The Akal Takht was not at all involved either in contributing space or money, or even the customary *Karah Parshad*. They, however, gave some volumes of *Dasam Patshah ka Granth* for the exercise. The main work of the committee was done in the main hall of Malwai Bunga, near Akal Takht.
- * It was obvious that no original volume of the *Dasam Patshah ka Granth* existed. To begin with they used as Presidium Bir, known as *Dasam Granth di Khas Hazuri tay Daskhati Bir* (also known as Anandpuri Bir). The original Bir was taken to have been destroyed. The Anandpuri Bir had no *Chandi di Vaar &c*. Some stanzas of *Ardas* (now standard Sikh prayer) were added. Perhaps, for the first time, this part of *Ardas* became part of the Sikh lore. It was given out anonymously that Guru Gobind Singh had himself written the preliminary banis and then the work was taken over by other writers. It was presumed, for convenience, that the Guru had overseen the entire work. At the end of the exercise, this Bir was nowhere to be seen. Instead, at the instance of Sir Khem Singh Bedi, the one matching Colebrook version with India Office Library was approved as the final version. "Textual evidence", in the words of Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann showed, "that eight compositions including *Khalsa Nama* supposed to be attributed to Guru Gobind Singh Ji were deleted." *Sodhak* Committee mentioned only *Sahansarnama* and *Var Malkauns* to have been deleted, while Piara Singh Padam mentioned deletion of three such compositions in published Birs.¹⁷

It may be kept in view that Gurdwaras in Punjab were under control of the British directly or indirectly.

- * Manna Singh followed no known standards of honesty or impartiality. It was high time for unprincipled falsifiers. It was taken as a standard truth that Guru Gobind Singh was compiler of all that was being reproduced. He accepted Shyam and Ram pseudonyms of the 10th Guru in *Chaubis Avatar*, but presentation of Shyam born in dark phase of *Satbhikha* planet presented difficulty, as Guru Gobind Singh was known to be born in light half of *Poh*.¹⁸

Still people persist with strange reasons to stand for *Dasam Patshah ka Granth*. The whole proceeding was non-serious in character. Gurtej Singh who made a detailed study of *Sodhak* Committee Report opines, "The mode of nominating the reader is not indicated. Whether the reader changed from one session to another is not mentioned. No method is indicated to show how original was calculated to emerge by following this procedure."¹⁹

In the first phase only four persons attended daily and other nine persons attended 'once in a while'. And they had to reconcile 32 Birs. What a mockery.

It was worse that after the event, under instructions of Sir Khem Singh Bedi they named the emerging work as *Dasam Granth*, attributing it to Guru Gobind Singh, instead of *Dasam Patshah ka Granth* i.e. a work relating to the era of 10th Guru. That is why, I equate Sir Khem Singh Bedi as a big or a bigger Satan, who was the puller of strings and a controlling deity. It was just beyond the capacity or concept of Bhai Manna Singh, who was just a bootlicker, a parasite. The spirit of Lt. Col. John Malcolm must be taking a turn in his grave to salute Sir Khem Singh Bedi, this sychophant. With the passage of time, it earned a degree of respectability which was not justified. Unless we recognise that, we cannot move ahead on correct lines. We must realise that Guru Hari Rai had ostracised his son Ram Rai for changing one word in *gurbani*, the Sikh scriptures. Here the *bani* compositions attributed to Guru Gobind Singh were subjected to wholesale editing, exclusions, inclusions, mutilations, and what not. It was not conceded that the *bani* of Guru Gobind Singh was sacrosanct and final, as was the case with the *gurbani* in Guru Granth Sahib. Sir Khem Singh Bedi/ Bhai Manna Singh took all sorts of liberties; even then what emerges in the so-called *Dasam Granth*, is not in consonance with the Sikh philosophy, as enunciated in

Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Rather, being the product of novices and immature persons, it runs counter to the main ingredients enunciated by Guru Nanak, which seems to be the very objective, as we shall see.

The *Sodhak Committee* people immediately lost their identity and they became non-entities. The *Dasam Granth* published in 1900 was immediately placed in various Gurdwaras by Mahants, Nirmalas, Udasis, Nihangs, &c, under orders of the Britishers, and special customs were created for the shrines at Hazoor Sahib and Patna Sahib, and other Gurdwaras associated with these two shrines.

Side by side with the creation of *Dasam Granth*, it was propagated at a low level that there were three other Takhts of Sikhs, at Anandpur Sahib, Patna Sahib and Hazoor Sahib, all connected with Guru Gobind Singh, and managing a cluster of Gurdwaras in the neighbourhood. All this was designed to reduce the importance of Akal Takht, Amritsar, which had refused to participate in compilation of a spurious *Dasam Granth*. We shall come to that shortly.

The decision of the Darbar Sahib management led by Arur Singh, Manager, to remove all idols from Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, and put an end to performance of Hindu rituals over there, was a progressive act, in accordance with the wishes of Tat Khalsa²⁰.

It was the Tat Khalsa drive that forced the Sikhs to various acts, leading to the formation of Delhi Gurdwara Committee which preceded the formation of SGPC in 1920. The Gurdwara Reform Movement, 1920-25, leading to the enactment of Gurdwara Act was again a victory of Tat Khalsa ideals. But, alas, a last one. The Gurdwara Act, 1925, took no notice of *Dasam Granth*, manufactured 25 years earlier. The definition of a Sikh – one who believes in the Ten Gurus and *Guru Granth Sahib*, and had no other religion was quite explicit. This definition was repeated in Nanded Gurdwaras Act 1956 and Delhi Gurdwaras Act 1971. Any reference to the so-called *Dasam Granth* is missing in all these legislations. In short, one who believes in *Dasam Granth*, loses to be a Sikh in legal and religious, and moralistic terms. The Sikh leadership miserably failed to make an assessment of last five years 1920-25 in Punjab, as, firstly, it emerged splintered, thanks to machinations of the ruling British, led by Punjab Governor Hailey, and, secondly, it fell a victim to the guile and stratagems of M.K. Gandhi who had emerged as a deceptive pattern of Hinduism, deadly opposed to the Tat Khalsa doctrines.

The emergence of Chief Khalsa Diwan, 1902, and spread of its influence with Bhai Vir Singh as one of its leading lights, helped to cause a big damage to Sikhism. I am saying so, despite the fact that in earlier period he had played a very constructive role. His work, narrating history of the Sikh Gurus in three volumes was seen as a clever device by the Britishers to break the Khalsa from its philosophy, distinct from the one of Hinduism. The propagation of four Takhts was a case in point. Frankly, if there was need for another Takht, the *Dharamsaal* or Gurdwara at Kartarpur-on-Ravi could very well be the appropriate candidate, as according to Bhai Gurdas (Var 24, pauri 1) under auspices of Guru Nanak, a *Sach Khand*, (an institution for communion with God), had been established there. The other three places connected with the life of Guru Gobind Singh could be replicated with a lot of other places. It was neither here nor there. Why not Delhi or Agra or same places in Rajasthan? Sikhism was attached to the philosophy enunciated by Guru Nanak, who was the only one to have had a revelation, and it was his spirit that was permeating in his successors, including Guru Gobind Singh, who swore by Guru Nanak.²¹ The production of spurious *Dasam Granth* was not designed to give any respectability to Guru Gobind Singh, but to subtract from it. One must understand this conspiracy.

One may point out to three other disservices rendered by Bhai Vir Singh in later period of his life. One, he unnecessarily, without any reliable evidence, in *Ashtgur Chamatkar*, circulated the story connected with the marriage of daughter of Satta, of Balwand and Satta fame, authors of *Ramkali ki Var* (SGGS pp. 966-68) for writing that the sons of Guru Nanak, with malice in their hearts were in revolt, against Guru Nanak's passing on succession to Guru Angad. This story was a tit for tat by the powerful and munificent Bedi Babas (Baba Khem Singh Bedi and his successors) who had avidly advocated for Hinduisation of Sikhism and had been the main protagonist for promotion of the spurious *Dasam Granth*.

Two, people, now in search for mythical birthplace of Guru Gobind Singh in earlier lives, at first located Rawalsar in Himachal Pradesh and later around 1932 Hemkunt deep into the hills of then North Western Provinces, now Uttaranchal Pradesh. This place was certified in mid-1930's by Bhai Vir Singh, as true one. He, unnecessarily, was instrumental in popularizing a myth, and hurtling the Sikh community

into a place deep into the Himalayas involving high expenses (involving travel by mule and other animals also), above all linking the Guru with Hindu mythology. For Sikhs it virtually amounted to emotional blackmail. No other such place for worship, earlier by Guru Nanak or any other Guru, is available. Only Guru Gobind Singh was linked to Hindu mythology, as by revealing the Khalsa in 1699, he was believed by people like M.K. Gandhi to have founded a new faith, which was distinct from Hinduism. M.K. Gandhi, for instance, twice, first in 1925 and again in 1941, had termed Guru Gobind Singh a misguided patriot, and hence a *persona non grata*. Subsequently, in 1984, Indira Gandhi after Operation Bluestar had termed every *amritdhari*, baptized, Sikh as a terrorist, a potential terrorist, or looking like one.

And, three, Bhai Vir Singh through the medium of his friend Sobha Singh artist (and later other artists also) popularised photographs and paintings of Sikh Gurus and martyrs etc. in various phases, different postures, popularizing them in various facets of life, a la Hinduism. This was despite the fact that no authentic photograph of Guru Nanak and his successors are available. This was a crude attempt to bring Gurus and heroes at par with Hindu gods and goddesses.²²

Verily, Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan in New Delhi, right from the beginning serves as a centre for activity and control by Congressite Sikhs i.e. followers of Gandhi/Gangu Brahmin and lately McLeodian scholars. It truly represents the later part of Bhai Vir Singh's life, while the one at Amritsar represents the early part of it, devoted to *gurmat*, Sikh values.

By 1927 the *Sikh Rehat Maryada* (SRM) Committee had been assigned to sort out various *rehats* prevalent with different sections of the Sikh society. The SRM Committee was a comprehensive body, representing a wide sector of the people, including representatives from Patna Sahib and Hazoor Sahib.

What were the *banis*, hymns, read out at the launch of Khalsa and its *rehat maryada* on Baisakhi, March 29, 1699?²³ Baptism had been served very widely in 1699 itself, and over time later, at first by Guru Gobind Singh and later by various people including Bhai Mani Singh, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, Darbara Singh, Nawab Kapur Singh and a host of others, but surprisingly there is little in numerous *Rehatnamas* and works of history detailing the process. The first and perhaps the only entry comes in Kesar Singh Chhibbar's work, 1769, that only Japji and Anand Sahib (possibly first five and last stanzas) were read at the time of initiation of *amrit*, baptism by Guru Gobind Singh. This is later supported by Bhai Santokh Singh in his monumental work *Suraj Parkash*. spread over two decades. There is nothing to interdict these two narrations, as the so-called *Dasam Granth* had still to take shape, and there could be no motivation to falsify the account. So that was the truthful position of *Amrit sanchar*, baptismal ceremony, over the period.

With *Dasam Granth* taking its shape around 1900, and SGPC's coming into being in 1925, and the British playing with various sections of the Sikhs to cause disunity and confusion, the constitution of SRM Committee was an attempt to throw a cat among the pigeons. To begin with, because of vociferous acrimony between a supporter and an opponent of *Dasam Granth*, there was no progress for several years. Eventually, both the protagonists were removed, and the residue directed to proceed ahead. It did without formally taking into consideration the existence of *Dasam Granth*, but the damage had been done. In order to reconcile the differences between various sections, a policy of give and take had to be adopted. This resulted in the number of *banis*, hymns, recited at *amrit sanchar* increased from two to mystic figure of five. Apart from *Japji* and *Anand Sahib* (full), three more *banis* were added, namely *Jap Sahib*, *Swayyas* (*Srawag Sudha Wale*) from *Akal Ustat* (21-30), and *Benti Chaupai*, only upto *Dusht Dokh to Leho Bachai* (save me from belligerent hostiles and tormentors), leaving aside hymns 402 to 405. Also, first canto from *Var Bhagauti* was adopted for *Ardas*, Sikh prayer.²⁴ That was the price that could be extracted from the SRM Committee which, however, in the document made no mention whatsoever of *Dasam Granth*. As a matter of fact, the SRM Committee should have struck for pure *gurmat* and refused to budge. This was adopted on October 12, 1936.

It is another matter that the followers of *Dasam Granth* continued to recite the whole of *Chaupai*, and follow their own *maryada*, which was against the spirit of compromise made by them. So came out to be the case with various Sants/later Sant Babas, Deras, Taxals, shrines connected with Patna and Hazoor Sahib, and some others.

The worst part of it was that some scholars from various Taxals, hospices, were appointed as Chief/Head Granthi (later erroneously called Jathedars) of Akal Takht. Though the person concerned was told to follow the *rehat maryada* of Akal Takht which was quite different from that followed in their Taxal, the lackadaisical attitude remained. It meant the continued or added prominence to *Nirmalas* who excelled in giving *Vedantic* interpretation to the *bani* in *Guru Granth Sahib*. Also, it was quite common to have evening *katha* discourse from *Suraj Granth* of Bhai Santokh Singh who prominently ushered in Vedantical Brahminism into the Sikh lore, in the evenings in Gurdwaras, and special experts for such expositions were available, that the upcoming youth were fed a distorted picture of Sikhism and Sikh history. The SRMs final seal was placed in 1945 after some adjustment on Ragnala. Meanwhile, on April 5, 1942 Akal Takht put up a ban on doing *Akhand Path* (continued recitation) of *Dasam Granth*.

With the decolonization of the sub-continent in August 1947, Brahminism gained supreme position in residue India, with Muslims in North East and West getting Pakistan. The Sikhs were the worst sufferers in both men and material. After over nine centuries of slavery, Brahmins defined through M.K. Gandhi, a Bania, that "Hinduism is an ocean into which all rivers run. It can absorb Islam and Christianity and all other religions and only then can it become the ocean."²⁵ Secondly, after over nine centuries of slavery, Hindus under auspices of Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, a Brahmin, along with the Cabinet decided in December 1947 to rebuild at state cost the Som Nath Mandir, (demolished by Mahmud Ghazni in 1026 AD) and remove the mosque built at that site, without the due processes of law. It was demolition of Babri Mosque in 1992, a repeat performance, that led to the introduction of bomb in the India's body politic. No Court in India, Supreme/High/lower ones issued any notice to any of the Hindus, nor did any government of whatever party that came into power in U.P. or Centre moved in the matter.

In the post-August 1947 era, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Home Minister in the Constituent Assembly denied point blank any promises made to the Sikhs during the freedom struggle, while Jawaharlal Nehru straightforwardly without a blink told Master Tara Singh that times have changed. The result was fabrication of a programme in Nehru era to uproot the Sikhs, tree and branch. It resulted eventually in Operation Bluestar, and anti-Sikh pogrom, both in 1984. Then followed the state terrorism. After a decade, there was a general tendency among the Sikh youth to discard their *keshas*. The downtrodden Sikhs, looked down by Jats in rural areas, were special victims of Dera culture, cutting them off from *Guru Granth Sahib* and taking them nearer to *Dasam Granth* in an effort to re-Hinduise them. The rural Jats and the religious hierarchy especially in Malwa, were no less responsible. The spread of *Deras* in multiple numbers in rural areas was state inspired. They got plenty of land even from people like Parkash Singh Badal, who was more nearer to forces responsible for Operation Blue Star, and looked the other way.

Meanwhile, the Akal Takht, then headed by Giani Sadhu Singh Bhaura, Head Priest (also called Jathedar), alongwith Giani Chet Singh and Giani Kirpal Singh who subsequently headed the Akal Takht, alongwith two more, issued a *hukammamah* vide Dharam Prachar Committee's letter of August 4, 1973 that *Charitro Pakhiyan* (describing sexual exploits, and a creation of *Vam Margis* who excelled in it) was not a *bani* of Guru Gobind Singh, but a translation of old Hindu mythological stories, and the view holding it otherwise was incorrect.²⁶ Under the Presidentship of Bhai Ardaman Singh Bagrian, and at the invitation of Man Singh 'Mansarovar', two detailed discussions were held on October 6-7, 1973, and in March 1974, when over 40 scholars and prominent Sikhs had, after due deliberations, come to the following two conclusions:

1. The *parkash* of *Dasam Granth* be not performed in any Gurdwara alongwith the *parkash* of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*; and
2. We should separate *bani* written by Guru Gobind Singh Ji and that composed by poets from the *Dasam Granth*.²⁷

What did the authorities at Akal Takht, or *Dharam Prachar Committee* of SGPC do in this case. They should have atleast called upon the publishers of *Dasam Granth* to cease publication of *Charitro Pakhya* from the text; that would have reduced the bulk of *Dasam Granth* by about 45 per cent of it. And

they should have sent copies to the shrines at Patna and Hazur Sahib for taking necessary action accordingly, if not follow it up and ostracize some of the wrong doers. The failure of Dharam Prachar Committee and of Akal Takht was glaring, and reflected very badly on them as an institution.

By the time some seniors from Kendri Sri Guru Singh Sabha, headed by Hukam Singh former Speaker and Governor were members of the Governing body at Hazur Sahib. They took up the issue of the importance given to *Dasam Granth* at Hazur Sahib including the removal of *Charitro Pakhyan* as ordained by Akal Takht. They met with abuse. The Chief Priest went even violent and said that their main income was from *Path*, recitations, organized for *Dasam Granth*, and but for that they would starve. So lucre, not the ideology, constituted the fulcrum. That is, not to underplay the role of G.S. Tohra, President, SGPC, who continued on the committee for a very long time, and saw no contradictions. The person from Kendri Sri Guru Singh Sabha was soon removed from the executive of Hazur Sahib.

Before proceeding further it will be of interest to go into various narcissistic doctrines that constitute the fulcrum of proceedings at Hazur Sahib, and make it unacceptable to Sikh ideals and highly violative of and offensive to Sikh concepts.

1. Sanatanistic rituals like ringing bells, blowing horns, lighting up fires, etc.
2. *Karah Parshad* is pierced not by sword but by arrow.
3. Sacrifice of a goat within the precincts of Gurdwara on a number of occasions, apply its blood to arms/armaments kept inside the shrine; distribute its meat as *Prasad* among the devotees for cooking at their homes. (Will the followers of Bhai Randhir Singh accept such meat as *Prasad*?)
4. Crushing of *Chandan* (in a peculiar manner) and its application on the forehead of listeners to *Asa di Var* (in the morning).
5. Application of crushed hemp thrice daily to Guru Granth Sahib.
6. Mentioning of some specific spurious names like Hem Kunt etc, and non-recitation of *dohra*: By Order of God Almighty the Panth was started: All Sikhs are ordained to accept Granth as the Guru.
7. Opening up of *Dasam Granth* alongwith the ceremonial opening of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*; organizing of *katha* and *paths* of *Dasam Granth*.
8. Headpriest has to be a *Brahmchhari* (celibate) i.e. non-married. So has to be the person who brings a vessel full of water from Godavri. This is offensive to Guru Nanak's concept giving highest place to a house-holder.
9. Differentiation in service of baptism between men and women.
10. Placing of Brahminical rituals like *kumbh, jot, naryal* at *Akhand Path*.
11. Recitation of an extended *Rehras*.
12. Recitation of *Akhand Path* alongwith *kirtan, rehras*, etc.
13. Installation of photographs of Guru Gobind Singh inside the temple, also in *angeetha* Sahib (place of last rites of Guru Gobind Singh).
14. Specific washing of Takht a day before Divali with water from Godavri; display of armaments in the open for cleaning etc.²⁸

Guru Gobind Singh had said that when one adopts the rites of a *bipran*, non-conformer, he will not look into one's affairs. It is obvious that Hazur Sahib is not the place where one can find the spirit of Guru Nanak or that of Guru Gobind Singh finding an expression. Any Sikh who visits Hazur Sahib can do so as a tourist or a place of historical importance, but not as a place of Sikh religious worship, for the Guru has been completely disowned from there.

There were all round failures marking five years of Badal's reign, 1997-2002. This only helped to wipe out the myth of Sikhs seizing power and doing justice to the victims. It was in this atmosphere, even before the third centenary of Khalsa in 1999, the people at Hazoor Sahib started talking of the third centenary of *Gurta-Gaddi Diwas*, grant of Guruship to Granth Sahib by Guru Gobind Singh at Hazur Sahib. It was pointed out to them they were talking prematurely, as some other centenaries were to take place before that, especially the tri-centenary of Khalsa in 1999 and 4th century of Guru Arjan Dev's

martyrdom in 2004. It helped to slow down the publicity only a bit and that too only for 1999 event. But the aim of authorities at Hazoor Sahib was collection of huge funds that the opportunity offered. This also adversely affected the financial situation of the shrine at Patna Sahib.

This made Head Priest (Jathedar) Patna Sahib, Iqbal Singh to, inter alia, go over to California and contact Didar Singh Bains, the peach King of the area. He narrated him the pitiable situation of Patna Sahib. Didar Singh Bains gave him an authority to sell off his agricultural lands on Jalandhar-Hoshiarpur Road for the purpose. Iqbal Singh earned about Rs. 95 Lakhs from the transaction, but deposited the amount in his own name and not that of the Gurdwara.²⁹ He also disclosed that people attributed to him three marriages without divorcing his earlier wives, and falsely accused him of having extra-marital affairs. Such accusations came from his current and earlier wives as well. Actually, he was running in competition with Salman Rushdie who is known to have four or five marriages, divorcing his earlier wives one after the other. But none of his present or earlier wives have accused him of extramarital relations. But Iqbal Singh claims himself to be irremovable Jathedar of Takht Patna Sahib and derives inspiration from reciting *Charitro Pakhyan*, the stories of sexual exploits. Does he derive sustenance from reciting *Vam Margi* literature? Only, he can tell.³⁰

As the 21st century dawned, the Hazur Sahib authorities redoubled their efforts at fund collection. They had no other apparent objectives.³¹

The third centenary of *gurta gaddi*, grant of Guruship to *Granth Sahib*, was seized as the event of the century. It was given its due importance in 2003 by a Committee consisting of Laddoo Singh Mahajan, Chairman, Gurdwara Hazur Sahib, the District Collector and Municipal Commissioner both of whom were in continuous consultation with the local M.L.A. and then Minister (presently Chief Minister) in Maharashtra, Ashok Chavan. Chavan seized of the event for wider purposes of re-development of entire Abchalnagar.

It was as a result of joint efforts that the development of entire town of Nanded was approved. Initially it involved an expenditure of Rs. 2814 Crores – Rs. 2081 Crore for Nanded redevelopment and Rs.

	733	Cr.
for	1. Gurtagaddi Celebrations,	2. City Infrastructure development, and
	3. Other concomitant expenses.	

The importance of the occasion was explained at first by the Committee to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh who happened to visit Hazur Sahib. Later, Buta Singh, then Chairman of Hazur Sahib Board in 2004-05 explained it to a group of Ministers to the Union Government Smt. Ambika Soni, Minister for Urban Development and Montek Singh Ahluwalia, Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission who were actively involved. As a result of efforts by Buta Singh, Punjab Government, SGPC,³² and DSGMC (who contributed Rs. 50 Lakhs) too were actively involved in the matter to give a wider perspective to the celebrations. Maharashtra Government too jumped in and as a result, the Sachkhand Board had over Rs. 1350 Crores at its disposal.³³

Because of involvement of huge funds, Dr. Parvinder Singh Pasricha, Director General Police, Maharashtra, and a Sikh, who still had a year to his retirement, was inducted as Chairman, Administrative Board, Takht Hazur Sahib in November 2005. No one was bothered, how a non-baptised Sikh could hold such a high post at Hazoor Sahib Takht. After his retirement he was given the status of a Minister to be more effective, officially.³⁴ At his instance, the services of Devinderpal (D.P.) Singh, a banker, were requisitioned from Punjab & Sind Bank in May 2006 to look after and manage the huge funds as Superintendent, Gurdwara Sachkhand Board. They were ably assisted by Jasbir Singh Dhami who moved for nine long months with the yatra and supervised the fund collections.

Meanwhile, ambitious plans were chartered to redraw and reconstruct in a major way the fourteen historic Gurdwaras at Hazur Sahib, and link them with a wide road. That needed a big architectural plan, virtually amounting to a town and country plan, involving reconstruction of existing dwelling units. For instance firstly, existing dwelling unit of 120 Sq. yards were promised a unit of 200 sq. yards, and secondly, the units were to be reconstructed first so that there could be no dislocation.

Apart from construction of about 300 houses for Sikh families being displaced, there was, over a period, a general, headless, move for destruction of all artifacts relating to the era of Ranjit Singh and after. There was little of earlier vintage to be destroyed. The construction done during Ranjit Singh's

times was over 170 years old, and needed to be kept as of heritage vintage. It was of little value to the administration of Pasricha.

Then there was a well built structure, less than a decade old, built for non-resident Indians: they had paid for it and apparently approved of it. There were moves for a stay order, but before that could come about, bull dozers were employed at night to reduce the area to a rubble.

The whole complex had been redesigned for reconstruction over a period of 26-27 months to October 2008, and was as follows:

- * 70 kms of access roads;
- * 8 bridges on Asna, Godavari;
- * 2 railway under-bridges;
- * 6 kms movement network, including pedestrian lanes;
- * 1.5 km of Godavari river front;
- * Development of Gurdwara precincts;
- * Rehabilitation of dislocated families;
- * Modern airport with Boeing standard runway;
- * New railway station at Maltekri.

The last two projects fell under the Nanded Development schemes.³⁵ Many of the projects remained incomplete. This needed temporary accommodation for about (10 lakh) people which the Board expected, at a distance, to which we shall come later.

The start of about 9 months long *Yatra*, causing a travel of 30,000 kms, in 21 states covering 252 cities and towns, besides the villages in the rural areas on the way, started with a *Simran Divas*, day of meditation, on November 15, 2007. This started at 16.30 hours for recitation of *mul mantra*, the basic precept of *Guru Granth Sahib* or of Sikhism, for 15 minutes. For this occasion, a special selection was made of Bhai Chamanjit Singh Lal. In the words of Giani Tarlochan Singh, Jathedar of Kesgarh Sahib, Chamanjit Singh Lal was a Hindu who performed *kirtan* very well. When advised, he kept *Keshas* and also had baptism.³⁶ He did not mention that Chamanjit Singh Lal was an infiltrator to destroy Sikhism from within, as were Tej Singh/ Lal Singh under Ranjit Singh. For instance, he mentioned of a particular Sant Baba, but never of Guru Nanak or his mission. More about him later.

More damaging was selection of such a person this time, when the whole Sikh world was glued to TV to see the occasion marking the beginning of yearlong celebrations. Can Pasricha or someone else tell? Also present on the occasion were leading luminaries including the so-called Jathedar of Akal Takht, Joginder Singh Vedanti, who excels in calling himself the leading Sikh in the community. The first thing Hazur Sahib people did to him was to make him take off his pyjamas, and make him bare legged.

Starting *mul mantra*, Chamanjit Singh Lal should have stuck up at *prasad* or *gurprasad*, which is repeated ad nauseum in *Guru Granth Sahib*. But he decided to move with the next couplet ending at *hosi bhi sach*. This caused umbrage with the Sikh world. Nowhere such *mul mantra* is repeated anywhere else in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*. This may have been the invention of Sant Babas, Taksals, Deras etc. out to destroy Sikhism. Even Joginder Singh Vedanti may be having the background of a Dera, but here in his new avatar, he was the principal functionary for Tat Khalsa. He should have moved forward and stopped Chamanjit Singh Lal's recitation, repeated at least 5 times, over TV, at *Prasad*. Here, he saw the belief of millions of Sikhs being broken smithereens at the altar of his pusillanimity/convenience. And if he lacked courage, as obviously he did, he should have at least walked out of the Gurdwara to show his disagreement. But according to RSS, he is a paid agent, and an agent straightaway pawns his conscience.³⁷

Now comes, what Nanded's journal *Sachkhand* tells us, 'the hit song' or 'a new Sikh anthem' jointly conceived by Jasbir Singh Dhama and Daler (Singh) Mehndi, and sung by the latter. It was Dhama, who managed money as part of *Yatra*. The *yatra* was continuously visited by Dr. P.S. Pasricha who kept an eye on the goings on, remained incognito, but Daler Mehndi whose photograph with trimmed beard appeared on cassettes sold to the people, is well known. It was a prime song during the *yatra*, but to call it anthem, much less a national anthem of the Sikhs, would be a traversity of truth. Firstly, it was like a bubble which appeared at a place on eve of the *yatra* and burst out with the *yatra's* leaving that place. It

had a very temporary effect, as a bubble appears on water and bursts out, leaving the surface as it was before. Secondly, it was misleading in making a claim *guru de naal*, (with the Guru). Which Guru? It never made an appeal of *Sabad* as the Guru. Even the people at Hazur Sahib were sanguine in their affirmation that Guru Gobind Singh had passed on succession only to *Granth Sahib*, making it *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, and no other book/granth. How could those who open up copies of a couple of *Dasam Granth* every morning in the Gurdwara, claim themselves to be with *Guru Granth Sahib*, the only inheritor of status of Guru? To claim that they were following tradition of last 170 years or so, is neither here nor there. If Hazoor Sahib came under wrongful occupation, introducing despicable contrivances, is it incumbent on one to follow those and not discard them? It was more appropriately, in the words of Dr. Jasbir Singh Ahluwalia, Vice Chancellor, Guru Granth Sahib University, *guruU qoN bymuK cwL* – disoriented step from that of the Guru.

During the entire journey *yatra*, of 3000 kms. through the length and breadth of India (minus north-east and deep south), they never mentioned of *Sabad* as the Guru, did not provide with religious literature, *guthkas*, cassettes/videos of Gurbani free (at least to those who made a big contribution), or at a reasonable price, link the populace with *Sabad*. Instead, the people were sold low level filmi songs sung by Daler Mehndi to make him earn some money from sale of his cassettes. Throughout, the *Yatra* was conceived as a money making machine. Sale of silver coins for Rs. 550 or Rs. 1100, and that too without a receipt, was a case in point. It was after Baisakhi in Punjab that Daler Mehndi admitted publicly that he was wrong in trimming his beard. He also added Singh to his name, to sell his cassettes. Now, the *Yatra* is over. What has been impact on him now? Nothing.

An account of *Yatra Vehicle's* entry and a day's stay at Tatanagar (Jharkhand) on December 30, 2007, makes a grim reading. The personnel constituting the group in the vehicle gave the impression of being 'Brahminical Sikhs', with fingertip of *chandan* at their forehead, they looked like a group of booty collectors and plunderers. The youth who boisterously welcomed the vehicle and made a beeline to have a look at the handwritten *Bir*, and old musty weapons, consisted of questionable characters. The *sevadars/granthis* in the vehicle were seen encouraging the people to worship 'weapons', and also write down their earthly wishes for fulfillment for a consideration.³⁸

The group collected about Rs. 24 to 25 lakhs from well to do, sold silver coins worth Rs. 150 for a handsome Rs. 1100 each without a receipt, and had an offering of Rs. 65,000 in the *Golak*. There were a number of papers in the press appealing to the people to awake, and put an end to this onslaught of *Brahminism*.³⁹

The *Yatra* adopted a zig-zag route to encompass within its route all possible towns and had bagfuls of collection. It entered Chandigarh on March 1, and amidst a great deal of fanfare, Anandpur Sahib at Hola Mohalla, Amritsar on Baisakhi, amidst a huge collection of money. It entered Delhi on May 22, 2007, after visiting almost the whole of northern India, through Haryana. It had full participation of SGPC in Punjab and of DSGMC on arrival in Delhi. Meanwhile, there were news in the press attributing to Dr. Pasricha an objective to collect Rs. 20,000 crores through this *Yatra*. There was also another report in the *Spokesman*, obviously an understatement that the *Yatra* had by then collected over Rs. 200 Crores, and it already was midway through. This made me to speak to Jasbir Singh Dhami in Delhi on *Yatra's* day of entry, early in the morning in Delhi. He was aware of what had appeared in Punjab press, but doubted the statement attributed to Dr. Pasricha. He rebutted the news about their having already collected even Rs. 200 Crores. He said, that they had so far collected only Rs. 5 Crores. At that, I asked him, how could that be, as they had already spent (in my estimation) Rs. 10 crores on petrol/diesel, salary/allowances of staff members, cost of huge advertisements, including over at least two TV channels. No reply, and end of phone call. I mentioned this to a couple of people during my morning walk early next day. One said, I must concede that there is large scale misappropriation of funds both in SGPC, and DSGMC, besides other Gurdwaras, and why I wanted to see an exception in case of Hazur Sahib? Another said that the misappropriation of the funds, which was obviously disproportionate to the ones in press report(s), needed a closer questioning of all the personnel manning the *Yatra*, and it needed a high level enquiry. Yet, another said, the snake has passed on, and one has nothing but to go on beating the line. All wanted me to forget it, as a bad dream.

Meanwhile, contradictory signals continued to come about the fate of pristine Sikhism. A website showed that during the annual conference of RSS in 2007, there was conferring of honours on Giani Joginder Singh Vedanti, Jathedar Akal Takht, Giani Tarlochan Singh, (according to him his presence was by chance and not planned), Jathedar Kesgarh Sahib, and Gurbachan Singh, Head Priest of Darbar Sahib, which they accepted heartily. It was at this get together that Jathedar Tarlochan Singh made his remarks about the Hindu character of Chamanjit Singh Lal. It is obvious our Jathedars/Head Priests accepted the invitation most willingly and that may have been a regular feature. At least, that can be said for Vedanti and Gurbachan Singh: one may tend to accept the alibi of Jathedar Kesgarh Sahib of his chance presence. Was that because of herd mentality, and was that for the first time. I leave it to Giani Tarlochan Singh. What for? Were there some specific instructions to be passed on to their well wishers? It was obvious that because of the 3rd Centenary of *gurta gadi* divas, there was going to be immense pressure on Hazur Sahib to fall in line atleast with the *Sikh Rehat Maryada*, and not be a spoiler. This was a grand event that could yield excellent results from the viewpoint of pristine Sikhism. The RSS strategy, of course, could be to maintain status quo. The RSS instructions that were passed on to these Jathedar/Headgranthi were spelled out by a McLeodian scholar, Gurinder Singh Mann, of Leicester, London, U.K. in these words: "Next time somebody raises a question on the Sri *Dasam Granth*, tell them there is no debate."⁴⁰ Verily, Gurinder Singh Mann mentions that people like him are termed agents of RSS.

The dithering in Akal Takht's attitude towards the so-called *Dasam Granth* is to be seen in that light. Firstly in their *hukamnamah*, clarification of January 8, 2007, they had earlier denied the opening of *Dasam Granth* alongwith prakash of *Guru Granth Sahib* at a function at Dayapura Bhai. This *hukamnamah* of denial was signed by Joginder Singh Vedanti, Iqbal Singh, Tarlochan Singh, Balwant Singh Nandgarh and Gurbachan Singh, four jathedars and one *headgranthi*, and set the tone for the debate.⁴¹

Secondly in early January 2008, there was another facet as well. Jathedar Balwant Singh Nandgarh of Damdama Sahib started hauling up members of SGPC indulging in organizing *Akhand Path* (continued reciting of Granth Sahib for about 48 hours), at *samadhs* (mausoleums of dead persons) prohibited by Sikhism.

Thirdly, Prof. Darshan Singh, former Jathedar Akal Takht at the celebrations marking the birth centenary of Guru Gobind Singh at Damdama Sahib in January 2008 started a campaign against singing of certain compositions, falsely attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. These at best were melodies of *kachi bani*, spurious hymns, which were against the philosophy of Guru Nanak. That was the touchstone to judge. He carried this campaign to Hazur Sahib in another few days, and raised the questions for Kulwant Singh, Headpriest of the shrine to answer. Was there any other Granth in existence when Guru Gobind Singh conferred guruship on *Granth Sahib*? Did Guru Gobind Singh authorise any one to compile any other *granth* or book to contradict *Sabad* Guru? Only those who did not accept *Sabad* Guru were raising ifs and buts at the choice made by Guru Gobind Singh. The whole issue amounted to showing disrespect to Guru Gobind Singh.

Prof. Darshan Singh carried on his campaign making Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, New Delhi, as his centre, addressing the people on the theme: *ika bani, ik gur, iko sabad vichar* - highlighting the Unitarian concept, or Oneness of hymns, one Guru, and philosophy revolving around *Sabad*, Word. This was telecast live over TV and had a much wider impact on the populace in India and abroad. Besides, the concept was carried on by media all around. The grant of Akali Phula Singh award to Prof. Darshan Singh in Canada in April pointed to wider ramifications.

This came as a rude shock to Hindus, of RSS and Gandhian/Gangu Brahmin vintage, and also *Keshadhari* Sikhs who were serving as surrogates of one or the other party. The ire in Delhi fell on President DSGMC, Paramjit Singh Sarna who was required to show his earnestness as a camp follower. This caused a set back to Prof. Darshan Singh and upping up of antenna of his opponent Chamanjit Singh Lal. The latter made a couple of appearances, over the time, on invitations for kirtan at Bangla Sahib Gurdwara. Not only that, the invitation to Sri Sri Ravi Shankar to Gurdwara Bangla Sahib where his followers indulged in hooliganism, and taking of Rajan and Sajan, two Misra brothers by the back door to

the dias of Gurdwara Rakab Ganj's Lakhi Shah Vanjara Hall (so that they don't bow their head to Guru Granth Sahib) where they sang Raag Basant, only in context of knowledge imparted to them by a 'Namdhari Satguru', is to be seen in that light. Rag Basant is found in Guru Granth Sahib and is sung from times immemorial. How should such stupid people be considered experts of that Raag without knowing its dimensions? Even a member of DSGMC present on stage, Inderjit Singh Monty, objected to that a couple of times, and sought to provide a correction.⁴² One can take an ass to a pool of water, but cannot make it drink. It only indicated that the objective was to bow Sarna's head to dust in meeting non-conforming, Brahminical objectives.

The visit of yatra to Delhi on May 22, 2008, treated with a high profile by the DSGMC and Paramjit Singh Sarna only helped to instil in him a feeling of estrangement. The *Yatra* vehicle moved for five days, invited a cavalcade of people moving in various bazaars, alongwith Delhi's normal day-traffic, causing a stampede. The police authorities, despite earnest pleas, refused permission for Yatra's visit to West Delhi, because of capacity of roads and a fanfare of people. This was exploited by SAD(Badal) supporters. During 5 days stay the Yatra's collection of about Rs. 5 crores, including the offerings in the boxes, was not bad, but Dr. P.S. Pasricha, who visited Delhi during the period and also talked to police people, was not satisfied. Somebody told me that they were promised a minimum collection of Rs. 2 crores, if they visited Gurdwara Pahariwala, Greater Kailash I. Consequently, after paying a couple of days visit to neighbouring Ghaziabad and Noida, the yatra, at dead of night drove without any fanfare, to Gurdwara Greater Kailash I on May 30, for a days visit.⁴³ Again the next night it drove at dead of night to a Gurdwara in Fateh Nagar area, West Delhi. A Delhi journal aptly questioned "Jagriti Yatra or Golak Yatra". Sarna by the time had paid them up Rs. 50 Lakhs, against the promise of Rs. 1 crore. He let it remain at that, and said that DSGMC itself would go in for a guest house for Delhiites.

By this time the Jagriti Yatra had traversed major part of India with its mission, that became clear to the people by and by, from Nanded to Bombay to Calcutta to Amritsar to Delhi on its further southwards journey. The people because of alacrity of press and TV channels had by now fully ingrained that Yatra was more a collection spree than impart in them some piety and devotion. Pasricha, still expecting a crowd of 12 lakh people at Nanded in October for the occasion started appealing to them to let them know whether they were coming by air, rail, road transport, buses, trucks, trollys, motor bikes, horses, ponies, bullock-carts, cycles, or by foot. The SGPC which had earlier booked five trains from Amritsar to Nanded cancelled all of them because of lacks of response.

SGPC's Sikh Haryana Mission mentions of an impressive activity by holding a series of religious *samagams*/conferences, and peripatetic tours with mass participation running through villages and towns covering various parts of Haryana during June-September, 2008. They apprised the people therein of Sikh divinity, religion and philosophy, on the principles of one *bani*, one *guru* and one *Sabad* (Word), and its interpretation. But there was no such activity anywhere in Punjab.⁴⁴ This absence makes one feel that Haryana activity was more aimed at the move to have a separate Haryana Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, rather than 3rd Centenary of grant of Guruship to *Granth Sahib*. These were mere incidental, but a highly welcome activity giving an appropriate signal to the people. It does not convey a slackness anyway amongst the people in Punjab in their local, historic or other, Gurdwaras.

Parkash Singh Badal, Chief Minister, Punjab, announced that a sum of Rs. 200 crores would be spent for beautification of Anandpur Sahib and Talwandi Sabo as part of 3rd centenary celebrations. Foundation stone of Guru Granth World University was laid at Fateh Garh Sahib by the Chief Minister on September 1, 2008, as part of the celebrations.

U.S. President Barack Obama and Illinois Governor Blagojevich, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, and Palastine Mayor, Rita Mullinw proclaimed October 20 as Guru Granth Sahib Day, and greeted the Sikh community for the occasion.

An event that occurred in the evening of October 28, needs to be recalled. Giani Harinder Singh, *Kathakar*, had been talking publicly during his discourses that the show at Hazur Sahib was not just a private one for Dr. Pasricha, but it should become a panthic one. The inference was obvious that Hazur

Sahib should accept a broader participation. A rumour about Harinder Singh's talk about Hazur Sahib as a mausoleum was deliberately set afloat to stop his *katha* performances. Giani Iqbal Singh of Patna threateningly advanced with his group towards Harinder Singh that if it were so, his mausoleum would also be made inside the complex. Before things could take an ugly turn, policemen on duty in the Gurdwara complex threw a protective shield over Harinder Singh and quietened the agitated group.

A Golden Palanquin made by Kar Seva Jatha of Baba Jagtar Singh of Tarn Taran was installed at Hazur Sahib on October 30, 2008.⁴⁵ Similarly, a bejeweled Kalgi was presented by descendents of late Harbhajan Singh Yogi. Both these acts misrepresented the zeal of devotees. Similarly misplaced was the concern for horses or their dung.⁴⁶

A Sikh is attached to *Sabad* or *Gur-Sabad*, and is not attached to gold, jewels, horses or dung. A handwritten *Bir* available at Hazur Sahib had nothing to do with Guru Gobind Singh. Of the armaments, some are attributed to Guru Gobind Singh, others to Sikhs, some of them of later era, and some to Maharaja Ranjit Singh who despite being punished at Akal Takht for Moran affair, was a known womanizer, including Muslim women. Showing weapons of such a person, gives Hazur Sahib no credit, especially now when they have destroyed all buildings of his era: these had atleast heritage value.⁴⁷

Of primary importance was the *Gurta Gaddi Divas* celebrated on October 30, according to Brahminical Calendar. Pasricha and his ilk had expected a get together of 10 to 12 lakh people gathering⁴⁸ They had installed quadrangular and appropriate tents, suitable for a family, for about 5 lakhs of them. Hardly 40,000, in any case not more than 50,000, i.e. 4 to 5 percent of expected people reached Hazur Sahib.⁴⁹ This included 10,000 security persons for the occasion. Those, who were placed in the tented accommodation, protested at the levy of lodging charges. Keeping in view the poor incomings, these were written off. The accommodation at a distance of 5 to 10 kms from the Gurdwara was quite inconvenient, despite the provision of free buses. Bulk of accommodation in Hazur Sahib Gurdwara complex was not yet ready for use.

Mention may be made of supremely rich langars (Common Kitchens), and sumptuous fare provided to the people by Sant Babas from Punjab and other parts of the Sikh world. The kitchen set up by Baba Nidhan Singh Dera, now for a long time at Nanded, continued its work. Special mention needs to be made of Baba Kashmir Singh Bhuriwale, who engaged 300 *halwais* to cook dainty food items in pure ghee, specially brought from Panjab. Then there was Baba Mohinder Singh of Birmingham, who is close to McLeod. Numerous types of sweets, Italian, Chinese and English dainty items, besides the Punjabi and Mughlai fare was served in plenty. Since the number of guests was very small, Sant Babas inveigled the residents of Nanded not to cook food but to partake it in the *langar*. The residents, keeping in view the munificence, invited their relatives, friends, acquaintances, and others to visit them, simply to taste various type of food items available for nothing. They had no obligation to visit even the Hazur Sahib shrine, where the attendance continued to be thin.

The arrival of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on October 30, 2008, constituted the main event. A special pandal outside the Gurdwara which could accommodate forty to fifty thousand people was erected. P.S. Sarna from Delhi accompanied the PM, and occupied a place on the podium. So was the case with SGPC, Akal Takht, and Darbar Sahib dignitaries. All of them occupied their positions at the rostrum, besides the Punjab Chief Minister, Parkash Singh Badal. The attendance was poor, hardly 10,000 people. Prime Minister's security operators removed all the SGPC, Akal Takht and Darbar Sahib people, besides P.S. Sarna from the dias, and made them sit amongst the congregation. This caused them embarrassment with red faces, as all this was being shown live over T.V.

The Prime Minister spoke to the point, and pointed out that Guru Gobind Singh had conferred Guruship on *Granth Sahib* only, and they were gathering that day to celebrate the 3rd Centenary of that event. He also mentioned of the Airport and other widespread development events concerning Nanded. All those present from Hazur Sahib were in full agreement with whatever he said. They, however, in height of stupidity, didn't realize that the opening of another book, *Dasam Granth* was contrary to manifestation of Guru's command rendered at the time, that *Guru Granth Sahib* was manifestation of

Guru's spirit, and it was ordained for all the Sikhs to mentally accept that fact. After Prime Minister had finished, the function was over. No one else including those from Punjab were permitted to have any say. This caused a great dismay amongst them, as it punctured their ego.

Gone was SGPC/Akal Takht's expectation that Pasricha would announce Hazur Sahib's acceptance of Sikh Rehat Maryada.⁵⁰

President and the entire staff of SGPC, as also Akal Takht Jathedar and the religious hierarchy took a decision to move out of Hazur Sahib at this insult. But soon, probably because of a RSS phone call, Jathedar Akal Takht Giani Gurbachan Singh separated himself from the group and stayed back. All the rest left immediately in disgust.

The visit of President Pratibha Devi Singh Patil on November 3, 2007, to Hazur Sahib was a tame affair, and that of Sonia Gandhi on November 7 was just a stock taking one, to contain damage to Congress vis-à-vis BJP in the forthcoming Parliamentary elections. Things were quite in hand.

Guru Gobind Singh after passing on *Gurgaddi* to *Guru Granth Sahib* had passed away the following day, but now the *parlokgaman* of the 10th Guru was fixed on November 5. The affair at Hazur Sahib was throughout a tame affair and ended with a whimper.

Dr. P.S. Pasricha was brought in mainly to manage huge funds and implemented the numerous construction projects. During his over nine months of Yatra era, he had managed the extremely large funds accruing during the period in his own light, and also indulged in large scale demolitions of old and new works, creating multiplex problems. By the time of the main function, large chunks of works remained incomplete. Apart from huge collections from all over India, he started getting big quantum of funds from abroad, all in a transparent manner.⁵¹ Though over eight months have elapsed since the termination of tercentenary celebrations, the details of total accruals and expenses, which should have been disclosed on monthly basis, have not been made public. The Board hopes to get more funds from abroad. All this makes it a self-perpetuating and a topsy turvy affair, lacking transparency.

The Jathedar Akal Takht, now that the affair at Hazur Sahib was over, fixed a date to take up the issue of historicity of *Dasam Granth*, but soon came forward with an alibi that because of marriage of the son of Jathedar, Kesgarh Sahib, the matter was being delayed. Soon that came to pass by and still no results. The instructions issued by RSS as conveyed by Gurinder Singh Mann are explicit: "Next time some body raises a question on the *Sri Dasam Granth*, tell them there is no debate."

Significantly, Joginder Singh Vedanti at a press conference on January 6, 2009 at Kesgrah Sahib virtually disavowed *Dasam Granth* but this type of wisdom dawned upon him much after the event. He was now in favour of setting up a Committee to look into its contents. Six months have passed, but he has not passed on the wisdom to his *Kurrm* (kuVm) now leading Akal Takht.

I had the opportunity to meet Prof. Darshan Singh in Delhi on February 1, 2009. He had just come from Punjab and in few hours was to be on his flight to Toronto, Canada. I asked him that we had hoped to listen to his *kirtan* in the evening at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, after the evening services, when as usual the theme could be *ika bani, ik gur, iko sabd vichar* – unitarian character of hymns, Godhood, and thought process. He kept mum. A person who had also come to see him off, told me outside the house that it was because of political considerations. Obviously, Paramjit Singh Sarna could not afford to displease his political bosses as he, just after the rebuff at Hazur Sahib, had extended further invitation to Bhai Chaman Singh Lal for a *kirtan* performance. Such was the chemistry of Sikh leadership whether aligned to Congress or BJP. The difference was one of degree, not of kind.

If the English were the people who manufactured *Dasam Padshah ka Granth* in early 19th century, and Sir Khem Singh Bedi the *Dasam Granth* by end of the century, now the RSS are the people who in Brahminical India have taken over. After *Dasam Granth* met a set back to achieve its objectives at 3rd centenary functions, a new *avatar* of the work, a huge volume containing *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* and *Dasam Granth* in one volume has been prepared in May 2009. On seeing it, the Akal Takht Jathedar said that it could be work of the last century, but the year of publication betrayed the contours. Besides the contents of paper also tells one simply by sight that it is a recent work. Jathedars have shuddered in their *pyjamas* against proceeding any further. Why? Because, of late for the last several decades the head

priests of Akal Takht or Darbar Sahib at Amritsar have been out to deceive our Guru. pwp kmWvidAw qyrw koie n byll rwm. We have adopted resolutions banning holding of *akhandpath of Dasam Granth*, declaring *Charitro Pakhyan* not to be a production of Guru Gobind Singh, or even saying that we will not be present where a copy of *Dasam Granth* is opened up in our presence, much less opening up of *Dasam Granth* along with ceremonial opening of *Guru Granth Sahib*, but have desisted from doing anything more in the matter, or even implementing that.

We lack *aql* (Akl) intelligence. If people at Akal Takht had intelligence and used it, they would have enforced their decision not to do Akhand Path of *Dasam Granth* or have ostracized at least Gurdwaras at Patna Sahib and Hazur Sahib. Again, when we decided that *Charitro Pakhyan* was not a work of Guru Gobind Singh, the people of Akal Takht should have at least got it excluded from *Dasam Granth* or punished those who publish it, and also those who keep such copies of *Dasam Granth*. Yet again, we or people at Akal Takht should have withdrawn from Hazur Sahib right on November 15, 2007, before the start of *Yatra*, so much so that it would have a rock bottom effect and should have spared the people the shame they faced on October 30, 2008.

In short, a legal study which has come to my notice late in my life makes it clear that once a Sikh believes in *Dasam Granth*, he comes to have belief in another faith – other than that of Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh. As such, irrespective of the fact whether one is an ordinary Sikh, or is a headpriest or so called Jathedar, he loses to be Sikh of Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh.⁵² It is incumbent upon us to liberate our Gurdwaras from the hands of non-believers. Whether one believes in statues, *devi-devtas*, or multiple gods, or other book(s), makes no difference. Earlier Massa Rangar despoiled Darbar Sahib complex, later Indira Gandhi did so, and now these Head Priests/Jathedars are at it. What is the difference? All fall in the same category, with a small difference.

You cannot ask such a person to appoint a committee/commission to look into contents of *Dasam Granth*, and separate the *banis* attributed to Guru Gobind Singh and which are in tune with the teachings of *Guru Granth Sahib* from others. Already their performance has been dismal.

As of May 2009, a Gurdwara in Helsinki, Finland, named Gurdwara Sarab Sangat Sahib, has moved ahead and removed the word *Bhagauti* from *Ardas*, and substituted it by *Akal Purakh*. That is not inappropriate, but it would be better to substitute it by words *Ik-Onkar* (<) and proceed ahead. I have already mentioned that during 21st century, the Sikhs in the diaspora will take over from the Sikhs in India who will greatly dwindle. The Finnish Sikhs have shown the way.

Guru Gobind Singh had explicitly stated, ‘So long Khalsa keeps its distinct character, that long it shall have from me all its refulgence; when it ingrains the rituals of non-conforming elements (*bipran*), I shall not look into its welfare.’

It is quite obvious that all these shrines at Hazur Sahib, Patna Sahib, and other places which open up *Dasam Granth* along with a ceremonial opening (*parkash*) of *Guru Granth Sahib*, have lost the grace of presence therein of Guru Nanak – Guru Gobind Singh. These are as alien to Khalsa as are the shrines at Badri Nath, Kedar Nath, Amar Nath, Som Nath or, for that, Jawalamukhi or Mata’s or other shrines. All these Hindu shrines would also like to have a *prakash* of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* along with statues to engulf Sikhism within their grasp. That is what is being done at Hazur Sahib, Patna Sahib &c, without the Sikhs realizing what these are upto. There are not Sikh shrines. They should discard these shrines straightaway, and return to Guru Nanak’s path of *Ik Onkar*, One Infinite God, as be all and end all of human philosophy.

(added in June 2009)

Notes and References

1. Cf. Jasbir Singh Mann, “British Connection and Text of Dasam Patshahi da Granth”, *The International Journal of Sikh Affairs*, (Edmonton, ALTA, Canada, June 2008 p. 37.
2. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh* or Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature, (reprint Delhi 1990) p. 167.

3. This has relevance to the situation that has emerged in Sikh rural life from about 1982 to the present, when the rural areas have gone without education, despite Badal's first administration, 1997-2002, and the second one from 2007 till now, or that of Capt. Amarinder Singh that went in between, 2002-07, when practically nothing was done for rural education. A most unfortunate result of this has been that the Sikh down-trodden classes, Mazhbis, etc. and bulk of Jats in rural areas have remained unlettered.
4. I have already mentioned that they always approached the Sikhs when their women were taken away by the ruling class. In their distress they never approached a co-Hindu for two reasons. One, they did not think that a Hindu raja or overlord would risk his everything for such a cause; and, two, he was not sure that such a lady once recovered, would be restored to him without being enjoyed by her recoverers. In case of recovery by the Sikhs who were known to be firm in abstinence of other's women, the Brahmin straightaway put her in his harem without any purification ceremony, for there was none in use.
5. Cf. Gurinder Singh Mann, "Dasam Granth – There is No Debate: The Magazine Approach to Guru Gobind Singh's Writings Dissected", in *Sant Sipahi*, Jalandhar, January 2008, p. 46.
6. The English saw that of all the subjects, Brahminical Hindus were the most docile, as against others. Muslims then in power were losing to the English, and had reservations. The Brahmins, then slaves for eight centuries or more, had nothing to lose in changing their masters. They rather gained in securing lucrative jobs, and became equal to Muslims, the ruling class. The English incorrectly thought that Brahmins idolatry and multiple gods and goddesses were positive factors in their mental framework of slavery. They wanted to promote that in Sikhism, too. Besides, whereas Muslim had the concept of *Ummah* and the Sikhs that of *Panth*, the Hindus had no corresponding concept. They were just a herd of people without a unifying force or feeling, except for Shivaji Marathas.
7. Jasbir Singh Mann, n. 1 p. 35.
8. Even his partisan, Gurinder Singh Mann concedes that *Adi* word was introduced by John Malcolm. Cf. Gurinder Singh Mann's "Description of the Dasam Granth from the 'Sketch of Sikhs'". *Sant Sipahi*, Jalandhar, April 2008, p. 46-47.
9. Cf. n. 13 of Gurinder Singh Mann's article, *Sant Sipahi*, Jalandhar, April 2008.
10. The Granth had no formal shape and went on adding and deleting portions, as per whim of copyists.
11. Jasbir Singh Mann, n. 1 p. 35.
12. If the entire Kingdom of Ranjit Singh had been taken over by the English and merged in Company's Empire, a meaningful partition of the sub-continent could have been effected in 1947. But the betrayal of the Sikhs leading to the establishment of Dogra rule in Jammu & Kashmir, led to betrayal of Muslims in 1947/1953, and upsurge of Brahminical Hinduism. Jammu, a Punjabi speaking part, was treated as Hindu or Hindvi.
13. Cf. Jasbir Singh Mann, note 1, and his detailed study of the subject available at internet (Click on http://www.Globalsikhstudies.net/r_link/dasam.htm).
14. It is this British control over the Sikh shrines that constitutes the rational behind the Government of India's control over SGPC after Panjab's Reorganization in 1966, and the attempt of Hindutava forces to takeover the Sikh shrines around the end of 20th century, and now in not too distant a future, as we shall see.
15. Cf. Ramkali ki Var, *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* pp. 966-969. Baldev Singh. "Who is the Author of Dasam Granth" on internet p. 4; Dr. J.S. Mann, n. 1, p. 36 Also on internet, see n. 13 above.
16. Even Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha writing over three decades later did not take any notice of this *Sodhak* Committee, which had been a big *tamasha*. Of course, it has caused a big damage. Some salient features of functioning of this Sodhak Committee, 1895-96, and again 1897, which worked for eight plus three months in all, need be cited.
17. Cf. Jasbir Singh Mann, n.1, p.36 for internet cf n.13 above. Gurtej Singh, "An Assessment of the Report of the Sodhak Committee", *The International Journal of Sikh Affairs*, . Edmonton, ALTA, Canada, pp. 19-21.
18. Following Manna Singh or Sir Khem Singh, partisans of *Dasam Granth* including the followers of Bhai Randhir Singh, and Kathakars like Giani Sant Singh Maskeen have shown critical lack of their faculties in speaking for *Dasam Granth*, in its entirety, as work of Guru Gobind Singh.
19. Gurtej Singh n. 17. *op.cit*.
20. Cf. fn. 54. chapter 4, p. 142, ante
21. Xw mY rjuc n imiQAw BwKI, pwrBRhm guru nwnkswKI [
I have not uttered an iota of falsehood; Guru Nanak who is like Parbrahm to me is a witness.
22. Discussion with Dr. Kuldip Singh, FRCS, Chandigarh and his writings in *Rozana Spokesman* and also brochure on Bhai Vir Singh and The Modern Literature.
23. It may be seen that the Baisakhi of 1699 fell on March 29, and not March 30 as propagated by Dr. Ganda Singh and others.
24. It was not long that people forgot about the *Sikh Rehat Maryada*, or the people at Akal Takht showed a reluctance to enforce it strictly.
25. Cf. fn. 26, Chapter 6, p. 244, ante.
26. The word used is *Fatwa* (edict) of Jathedars, cf. letter no. 366723/4 dated August 4, 1973, issued by Gurbax Singh, Assistant Secretary, Dharam Prachar Committee, SGPC. See also Dr. Kirpal Singh, compiler, *Panthak Mate* (pMQk mqq), Chandigarh, 2002.
27. I attended as an observer. Jaap Sahib's first Saloka, 5th line mentions, *net net*, or *neti neti*, not this, *not this*; it contradicts *mul mantra*, and is not found anywhere in *Guru Granth Sahib*.

28. Cf. Nirwair Singh Arshi, “Sri Hazur Sahib dian Abhul Yadan da Ras te Rahas”, (sRI hJUr swihb dIAW ABul XwdW dw rs qy rh`s) in *Sada Virsa Sada Gaurav*, Ludhiana, August 2008, pp. 17-20. He was founder editor of the monthly magazine *Sachkhand Patra* published by Hazur Sahib foundation, from 1974 to 1986.
29. *Spokesman*, September 13, 2007.
30. Cf. *India Awareness* New Delhi, May 2008, pp. 29-30.
31. When I visited Hazur Sahib on eve of Dussehra of 2002, management’s drive for funds, for sake of funds, was obvious. So had been their *manmat*.
It had been falsely circulated now for atleast a century that Guru Gobind Singh expected a visit by his Sikh till his 50th year, without telling the people that Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh had been driven out of Hazur Sahib because of self willed (mnmq) propositions of Pujaris/management, I told the people from Bombay, managing security for the Dussehra rush, to tell the management as to what was *gurnat*, Guru’s wish, and what not. They said, they had spoken to the management umpteen times, but they don’t listen.
32. Both Punjab Government and SGPC got constructed rest houses/guest houses.
33. Talks over telephone with Laddu Singh Mahajan, Nanded, and S. Buta Singh, now Chairman, Scheduled Castes Commission, New Delhi, see also, Daljeet Kaur Matharoo, *Sachkhand Pattar*, Nanded, January 2009, pp. 2-5, and March 2009, pp. 2-5.
34. I had a chance meeting with him in 2006 (at a seminar organized by DSGMC on Martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev, and found, firstly, that because of his colouring his beard he was not fit to be President even of a mofussil Gurdwara much less a Takht, secondly, I found he had only a preliminary knowledge of Sikhism and Sikh Gurus. His statement to the press in late 2008 that Guru Gobind Singh had gone to Deccan to seek Maratha support against Aurangzeb (died February 1707) was typical of man’s ignorance or innocence of history. Then look at his “Mussing” in *Sachkhand Patra*, Nanded, March 2009, p. 3. He cannot recall the order in which the 5-Piaras (Beloved ones) offered themselves to Guru Gobind Singh on Baisakhi of 1699. He was indebted to CM Ashok Chavan who benefitted most.
35. Reprehensibly, despite all the efforts at fund collection, the Gurdwara Board did not have that much funds to start with the projects. The local administration advanced some funds to it, to start the works.
36. A photograph of his residence, published in mid-December 2007 showed a room with *Parkash* of *Guru Granth Sahib*. In the corner was placed a replica of Darbar Sahib, awarded to him sometime earlier, and on top of it was a statue of *Ganesh*. For him *Guru Granth Sahib* and *Ganesh* went side by side. Website for annual conference of RSS, 2007; *Spokesman*, December 16, 2007, January 3, 2008.
37. I may mention here that at Harare Information Ministers Conference, in June 1987, the Zimbabwe TV authorities recorded an interview of India’s Minister for Information and Broadcasting. Mr. A.K. Panja. I, then a senior officer in External Affairs being a representative with the delegation, pounced upon TV authorities that if this interview was telecast, India’s relation, inter alia, with Zimbabwe, would plummet to new low. We seized the TV Cassette, and made them re-record the interview.
The Akal Takht Jathedar, having miserably failed, should have resigned or he should have been sacked. But the SGPC, now for quite some time, is headed by nin-com-poops.
38. In the words of Dalip Singh Kashmiri this yatra was a big attempt to break the people from *Gurbani*, *Guru Sabad*, and *Guru Granth Sahib*, and to link them with armaments.
39. *India Awareness*, New Delhi, February 2008 pp. 35, 38.
40. G.S. Mann, n. 5, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
41. Cf. *Sant Sipahi*, *Jalandhar*, February 2008, p. 5 Compare this with what happened in November 2007 and October 2008, at Hazoor Sahib and post 2008 celebrations era when formation of a committee on *Dasam Granth* was set off on one pretext or the other.
42. *India Awareness*, New Delhi, April 2008, pp. 22, 35.
43. A lady offered an offering of Rs. 1 lakh, in two bundles of notes of Rs.500 each. She was told to split up the bundles and push the notes in the crevices of the Cash Collection Box or *Golak*.
My wife offered them, inter alia, 5 copies of Hindi version of this book alongwith a letter addressed to Jasbir Singh (Dhami). The Granthis/Sewadars said that their job was firstly, to collect money and not any thing else. Secondly, they don’t know who this Jasbir Singh (Dhami) is (?).
44. Cf. *Gurnat Parkash* monthly magazine of SGPC Amritsar, for August-October, 2008, also before and after issues.
45. Similar *Palki* had been sent to Nanakana Sahib, Pakistan. The Pakistanis, in the words of their Prime Minister, found that it contained only 1.5 kg. of gold and not the declared 10.4 kgs. Hazur Sahib people have yet to know?
46. A Sikh is meant to ride a horse, and not vice versa. If a horse is killed, a rider takes a new one, but if a rider is killed, the horse is taken over by some one else.
47. Cf. Madanjit Kaur. “Significant Development of Sikh Community”, *Abstracts of Sikh Studies*, Chandigarh, April-June 2009 pp. 61-85.

48. Madanjit Kaur in her usual over enthusiasm mentions a figure of 'nearly 25 lakhs' people from around the world reaching Nanded. Wherefrom she gets this exorbitant figure one does not know. Even Pasricha nowhere mentions of it. See, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
49. As early as February 2008, an expected figure of 12 Lakhs visitors was mentioned, *Tribune*, February 11, 2008.
50. It had been agreed that Badal would offer Dr. P.S. Pasricha membership of Rajya Sabha and his assistant, Jasbir Singh Dhama membership of SGPC in place of the one from Maharashtra who would resign. The Maharashtra Government got wind of the understanding that was to be adopted by *5-Piaras* and disciplined them. Service of a notice for refund of Rs. 61 Crores advanced by Maharashtra Government, for a project, upon Dr. P.S. Pasricha, Chairman Administrative Board, is to be seen in that light.
51. Incompletion of works and incoming of huge donations viz Rs. 1.08 crores from Sant Singh Chhatwal, New York, Rs. 1 crore each from Avtar Singh Khalra and Kartar Singh Khalra from U.K., Rs. 50,000 by J.S. Kandhari, from Chandigarh, and another Rs. 50,000 from two members of Arora family, Monty and Haravtar Singh, Chandigarh only showed that large amounts could still be coming in. *Sachkhand Patar*, Nanded, September 2008.
52. Kashmir Singh, "Sri Guru Granth Sahib and Dasam Granth in Legal Literature," at internet.

Appendix 4

Reprieve for Devender Pal Singh (Bhullar)

I

Dr. Sangat Singh

Phone: 2921 4294

S-181 Greater Kailash, Part-2,
New Delhi - 110 048

**Smt. Pratiba Devisingh Patil,
President of India,
Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi - 110 004**

June 20, 2011

Reprieve for Devender Pal Singh Bhullar - Regarding

Respected Madam,

At first I should introduce myself: My work *The Sikhs in History*, 7th edn. 2010 has been acclaimed as the greatest work on Sikh history since the day of J. D. Cunningham (1849). As such, the views I am expressing here may be taken as authoritative views of the Sikh community.

2. The news about your refusal to grant reprieve to Devender Pal Singh Bhullar, facing capital punishment, comes as a deep shock. One hopes in vain that people in the Government of India and Presidential set up would apply their mind to the case.

3. The first and the foremost is the split judgement of 3-member bench of the Supreme Court, which came to light on April 3, 2002 and the nature of those judgements.

- a) The Presiding Judge Mr. Justice M. B. Shah held that Devender Pal Singh Bhullar was innocent, as the confessional statement recorded by Police was retracted. The independent witnesses produced by the Police were not of any help to it. The other persons, named in bomb blast against Bitta, were neither convicted nor tried, and a person cannot conspire only with himself.

He regarded the case against Bhullar a bundle of lies and a charade: he acquitted him straightaway.

- b) The other two judges, Mr. Justice B. N. Aggarwal and Mr. Justice Arijit Passayat betrayed the type of influences that were working on them. They openly said that they were not bothered about proof. They referred to militants attack on World Trade Centre at New York on September 11, 2001 and attack on Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001. They had before them Bhullar upholding Sikh values: so they did not apply their judicial mind to the case. What they did was nothing short of political skull-drudgery and miscarriage of justice in sentencing Bhullar to death sentence and termed it as a rarest of rare case.

4. This judgement raised furor on some TV channels over relevance of former TADA or present POTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act) for justice to minorities. It was contented that firstly, police in India was not an independent entity but in league with some politicians; and secondly, there was the question of nexus between politicians, criminal elements and some sections of judiciary.

5. Now, something about Mr. P. Chidambaram, Union Home Minister, through whom the papers have been put up. He was a junior Minister in Home Ministry under Buta Singh in Rajiv Gandhi Government (1984-89) when Punjab was heading towards state terrorism. He has not outgrown those days and does not necessarily reflect the view point of Smt. Sonia Gandhi, a Roman Catholic, or her son Rahul Gandhi who reflects a different approach. The state militancy was carried forward by Shri K. P. S. Gill, the then DG Police, who continued his rapacious regime despite Supreme Court's numerous damning indictments. He, however, candidly opined: "the issues like Chandigarh or river water are not the real problems... The main grudge of the Sikhs against the Hindus was the domination of Brahminical society." With the quantum of killings he had done, thinking process of the Sikhs, he averred had now changed. (Hindustan Times December 1, 1993). THE PROJECTED JUDICIAL KILLINGS OF DEVENDER PAL SINGH BHULLAR IS TO BE SEEN IN THAT LIGHT, OF KILLING OF PEOPLE OWNING FEALTY TO SIKH FAITH.

6. If India is a secular country, and THAT IT IS A BIG IF, it shall be most appropriate for you to reconsider the matter afresh in view of the above, and grant reprieve to Bhullar, and set him free, as envisaged by the presiding judge, Mr. Justice M. B. Shah.

Yours sincerely,

(Sangat Singh)

Copies of this letter were sent to the following:

1. Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, New Delhi.
 2. Rahul Gandhi, New Delhi.
 3. Chairman National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi.
 4. Chairman, Minorities Commission, New Delhi.
 5. Honorable Ambassador, Federal Republic of Germany, Shanti Path, New Delhi.
 6. Avtar Singh Makkar, President, SGPC, Amritsar.
 7. Sukhdev Singh Bhaur, General Secretary, SGPC, Amritsar.
 8. Paramjit Singh Sarna, President, DSGMC, New Delhi.
 9. Harvinder Singh Sama, President, SAD (Delhi), New Delhi.
- (Letters to no. 8 and 9 were sent keeping in view their proximity to P.M.)
- 10-11. K. T. S. Tuls, Advocate on record, New Delhi + one copy for Bhullar's mother.
 12. Joginder Singh, Editor, *Spokesman*, Chandigarh.
 13. Dalip Singh Kashmiri, Chandigarh.
 14. Giani Harinder Singh, Kathakar, New Delhi.

None of the addressees even acknowledged my letter, except for the Chairman, National Human Rights Commission, who hoped that since I had approached a multiple of authorities, some one would come forward to look into the matter.

This was a clear indication that they wanted me to make the issue as one of violation of human rights, and delete references of political nature. Since I was still hoping for a response, especially from the P. M., (as I already had indicted the Union Home Minister), I wanted the Institute of Sikh Studies (IOSS), Chandigarh to make it simply a Human Rights issue.

I entrusted the work to one Santokh Singh, a retired IRS senior officer, to get the needful done, as I had some reservations about the persons heading the IOSS in post-Kharak Singh period. For some similar reasons, he could not get the IOSS interested in the matter. I never had any doubts about his credibility and sincerity. This led to a lot of loss of time, at my end too. I have since resumed my normal activity.

III

Dr. Sangat Singh

Phone: 2921 4294

S-181 Greater Kailash, Part-2,
New Delhi - 110 048

**The Chairman,
National Human Rights Commission,
Faridkot House,
Copernicus Marg,
New Delhi - 110 001**

March 16th, 2013

Devender Pal Singh (Bhullar): Death Sentence of :

Dear Sir,

I am constrained to write to you in my capacity as author of *The Sikhs in History* (now 7th edn. 2010) which has been acclaimed as one of the greatest works on Sikh History, in the forward by Prof. Noel Q. King, Prof. Emeritus of History and Comparative Religions, California University, Santa Cruz, (USA). A couple of years back, I had written to the then President of India, with copies to the Prime Minister and a host of others, but got no reply, except from your end. Hence, this letter to you, as a case of violation of Human Rights.

2. On extradition from Frankfurt, Germany, Devender Pal Singh was arrested at New Delhi Indira Gandhi Airport on January 19, 1995, and subjected to a trial for a bomb blast at office of the Youth Congress President, Raisina Road, New Delhi.

3. The case went upto the Supreme Court. The Presiding Judge, JJ M. B. Shah held him to be completely innocent. He went into the mechanics of a confessional statement (since retracted), and not presented to ACMM, or even saved in the computer or floppy. The recording of the statement was flawed, in the absence of requisite certificate to be recorded by the concerned DCP. Also, the independent witnesses produced by the police contradicted Devender Pal Singh's alleged statement. The other persons named were not convicted, nor tried, and a person cannot conspire only with himself. He, therefore, acquitted him to be released immediately, unless wanted in some other case.

4. The other two judges were JJ B. N. Aggarwal (who concurred) and JJ Arijit Passayat who wrote the judgement. They betrayed their prejudice by straight away, in the very first paragraph, (No. 28 of the judgement), referred to the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre and other places in USA, September 11, 2001 and attack on Parliament House in New Delhi on December 13, 2001, as if both or

one of them were handiwork of Devender Pal Singh Bhullar or any of his associates. In Para 58 towards the end, they say, “when the collective conscience of the community is shocked, (it) will expect the holders of the judicial power centre to inflict death penalty irrespective of their opinion...” Then, they talk of 5 stipulations for “collective conscience of community’s ire,” and then of the need for “taking an *overall global* views of all circumstances” which prompt them to subject themselves to *popular acclaim*, all the more so when they are ordering a person from a minority community to be sent to gallows. In between these two paragraphs (Para 28 and 58), they induce arguments to win *popular acclaim*, the prime objective of the judgement.

5. Since the presiding judge had acquitted Devender Pal Singh they wanted to go to the other extreme of death penalty. How it could become a *rarest of rare* case, is beyond the mind of an ordinary individual, but these two judges had a different mindset, to win *popular acclaim*.

6. In Para 60, JJ Passayat and Agrawal as if struck by a pinch of conscience, talk of power exercised by Governor/Government or in this case President and the Union Government to remit, or commute the sentence. But again, as the Youth Congress President was involved, and the Union has a Congress Government, it did not or could not do so, and ‘tarnish’ its image. Everyone has been deriving a vicarious pleasure in putting on tenterhooks of gallows, a person who, they knew has not committed the crime he is accused of, but because he upholds the values of Sikhism. I would not like to go deeper into that here. It is well known that Guru Tegh Bahadur had offered his sacrifice for basic human rights – freedom of religion and of conscience – the instant gainer were Brahmical Caste Marks (*tilak* and *janeu*), in both of which Sikhism did not believe.

7. In a recent judgement a Bench of two judges of Supreme Court has recently held that *rarest of rare* is a subjective term and means different things to different judges/persons. It needs to be looked into afresh. How could a person sentenced to death in four different cases, for cutting into pieces with his butchers saber (*toka*), the Sikhs in November 1984 pogrom could not be treated as a *rarest of rare* case by a Supreme Court Bench only smacks of a rare obfuscation of concerned judge’s mind for ulterior purpose. Obviously, the level of justice administered to some people smacks of partisanship.

8. Devender Pal Singh was arrested on January 19, 1995 and has since been in custody/jail, now for over 18 years: he has suffered both mentally and physically. He is a highly educated man, and but for the urge for a *popular acclaim* entrained at various levels, Devender Pal Singh would have been a free man, well into his career. He is now nearing 48, and on merits needs to be not only released but also paid a hefty compensation for the wrongs done to him.

9. I must place on record that I have never met Devender Pal Singh or any member of his family and surprisingly I do not know even his address or whereabouts.

10. I would request you to kindly look into the case sympathetically as a Human Rights case.

With kind regards

Yours faithfully,

(Sangat Singh)

Encl: (2002) 5 Supreme Court Cases 234

IV

Dr. Sangat Singh

**Dr. Manmohan Singh,
Prime Minister of India,
7 Race Course Road,**

Phone: 2921 4294

S-181 Greater Kailash, Part-2,
New Delhi - 110 048

April 22, 2013

New Delhi - 110 001

**Sub : Bomb Blast of 1993 outside office of Youth Congress President :
Conviction of Devender Pal Singh Bhullar**

Sir,

Last Monday, April 15, S. Parkash Singh Badal, Chief Minister, Punjab and Sukhbir Singh Badal, Dy Chief Minister, had met you in connection with conviction of Devender Pal Singh Bhullar, and pleaded his case for conversion of his death sentence to life imprisonment. **New facts have come to light** that the bomb outside the office of Youth Congress President, New Delhi, in 1993 was blasted by state authorities and was not the work of Bhullar for which he has been convicted. The Union Home Ministry, I.B./Police came to know of the fact immediately, but Law Ministry was not kept informed, nor were the Courts leading to miscarriage of justice. The Supreme Court was taken for a ride.

2. A Bench of Supreme Court on Friday, April 12, 2013, turned down a petition on behalf of Devender Pal Singh (Bhullar) to commute his death sentence. The news with various actors like, a) Manjinder Singh Bitta, former Youth Congress President (- outside whose office a bomb exploded in 1993, the subject matter of Bhullar's being sentenced to death -) was shown live on various TV channels right from about noon to late in the evening, with his acerbic comments and answers to questions posed by newsmen; b) visual scenes of Devender Pal Singh's physical and mental condition, however dated; and c) Navneet Kaur, Bhullar's wife who had flown especially, for the judgment from Canada where she normally now lives, and her reaction.

3. M.S. Bitta's testimony is of special importance and needs a detailed examination.

4. A Bomb blast took place in 1992 of which Bitta was said to be the main target. Who blasted that bomb? No one gets enlightened on that. But Bitta got security cover.

5. In 1993, Bitta got elected as President of Youth Congress. As a result, his security cover was withdrawn by BJP led Delhi Admn. Bitta felt highly peeved. He eventually rang up K.P.S. Gill, Director General, Punjab Police. He was told that there would be a bomb blast outside his office the very next day. KPS Gill could not have passed on such information to Delhi Administration, as BJP was in power there. The Central Government, which controlled the police was being run by P.V. Narasimaha Roa of Congress (I). Was it sent to them in time, with definite information about the target, outside Bitta's Youth Congress office? Did I.B./POLICE and others failed to act in view of the definite information about the timing and the exact place of the threatened bomb blast coming from a source like DG (Punjab Police)? The answer, obviously, is No. Did Bitta, keeping in view the definite information he had, prevent a gathering outside his office to obviate the attempt, or cause a lesser damage? NO, as that would have meant his acting like a Guy Fawkes. As it was, the bomb blast did take place causing 9 deaths and 25 injured persons including, for convenience, Bitta, who was expecting it. **Result:** M.S. Bitta got his security cover back. **That was the precise objective of the blast.** Who performed it? The answer lies in the narration above. KPS Gill, it may be mentioned was running amuck in 1993-94 and after, with SC Judges continuously ranting at him; they either could not or deliberately did not discipline him. I don't want to go into the reasons for that here.

6. Bitta's second grouse was against Kapil Sibal, now Cabinet Minister, for having fought the case for Devender Pal Singh before the Supreme Court, leading to the split judgment of 2002. The availing of services of Kapil Sibal shows clearly that Devender Pal Singh was neither a Khalistani, nor a terrorist. It may be mentioned that Kapil Sibal comes from a family of Arya Samaj, which has been in the forefront in confronting Sikhism and Sikh aspirations. That alone shows that Devender Pal Singh, who was very much in his health, and his family had a liberal outlook and did not entertain such apprehensions. Besides, Kapil Sibal must have spoken to him and his family members to convince himself that he was not defending a terrorist, but an ordinary person having multiple criminal charges including violation of Passport Act against him. It would be a reflection on Kapil Sibal if he were accused of defending a terrorist.

7. M.S. Bitta made acerbic comments on various Congress leaders, including Ms. Ambika Soni, earlier a Cabinet Minister, to advise him to back out from harming Devender Pal Singh. Why did they do so? They must have, or the Government to their knowledge must have, come to know the truth about the 1993 blast, that it was an internal affair, and not one to be attributed to Devender Pal Singh? The accusing finger officially pointed to some one else.

8. M.S. Bitta mentioned that he made several attempts to see Smt. Sonia Gandhi but to no avail. He also mentioned in disparage that he was neither offered a seat in the Upper House nor anything else. Possibly, Sonia Gandhi must have come to know of the truth about 1993 blast and rise of Bitta as a result of that.

9. M.S. Bitta ranted against Smt. Sheila Dixit for admission of DPS Bhullar in the Institute of Human Behaviors and Allied Science, Dilshad Garden, Jhilmil, Delhi 110091, where he is now admitted for the last over 2 years. The TV channels showed Devender Pal Singh in the reel just a vegetable. His wife said Bhullar does not/can not/is not in a position to understand that his petition to Supreme Court has been negated.

10. I would request you to issue orders to the Home Ministry/ Police/necessary authorities to take control of the Reel of the interview of M.S. Bitta conducted on April 12, and examine it to come to conclusions. I had seen TV channels of Headlines Today, NewsX, and a couple of more probably NDTV, AAJ TAK, NEWS 24 & ABP. If full interview could be available with any one of them that would be good otherwise a combination shall be needed. In the light of that it would be up to you to talk to Smt. Sonia Gandhi, Mr. Kapil Sibal, Ms. Ambika Soni and some other for certain clarifications.

11. It is my earnest conviction and submission that Devender Pal Singh Bhullar is a completely innocent person in the bomb blast case . I had written to Chairman National Human Rights Commission a week earlier and have been informally advised to address it to you.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(Sangat Singh)

Copies sent to the following:

I

1. Smt. Sonia Gandhi, New Delhi.
2. Sushil Kumar Shinde, Union Home Minister, N.D.
3. Kapil Sibal, Cabinet Minister, N.D.
4. Ms. Ambika Soni, former Cabinet Minister, N.D.
5. Partap Singh Bajwa, M.P. President, Pb. Congress, N.D.
6. Ms. Permeet Kaur, MoS, Ext. Affrs., N.D.
7. Capt. Amarinder Singh, Patiala.
- 8-9. Ms. Isher Ji + 1 for Ms. Gursharan Kaur, N.D.

II

1. Parkash Singh Badal, Chief Minister, Punjab.
2. Avtar Singh Makkar, President, SGPC, ASR.
3. Giani Gurbachan Singh, Head Granthi, Akal Takht, ASR.
4. Ms. Harsimrat Kaur, M.P. (Lok Sabha), N.D.
5. S.S. Dhindsa, M.P. (Rajya Sabha), N.D.
6. Tarlochan Singh, former M.P., N.D.
7. Spoke to Tejinder Singh Bhullar, California, USA, after he had seen my letter to PM, in *Spokesman* of May 1, 2013, in Panjabi on internet.

V

Dr. Sangat Singh

Mobile: 95409 72982
S-181 Greater Kailash, Part-2,
New Delhi - 110 048

**Hon'ble JJ. Altmas Kabir,
Chief Justice of India,
Supreme Court of India,
Tilak Marg, New Delhi - 110 001**

April 26, 2013

Sub : Bomb Blast of 1993 : Conviction of Devender Pal Singh

Hon'ble Sir,

I am writing to you in my capacity as author of *The Sikhs in History* (now, 7th edn. 2010), which has been acclaimed as one of the greatest works on Sikh history since Cunningham (1849). Hence, my submissions here represent the viewpoint of the Sikhs all over the world.

2. I have represented here **for the first time new facts** that the bomb blast of 1993, for which Devender Pal Singh (Bhullar) has been sentenced to death, was actually the work of some state actors, of course, in their unofficial capacity. The Intelligence Bureau and Home Ministry must have immediately come to know of it, but the Law Ministry as well as the courts were kept in the dark. Hence, the miscarriage of justice. The mystery now shall be solved two decades after its occurrence.

3. I submit that this would be a fit case for your honour to take its cognizance suo moto, to prevent the possibility of an innocent man being hanged.

4. In neighbouring Pakistan, former President Pervez Musharraf has formally been arrested, thanks to Pakistan's Higher Courts. The nation here looks in a corresponding manner, when it sees Emperor Shah Jahan's

balance as the emblem marking the insignia of Judiciary, and of course of your Hon'ble Courts. You are kindly requested to look into my letter of April 22, 2013 to P.M.

5. The details of the mystery can be solved by a competent organization, like CBI. It shall be upto your honour.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(Sangat Singh)

Encl. 1, as in para 4 above

Copies sent to the following:

- 1-2. Manjit Singh GK, President, DSGMC, N.D. + copy for Navneet Kaur.
3. Harvinder Singh Phoolka, Sr. Advocate, N.D.
4. K.T.S. Tulsı, Sr. Advocate, N.D.
5. Joginder Singh, Editor, *Rozana Spokesman*, Chandigarh.
6. Satnam Singh, Editor, *Human Rights Darpan*, Ludhiana.
7. J.J. Markandeya Katju, Chairman, Press Council of India, N.D.
8. Ram Jethmalani, MP, Sr. Advocate, N.D.

(He had filed a curative petition before the Court of Chief Justice of India, without taking into account my analysis of actual perpetrators of 1993 Bomb Blast, at the instance of Navneet Kaur.)

VI

The *Rozana Spokesman* in its issue of May 1, 2013, published in Punjabi my letter of April 22, to Prime Minister. It was now available to Head Granthi (so called Jathedar) of Akal Takht, and a host of others. At the meeting of Shiromani Akali Dal at Chandigarh on May 4, 2013, which included two Badals, besides President SGPC and others, it was decided to own up my letter and press it before Prime Minister shortly in an improvement on their earlier stand on Bhullar.

On May 8 morning, a delegation of various opposition parties, including two Badals, led by L. K. Advani addressed the President of India in Rashtrapati Bhavan on a number of issues. The two Badals later met the Prime Minister in his office in Parliament House in the afternoon. In between these two meetings (or was it a day or so earlier?), they decided not to mention of my letter to P.M., in the process affecting their stand on Bhullar. The Prime Minister, who had the inkling of their May 4 decision, was surprised at the inanity of Akali leaders. The situation was clear by the evening of May 8, when Jathedar Akal Takht offered juice to Ms. Nirpriti Kaur at Jantar Mantar New Delhi to break her fast (she later regretted the faux pas), when President SGPC issued a customary statement concerning Bhullar, reflecting the old stand. Badals were back to square one, not to indirectly expose the atrocious Punjab Police Officers, some still in employment.

The Prime Minister took another few days to send my letter of April 22 to Home Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, for appropriate action, with a copy endorsed to me. Had Badals taken up the opportunity, I would have willingly receded into the background. Isolated, I penned down the following letter to the Home Secretary to continue the dialogue.

Dr. Sangat Singh

Phone: 2921 4294

S-181 Greater Kailash, Part-2,
New Delhi - 110 048

**Shri R.K. Singh,
Union Home Secretary,
Ministry of Home Affairs, North Block,
New Delhi - 110 001**

May 28, 2013

Dear Sir,

This is in continuation of PMO ID No. 1/3/2013- PMP2/50871 of May 20, 2013, addressed to you, with a copy endorsed to me.

2. I am enclosing a copy of my letter of March 16, 2013, which is self explanatory, addressed to the Chairman, National Human Rights Commission, Faridkot House, New Delhi 110 001, for your information, pl.

3. My current letter of April 22 to P.M. which overtakes the letter at para 2 above, spells out the perpetrators of 1993 bomb blast, two decades after its occurrence. It will be a fit case to be handed over to CBI. You can have the facility of talking over to Shri Kapil Sibal, who had been defence lawyer, and Ambika Soni Ji, if you like. It is obvious that Devender Pal Singh Bhullar was nowhere involved. Obviously, some judges of Supreme Court erred grievously. I would't like to go further into that.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sangat Singh)

VII

It is said, when one channel of communication gets blocked, *Satguru* opens up another one. After going through my letter to Prime Minister in Punjabi in the *Spokesman* of May 1, 2013, Paramjit Singh Sarna and his younger brother Harvinder Singh Sarna, both former Presidents of Delhi Sikh Gurdwara Management Committee (DSGMC), discussed the matter threadbare in early June with the now Law Minister, Kapil Sibal, with whom they have personal equation. Later, on June 8, 2013, they called on Smt. Sonia Gandhi, who already had apprised herself of contours of my letter to Prime Minister, the subject matter of their talks. The parameters were worked out. This came out as a great relief to me, as I had separately been advised that without pulling some political strings, things may not work out that easily. I must place my high sense of gratitude to them for providing speed and direction to Devender Pal Singh (Bhullar) affair. Here, they were working disinterestedly, and had the good of *Panth* as their motivating factor.

The Government had three options on my letter to Prime Minister, One, to ignore it or reject it. That was not possible keeping in view the representations on mass scale made by the people from all over Punjab, especially when elections were around the corner. But people's memory is proverbially short. Two, to refer it to CBI. My reference to state actors indulging in such acts of militancy in their private capacity was a ploy. The government very well knew it. It was a risky proposition. Even the persons to be indicted would have spilled over the beans that they did so at the instance of state, and not in their personal capacities. Three, to release Bhullar under Presidential amnesty.¹

The matter got complicated, firstly, by the new Chief Justice Jj P. Sathasivam's in September 2013, *suo moto* constituting a 5-member Bench to sit on October 22, 2013, to consider over the question of delay by President in passing his orders on mercy petitions, as a Bench in a recent case had accepted the pleas and commuted a convict's death sentence to life imprisonment²; and secondly, by a Bench of two Judges, G.S. Singhvi and S.J. Mukhopadhaya's earlier rejecting in their Chamber, Ram Jethmalani/Navneet Kaur's similar plea, as in their views Devender Pal Singh Bhullar was a 'terrorist' and not an ordinary criminal. Navneet Kaur's refusal to go by my letter of April 22 to P.M. was proving damaging.

The bright side was provided by the Bar Human Rights Committee of England and Wales headed by Chairwoman Kristy Brimelow's detailed letter addressed to the President, Prime Minister, Home Minister, besides the Congress President Smt. Sonia Gandhi, going into the evidence tendered at the time of Bhullar's trial and pleaded for his acquittal: the failure of two (Jj Pasayat and Jj Agarwal) of the three Judges to apply their mind to the evidence tendered before them was critical, and she opined that the process adopted was in violation of the 'International Convent on Civil and Political Rights' of the individual.³

A 3-member Bench (instead of 5-member Bench as earlier conceived) of the Supreme Court led by Chief Justice held on October 22, 2013, that the decision taken in Sushil Sharma's Tandoor Case was not applicable to 15 such other cases, seeking conversion of Capital punishment to one of life imprisonment.

It rejected arguments to the contrary advanced by some of the advocates. Nonetheless, the *suo moto* move by the new Chief Justice caused a set back to the momentum being built up in the Bhullar Case.

But a strange quirk of history. A three member Bench of Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice P. Sathasivam, on January 21, 2014, agreed to convert the death sentence of 15 persons, including Devender Pal Singh Bhullar, to one of life imprisonment under article 32 of the Constitution, because of inordinary delay in disposal of their mercy petitions. This was to be determined separately. It was despite a host of contrary judgements by various Benches of Supreme Court,⁴ and rejection earlier of their mercy petitions by the President. The Judgement also laid down 12 welcome guidelines for protecting the Fundamental Rights of the prisoners on death row. This was in sharp contrast to convicts from minorities and lower section of society, who could not afford extraneous payments, being subjected to torture and nasty behavior.

Keeping in view Bhullar's severe psychosis and mental retardation, Senior Advocate K.T.S. Tulsi's plea for early hearing of Navneet Kaur's curative petition (earlier argued by Sr. Adv. Ram Jethmalani)

was accepted by the Chief Justice on January 24. He, now heading a Bench of 4 Judges, after preliminary rounds, on January 31, 2014, stayed Bhullar's execution, and issued notices to Delhi and Union Government. The Bench also directed the Institute of Human Behaviour and Allied Sciences, where Bhullar is undergoing treatment, for a report within a week.

This brings in Delhi's Chief Minister, Arvind Kejriwal.⁵ This made me to write to him the next day, Feb. 1, 2014, shelling out information on Bhullar's innocence or non involvement in the Bomb Blast case. I also enclosed a copy of this appendix, and, inter alia, wrote "I look forward to you as a different person, and you know it, how different you are!", and added that, "Historian Gibbons talked of 'truth, naked truth, unblemished truth', and one hopes that because of your intervention, we shall be arriving at that."

There were two developments which egged the Union Government to take a political decision of far reaching consequences on Bhullar issue. One was the letter from Mr. Najib Jung, Lt. Governor, Delhi, in early February addressed to the President of India dilating on the mental and psychic condition of Bhullar, and recommended a reconsideration over the matter. The other was an undertaking given by the Attorney General, G.E. Vahanvati, before the Supreme Court on February 26, 2014, that the Union Home Ministry would make appropriate recommendations to the President within two weeks. Already the Home Ministry was seized of my submissions made to the Prime Minister but the political leadership (headed now by a receding Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, besides Sonia-Rahul Gandhi) could not rise to the occasion and bite the bullet to send a different signal by conceding to truth in Bhullar case.

The Government of India had been directed by the Supreme Court to tender its advice in Bhullar case by March 27, 2014. This made me to ring up Paramjit Singh Sarna to speak to Law Minister, Kapil Sibal, to be forthright and do justice in the matter. Sarna saw difficulty in the Government of India's even indirectly conceding that the bomb blast of 1993 was handiwork of their agencies, if not with their complicity. So, in his submission on March 27, the Attorney General seemed bland, as if Government of India had not applied its mind to the submissions made by me to the Prime Minister and others. However, Attorney General conceded that firstly there was an inordinate delay of 8 years in disposal of Bhullar's mercy petition and, secondly, infliction of mental disorder while in Jail inhibited his being hanged. Hence, there was no option but to agree to convert his death sentence to one of life imprisonment.

The 4-member Bench of Supreme Court headed by the Chief Justice in their orders of March 31, 2014, decided to convert Bhullar's death sentence to one of life imprisonment. They did not specify that he shall have to remain in jail for rest of his life. This left it to the Delhi Government to give him due remissions, if required, and release him. His formal release, after 19 years in Jail, is now a matter of time, and before long he will be a free man. May be, my letter dated January 25, 2014, to the Chief Justice also had its impact on the Hon'ble Judges of the Bench⁶. I don't know. The decision is certainly welcome, but I feel greatly disappointed at the turn of events. The whole episode lacks equity and grace. The Government of India is seeking to shield itself behind a judicial plaque.

I have all along been pleading that Bhullar was quite innocent of charges framed against him⁷, and wanted the Government of India to take a political decision based on truth, in supersession of the demand for a CBI enquiry into the mercurial affair which, however, was quite a logical step. I am not mentioning here of payment of a huge sum as compensation to Bhullar for all the ills that he has been made to go through.

Anyhow, at the moment, he needs medical treatment in a highly specialised hospital, possibly in USA: incidentally, his mother now lives with her younger son in California, USA, while his wife is now a resident of Surrey, BC, Canada. (His father and some uncles were eliminated by state actors, some still in service of Punjab Police, some two decades back.) Obviously, he needs a Passport immediately, and also Visa(s) for at least USA, if not also for Canada. For that, intervention of state is a must. It is next to impossible for his family in India (which anyhow does not exist) to meet such an insurmountable situation.

Notes and References

1. Already Chief Justice, Supreme Court, had ignored my private letter addressed to him. I had sought to activate him by referring to Pakistani Higher Courts indicting former President Pervez Musharraf. It is well known that Pakistani Supreme Court had removed one Prime Minister and spared another one only after he had agreed to write to the Swiss authorities on black money stashed by President of Pakistan over there. But alas, India has yet to learn a lesson or two from their Pakistani neighbours!
2. This was the famous tandoor case. A Brahmin, President of Youth Congress, had shot his Sikh wife, Secretary of Youth Congress to death, and cut her to pieces and put these in his Hotel's tandoor (Ovan).
Incidentally, Manu Simriti had put serious limitations on punishment to be meted to a Brahmin, or one to face charges of *Brahm Hatya*.
3. Keeping in view the parameters laid down by these two judges, the British in India could have hanged one Pasayat and an Agarwal, or any two other Indians, on dropping of Atom Bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. But they did not do so, as they had a strong sense of justice. Incidentally, I have already mentioned of Indira's going 'wholehog resolve to bend (Indian) judiciary by capricious transfer of Judges, suppressions, and by weighted new appointments'. (p. 341, ante). Consequently, justice meted out to the Sikhs after 1984 was tardy. See, Speech of Tarlochan Singh M.P. in Rajya Sabha, Proceedings, December 16, 2009.
4. Adage: In Supreme Court there is no law, only Judges: they have the power to sentence a completely innocent person to death/life imprisonment, and award a lesser punishment to one deserving more.
5. He is already in the process of constituting a Special Investigating Team (SIT) to go into the 1984 pogrom, and has also sent a letter to the President of India, based on the information he had. The SIT can be more useful only if it could be placed under the supervision of Supreme Court as was done in case of Gujarat killings in 2002.
The anti-Sikh pogrom has already been investigated by two judicial Commissions. The first one in 1985 was headed by Mr. Justice Ranganath Misra, a retired Supreme Court Judge. He rather acted as a 'Commission Agent' for the Congress, was appointed later as Chairman of National Human Rights Commission: on his expressing disappointment, he was kicked to Rajya Sabha. The second Commission, appointed in 2000 was headed Mr. Justice G.T. Nanavati, a retired Judge of Supreme Court. He acted as 'Commission Agent' for BJP, called for action against some Congress leaders, but exonerated, inter alia, the Police personnel on the plea that they had retired, as if retirement of a person absolves him of all the acts of omission and commission, including criminal acts, during the period of his service. Incidentally, Nanavati was appointed in March 2002 for three months to look into Godra riots, and he is still looking into them, even after 12 years, though he has become somewhat, irrelevant, because of SC appointed SIT which, however, administered Mrs. Zakia Jafry an apology of Justice. Now, he hopes to earn politically if Narendra Modi becomes next P.M. Earlier, Justice J. Manmohan Singh Liberhan took 18 years to submit his report on Babri Masjid's demolition, despite the scenes being shown live over TV. He will be a fit candidate for grant of Bharat Ratna for the forthcoming BJP Govt, and also for entry into Guinness Book of Records!
6. M. 95409 72982
Dr. Sangat Singh

S-181 Greater Kailash II
New Delhi 110 048

January 25, 2014

Hon'ble JJ. P. Sathasivam,
Chief Justice of India,
Supreme Court of India,
Tilak Marg,
New Delhi 110 001

Bomb blast of 1993: Conviction of Devender Pal Singh (Bhullar):
His possible release on Medical Grounds

Hon'ble Sir,

It is nice to know that on January 28, 2014, you are hearing the case for possible release of Devender Pal Singh Bhullar, whose death sentence your Hon'ble Bench had very considerably set aside a week earlier, January 21, 2014.

2. I am bringing to your kind notice the letter dated April 26, 2013, I had sent to your Hon'ble predecessor, JJ. Altmas Kabir, alongwith the enclosure, viz. letter dated April 22, 2013, sent to the Prime Minister.

3. I am aware that Senior Advocate K.T.S. Tulsi and the Government luminaries shall be advancing their learned arguments in the matter.

4. I shall be grateful if your Honour and the other learned Judged on your Bench could have a look at these two letters.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

Encl: as in para 2 above.

(Sangat Singh)

Copy to Shri K.T.S. Tulsi, Sr. Advocate, ND.

7. Frankly speaking, I feel that the Sikh people have been cheated. When I restarted writing in early 2013 to various persons on Bhullar case, I listened to my inner voice that Devender Pal Singh (Bhullar) would be released. Hence, my persistence. Now, he, no doubt, is being released shortly, but with all the stigma of having been a terrorist! That was the precise objective of the two of the three Judges in 2001: and they are having their last laugh!

I was using Bhullar's as a test case to see if there was some change in the character and mentality of elements that ran state terrorism against the Sikhs. We have now tasted again the Hindu brand of justness of society that has been part of our destiny right from August 1947. We must learn to differentiate, as the Khalsa did in 18th century, between various sections of society. At the one end are people like Lt Gen K Sunderjee, overall in charge of Operation Blue Star, who according to his wife spent his post-retirement era in full repentance at the wrong done through him or his having been used as a mercenary. At the other end are people like (then) Maj. General K.S. Brar (a *Patit* Sikh), Maj General (Retd) Jaswant Singh Bhullar, K.P.S. Gill, at a much lower level Manjinder Singh Bitta (all in Sikh form) who are still unrepentant at the wrongs done by/through them, and are still at the beck and call of Satanic forces. Then there are politicians like Tamil Nadu Chief Minister J. Jayalalitha who is willing to release persons accused of assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, as against Punjab Chief Minister, Parkash Singh Badal who is still keeping in detention over a 100 Sikh prisoners who have completed their sentences but are still languishing in Punjab Jails. The Sikh prisoners in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and some other states face liquidation.

Let us hope, as stated earlier, we are now heading towards a better future, despite our treacherous leadership. Initial steps are taking place during my life time, and these may come to a fruition in the coming years. Take care.

ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਸਾਬਕਾ 'ਜਥੇਦਾਰ' ਪ੍ਰੋ. ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਬੋਧਨ ਹੁੰਦਿਆਂ ਇਕ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਮੂਲ ਪਾਠ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੈ :

ਸੱਚੇ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਮਾਲਕ ਸੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੀਉ,

ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਤਾ ਕਉ ਲਖ ਬਾਰ ॥

ਜਦੋਂ ਇਹ 'ਜਥੇਦਾਰ' 17 ਨਵੰਬਰ, 2009 ਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੇ ਲਈ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਆਦੇਸ਼ ਜਾਰੀ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਸਨ ਤਾਂ ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਸ਼ਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੋਂ 'ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮੇ' ਰਾਹੀਂ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਸੀ :

ਧਨਾਸਰੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ ॥

ਛਡਾਇ ਲੀਓ ਮਹਾ ਬਲੀ ਤੇ ਅਪਨੇ ਚਰਨ ਪਰਾਤਿ ॥

ਏਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਦੀਓ ਮਨ ਮੰਤਾ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਨ ਕਤਹੁ ਜਾਤਿ ॥੧॥

ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਪੁਰੇ ਕੀਨੀ ਦਾਤਿ ॥

ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ ਦੀਓ ਕੀਰਤਨ ਕਉ ਭਈ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਗਾਤਿ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥

ਅੰਗੀਕਾਰ ਕੀਓ ਪ੍ਰਭਿ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਭਗਤਨ ਕੀ ਰਾਖੀ ਪਾਤਿ ॥

ਨਾਨਕ ਚਰਨ ਗਹੇ ਪ੍ਰਭਿ ਅਪਨੇ ਸੁਖੁ ਪਾਇਓ ਦਿਨ ਰਾਤਿ ॥੨॥੧੦॥੪੧॥

(ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਪੰਨਾ 681)

ਸੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੀਉ,

ਆਪ ਜੀ ਜਾਣੀ ਜਾਣੇ ਹੋ। ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ 'ਤੇ ਮਿਲੇ ਸੰਦੇਸ਼ ਨੂੰ, ਸਿਰ ਮੱਥੇ ਮੰਨਦਿਆਂ, ਦਾਸ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਤਖਤ ਦੇ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਹਾਜ਼ਰ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਉਥੇ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਸਮਝ ਪਈ ਕਿ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਤਖਤ ਤੋਂ ਬੇਮੁਖ ਤਨਖਾਹੀਏ ਲੋਕ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤਖਤ ਨੂੰ 'ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ' ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੰਨਦੇ, ਅਪਣਾ ਇਕ ਵਖਰਾ ਹੀ 'ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ' ਬਣਾਈ ਬੈਠੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਅਪਣੇ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਮਾਲਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਖੁਸ਼ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਹੀ 'ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ' ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਦੀ ਦੁਰਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ।

ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਅੱਗੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਹੈ, "ਹੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ! ਆਪ ਨੇ ਤਾਂ ਵੇਖਿਆ ਹੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਵਲੋਂ 5 ਦਸੰਬਰ ਨੂੰ ਆਪ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਨਮੁਖ ਪੱਸ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਤਖਤ ਅਸਥਾਨ ਦੀ ਦੁਰਵਰਤੋਂ ਕਰਦਿਆਂ 'ਬਜਰ ਪਾਪ ਨਾ ਉਤਰਨ ਜੇ ਕੀਚਨ ਗੀਗੇ' ਵਾਂਗ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੰਗਤ ਦੀ ਹਜ਼ੂਰੀ ਵਿਚ ਨੰਗਾ ਚਿੱਟਾ ਝੂਠ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਕਿ "ਅਸੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ 'ਤੇ ਉਡੀਕਦੇ ਰਹੇ, ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਇਆ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ, ਇਸ ਲਈ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਤਨਖਾਹੀਆ ਕਰਾਰ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ।"

"ਹੇ ਸੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ! ਆਪ ਜੀ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਮਿਲੀ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ੍ਹਤਾ ਕਿ ਝੂਠ ਦਾ ਗੁਲਾਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਣਾ, ਇਸੇ ਲਈ ਮੈਂ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਝੂਠ 'ਤੇ ਆਧਾਰਤ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਨਤਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇ ਰਿਹਾ। ਪਰ "ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ, ਕਿੰਨੀ ਦੇਰ ਇਹੋ ਜਹੇ ਪਾਪੀ ਲੋਕ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਵਿੱਤਰ ਅਸਥਾਨ 'ਤੇ ਕਾਬਜ਼ ਰਹਿਣਗੇ? ਕੀ ਅਜੇ ਤਕ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਾਪ ਦੀ ਬੇੜੀ ਭਰੀ ਨਹੀਂ? ਬੇਸ਼ਕ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਹੈ "ਤੂੰ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਹਉ ਨਉਤਨੁ ਚੇਲਾ", ਤੂੰ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਹੈਂ ਤੇ ਮੈਂ ਤੇਰਾ ਸਿੱਖ ਹਾਂ। ਨਾ ਮੈਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਲਈ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਬੰਗ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ। ਹੁਣ ਤਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਬਲਕਿ ਮੇਰੇ ਵਰਗੇ ਲੱਖਾਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਪਵਿੱਤਰ ਤਖਤ ਤੋਂ ਦੂਰ ਬੈਠੇ, ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਦੀ ਉਡੀਕ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਮਜਬੂਰ ਹੋ ਗਏ ਹਨ, ਜਦੋਂ ਮੈਂ ਰੰਘੜ ਵਾਂਗ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਅਸਥਾਨਾਂ 'ਤੇ ਕਾਬਜ਼ ਹੋਏ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਕੋਲੋਂ, ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਅਸਥਾਨਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਜ਼ਾਦ ਕਰਵਾਇਆ ਜਾਏ ਅਤੇ ਹਰ ਸਿੱਖ ਅਪਣੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੀ ਗੋਦ ਦਾ ਆਨੰਦ ਮਾਣ ਸਕੇ। ਮੈਂ ਅਤੇ ਉਹ ਲੱਖਾਂ ਸਿੱਖ ਦ੍ਰਿੜ੍ਹ ਵਿਸ਼ਵਾਸ ਨਾਲ ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਦੀ ਉਡੀਕ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ- ਤੇਰੇ ਘਰਿ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਹੈ ਨਿਆਉ ॥"

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਦਰ ਦਾ ਕੁਕਰ

ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਖਾਲਸਾ

ਸਾਬਕਾ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ, ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਸ੍ਰੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ।



ੴ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਵਤਹਿ ॥

PHONES : Delhi : 3715023
Mehrauli : 6802823
Chandigarh : 32808

ਕੇਂਦਰੀ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਭਾ

ਪਿੰਡ ਆਡਿਸ : ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਦਿਆ ਕੇਂਦਰ,
ਸੈਕਟਰ 28-ਏ, ਚੰਡੀਗੜ੍ਹ

ਐਡਮਨਿਸਟ੍ਰੇਟਿਵ ਦਫ਼ਤਰ : ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਰੁਝਾਬ ਚੌਂਕ,
ਨਵੀਂ ਦਿੱਲੀ-110001

KENDRI SRI GURU SINGH SABHA

Head Office : Guru Granth Sahib Vidya Kendra,
Sector 28-A, Chandigarh

Adm. Office : Gurdwara Ruhab Ganj,
New Delhi-110001

ਨੰਬਰ.....

ਮਿਤੀ...27..Feb..1996

President
Sri Guru Singh Sabha(s)

Waheguru ji ka khalsa waheguru ji ki fateg .

2. You will be glad to know that as a result of the inspiration provided by Kendri Sri Guru Singh Sabha, under the aegis of its first President S. Hukam Singh ji, Dr. Sangat Singh, formerly a member of policy planning think tank in the Indian foreign office, has now produced a monumental work, THE SIKHS IN HISTORY, reinterpreting the Sikh history from Guru Nanak Dev ji down to the present times, from the Sikh national perspective. It was first published in New York in June last, and now an Indian edition has been brought out.

3. You are aware that rewriting of the Sikh history was one of the important functions of the Singh Sabha movement, right from the founding of the first Sri Guru Singh Sabha in 1873. Pursuant to that, the first major upshot was Max Arthur Macauliffe's monumental work THE SIKH RELIGION 6 vols. That process has been brought ahead in a major way by publication of THE SIKHS IN HISTORY.

4. A notable feature of Dr. Sangat Singh's magnum opus is his deep emotional involvement in, and broad sweep of, the subject, and the verve and the spirit in which he analyses and articulates the historical facts. It is not necessary for one to agree with all that.

5. It will be appropriate for each Singh Sabha to order at least one copy, if not more, of THE SIKHS IN HISTORY for general reading. Discernible observers recommend, and I agree, that this book be on the shelf of each English knowing Sikh family, as a reference work.

Thanking you,

Baldev Singh
(Giani Baldev Singh)
General Secretary

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ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਚੇ ਸਚੁ ਲਿਖਹਿ ਵੀਚਾਰੁ । ਸੇ ਜਨ ਸਚੇ ਪਾਵਹਿ ਮੋਖ ਦੁਆਰੁ ॥



ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸੰਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੁਰਿਆਈ ਪੁਰਬ ਨੂੰ ਸਮਰਪਿਤ ਅੰਤਰਰਾਸ਼ਟਰੀ ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਸੰਮੇਲਨ 8-9-10 ਨਵੰਬਰ 2013 ਨੂੰ ਗੁਰਦੁਆਰਾ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਬੰਗਲਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਿੱਲੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੰਗਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ ਇਕੱਠ ਵਿਚ ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਨੂੰ ਨਵੇਂ ਸਿਰਿਓਂ ਅੰਗਰੇਜੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਲਿਖਣ ਦੀ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਨ ਸਦਕਾ

ਡਾ. ਸੰਗਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ

ਨੂੰ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰਕ ਜਥਾ ਯੂ.ਕੇ.

‘ਮਹਾਨ ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰ’

ਦੇ ਐਵਾਰਡ ਨਾਲ ਸਨਮਾਨਿਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਲੈ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ।

The Only Infinite One, the Only Supreme Being

**The One oriented to Guru truthfully pen down their thoughts;
Such persons are truthful, and attain salvation at His door.**

(Guru Amar Das, *Maḥl*, SGGGS, p. 123)

(photofacimile of an open *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*)

Dedicated to grant of Guruship of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*,
an International **Gurmat Vichar Sammelan** (Conference),
at a vast congregation at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib, New Delhi,
on November 8-9-10, 2013

for his specialized services in re-writing of the Sikh History in a major way.
with a new perspective,
the **Khalsa Pracharak Jatha**, U.K.,
has the pleasure to confer on

Dr. Sangat Singh

the title of being

a **Mahan Sikh Itihaskar - Great Sikh Historian**

Written in English, the work is also available in Punjabi and Hindi languages.

April 1993

The Sikh Review, Calcutta

Sikhism has been welcomed by thousands visiting the Gurdwara. He attributes this transformation to the impact of Sangat Singh's *The Sikhs In History*.

I learn that another two shaven Sikh intellectuals at Edmonton, Alberta, Pal Singh Purewal and Dr. Mohan Singh have also become *amritdhari* Sikhs, mainly as a result of the impact of *The Sikhs In History*. I wonder, if there has been similar impact on the *patit* Sikh in USA, Britain, or Punjab!

SANGAT SINGH'S INSPIRING "SIKHS IN HISTORY"

Sir, It is heartening to know (SR, Jan 98, p. 86) that Sangat Singh's *The Sikhs in History* has been adjudged for prestigious Akali Phula Singh Award. It is a remarkable piece of work, emitting *Tat Khalsa* spirit.

On sale promotion of the New York edition, Dr. Sangat Singh had visited Toronto (Canada) in mid-1995, and presented a copy to one Pritpal Singh Bindra, a shaven Sikh scholar who has been a volunteer caretaker of the Library and Public Relations work of Gurdwara Dixie Road, Mississauga, near Toronto. A busy Mr. Bindra took his own time to go through the book. He did his full reading of it while on a visit to the USA.

The day he finished reading it, he called his wife to throw out the shaving kit. He came back to the Dixie Road Gurdwara at the end of eight weeks as a complete *keshadhari* Sikh! This has come as a pleasant surprise to friends, and visitors to the Gurdwara, the hub of the Sikh community in Toronto. His return to the mainfold of

In Canada, there is a crying need for *The Sikh In History* in Punjabi, and at a reasonable, if not subsidised, price. This will come handy for those promoting *Gurmat Chetna Lehar*.

MOHINDER SINGH
11, Timber Lane Drive,
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Canada L6Y 3Y6

Dr Sangat Singh



AUGUST 2016



Dr. Sangat Singh (b. 1932 actually June 30, 1931) did M.A. in History (1953), and Ph.D. (1964), from Panjab University.

Dr. Singh was a member of policy planning think tank in the Indian foreign office. He was an alternate member of the Joint Intelligence Committee, the supreme policy planning body of the Government of India, for two years each in early and late 1970s. In between, for three years, he was Director, strategic studies, in India's Defence Ministry.

Dr. Singh joined Ministry of External Affairs in early 1960s following Nehru's China war, as a Sinologist specialising in guerrilla warfare. This was shortly overtaken by his numerous, high profile stints as an analyst of Pakistan, and a significant one on Iran. He spent his last decade in the foreign office dealing, inter alia, with disinformation. He was known for his incisive analysis.

Dr. Singh is a keen observer of contemporary events and gained a rare insight into the ongoing developments in Punjab.

Dr. Singh has widely travelled in all parts of the world. He already has half a dozen works to his credit.