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 टाटिठम 'डे टिचाठ नॅधरिभां प्वाप्टीइत रे नँचठा हाप्टिगम भग्भान्ती ऊँ तियटरे एटी टर्य यूम्मत सी भूलत्रता रीडी, सदाप्व टिँच टंयुय के विण वि मगंभग्री 亏 तियटते लटी मवराठ Eूभाठ पगउ संभ रीउा विभा चै। टठंय हे विण, "माइी मवरा्ठ से नंठता हाट्टिगम ऊ तियटते लटी भग्मर, थीयीभाप्टी विट भडे रदा्टीभां लिभांतीभां। भमी बठठता देरमीत
 गं। "घम्टीइत हे टंतय ’डे भाम



(घवरी मढा 5 'डे)

## म्वन




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 रठठा घंट वठ टॅडा मी। भगिला टी ठीङु ही Јॅडी 'डे ही मॅटां हैसीभां

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 यूठटाप्टी वै वि काठडी -भभगीवत काप्टीउगे सीभां भेच1 घी हटर हीत्ञा मर्षयी मभॅमिभाद्टां Јॅल रीउीभां
 टिम माल 31 टमघंपन उँव भुलडी रीउा Јँटिभा चै।

 घ्वाप्टीठेत लँटी ढैइ टी सटाम्टिभा विभा।

मम्यरा हिय उम्मटतयडी के विग " हिर
 दयीभा वठत सा निग गं ठा वि घ्वठ।

 वठंगा उां ने छिठ द्यीभा मिसिभा से मवट के मिगड



 भैच-1घी दीत़ा भुलउदी वठत रा काठडी


 गठ। वर्ठपप्ठीभां हा वणिट्ट नै वि छिठ दिटेमां ऊँ


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 तॅत ठिजूउ वठत हा भैलात

 घेइठ विठमम्वठा से घां '亏े ठमभन्नि रीउा वै ग्लां वि छैभैवठैटम छुभीटटाठ ने घ्वप्टी市 ठदघ्षठ दिच चं वगीभां उग्मटतथडी चहां ऊँ यगिलां नॅत टिजबड वठर टा दितय वरसिभां विण मी वि हिम मह्घयी ढैमला तिउट दाल्ले भागण छियठ हैउ सेटा चगीटा नै। हप्ट्टीट गहिम से चँत गागइत दिषे 20 fिंट से मभगाम






## 

 दिँच थाम गंहे डिंत घेडी भागठीकेंमां से
 मॅगठे दी महान्त प्रूंट रीडी बाटी ने। टिड भ्नागठ हैं गेषिभा नटे उाठडी थूपार
 जुठाटिटइ हेमत हिंच दीइीष्ठ वए्त स्मान


 दिच जुठाषिटइ हेमत भैग्वे मेटी से घटापे



ग्गीभां मर । मदेवे हिहिजागव से 10 दने अे 2





 बलधगल ममापिटी निहिजानर फडे निँध के भागडीतेमत बमेटी टीमट वैमट दॅल टिव






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##  <br> टामठे गण थ̆यग रीउा चै। टनंटट दिच णगिसे

 टिइीभा ढढिठेमत（मी．भाष्टी．भิढ）दॅल्ल गठरनिंत
 रेट टा भैलात रीउा विभा नै। निली साटवग्गी
 （नैगिलेम्नट）भेवट दिछ गैटी मैय छिथवंड टिठ एट वठत टा ढैमष्ता लिभा विभा चै। मी．भाप्टी．भैढ से चेभठभैठ मडीन ठॅवठ हे विण

 टिष टिम्नद कठ टिचे ₹टी ही हिभवडी मिया जठाराह या मवरा बै। मी．भाम्टी．भिढ उड्गीसी नै वि





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टर्मिंाटर（ग्रमत ल亏भा घंगा）－ छैभैवठैटिव थागटी से छिभीसदान ने घ्वा्टीठेत सी
 500 से वठीप मम्वरा सरतलां，भइभिवलां डे ळँभी मवॅधिभा भयिवग्ठीभां के ठठां हा मभवघत वठत सा भैलात रीउा। लंजे टित नाग्री थॅउठ टित टिठां चैटीटे ढैनी भयिवग्ठीभां हे ठम्मटत्यडी

 टिम थॅउत छिथठ विभघম मर्घयउ 489 माप्वरा भयिवग्ठीभां से समउधउ
 मरॅउत भैम्न वग्गटन，च्रव गेठाल के लीछठ यांटेटा ऊ टिलाद्हा मम्वरा हेटी मरॅउत के ठग्मा यूमीग्मर मीत छ रीढ तितां माप्वरा उम्मटन्यडी नागत्त
 रीडा दी मुगिलिल गठ। मेदा भुबउ मीठीभव
 माभिल गठ స चिद्वले माल ऊॅव टरंथ उगिउ
 ひॅउठ दि घ घाप्टीठेत टी केडिरउा，सीभाऊटाठी के उत्सतप्वे टी थूमममा रीडी गापी चै डे टंत्रे टा हां

लटे घटौन छिम टी मधउ फलेंता बीडी वाटी वै।



 नां हैटीभां चुट्टेडीभां हा भुराप्यका वठत दममडे

 रग्ठत मा亏े बाप्टीटलां सा माे＇च बठमा नां
 गट गाटे गठ।

## 

கধగర్－
घ्वा्वठी भमतिए रे हान्टे
 घी．भाप्टी कहालु रे फल भायहा ढैमला मृटठिंचिभां माने टमीभीभां त्ड घं वरी वठ टिउा ने। मटालड हे भाルटे ढैमले＇ माप्वरा छिथ यूयाठ भंउठी लाल विम्नक आउटाही，कात्तया से माप्वरा यूपात भठे माप्वरा㐅ेंटठी भंउठी भवल्ली मठंगठ

## समी，छुउठ यूटम़ से माप्यर

 भुष भீउठी वलिभाट मिंख，भॅय यूटेम्न सी माप्वरा भैस भिउठी ठुभा कानठी，का्तथा से मीटीभि रेउा दिते रटातीभा मटे वॅल 32 ऐमीभां र्ठ घठी वठ टिँउा चै। भरालड हे भाथहे ढैमले＇उ विग
 तरी हागिभा विभा। भहालुड रे विण वि मठग्तर उॅउां हे हांचा मूटिभा मी भडे సैमी केउादां ंे
 रीडा मी। क्रथिटत fिंख धालमा ते वि ढाठिंइेमत से भंढी


 तिग जेगारात केत मरहा गं। टिघे दृटटरजँचा नै वि 2007 दिध घटटा्टी गाट्टी मी भाप्टी फैढ मभात्त मेदा दिच द्य चइ वे विमा लेंटी भा चगी चै। छुठ






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 मिगउ भगिठां के विण नै वि थीइडां सी विट्डी द्यट उ ने नह सा हिरे


 जी
 भमनठीवर मक 亏ै द्य घृठी उठां यूठाद्विउ गेटिभा चै।



 विभा नै।

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 भमगीरा＇＇जूंमटी भवाल्ली रल छैभेक्टिटर टा मथेवमभेठ ठिजूउ वीउा नै।उां वि
 हैठुां टी यागटी ठाल दूय उ दॅय तुइ गठे उठ $भ$ हे तल्टी गी दिटेमां＇च हीइमा दॅल टिबम्टीभां वस्टिभ रीडीभां साट्ठीभां। हीइमा के टॅमिभा वि छिठुं टी थागटी टिर तितथॅध यागटी चै भडे गठ यठभ से लूरां గ్ర हिम टिँच घट्ता भाट मडिरान टिडा साग्टेठा। हितुां विग वि यागटी＇च भिगठउ ठाल रैभ वउत टाल्ले दठवठां గ़ गी थागटी






 ठिज़बडी घटले मुधरेद हिंसि हीउमा सा यंतटाप्त ही रीउा।

## चहामी थी गिनामड हिध्ठ जैड इावटती 




 विग विभा नै वि ज़ भैम सिभीग्मेमत डे रमटभत्ता टितढैठमभैंट दिदमघा










मीगाउां से मगिजेठा ठाल घटुउ मतया $भ \overrightarrow{~ य ू ~ य म ~ य म ~ ठ ा ल ~ म र-~}$ एट्टिभा विभभा। तिम दिँच काप्टी मरिएत मिंय मागठ $\boldsymbol{W}$ डे गुठ अठ से चैं गार्ठमी काप्टी ठाल़्नाठ मिंय फडे मदडाठ मिंयु कतमा ती टे घॅचिभा टे रीठउती समिभां के गुगघ्वट्टी रीठउत ठग्ल

मिगाउां 으 तिगल्ल रीउा।वसा्टा्पर विभागी
 मिध सिडिग्म टी वसा ठगल काप्टी लाल ती से तीदट छुपटेम टी मिठाउां ठाल मांख याप्टी। विभांती

 यूडी दिमेम्न मतभात ही रीउा विभां｜मझे मिठाउां







 सठग रीउा।（ढँ सालवग्डी लटी टेधे मढा 14）

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टिम से सटाप्व टिँच टर्वर हे विण，＂मैं उां टिग वॉल उंत्ञ हिँ वरी मी।＂टतंथ के विण वि से घाप्टीइत छुठुां सी
 लेरां टी भैं च वाटी गुसी। घाप्टीउत हे विग वि मानिभां


 ठाल हुथठ भा वगी नै। भैं भमनीवी टिडिग्म दिध मउ



 भभवीरी मिटीक्तर संठत्त ढलग्टीउ टी गोंे

 रे विण，＂उप्वभा－घ्वाप्टीइत यूमाम्मत से मभें द्चि भमनीवा हिछ तमली केसकाट्ट रीउा सांट्या मी छुठां ठाल

 गत।＇＂भभगीरा दिध रटी घल्टां＇डे घलेर लाम्टीढन्त मेटन यूटगम्रठी fिमर चट हे घाठे हिध घाप्टीइत रे
 मदीवग्र रगी रीउी रीडी सा मवसी।
 दा भैवर निलिभा उां 128 नॉनां टी नगुण धाली मी，यिढ्बली
 ＂घाप्टीइत रे विग वि टंर्य से वग्तराल्ल हैंग



 वठटे गठ ？

टिम टे तहाप्व दिच टंत्य रे विण，＂भेत्ठ
 लमिले हि घं घणु माठे रंभ वठ नठे गं भठे माइे
 ऊॅर सिठाल दिच गठ माल लॅठाटी भॅवा सीभां वॉल चै छिठ



 विम दाल्लैम ते दिचित्र भा वे घंाभ वठरा रिभा।वटीभां भुँचिभां＇डे घगम से मभें से टठंथ मुे घप्टीइत हिव－स्डते सी टवटे ठठे भडे ढिठ व्रिम दाल्लैम






 गठ। इीघेट से मभें से उग्मटवथठी टरंथ टी यउठी भलेतीभा टठँथ भडे ने घाप्टीइत टी यउती निल घाप्टीइत


 किछित चैठल ढैरम किछित्न से 72 माल्ला निछित भिंबठ वि्म टाल्लैम के गेमट रीउग।

उठाद्टा दृव्टभीव ती से यूठाट fिद्म मघंपी भी भीटिग 4 भवगुपर है जुघ्य मिटी (घिध्धिठ)- मगंगिमी टाल्भीव मबा ज़. भेम. पे. (ज़्ठा मिटी) बैलेढठठीभा से यूपए यूंभ मैंयी ती हे



 2020 चित भैउटाठ 융 12 दसे भगंगिम्नी टाल्लभीव टैंपल 84/ 86 यठमी भैदतिछि, ज़्वा मिटी, वैलेढठठीभा 95991




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ज़्वर मिटी (घिधिठ)- ज़. थी. से गप्षगम दिधे भर्द्री हैं सांडीभां से ठींइिभा हॅलें मभुगि उँच 'डे टिव टलिड घॅची ठाल्ल घलाडरवग वनवे घुठी
 टिँडी ठाटी डे सघात ही बॅट टिडी वाटी।
 प्वाभर यडा लॅवा, निम 'डे यूम्नम्मत दॅलें वँटी वग्गहाप्टी ठगों रीडी डे से उठडिभां पाभस मॅन छिम घूटी टी मैउ テ वाटी वै। मैं ऊं उतंड घाभर यूम़म्मत दॅल्लें ठांठिभां टी मटर वठर


## 

 भरिभां भுडे थिइ हालिभां 으 ठठीं टिउी वाटी। ममबग्व दी थूमग्मत दललें भर्णिभां भडे रिउ टाल्रिभा ऊं छैठी वठ टिडा विभा। ठींडिभां ही भरस लटी थुटी मवरग्ठी उंडत भडे भीठीभा मिठ यठते Јष्टिभा रिभा चै। निम ऊं मान तागिठ नै वि ज़. थी. टिच ठांकिभां टी मवरग्ग चॅल


 भयिवग्ठीभां के भायिभां त्रे घितां मचित रीडे ठी

 भगंगिम्मी दाल्लभीव मका से थूयाठ प्रेभ मैंयी, मीटीभठ


 टिँडा विभा।

## 


 भगंगिमी दाल्भभीव मबा ज़ु. भैम. पे. (ज़्रा मिटी) वे-
 ठुर्टटिटिभां टी टिर मांश्री भंमिब भीटिंटा गैटी, तिम
 भीउ यूपग्त, तमयाल भालइी मम्वरा तरतल मरॅउत



 मभ 4 टत्ने के 6 टसे ऊॅर रीडी साट्टे।
 हा हिनेय वरठ रा ज़ूलु मॅटा टिडा नाट्टे उां वि हैय ऊं


टिम टिनेय भीटिंग 'च माभल Јट टाल्ले माठे

 वे भाठिट।

## 



मिभाटल (ठाठचठत fिैथ निलें)- भभगीवा से वट्टी मागिणं हिछ वठंठ भगंभांगी दठठी विभाएव
 यड़ाप्टी लष. मवूल घंस ठठे थठ हार्मिंगटत ठग्त




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 गठी चै।
$\square$
 भके नियेभब उं टिलाह्टा वानं दे येंट ट्टा रीम उमॅलीघधम्न रीडा तांटा है। युग्टीभां वग्डं धगीटट म्भके ऐ-टनॅव टा धग्म सूर्धीय ठै।

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Harmandeep Singh


The Heinous face of Caste Crimes：

## Horrendous Death of the Hathras Rape Victim

## Prem Chumber

## Editor－in－Chief：Ambedkar Times

After the convicts in the Delhi Nirbhaya case，which shook the conscience of the entire nation on 16 December 2012，were hanged to death in March 2020，the reaction of the mother of the hapless victim was：＂Women now will feel safe．＂But unfortunately， our daughters，especially belonging to lower castes， continue to face similar heinous crime amidst the undeterred presence of beastly sexual offenders despite the implementation of strictest punishment．On 14 September 2020，a 19 －year－old Dalit girl from Hathras in UP，brutally raped and physically tortured by four upper caste men of her own village in its agricultural fields，was admitted to Jawaharlal Nehru Medical College and Hospital，Aligarh in paralysed physical condition，with severe spinal injuries and deep cut on her tongue．Finding no improvement in her continuous deteriorating conditions，she was shifted to Safdarjung Hospital in the national Capital city of Delhi on 28 September 2020，where she succumbed to her deep injuries next day at 6.55 am ．During her 15 day long tortuous life conditions in the hospitals she displayed great courage to reveal the ugly faces of the four demons in the shape of human beings who perpetrated untold crimes on her body and soul．Many such cases of horrendous miseries go unreported across the length and breath of the country．＂The two separate incidents of violent sexual assault on two adolescent girls，followed by the killing of one them in mid－August in Uttar Pradesh，are fresh in memory＂as reported in the editorial of The Tribune today （September 30）．

What makes this case more shameful was the context of its deadly offence and its caste stance．The hapless victim belonged to the lower caste．Her tor－ mentors come from upper caste communities．Yet an－ other horrible dimension of this heartrending rape case is the site of the crime．The goons＇reportedly dragged the victim by her head scarp while she was working in the village agricultural field belonging to the landown－ ers．This clearly shows the precarious living conditions of the landless Dalits and the deadly fate of their women folkswho were forced to visit the village fields to fetch fuel for the hearth and fodder for their animals under severe poverty．And the perpetrators of the crime were none other than the ones who owned the land and take hollow pride in their being belonging to upper caste communities．Dalits，at the first，needs to be lib－ erated from their demeaning poverty，if their women are to be saved from such beasts in the shape of hu－ mans．Secondly，the law enforcement agencies are to be equally held responsible for the continuation of such grave crimes despite the presence of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes（Prevention of Atrocities）Act，1989， an Act of the Parliament of India enacted to prevent atrocities against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes．It is reported that the victim＇s body was taken to her village in Hathras after midnight from the hospi－ tal in Delhi and was cremated by the UP police without allowing her family to participate in the cremation process and performing the last rites as per their tradi－ tions．The police refused to listen to the pleading of the victim＇s father and family to allow them to take the body of their daughter to their home and cremate her in the morning．The woman＇s father told NDTV＂We wanted the last rites to be performed according to the Hindu traditions．Despite our protests，the cremation was performed．They took the body forcefully．We couldn＇t see our daughter＇s face for the last time＂ （https：／／www．ndtv．com／india－news／up－hathras－rape－ victim－cremated－by－cops－family－begged－to－pay－last－ respects－2303004）








## 











 विमभ सी＇टगेट fिंडा＇तरे fिंडा विमे हिभवडी टा टिर हिभवडीउद लॅदट घट



 भाठमर fिउा दिभवडी से भंटगती राठतां वउवे गंटी नै।














## वैंठल चैस भागठ मघंयी नतुवी मुषत



वगटे गठ। fिंडड टी गठेव भभल＇उ

 fिउा－गूमउ टिभरडीभां टिँच टिल सी यइबट，माठ－विविभाए，या्ठट विविभा， घलॅउ－स्थिम्मठ टी दाप्य－याट，वमनेठी，ひँठिभां

 ठाइी डंड्ड टीभां गवरउं，ग्न्नाभे टी उवली．ह，
 गोलीभां छिम टी ग्लड है न्तिभान्टा प्रवाप्व रठ
 रठटे गठ।












 दॅँ मरिग्नाठ fिंड
 भाषि॥（भ：३－यヒつ）

मडिवग्वजैठा मपीपी，

 से उठ मठ पठ ठाल मगित्सेग सी भघाठ नग्डठउ च उांगी थैक्षाप्व टिस
 दिटिभागमीभां टृथागीभां डे भलगत्तिभा टी भाटाग़त्त घुर्लंट रीडी ता मवस्टी चै। उग्ना गल्लां दिँच छिउत यटेम्न ग्मतम दिधे 20 माल्ल हैनदात यी भठीन्म दाल्भीवि ठाल्ल छाठ
 विटे，थैठ，वाठरत，ठीड़ टी वॅठी ऊँं टिडी，सुलम टी टामउात मठीमा द्लभीवि विमी कें मटा ठा मरे तीक ही दॅउ टिडी। 15 टिठां घाभर ग्मथठाल दिध मठ वाटी मठीमा टाल्लभीवि। टेम्न टा भीइीभा छॅथ，टेम







भनिटे गलान्डां टिच तिभाहे तिभाममे किछटे तियडे लटी घटी

## 

ग्री
 प्रल्लंट रीडी गै।

 त्ं भरील वीडी चै वि भामी माठे यीभां亏े केटां टाल्ले ग，घमया गठ यी कैट लटी，मा्ठीभां ऊँगउां टी मुॅॅधिभा लपी थंत्षाप्व दिध मइव के Вिउतवे 1 मरड्यवन मुभ 6 टसे ठम भाग्ठ वठेगी। माठे घमथा द्वरठ के हीइठतिय गठ यी उव，गठ यी से भा प्राभ उस，गठ कैट उस，गठ कैट से
 केते वि भायटी भयँटी बैंडल／मेंदघँडी ठाल्ल लेवे，उधडी ठाल ले के，चम्न भागठ दिध म्नरिल Ј゙ट।

## उषडीभा डे मलँगत

Justice For Manisha

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 भालहे टी पठडी घर्ठिठे टिधे मुष्वा यठयांत मवत्रान समहीठ मिंख गाडुी टी भवाटाप्टी टित टिमाल गम भागठ डे गम यूटगमत वठरे मगत्तीवल मटगम्टीव टी उतां भाल्लदे हिछ घगत्तर मभाप्न थागटी टी भसघ्ढु भाभर सा भागान्तु रीडा।टिम मेने दिमाए नम यूटगमत दिध ग्नागं हगवठां గ్ర मेंपयत वठसिभां म वाड़ी रे विण वि वंगाठम मठवग्ठ रे थँमट मैट्रि म्रालनमी़िय मरीभ दिच uथले वगवे मरीभ टा एू गी रर्गी ऊडिभा मटॉ थंक्षाप्व से दिटिभागमीभां सा गी लर उड़िभा वै। दिटिमा हीचग्री उां थठ छियवग्ठी मियांड గ్ర गी व్छळ टिउ テै। माल्ल 2015 टिच साधल 4 लษ दिटिभागमीभां टिँ 2020 भुछिंटे भाठुरे 2लष टिटिभागघी wठ चैठट लटी मतघ्बत Јटिभा बै। वंगाठम टी ठाल्लासिरी सी गच च चुरी ने टस्तीढा मरीभ टिच uथल से ऐमी

 लटी मंडल रभिम्रक विथैग्ट ही थंत्षाप्व दिच भराल्ली कात्तथा के वंगाठम थागटी सीभां मवरा्वां के लाठा तरी रीडी। म गाड़ी के विड वि सिम एडी हिच $े ं ट त ~$ टी भैठ इी पे कान्तथा मतराठ हे विमां दिचयी वर्ट्रंत घटा टिउा चै निम टिध भरा्ली टल के वंगागम थागटी ही विमे रा विमे चथ दिच
 घमथा थंत्ञाव टिछि117 मीटां हिथत मतघ्बड मंगाठत डिभाग वठत दि हूटी चै। घमी ही वाल नै वि तिम उणिउ 60 亏ै निभान्ता मीटां छियव

 साट्देगा। टिम भैवे भंच ऊे मिघेयत वठत हालिभां दिच म：ब्लत्टीय मिंय

 लवाटी मढल रमिमिमां छल ठटीभां गर। टिग मिठाठत से बंभ टा गी तठीता चै वि भा घमया
 रहैउठ याल（मग्ठे सठठल मवॅउठ घग्नत मभा्त याग्टी थंत्ञाप्व ） मी इठाहाठ मिध्र甘ैंग्र，मू मंड ठभ भॅलीभां，उ＇वटठ नेंगिटठ मिय्य तिलु यगयाठ प्रमथा घर्ठिउ＇， म：भाउभा मिंय यठभाठ भाठमा，म： गठसंट मिंथ कीधी，म： भेक्षठ मिंख，म：गठन－ सैटठ मिख्ध मिठट， भिइहेट भटडाठ व्रित्र भुध नैंत टिं－ चग्तल ले मठा ढठीट－ वेट，म：गठटेट मिध्य उधा्टहॅय यगयाठ क्तिल्यु भुगा，म：मैटठ मिथ्य सिलु यठयाठ मू

मगणिघ भडे घर्ठिठे टिछ लवां से टिम़ाल टिरॅठ वठवे मइवां छियठ छिउठ वगी चै।

म गाड़ी रे टॅमिभा वि कहिॅध टी
 ॅॅयठी भीटित घ्रलי्टी गाट्टी चै। टिम ऊ टिलाट्टा

 मइसां डे छुउठेठी । ने वि मगिष्य वंमी ठग्भ नी ती से मियांड＂याहत टित्तु सा यठठवट भा्ड
 वठरे घग्तर मभात्त घटंणिट लट्टी सीभ साँ ठाल वमिम़न वठेगी भडे 2022 हिच दियां मवा टिछ मत्वं गत्तठी रवत्त वठहाप्टेगी । म ठाइ़ी


भैइदवेट वूल्टीय मिथ् तिलु यठयात घमथा

 ढठीटरेट，म：गुण्टीय मिंय भाधा，मू गग्तिसत गज़्，घीपी मीला गट्टी माप्वरा चेभठयठमत
 टिंचग्त तिल्डु भगिला मिठाठत मू भुबउमठ मगिघ，घीपी घलत्तीउ रेंठ खटीभां ढठीसरंट，घीपी ग्टी रंठ ढठहागी संत टिंचा्त मिठठठ，घीपी मुधक्तीड रँठ लंप्री，म：
 मिंसक्यल्ल मिंख्य ग्ठी के，म：लषटीठ मिंख्य तिरा， म：उह्ययाल मिंख मिंगो भैठी，म गठरेव मिथ्य


वैलीढठठीभा नीदटमिटी－मांती मटेट ठगब हे थेगटमभ＇हिष，
 रण चै वि कागठी मूल सी भभठीवत यूँढैमत लटारिभा देभमठी గें ज़ठीदठमिटी सी मैहेट हैल्ल मारहाठ वागठानागी फट्टी गिमगच छेब్लिटी भौटावइ－2020＂ठाल मटभ＇तिड रीउा विभा वै। जठीदठमिटी टिडिग्म के याठभॅव यइाप्टी टी सूँढैमठ देभमटी टी धँत्त हित




 fिल छ్ర̆वे गठ।


 हैंम टिध महार 2 हिभरडी भाठे गाटे सर वि
 टाल्त घठ विभा। यूलिम भर्मान लेंत भाप्टीलैंड
 मभें घाभा तगक्न मैटीटर दि हिव गठघम








 सांछ मुण्र वठ टॅडी चै।

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 हिदाम्मी मठरागठी चठत वेंठ स्मांश्र मथउती
 24 मऊंप्रत 2020 क्ठ 91 माल्ल सा टुतिभाम्दी मढठ उठि वरस्थिभां भवए्ल युष से चठतां＇उ ता घिठग्ने।

मदगगी मगटावही चठत वँठ स्रमंञ टा नॅसी थिंड स्मांश्र वलां क्तिल्ला तरूपय मी भडे



 टिवालेंड तिद्मी चै $भ \overrightarrow{~ ट ि ग त ा ं ~ ऊ ं ~ ट ि ल ा द ् य ा ~ स े ~}$




 ऊँ४ठ（था्ला थविलट्टा मीरटीभा），मठघतीउ वँठ मुथउती म．गुठचठत मिंय युठेहाल्त भडे प्रल्तीउ えँठ गठ।

मदठगी भाउा चठत ₹ँठ ड़मांझ भायटी
 टमांअ यविट्टाठ ठाल जघ्रा मिटी ठठि ठगी मी। छिसे गी छिमते भायटे भाधठी मुभाम डिभागो। महठवी चठत वैं स्रमांश हा भंगिस ममवाठ हीवटान
 ह्थरगिठ हिर हन्ते उॅर Ullrey Memorial Chapel 817 ALMOND STREET YUBA CITY CA 95991 दिधे गेटेगा। हिम Bिथंड
 जघ्वा मिटी（బेलेढ़ठतीभr）दिधे गेदेगी।

## 

 टिभीगोम्नत के 4 मउंपठ గ్ㅇ ताटवग्ठी टिडी मी वि तिगइे

 भगीते ऊॅर द्याप्टे ता मवसे गठ，मै टिड हीत्ते गुट दय
 ले मटेटम ही चैव वठ वठे गर। वए दॅधठी मूटी दाल्ले
 ममिडी से दिध टिमे भाष्टिभा हिभवडी，विमे ठव्वालिता टिसिभागमी से गागठीभत दतँ भाष्टिभा टिभरडी भडे तां ढिठ दठव हीते़ दाला हिभरडी तिम सा हीता यविलां दॅय छॅरा चै भडे Вिम से भयान छिडे ठगिट दाला छिमरा


रठ्रे गठ छुठ्ठां గ్రై टिमटी भाविभा ठगी
उंदेठी। टिभीवाठेमत रे टिग ही मथमट रीउा वै वि रहिइ－19 माग्गट टठभ हीत्ञा ठठठां सी मगम्टिडा ह्मने वै नितुं टा भैन्त्रा दिसटन हीता，दृठर हीज़ा， टिसिभागमी दीता भडे थागटतठम्भिय हीता


पिरां గं नठ वेटी दीज़ा रणी टिडा सा मरसा मी। टिम
 मंटेमन गेटेगा वि छिठ भआयटे दउत टृथिम यठउ साट हग्मडे पूघ्घय वर लैट। ट्टिम हीने हम्मडे हिभरडीवाउ उँठ＇亏े मरंप्रत से फँय उँ भथलग्टी रीउा सा मवेठा। हिठुणां గ్이 भवती टे ठाल ढीम ही टेटी यदेगी। सिम मघंयी
 हैप्यमाप्टीट छिडे टिँडी ता वगी चै। मठन्सीरान्डा वल निभान्ट टाल्ला यग्मधैगट，द्यीभा चविउत，तिछिन्तीलेंड
 ढॅउट सा वग्र भडे हीसे सी fिभाप्त धउस गट＇डे हाथिम ताह टी मगिभडी रेटी गैदेगी।

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##  ढठाद्रा（घी वे ठॅड्）

 ेेंटठ टी मॅंटी मटराठ दॅले थाम वीउे पेडीपाइी प्विलां धिलान टॅध हैध विमए नघेष्घटीभां， f म $x$ т $\boldsymbol{\text { н }} 7$ मभग्तिब，याठभिब वंगागम मउवग्ठ，मूंभटी भवम्ली रल（घग्टल ） घग्तर मभा्त यागटी， भान भा्टभी यागटी ऊँ टिलाद्टा गेठ दी मिभग्मी ने गौठ मिभामी मिठठठां दॅल̆ घंस 드 थुठत मभठघर टिड्रा भडे मइवरां डे छिउत थंताप्व घंट ठ्ठ ढठाटाइए दिधे ऩमृतरमउ ग्रंगाग
 भंटत घा डे घंस चठे $भ$ मे मइरी भाट्रा्नाम्टी दी ठा भाउत गी सिधाप्टी टैँ भैठीवल मटंग ही घंस सिधाप्टी टिंडे। मटम्पाटी

 सीभां हैल घंट हा मॅटा टिउा मी，छुंघे गी थंताप्व सी




## 








 ठाल टिट्र मांझे यठभ से ठभ से भैलात लटी

 ग्रिभभग्ण द्धि वरहाप्टी गाटी।

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 तगाठ ऊ मी ठगभ लुबाष्टिभा, उेठ मंड घ्वप्वा ढ़ल




 बलहंड बतला, इेग मंड टीमतन टाम सी भगिलां दाल्ली
 थेम़ रीडे। घुॅयीनीदीभां दिँच उा. नी. मी. बँल, टिस्तीठीभर नमदंड गप्टे, मू छी. मी. का्टीभा भडे घगुउ मग्वीभां मेगाउां ेे गन्नटी बटी।


गी छेविभां से मंड मार्वित्वां सा घइा गी माट भडे मउिवग्ठ वउसे गठ।

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 लॅषां टी विट्डी टिँच चैठी थॅउत गम्मटत्यठी थूयात



 भडे ग्ट टिग यठभ में मएल दा Јंट ता विग चै। भासि



 गोम्मटी टिच पठभ टे टिम मंदेटतमील भुॅटे के घडी सुल्ली





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##  <br>  <br>  <br> से भँगो भडे पूॅ्बे हाल्लीभां हीतां टा थडा लॅठोठा। ट्टिग

 टी यड़ाप्टी वठ ठठे टिट्टिभागमी मैंिड बभाठ हे मइरी
 वठवे दॅउा वीठडीभा मघशथिउ रीउा चै। गठिभाटा से उटाती से ठगिट हाले मेंगिउ वभाठ हॅलें डिभाठ रीउा

 वि मीट घ्येलट रा लवाठ्ठिटा，मानप्व थी वे दागठ



 दॅय ले मइरी ग्टमिभां＇उ रीभडी साटां गाभा ठठे
 भिवझिभां भुग्वर मइवी ग्पमिभां वग्तत टतीभां हिت
 गठ उत्त 400 ऊँ दॅय दिभवडी टिठुां गत्टमिभां वग्रत भैउ से भ्＝
 ठरमात गठ माल झॅलटा येंसा चै। निम से भॅरेतऩत भँगिड बभाठ हॅलें＇दगमिटी से मगिजेगा हाल्ल टिड मग़टदेभठ टिरमिउ रीउा वै $भ$ हि टिम म मंयी थेटेंट ही

 ब्भाठ हे टॅमिभा वि छिमटे भागटीढ़ीमीभल टिटिटेलीसैंम भडे भमी़त लठर्तिंत से मगिजेता ठाल भायतिव टैवरत्लनी सी हठडें वरसिभां टिम मा．ढटदेभंत सा तिठमाट वीउा नै। हुतुां विण वि टिम मए़ढटहेभु सी




 टॅमिभा वि Вिमरे भनिग मैंमठ भायाविड Bियवत
 उठगटिद्रि हे म्रठम्व थीडी चै नां तरीं। हिठुां टॅमिभा वि
 ढीमटी ऊं छिथठ नै उां वात
 भडे नसें उठम्टिद्रि मीट＇डे
 हैग्रा चै उां मा़टटदेभठ आयटे भाय टिव भगिम्मू वटेगा वि उुमीं निंती भाउता＇उ मूठम्व सी टठ亏ें रीठी चै। भॅविड रे टॅमिभा वि दागत उलठिंटे मभें मॅने सां धॅघे भुइत ऊं थगिलां टिडीरेटन टी टनऊं ठा वठठा मइरी ग्टमिभां टा
 विण वि सुइत ऊं यठिख्यां टिम्नाविभां टी दठउं रा
वठत ठाल्ल टागठ टिव स्डने ठाल टरठभभ सांटे गठ，निम ठाल्ल घगु माठे ले तात ऊॅव गाहा लेंसे गठ। छितां

 नै तिम राल दागत बडाठ घटलट ऊं 50 भीटठ टी सी
 टिलादा छुठां टॅमिभा वि भागटीढ़ीमीभल टिंटेलीनैंम सी
 ठभाट बीउा नै निम ठाल बंगठे／पेंट टी ममिडी＇च हृगठ
 ट्रै．ढिब ताभ टी मभॅमिभा ऊं ठित्नाउ य थठिट मघंयी ही टिम＇उ दिमेम्न Bियवतह लगाएट्टिभा विभा चै। मैंगिउ के टॅमिभा वि टिम मग़टदेभि 이 दिवमिउ वगटे मभें


 लवात ठाल भैभ वे भैय वेटेटिट पूप्टीदेट लिभटिइ सा मंमघभव भडे मी．टी． 6 चै सरवि ताम्मा हे कागउ हिँच



 टिभवडी उां ऊगीं，निम ठाल वग्ठ चल्लव यगिलां नुं गी

 टीН रे लगाउग्व 36 अंटे उटँडीचुत गैरम्पत मुबम्बले＇$\quad$ मागता＇्ठ यूटगम्रक वणसिभां हैघमाप्टीट से गु टिध टिव भतिग मएढ़टदेभठ डिभाठ रीउा，
 मंमघाट्टां लटी टिव टिभायव थैरेत़ चै। टिम मघ्वयी द्येठे नाट्राठी टैसिभां टीन लीइठ भठीभांन भवाठगठी हे टॅमिभा वि Вिटां दॅलें そ ढॅध－दॅध भउतललिभां，धेडीघाइी भंडठग्ले भडे तल मरडी भैउवग्ले हॅलें लगान्डाठ रीडीभां से सरवाटराद्टां（सतवाटरा 2005－ 2006 भडे 2010－2011）से भूरझिभां टा टिम्मलेम्न रीडा विभा भडे कागउ से 甘ेडीषाइी मैवटन लटी टिम 이 लाउटाटिव
सभग्गट टिंडीभा गैवम्पर－2020 लटी टिसिभाग्रीभां से दिधग्ं टी सांच तरहठी भगीते हिँ टिव वग्लूत





 भूयठ＇亏े कागउ से दॅध－दॅध विमिभां से लेंड Јलईिठा


थैटगठ，ठितभाट भडे नॅษ नषाट से थैटगठ सी टिभाय साटवग्ठी भुवॅपीभा वणहठिंटी नै।

उा．टीटात रे टॅमिभा वि मरूधी मठंउ

 मगिज्जा हाल मभग्टट हिंडीभा गैवम्पत सा भाज्जकत


 रठरा डै। हुठुіं टॅमिभा वि माल 2017 टिँच टिम भूप्षलिभां से मुठ्भभाउ रीडी गाटी मी भुे रंदिउ－19 से ग्लान्डां वग्तर टिम सा चैघा मीमवठट टिम हवे

 हुइल मैंटन मघणथि रीडे वापे मी। छितुां विग वि


 लही भाग्न यठिलूसटीभां रीडीभां गठ। तिम मरवा


 टी वम्मत वीडी। म

ठ̄सदा
屯ِّरा

 से ठाल्ल－ठाल 6 मटागटॅॅथ मघाथिउ वगवे भील ひ̆घट
 रेंतदात छिसभी 2019 लटी मतभांतिउ ही रीउा सा すِّवा चै।

टिम भॅवे भैंगि बभाग से दिलूपट

 जठीदठमिटी तिषे दिसिभागमीभां 으 छिच टठते सी फ्रा्टभिब मिनिभा भुवॅटीभा वठटा वगी छुपे गी भायुतिर उवरीवी जुँग से गटी घट्टे गटे दिसिभागमीभां त्र भडि भाप्रित लेपां भडे 甘त्त वेंटवां ऩाीटे तहींभां वम्हां से तिठमाट लटी हिउममणिड वठत
 20 ऊं हॅय विमठच गढ़ूय घटाप्टे गाटे गठ सरवि
 तैंत लटी 30 ऊं दॅय लेपां ’दठमिटी दिधे मघणथिउ रीडीभां वाट्टीभां गठ। म．मिये के टॅमिभा वि माल्ल 2019

 भाढ़िम，इिन्नाटित मेंड टठेउ भागव हैल्यं नागी रीडी नैविंग＇च थठिला मघां रीडा नै सटरि गह उॅर दिसिभान्मीभां दॅलें 800 से वठीप पैटेंट मढ़लउा－






 भेत्सरेम्रत（टेभाप्टीमीटीटी）दॅल्ं वठटाप्टे ठाटे मभागट


 मिलट रा भाट ग्मल Јट्मिभा नै। भहिमटठी भाढ़ वाठ－ हिंडहाटन，सल मरडी दैलें मभॅमिभा टे Јॅल लट्टी टिंडे
 तीटठमिटी से वंひिBिटठ मर्टिम टित्रीटीभािता से 5 दे मभमैटठ टी 6 भैंघटी टीभ हे टिव लॅध से टिठाभ＇डे
 टीभ टी भवादाप्टी मीज से टिसिभाग्री भठीभांस्त भवागगठी हॅलें रीडी वाटी，किम सैंग्त टीभ हिँच

 रमभभय के मझ్ल
 चांमलु उा．यठगा सीदात रें टॅमिभा वि मभागट
 यगिले गोइ ल्रपी 5 लॅч से वठीष कागीरावां के मुम्लीभउ रीडी भडे तितुां दिचुं मिठढ 220 टीभां 이 ढाप्टीरल मुब्पत्वलिभां लट्टी छुटिभा विभा। छुठुां टँसिभा वि



 टिठ मगि्ने गी मिय च नांट्ता वै वि धेडीपाइ़ी धेउत



 भरूँधठा सी तीटर－ठेधा घितां नव－टव से चॅले मङे भाठघिर，मभातिर－मकिभान्तागर，ठग्तमी भुे घंयिर दिगाइ／यूस्ट्म्मृ मभान्त $भ$ भु भुलू लप्टी प्रउठराव ठा घटत।
 टे निएँां टी ठभी टे ठाभ छुथठ डित भाठठीकेंम तानी रीडे गाटे मत ने ग्रह पिलां टे गिथ दिध थगिलां लेव मका
 मिये मेंघंयिड से घिल ठग्त मका दिछ ही थाम रठ टिंडे



 वश ठग्नमी यागटीभां हैलें टिडिग्मव भडे सॅग－
 भाठठीतेंम／घिल टा टॅमिभा विभा छिटेन्न विमातां सी
 वठठा चै। हैtे भागठीतेंम／पिल सा टॅमिभा निभभा छिटेन



 टी ठधी लटी सतुणी दमउां भैवट 1955 टिध मेय वठरे द्या्ठीभां भुडे ₹ँचतीभां से भतानां，टाल्यां，उेल घीनां，



रेंटन मतराठ सुभाठा घहाप्टे गाटे डितां




 भथटाप्टी ताट टाल्ली धेठीघाइी सी यूटल्ली टी दिछिंड क्र

 यूटाली भयीत लिभrôिट भडे मुषिभां से भयिवग्ठ 甘ेउत



 भागठीकेंमां／पिलां से टॅमे गाटे भहे भमल छिटेमां घाठे मंधेय टिठ मНए लेटा घट्ता वै। यठिल्ल भागठीकेंम／पिल टा टॅमिभा विभा छिटेम्न विमाठां से कले लटी हिती／ जुस्लुभां भैठीभां टी मघपठ वठरा चै उां वि विमाए भायटीभां नितमां 유 मुलू से विमे दी कागा हि甘 लितारे हेछ मरह। गह उँव मलव से त्तिभान्ता बावां दिध टे．यी．मैّ．मी．भैवट भयीत धेठीषाइी तितमां टा भंछीवगत चे विग नै तिम सा काद्ट हिग नै वि विमार मघपा घेडीषाइी भंडीवठत से रंटतँल गेठलीभां भैडीभां दिँ नितमां देचटे गत भडे प्रठीटर टा．लिभां ऊैं मुषे सी


वठं，ढीमां，टिग्डी दिरम्म ढंड भानि लपे नांट्टे गत।
 21 संग्र 3900 वंत उुपे सी भाभटत गैट सा

 उठुं वणं，ढीमां，टिग्डी दिवम्म ढंड भांटि टेटे 亏ं





 टिडे ताह वग्तर विमग्र तिसी／घ̆लीभां भैठीभां दॅल
 गुंसीभां गमीभां ज्रउल वठ टिडीभां ताट टी युठी
 तितमां से घंड़े दूय उाभ भायटे प्रवीरसाठी से घछाप्टे





 घीसट ऊुं यगिलां गी Bिठां सीभां तितमां टे निलटट दाले भूलां टा लिधडी उँठ छिंडे यडा Јेंटा। हिग बस्टी तदीं वॉल ठगीं गै। भतिटे भरेवां स्टिरठगताेे यविलां ही


 गुँसी उां वंथतीभां／द्या्ठी भायहे मुवॅधिभा टमडिभां टी भटर ठाल़ माठी निठम ले सांट्टे गठ，थठ तिम मभें भिडी
 ठीभां／दयागी उठुं उठुं से टिउठग्ता वठवे पेठीघाइी तिठमां क्ष प्रठीटट ऊं भुूट सांट्टे गठ। टितुां
 भडे वग्रथेगेट 甘ेडीष्वाइी से यूढ़ल्लड Јँट हिछ मगम्टी गटटो। टिम मिघंय टिच दिरमिउ मुलरां से टिरठग्रतिभां दा भयिभित टिठ ठॉल मग्म户े



उग्नमी，फडे घ ${ }^{n} f$ य $\alpha$
 दिध द्राया गैदेगा तिग्रा
विमाठां， अक्षर्टनं，थेंठ हैटे रग्रीवागं भडे प्रथउवग्ठं भडे रा गी भलर से गॅव दिच Јंदेठा।

1991
₹ं मलव दिस


भयを「をもが
वासीभां＇तटीभां भानघिव हीउीभां＇राठत पविलां टी भॅड से 1 ढीमर भानीव भडे प्वारी से 99 ढ़ीमर लूरां द्चिरा्ठ भागघिर याइा लगागुत्र द्य विग नै।
 घण्उ टिद्धे ठॅधिभा विभा नै विछिंकि भूलू सी 50 ढीमर टे वठीघ भघान्टी भrयटी चन्ती－すटी लपी 甘ेठीपाइी 甘ेउत


 भडे यूढ्ढ़्लिड वठ लिभा तांत्रा चै उां धेडीपाइी धेउठ हिचें

 गदेगा।

मूल से छिटजैनिव $भ$ भे मेटाटां से पेउतां
 व्न्तनाण से भैवे घिल

 यूस्टम्ट द्याप्टेगी।
＇गठे टितरलाप＇भडे टिसटाप्त भडे
甘ेउत छैँचठ तिगवत लूरां से मभग्तिर－मकिभान्तागव
 घणुउ गी डेत्सी ठाल द्यट दृ़्लीभां भागपिव भमभाठ－




 विग नै ने भुलू लटी गठ उठुं से யाटे दाल्या


 मविभान्ता हॅल लिताभ विण निम वग्तर मूलर त्र मकिभा्धारव ताठीघी गंहुछिटी थदेगी तिगडी भुलर से


1991 ऊं भुलर सीभां घण्डीभां उग्तमी यागटीभां हृटिभां，साटिभां भडे ठदें दारिभां ठाल





 यूट्रमृट टिछ दाया गेटेगा।

व

 डेत्ञ चिभाग दिभवडीभां 우 भातिग यूघ्य तिरीभां



 यहल्ली रागत थैटा Јट द्राले भागघिर，मभातिक－




甘ेडीघाइी टी भातिटी यूटा्ली के मघणथिउ भुे दिरमिउ



 धाष्टिभा नै। टिम ऊं घितां धेडीपाइडी रे मष्विभां से भयीत
 ऊं घंग्टिभा ता मरे।

10 मरंघव, 2020 이 टठलइटाप्टीइ ढैइ
 "लिदिंग यलेटिट" ठां सी टिर विथैंटट विलीक्त रीउी नै निम दि ति नीट-संड्लभां टी उेन्नी ठाल्ल wटटी भघन्ती से
 1970 ऊँ ले के 2016 ऊॅर टे मग्हे छाठ टगविभां से



 माभिल गठ टी टहीभा बत द्चि भंमउत भघ्वा्टी 68
 1970 से भवम्यले 2016 दि मिनढढ 32 ढ़ीमर गी ठठि गाटी भßे उान्ते याट्टी टिच चठिट टाए्ले तीट-संड्डभां टीभां
 गत $भ$ डे ग्ट मिठढ 16 .ढीमर गी चठि वाटीभां गठ।

तंगाली तीट-तंड्डभां टी भघघाप्टी टा डेती ठाल Шटट सा भुษ वग्गत मरूॅी गठीटियीभां गत विछिंवि




 छिंडे सिलट दाल्लीभां 85 .ढीमसी तलवागं दी ज्रउH च च्चैनीभां गठ।

उग्ते याट्टी दिध fिलट टाल्ले तीट-सीउभां

 गठ। उग्ते या्टी दिसले तीद-संड़भां टीभां यूत्तांडीभां से யटट से भहेवां वगठ गठ। चठिभाटां हैंडे चट-घितली
 घटलיभ वठर, रणिठं घटहठिट भानि ठाल भैराती टिलाविभां हि सठिभान्टां टिस याट्टी ऑॅट ठठि ताह रगठत घणु माने तीट-संड्भभं से wठ-யाट याट्टी ही
 घां छिंडे भंडे तगीं मरसे गत। टिम राल हिठुणां टी थूत्तरट विठिभा उां यूकादिड गुंटी गी चै, Bिम से ठएल ठएल हुठुं
 घटत ठाल भॅहीभां टी टिर उां स्नी घां छुँडे उैनवे ताट
 भॅढ्ळीभां यूतरट विठिभा लटी मेराती ऊं यग्री
 ढिठ भैटाठी टिलगविभां टित भा तांट्टीभां मर, यठ छैभ

 तीह वसी दानी याट्टी ठाल टठघाप्टीरां टिछ भा विगटे गठ भडे हिठुां दिस भा वे वॅट वे भठ तांटे गठ। टिम उं

 तल-तीटां टी भंग द्य गेट वग्ठत टिठुां टी भघान्टी उेन्ती ठाल யट ठगी चै।

उग्ते थाट्टी दिच ठठिट हाल्ले तीद-सृड्ञभां टी

 से वंटे लॅठीभां छिटजनिव सिरम्टीभां गमम्टिटां कठथुठ गीटा भडे गाठभ याट्टी टठिभाटां दिछ मूँट टिंसीभां गठ
 तीट-संड्ड भठ सांटे गठ। थंत्राप्व दिध रीइी-भा.ढगारा


ते घंबी माल्लां ती विटडी ठालें घग्ड त्ञिभाज्टा नै।

विट्डी द्चि भॅह्नीभां भठ वाट्टीभां मत। ठाठा भडे जभ్రा
 घितां मग़ रीडे टिठुां रविभाद्धां दि मुट गठे गठ ने सल-सीदां लट्टी घणुउ युर माप्यु ग्राटा चै। धाय-यटाइघां हटी सल-सीटां से हुउयाटत टी भाउठ द्यम्हिट मटी ठदीभां विमभां टे नीट दी टविभाएां टिच

 दिध मिलटे दाले सल-सीटां टी भघान्ती दिच मक ऊं त्रिभान्टा याटा 94 ढ़ीमस लेटित भभगीवा भडे वठेपीभत टाथिभां दिध याट्टिभा विभा जै।


 उँट छिंडे देलु भॅळीभां भटीभां निल्टीभां गत निम सा
 से लठाउठा माठे सेम भयत वक्ता मिये तां भमिये उैंठ छिंडे मर्भुरठां टे गटाल्ले वर टिंटे गठ। भैमभी उघटीलीभां रग्ठत यठडी से ठाल ठाल मभींसठ से याट्टी सा उपभात


 सीदां से ठठिट से जठा घटाहिट से ठाल राल भायहे ठाल

 सांटीभां मत, यठ ग्रह उम्याए टा दाया भßे чाय यहागम सी याट ही मस्सेंटनी नीटां टी विट्डी wटा विग
 छुंडे दिद्नीभां गेड टीभां छग्टगं) दी मस्संटवी तीटां लटी
 लटी ब्रहतउ दॅलें Вुठुां टीभां लंडां चटीभां वठत लटी


 गी भंडे सिसे गठ, यठ घीच वलचत हितुां सी टिम यूविठिभा दिज गृग्टट थैटा वठ fिंसा जै तिदें माठे टेम हिछ छठीना से उॅटदठडी पेउत छलीद ठिइले वढ्छभां टी भंके सेट टी थैमटीरा पां बै, थठ मैला्रीभां टी कठभाठ




यठडी छिंडे मिलट टाल्ले नीट-संड्डभां टीभां
 वि टितुां सी wटट टी ढीमर भाउठा उग्ते याटी से तीट-संड़भां ठार्लं घंड़ी ひॅट नै। यठडी छुंडे डेत्जी ठाल


 लिदिंता यलेकिट टी टिम निथेगट मत्मान यठडी छिंडे तीट-संड्इभां सीभां यूत्तग्डीभां भडे छुठुां सी भघन्ती से யटट टा टिर वागत पगडी सी दठडें सा





 वठ टिॅड तिम ठाल तंगाली तीदां टा wठ वगी सांटी घां
 छँतर टी काल दि कटवह रागर वुसगडी भा.ढडां से ठाल ठाल मढ़ॅधी घेठठिभी सा मिवर्ठ ही चैटे भहे ग्ले

 ठगी चै निदें गम्पी, गोंडं, मेन, ठीउा भाटि। भायुतिर धेडीघाइी दी तीट-संड्रभां टी wटटी भघ्वग्टी लट्टी सिसिभेदाठ नै। भमीतठी टी दठर्ं रागत पेडां टिचले

 से दूप झाइ हेट लटी दठउसा नै, ठाल वीइे-भवंडिभां भडे यठडी छुंडे गींगटट दाले तीट-संड्यभां टी यूत्ताभीभां


 तिरलिभा ठमाषिटां उठयूठ ठाटा याट्टी यठडी भिडे याट्टी








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 मगणिड भावमीज़त टा वंभ वठटा चै।टिठ दिछाठ

 रे भागिख्यु दि दि सि मभानंठ मैने भाजे। ।तिवीभां वठ्ठिपष्लां यूवम्मत भडे मुठ
 दि भजनित टिर घाल निलट्टी मेंे Bियठां


 मंड्रलत घिवाइत नें घचा मरट। भाग लाप्टीत
 टी मभवॅपा घ्वात्ल थमउवां भडे प्वाल्ल ठमाल्भिभां दिध गी नै। छिगतां तिरीभां वत्रिघ्यां से 25 माल

 टिम ठमएले के थैइां थाप्टीभां गत छिठ गेठ बस्टी




 भाथटी यूटाग ठडीं वीठी। मान दी छिमटी वला से

## ढैत थ్ ची ट्रीभाभा दिध घेठे गठ।

टिम भैवे छुगठां वाल्त गमएले तिवीभां वर्ठपष्वलां हा उग्ता भंव दी निलीज़ रीड। हियठां ठग्ल हुगठां ही नीटर मम्पट




 महैठत्तर घटाट्टिभा।घ̆ठा मिंथ भागटिमट रे टठॅमट टीभां मठगाठभीभां घाठे चाघट्रा यहिंसभां विग वि छिगठां दल प्ल प्ल मगिउ
 उीव माल्ल 亏ैं छिथग्ले रीडे ता चटे गठ। 300 से वठीघ घ̆चे टिम वला से धेडठ टिच ठाभरा वभा




யट उवीभां यूतन्डीभां टिर fिंडा टा दिऩा ने वि टिठ तीट-संड्ड यठडी नैं मटा लटी भख्ले च नाट्टो, थठ टिम ऊं दॅडी fिडा टी वॉल वै वि टउगाटठर सी
 ही टिर यूघंयरी वग्तन-001-408-493-9776 युठाली चै तिम सीभां मान्ठीभां बडीभां टि $\alpha$-च्चेते ठग्ल तुडीभां गत निम टित

 भमैदिरां हि गटा, याट्टी, मुगत सी चम्नी, उथभात, मींग, भिॅटी, पटित भावि भाहिंटे उठ। ट्टि मग्ठे fिलरे


 नाद्देगा। ने रठ घ्बटे



 हाल्ले तीट-सेड़ तिगडे मक ऊंं दय प्रउठे टिच गठ तेरठ
 तीद-संड्ञभां छुंडे तिठकठ गत हुठुां हा वी Јरेठा। टिम ऊं घितां घगुड वीट-यउंगो यठ-यठगाट टा बंभ वठरे
 हिम ठाल मंस्घंयिउ ढमल Јॅदेगी। टिम लटी नीट-तंड्डभां टीभां अटसीभां यूतन्डीभां भडे छितुां टी wटटी भघाप्ती
 लेटा छागीटा चै।

टिँे टिड टॅमटा ही घट्टा ने वि नेवठ भमीं

 गं उां टिरॅले तीट-संड्ड गी प्रउस रणीं गटठो, मठों भरुधी भघा ही दी प्रउतिभां से मतभ̆ध गेटेगी। 2014 दिच मूंतवान, 2015 दिच छेतटी भडे 2018 टिच वेठल
 Вिठुणं छिंडे वघऩे वठवे दिरम्म सा ठॅथा लठा वे छुमग्ठीभां वठत वग्ठत गी भाप्टे मत।
 चुठडी लटी सेगालां भडे यग्रां सी भंयाप्यंस वटाप्टी भडे चटिभाटां छुँडे लॅगो फटविटड यह-घितली थैनैवटां वग्ठत गट्टी मी। ग्रट दी माइे टेम टी मवरण्ठ त्रि मभए

 दा गठ ठग्न उठुं उठुं सीभां वृसठडी भाढ़उां से


 रठत टी दिछ्रिंउघंटी रठती घट्टी चै। तीद-संड्यभां टी


 दाल्लीभां मभॅमिभाटां ऊें नीद-संड्डभां टी मुटॅषिभा लटी
 ऊां वि दानाद्रत सी यूघ्घयरी-वग्तनसेली ठिजमघ̆य

 युठी मंतीटगी ठाल जउत वरत टी लंड जै।

## ड़ॅटी ठुी उतूँव वरवे!

चैदी माल्ल तिकाभ लिभा 'रठइ' సंगं विम्नउा थडी के पउती टा टॅम वे ती।


उठलुठत fिस
'स्थाल्युण'
001-408-915-1268

किउर्ద़ मभशीटे पठी डे वँट यउती


ॠँभी विउां दॅलु रिठ गी रेट्टी ठॅधी तिनी लाल्लनां दिध गी ढम वे नी।

डीसे घंग्ग घठ'ट्टिभा थंत्ञाम्यीभां के

'डेल यहिट' सी ₹मिम गी वठी साहे टीटा लॅठा मी प्वश्ट्ट 'कइॅव' वणवे।

घाग्टल टल टा मिभागी गी थैंडइा पे टिगठ्ठ ट्रॅटी ठा मम₹ 'उइॅव' वगवे

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तहीं टिल्ली（घिण्ठिう）－रलिड लुइरी टी भैं टी प्षघन निदें गी ढैली，टिली से महटगमंग गमथठाल，टिसे चैव डे ग्घंम दिध ठम ढ़ँट 氏िमा। ठगावि
 के तिभां सी भिठा रीडी चे।
 टी मानाद्टी वरतिभां कीभ भाठभी से भुभी उैरगमेधण मान्तम्ट के वि⿱ा वि हिव सलिड काप्टीचगे हें फथील वउसे गर वि हिग मइवरं＇डे टिबलट मझे निसिभेदाठं लूटी भैं टी मत्ञा


## मिगट। Вिठां विग वि तर उॅव मुल्क्तभ



 टॅमिभा। टिम हँगत्र जँगी
 रंगाठम हे यूयात भैउठी ठरिंटत भैसी डे का्तथा भाग्हाभां टी＇खुपी＇हिडे मदाल हिठाट्टिभा चै। यागटी रे दिसे चैव दिच चम भुक्षाग्वन रीउा। वांताठमी भागताभा－यीभैल यूटीभा，
 च्रलीम रे गिठग्मउ दिध ही लिभा Јै।

## 




 डे भुलत्षाभं टी दी सीक वॅट वे ठीइ टी चॅठी उँइ रे ढांमी टी मत्रा Јंटी छग्गीटी नै।

घग्तक भुवडी यागटी से थॅБभीभांचत यूटेत्र सतठल मरॅउत $\mathfrak{m}$ भेठठ भீइल थूयात भेठठ टॅधटी दियाठ मठा टिसगत्त भाठ．ही


 भंडठी छिउत यूटेन्न मवरण्न लषतछि से ठा
 थै विग नै वि Bिउन यूटेम से क्षिला गम्घगम से घाट्टा चंतथा टे थिइ घुलताड़ी टी हाल्लभीव मभान्त सी बुभग्टी मरीमा टी ठवरठं सुभाग तीक वॅट वे
 ढठाठ Ј वाटे मर।

यीइडा टी भॅं च वाटी चै। टिम टगरताव யटता ही घग्तर भुरडी भैठचा यागटी



ताम्टे। वसी भु्मलिभ मभTत के वसी भरुमिधिउ

 मभॅमिभा सा तल्टी ऊं तल्टी Јॅल रीउा नाट्दे।
 घग्तर वूंड़ी भैठच भेठठ मैंइल，गठीम गौउभ， पाभमेढ，ग्नी भुीव भगिभस भिंड गग्गल，

 मैंबडे लव मुभल मत।

 कान्तथा टे उग्त दिस दाल्लनिवित मभात्त टी यी ठाल तुल्मभं टी टामउात，
 प्रलाउरण्ठ रीउा，थैठ ऊँने，लूठां उँडीभां，गीनु सी Јॅडी उँडी，तीक टॅढ
 ठा घ̆लिभा। 氏िद्हले थैत्त टितां ऊ मिठढ मिठढ डे घग्तर मभान्त यागटी सी
 टगर मिठढ भायटे मभझ्टे गत। घमया थंक्षाप्व हाल्लभीवी मभ＇्त से ठाल्ल
 कात्तथा मगरग्ठ भुठराप्वा्ट



 21 माल्ला भठीमा दा्लभीवि ठाल fिंउ से चत छिच तांडी से बैडे घंटिभा
 Bिमरा गुथड मंगा माइ टिउा विभा के हिमटी तीक टंसां ठाल वॅटी उांवि



 ก्र फलटिहा वठि गाटी नै।
 माइे गॅष मॅउा टी छम्वी ठरी भाठिंी

 रठ रठ तर्गी कटवटा थैंटा।

भயयटी मवरण्ठ घटम्ठ नग्मव घट，धच टितमग़ वठ


इएल fिस मुळुग्टी




ฌुपिभान्टा－घग्तर मभात्त थागटी से तिला भीउ थूयात दिवी






 गत थठ सेम्न सी भॅगउ सी मॅॅषिभा सा ₹पी दी वर्ठंत लिभिष्ठिटा
 रे ग्घगम दिधे 19 मएल टी दाल्लभीवि लइवी ठाल मभिगि घलाउवान टी wटता सी साटवर्ठी मांखी वठटिभां विण वि दे टे





 वटी टित किसगी भैंड टी लडाप्टी लइ•टी भाधन हिव गठ तांटी नै। दूरी बुभाठ के विग वि टिम उ दॅइी गैटाठीभउ दाली बसी wटरा च गी ठरी मवसी टिम लटी टिम wटरा से छाठां ौमीभभां के ढामट

 उमदीन थेम्न वउसीभां गठ छिषे गी बान्तथा सीभां मगवर्ठां＇च दॅय



 भडे Јन गत्तन मत।

 भां ठभा ऐेदी से ठां कागठी मटेट घैंब हिछ चै।

## ＇टेम्न ट्रभr्या＇ ‘भिघेटरन टा्टीमक्त＂

 आम्रलग्टीत थनुत लटी वल्लिव वల： www．deshdoaba．com www．ambedkartimes．com

 ＇डे मैलाट्रीभां ट्रि त्रिया महाठाउ रीउा तांत्रा चै। टिमे

 से ढैवलटी भैंघटां दैल भंडतठम्नटठी टेभतथैगट
 तिथा ती भाष्टिभा भापिभा विभा। टिम तैठग ढैबलटी

 तें दिम्ऩ मैठ मथाट्टा टिद्मम भरा्टे ताह टी मवॅउडा ऊं

 टीभ टिँच टेभवलाप्टीरत्न दिकाता ऊं भमिमटेंट यूँढैमठ

 भवैइभिव えभागठी



मैठ मथाट्टा से मभात्तिर，भानघिर，मॅकिभान्ठावर भडे
 रें निंभेटान मैलाती दी पटाठिटा चै। टिम माल जताप्टीइ
 उप्वलिजि．टी．छ）दॅलें मैठ मथाटा टिदम सा टिम्न＇मै०




 टी मवॅउडा＇डे यिभाए वेंटतड रीउा नाद्टेठा। दिमझद मैठ

 दिबाठ दॅलँ भाठलग्टीत भॅयन＇डे टिटिभानपीभां से हैध－दॅध भुवर्यले बठटाप्टे ठाटे।

टिम सैंग्र टिटिभागमीभां से＇मैठ मया्टा


 मघंयी स्नेत्नेटमत भुवप्यले ही वगटाप्टे ठाटे，ने मॅकिभा्ठान，मेल्किभां भडे उिठ्ठिगठं ’के भाप्याविड मी।

टिम तैगत्र वॉलघाड वरसिभां गटल भिठेतभैंट दिकागा टे थिंमीयल भठीम मतमा हे विग वि

 जनगारात यास्टिभा नै।


 कातउ टी वॅल सी．ठी．यी टिच 9.2 हीमटी जनारात यास्टिभ वै नटरि ट्डवित्ञाभ मिंड गैमयिटालिटी 甘ेउत टिँच 4.2 लॅ甘 ठदीभभां हैंरठीभां थैटा गैसीभां गठ，से वॅल





धेउठ＇च Bिकठ ठगे भैवे यहाह रीडे ताट，तिम लप्टी
 गाटी चै।

ट्टिम भٌवे चैठीवाडु ज़ जीटठमिटी से चंमलू


 विग वि मएल 2019 सैंगत पेउत राल मह्घयिड 360 उं दँय टिट्रिभवमीभां के टेम़ दिटेग्न सीभां चंटी सीभां गटल

 ठैमर्टंगेंट भहाठे कठडी यू पितिभा कटी＇टतमिटी से टिसिभानमीभां＇च ठृत्री दिधा ठठे गठ सरति 50 ऊें दॅय थंत्र उाठ गेटल दिसिभागमी यलेमभैंट लटी छंडीवाइ ज़तीदठमिटी यण्षे। छुतुां विण वि माइे लप्टी माट दाल्ली
 ＇टनमिटी से 47 टिटिभागमीभां टी हैंबठी लट्टी हैट रीडी गाटी नै।

## 

 टलिड टिटिभानमीभां टी मिसिभा लट्टी थैमट मैटि मवएल्लठमिय मरीभ मर्घयी वैटी ठीकीठउा हा सिधाठिट
 13 भैमेमीटेमेतां टी तभासिट किमैमीटेम्नर＇सैर＇हॅलें प्रा्ठिउ दिधे भेलात रीउा विभा वि थंत्ताप्व मवरग्ठ हैलें
 से 3 लॅध टिसिभाग्मीभां कें साधला हगों से मरहगो। टिम भुवे सैव से चेभानफैठ उा．गाठभीउ मिंय


यालीटाल，え－大ेभठभैठ इТ．的 ${ }^{\circ}$ म वटानใभ ${ }^{\mathrm{T}}$ ， त ठ ठ ल मर्वउत भैम． भैम．छॅठा भुडे म व＂उ ठ गर्गतिटठ मिय
 मी．भैट्रिव मवग्ठलूभिय मरीभ छग्लु रीठी ठाटी मी，तिम Hउग्वर जँठ भैम．मी．दिसिभागमीभां टी यड़ग्टी हा
 गِंचा चै।

गठ माल्ल लॅठाॅँठ 3 लॅध रहिड दिटिभागमी
 रे मागे वम्लतां के किठटेम सिंडे मत वि Bिड भैम．मी．


## CHANGE OF NAME

I Subhash Sil s／0 Jatindra Mohan Sil Resident of 9504 Ravenna Ln．，

Stockton，CA－95212
Now I have changed my name

## From Subhash Sil to Subash Sil

## CHANGE OF NAME

I Gurbachan Singh Gill $\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{OHoshiar}$ Singh
Resident of 2610 E Pasco Ave， Visalia，CA 93292 Now I have changed my name From Gurbachan Singh Gill to Gurbachan Singh All concerned kindly note it．

#  

टिर घान महहिंटा गं．टिर दान टी गाल चै．टिर

 हैलेत टैमट वउटे गं．भामटन मे भआयटी चंश के चमूपा



टिव पूष्वा Вिठ सलँ भु वी महाल चटिभा？भॅगे उां ड़मीं यडुणिंटे मी ＂भायटा भावाभावग्ठ＂，भॅत्त ड़मीं भायता ठाल भा विणइ भढमठ लाभ たिउा！
＇भंग ड़मीं वसे टतिभां टी तपाठ टी घंइी


 भटमठ सा भउलप्त गेसा चै भॅवा।＇
＇ढेठ उां भग्मटठ ती，टिम सा भउलघ चंट्टिभा＂भॅवपठमडी＂？जा्टी विमे डे，छिं ड़मीं री ठां लिभा＂भचयटा＂भाट्टे उां मार्तु भृवे सा ढाप्टित्टा छिठ＇छिट्ट चानीटा चै？＂टिح एगतिभां सा तुभाव घटलिभा।



 भानी सारे भॅ．भैं तिगइा महाल पॅहिभा Bिम सा सहाप्व सिछ．विगर्ण यठा चे टिम सा सहाप्व？’
＂टिठ उां भग्मटठ ती，मव क्र यडा चै．
 भै．उुमीं छिठ ढिलभ भाप्टीम भेक्ष तठीं सेधी？छिम भंटत सरें गइ भाछिंसा नै उां भाथटे चुपे वाट्ट विगत ऊॅचसे टथसे भे वि ग्ट भगभ्नी ढैल्ट．लम्मां नी लम्मां गटटठीभां। ग्ट ॅॅस्त वे षाट्टांगो। भाथां उां छिचं ऊं गी भायटा से भाठे भुठटाठ षांट्टे भा गठे गं। से वेट्टी मठट
 भे．में भामटठ ती，टिठ गाल उां तठ्ठ विमे भुठटाॅ्थ रे वरी भि।＂

भामटर मने वए वगिट लटी भैं घंखट गी






 के सिवाइसी वाल मिकाल्ली＂भी करीं पॅउ，हित गाल थॅवे उँठ के टारामी के गी वरी नी．भेवा महाल्ल हिट मी दि

 घटले।



 घाट हा।＂
 ठगीं रठ विगे．भैं कां घृटिभां टी वाल बठ विग गों। मेक्रे रमे विगेे घंटे ेे हिं विण ने？

 मी．Bि से मंटन टिव रे，घंटिभां टा विठेठ गेरा फे।
 दालां दिँच भंगठेनी टा दिवटवी दृए्या दी लिभदा के



 गटी चै＂

भमटट घिचाठ घेघम लम्ठाठ 〒ं विभा． भेठव लाग रे भेत्त डे उषडी．भाग री थिगा है लिभा？
 ठाल घूल्यिभ।

मैं घटी，मदाल थव थॅदरा गं．ट्रीभा



 ग्ट उां मदाल $^{1}$ मझवने？
＂भमटन नी，ऊागउ दॅँच दी ऊां विावतां ग्ंटीभां गत．हिघे दी विमे विाग्त के विणा．
 सम．उाठठ दिं विम घंटे ें हिठ वाल वरी गे？


 उां नहाप्व हेट लाप्टिर किरलिभा।

## ＂गं घटी सम＂

 मग्री वलग्म ध्रमत युमत वरी नांटी के वि घंटे दी
 उां वतँथी गी गृंटी चै टिम हैं घटा गी ठीों मरटा．गं，भुगटाँ घाट दटलिभां दामउे नगठ टि मैरा गेसा की।

भमटठ क्ठे टिम नदाष्व सी छिभीट रठीं मी． हिं मैं गी विग मी वि भहीटत भूंगे घंल 氏िया।
＂भमटन सी，उमीं बठता टी वाल बठटे भॅ？ वठँता हाल गुट चिँहले 6 मरीटिभां ’ 70 गत्ताठ घंसे
 द्विता धुठाव टे 70 गताठ ऊा टिर भवीते＇च भठ संप्रे मे．वठठता के फैठा गैला थठ सुभावां घाठे भरतिभां


हिम टी गाल य్ यूटी गै उं यविलां गी स्ता
 भवगो उं लम्मां उं टिमटीभां चग्गोटीभां मत．वटी काठडी
 टेधी वेटी लम्म．से वठठता भग्भागी कि उां लम्नां ऊां टिमटीभां चग्वीटीभां उठ।






भाँ छां भामटन नी，इुठ घंल़ा भे．बँटी घंटा स्टे घंटे हा भीट कुं धांचा．गुणटे वलेती बॅँ रे Bुतु रो रगटा भे？＂
＂भाग दिडीठ भाला टमरा यिमा कि दि टिर

 टे खाना मी．वी थउा ढेढडे दी घटर टिंटे गेट टिर हैने
 ठगीं fिल विग मी．Bिच ढेठ घेलिभा।

मॅंठ जाठ，उुमीं उां गैन थामे गी उुठ


 ढिलम्मढब टंग्रा मंड ने वे नहाप्र सेट लवा।
＂भममटन नी，भायां छिम घंटे टा हां नाट वे

 विग नै．उाठउ दिध विागतां उां यरिलां गी घंटे हे धउत

 मगी वलग्म घैल थट्टी，＂भममटर नी，भहीटर सी वाल मटी चै．विगतां टी हमल क्रे दावटी पउठ धउा उ विमा फे．से भग्भागी क्ठे गी दँटी घंटा मैरा घटा


भयां उां यविलां गी भठे यटे गां．विठनां टी ठमल घच＂हिट घाठे मेच भममटन नी＂भमाटठ रे भैंग घले बठ लिभा．मांटिर मॅन से घ̆चे हैम हालें विडे निभान्टा मभझ्टाइ मर．छिम के क्रा विग मी वि विागत्र घ̆चिभां टा मदाल छिमरे मदाल हा मटी नहाप्व च।

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हूपिभाल्ट（घिधिठ）－बेंसठ सी कान्तथा मवरण
 ऐलूत कें घग्तर मभान्त यागटी हैल यविलां गी गठ यॅँ मभॅग्रत हे टिउा विभा मी के आयटे रीडे
 घटाहिट क्टी थंज्ञाप बत＇स यतरे हवाप्टे। गलरा
 गठमसीय मिंथ भठिस्ट्सां हैले मांडमसी यठरा






टलिडां डे ひॅट विट्डीभां मिध，भमल्भाएां टीमम्टीभां भडे घैयीभां छिडे चूल वरी भानी के गृ हेन कठ से विमाठां क्र टी भयटी लपेट टिच है लिभा चै।

टेम्न से लव यगिलां उभग्मघघीत रा घटे
 मगिजित टेट। नेवठ लव विमाठां हाल पडे ठा Јपे

उां का्तथा टी भाठी फँगो भवाल्टी हागी सिगठां टी दी
 हिँच दी विमएां लट्टी हैं उँव मंधगम वगेगी सर्ट
 भँवे मेग्ट लाल，चेउत，लब्हभट भडे गेठ घमया टनवठ ग्तन मत।

## विमग्ठ मीयुग्न＇छ वूँदे धित्तल्की मुल्ल＇त्तम























 मेडे Јँ ग्तन मत।











 लाल्ल ती से तीहत मिंघंयी ताटवग्ठी सिडी वाटी।

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 टी मगवण्ठ से डिंत में ऊं दयेठे ले मका से मिंघठ Јट

 घिता विमां टिचैयी डिंत भागठीरैंम याम वउ वे ऐेम

 साटगो। गत्त मवा दि बान्तथा बल घण भैउ रठीं मी थठ टिमे ही घिल याम वठम्हिट हा निम उठां सा इठभा
 गॅटां थाठ रठ टिउीभाभा，दटां थदाठिट सी सां के थविकां

 विभा वि हिठुणं के गत्त मका से हेभृभैठ सा भाप्टीव उँइत
 उर हत्त्रव घट वाटी वि भग्मम्लां के वट्टी गत्स मका



 छिठ मग्ठे सेम सी विठमाती त्रे षडाभ वठवे पेडी डे भघ्तीभां ，भंइग्रीभा भानि सा वप्षत्ता वठ वे विगमाएां







 मगवण्ठ रा दिउय ठगीं वर मवसे । टिमे घिभागी सी
 मी घूल，सीभ वम्नभीव टिधले 370 wडे 35 से वर्ग्रीं ษउН वीउा। हिव यामे वठठा घिभाठी टी ग्ल ट्गण्टी


 भगंभागी ढैलट सा उठ घट विभा चै। घिम घिभाठी ऊं वग़ी गॅस उर थिंड ग्ले घषे गैटे गत से हितुां टिरॅठां
 लटी खाउव चंदेगी। टिम सी माठी fिंभेद्वा मी ठरिंसठ



 गठे गठ विछिं वि वठंता घिभागी राठत निगडे यठटग्मी
 विमे थठवग्न सी बस्टी गगउ यूटात रठों मी रीडी। तिम
 सा थैंडा उठि वठवे भायहे थिउठी யठां टिध साह मटी


 मर। मॅटी मगिप्व कूल गाटे वि चिद्बले मभें हिँच ऊॅट विट्डीभां ठाल रीडे पॅविभां हांग्तु，विमाठ दिनेयी


 ।माने विठमाए मீठठठ भाथम दिछ टेवडा मघभउ वठवे तघटरमउ मंधग्न वठ ठठे गठ। थंताप，गठिभाटे，
 उँठ डे विठमात थंत्वाप्यी，मिँध गठ，निणझे पेडी डे गी भुठमठ गठ। टेम सी भन्नाग्टी 亏ं घाभर，काधइा छैभ घटत ठाल नितुां लेवां सी तमीत छैभ से छेउत टिँच भाप्टी मी

甘ेडी वठत लट्टी घे भघ्वण्ट तनीीटां भलाट्ट रीडीभां गट्टीभां। कागउ से उउवग्लीत यूयाठ भंउठी मू लाल




 गठ ，विछिंकि थेताम्वी घग्रत वैभ ने । हुठुां टी चधदाल्ली
 सीभां भघण रीभडां ने वाटीभां उां टितुां यूंडां हिँच उग्त



नघठी स्तभीठां ऊं घेस४ल वठरे，भाठ वॅट वे भुड ऊुं
 मवसा चै वि टिठ गी थंत्राप्व सा विममात चै। निठां डे

 से याट्टी सा मउॅठ ठीदां वगवे ，तभीत वल्लें हैय झाइ


 सा मिबर्ठ बट सा सिभाल रीडे घिता，पर्ठिउा ऊं घीवए्रेत उर सी बैंमठ टठेत ही उलहा लटी，थठ सेम़




 थागटी के घीघी गठमिभठउ ₹ँठ घान्टल，तिम सी भवग्ली



वठरे थागटी से थठयात डे भॅस भिउती ठठे म थवरम्म
 2014 सीभां काठडी सतठा यागटी दलं छहां तिउट हैं घाभर टिर गढडा टिल्ली छेठे लवा वे घझीभां fिंतउां

 टिम बेंटठी भैउठी चट डा भरंट भाह्टी भा उगी मी । ससें सा विठमातां सा टिन घिल चठचा सा दिमा घटिभा
 दिचय वठटे भा गठे गत उां टिमे विमां निडैमी यागटी
 मैउा विग मी，वि भाधठ Bिठ वठे उां री，टिर थामे गॉसी मी डे हैसे यामे वितमाठां टीभां दृटां टा इठ। भाधठ टिम घीघी घ्वाप्टल के ॉॉसी से में त्ठ यठिल टिडी के टिम




 वरिंसे ठठे वि＂सिठ घिल उां विमाठां से ढास्टिते दाला वै＂। भमडी．ढा सिडे साट घभभट ही हिठ वडी ताटा वि

 उठां नागी ग्गेगा। रणिट्टे टिम विमाठां टी भुसटी ＂मूंभटी मवा्ली रल घम्तल＂से？विंती चैठग्री टाल्ली
 टिठ घीघी ले मका टिच मैठ या्ठी गॉसी ठाल निद्यडी

 थागटी ठाल मर्घयड निगडी विठमाठां सी सघेघंटी मी।


 ऊं भिंड＂घप्टल＂दिधे यठटा लता वे भायहे उम सा यूवटाट्वा वठटे भा ठठे गठ। हिमे घां डे गी यठते के घैठे
 भयटी ताठ टी भग्डी से के＂घात्रल टॅप्वत＂निगडा टिठुं विगमाठां टीभां छटां टी घर्टलक्त भुज भंडठी，


 ट्टिगी रहूर थंक्ताप्व कात्तथा टे द्यियातराठां के ले मका


 चग्गीटा चै，तिणइे मउलघ् थूमॅउ भवम्लीभां टे भवाठ लवा
 घंट वरवे देटां या सिंसे गठ। गुट उां भीठीटे दिँ वंगागमी के भवर्ली टिर स्ते के हैम लगा ठठे गठ वि

 मर्घंयी ฮॅधीभां भीटिटां टिँ तठीं नांट्टे ठठे के भवए्ली
 टे गॅर टिच टिर मघट रणीं घलिभा वि वियते हैठुां सी


 उठि विभा jeेेाए वि भवा्ली डे खंगाठमी సंदें थागटीभां


 विठमात दिंचयी घूल के रमउक्षड रा वठत，निदें



चंदे।बी रणिट्टे टिठुं याँ्धंडी घ्वा्टलां से？थंत्ञाप्व सीभां मग्ठीभां वितमाठां सीभां तघेे
 तें टिर टित थैत्ञाप्व घंस सा मॅटा टिँउा वै । निम सा ला



 नै वि छिठ भयटीभां यागटीभां दलें टिम मर्घय टिँ
 टिर－मिव रीडे ता चठे मैंथमम्न टिच माभल च ताट्ट उां


 का्तथा मवराठ विमएठां डे यलीम ठग्गों भீंता उम्सूस

 टमिभ्भंड चैंटाला नंत्रि विमाठ भागा मी रेदी लाल से






 तिगठां टी यागटी विठमाठां हीभां हैटां ठाल ग्रेमां
 मढास्टिभा न नाद्टेठा，तिद्टें घप्टलां हा थंताप्व हिँचें च
 छण्गुसी ने उां हिठ मंदियात टी याठ 371 से भुउगघिव निगडे यूांडां से विठमात टिम मभें टिठां घिएलां टा टितैय


 तिम के यठा टे ठां डे ले रां क्ष भाथम दिँ लड़ा वे，
 गिडैम्नी थग्रटी ठगीं，घूवि दिछ्ठियग्गीभां के हिठ दी गुस्तन्डी दिठ्ठियामीभां टी यूडीटियडा वठत दाल्ली यागटी







धउठताव ठीडी 우 तॅठा रठसिभां विठ वि रणिंटत भैंटी टी मवरण्ठ के थंत्ताप्व से लवां ही टितुां ই户े घूलां गगीं नाभीठ
हैगाविभा चै। Bंग Јँ दी वट्टी ले 91－94170－95965 उगी बै । टिम








 वर्गिसे मत वि＂मिय मर्गिघ＂ग्ट का्तथा हिँच मुभ्भल
 रिं टिँच भैसी से चउले ढ़रे ता चठे गठ। विठमात

 प्वा्ड सभेटी सी मघप्या ही वठर। न वठ विमे मभें




 ही यिभाग वॅषट टी सत्रठउ चै वि टिम मभें घगु माठे
 यी亏 वठत लटी भंसठ दाइे ताहो। टितुां 亏ें दी मुषेड ठठिट टी नग्ठठउ चै।


 सगाटी चै। Bिठ टिम पूरे दिनेय भाधनी मागं उर

 । टेम़ टिँच 130－140 वठंइ टी भघान्टी नै उां हिम टिँच 100 वठँइ से लठा कठा विटडी हिरॅले विस्टाभं सी चै।

 टिमे यूपाठ भீउठी मू ठरितित भैसी के तिगडे सिगडे टभभटे लेखां ठाल वीडे मत वि मभाभीठम्घत ठीひैगट


 गीभां，वएला घंत टृथिम लिभांत्टा नाद्टेठा भानि बस्टी



 मिगउ मेदाद्यां के हुठुां मक ली उतमजँवा ग्लड घटा
 लठाण्ठिट， 370 गटाहिट，घ्वा्पठी भमतिर घटंচ्ठिट तां


 मुभागम लटी पठभ टी भा丁ु ले वे भाuटे गी लूरां ठाल रठा वठ ठगी चै।

टिम लपी निठुां चित टिठ fि्̃य द्रठा


 Вुठुां टा यठभ，ताउ，घूली，यगिठग्दा काट्टें वुस्र ही नै।

 यठभ तिठथेध मगवग्र घटठ्ठिटी चग्गीटी गै，ते मिगढ

 हिँच fिस्थभां मभेउ मभूँषे कागउट्मीभां टी कलाप्टी नै।
 वै क्तिम ऊं लवा विग ने वि टिन विमात दिनेयी पूल




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## A身 <br> भॅन 28 मरंघठ గ्ठ दिमह कठ दिच भंडतठग्मटठी <br> भैउ दी च तांटी वै। ॅॅध दॅध विथैगटां भर्ममाठ दिम्नद <br> 2017 टिच टिव 13 मएल टी घूलाउवण् थीड़ुडा लेइवी

मुवॅसिभुड गाठकथाउ टिद्म से ऊँठ डे मठाटिभा ता विग जै। नेवठ टिम चित सा यिद्बवड़ देधीपे उां टिम टिद्म कें यठिल्री दाठ माल्ल 1990 टिँच लेटित भभठीवा
 वग्ठहाप्टी टिदम दत्ं भराष्टिभा विभा मी। माल 2011 हिँच भगिलादां से गालंदल हैटदगव ढाठ विर्यूंइरटिद
 रीउा। 28 मउंघन ता टित माल 1871 टिच घूग्तील सी
 जा्ट टिदाहिट मटी चुटिभा विभा मी विछिंकि टिठ वर्टरंत Вिम मभें टिव मवॅउदय्युठ वर्ठीती मुयान मी निमटा


 विभा भडे लॅवाॅँवा 87 सेमां टिँच ठग्मटनी, घेउती, भडे भंडगठग्मटठी मभत्तिर मिमघाट्दां स्थभाठ 83 गडीद्यियीभां टा भाजजनत रीउा विभा यिद्बले माल्ल 28
 से Јॅव हिँ भौटा यठिक्या टिनेय यूटगमत रीउा विभा चै। टिम माल 28 मरंप्वर 2020 लटी भंडतठग्मटनी
 यूूंटिड वाठथथाउ। गाठकयन्ड हा ताभ मूटर्टिभां गी घगुडे लूरां टे टिभाग टिँच भाइी मैच दृल्ले चिभाएल भांटे गठ। नटें दी विमे त्ठे किमे भगिला हल्लं गाठक्य

 यिदले वैँ सगविभां टिँच मभात्त टिँ लइविभां से भूव्घले ऊॅट चगी लइवीभां टी विट्डी हा वग्गत ही





 भागघिव हुरमां कां गुँचा गी चै भडे वटी भविलाट्टां ही
 गठ। मगवग्ठी निथैंटां भर्माठ कागउ टिंच गठ माल्ल लॅठाॅँठा मॅउ लूष गाठकथाउ निम टिँच यूप्टीदेट मिगउ भहाविभां भडे खठां दिت रीडे ताट हाले गाठक्या माभिल ठगीं गठ रीडे तांट्टे गठ भडे टिव निथैगट
 गाठकयन गंसे गठ। कातउ दिँच 56 ढिमसी गाठकथाड
 टिँच 8.5 ढिमटी भैठां
 गी गुंसीभां गठ भडे गठ चत्त भमृॅॅचिभिड गाठक्यन्ड वग्रत 10 भगिलाद्टां टी भैउ गِंटी चै। लेमैंट ठालंदल गैलम तठरल सी निथैंट् आत्रमाठ कागउ दिँ माल 2015 दिच Јँ पे वूल 1.56 वरंडु गाठकथन्डां दिजें मितढ 30.4 लॅध गी मिगउ मग्डलउां दाल्ले महलीठभां दूँच वीडे गापे गठ। गमटनी थठिट्रान मिगड
मवहेधट-4 (2015-2016) भरमाठ ही टेम टिँच Јँट हल्ले गाठक्राउां टिँचं मिठढ 20 ढिमटी गी सरउर मिगउ भराठ्भिभां द्धि रीडे तांट्टे गठ, 52 ढीमटी
 27 ढिमसी गाठकथन्ड wठां हिँ गी रीडे सांटे गठ। गठकथन्ड वठट्हिट टाल्लीभां लॅठाकॅठा 19 ढिमसी
 मभैमिभाल्टां थेम भाम्टीभां गठ। वटी दाठ भविल्रादां भßे



 उठ। नेवठ वैँ् भभलिभां टी ठॉल वठीटे उां टमंप्वत

नंवि गाठउदडी न वाटी मी से चिउा टी भयील डे भैघघटी टी भाठजेठा भहालु के मैठीवल विथैगटां से भयाठ के




 टिव 19 मएल टी लइवी ने वि टिभागी डँंग डे ठीव रठीं मी टी भां टी भrील डे लइरी से 32 गढडिभां से गाठत हैं ही मैठीवल वियेंगटां से भयाठ डे गाठकान वठटहछ्ठिट सी टित्नान्तु टिडी वै। टिम उवं वसी दाठ भाट्टजेवा भरालडां से ग्रमभं ठत्ल भगिलाद्दां क्षे टिठ मग्लड निली चै। टेमीभा मेढ भा प्वठमठ यागटठठमिय मीमघा दल्लं नाग्ठी विथैगट भर्तमाठ टेम दिच 80 ढिमटी भगिलाद्रां 우 भैभ टी थी भैवट घाठे वस्टी दी
 टेम टिच गठ माल लॅवाॅँठा 17 लॅध घ̆हे विमे उठं से मठीवर दिवाठ दाल्ले तरभ ले ठठे गठ टिम लटी
 मगवग्ण दलं गाठकयन वठहाठ्ठिट टी मभां मीभा दिँ द्या रीडा विभा नै। टिम माल रेदिz- 19 वग्णत
 कानी मभॅमिभा थेम भाप्टी जै। टिम मह्षंयी मिगउ भडे यविद्टाठ बलाप्टी दिवाग वागउ मतरा्ठ हात्ल fिलवे भाप्टी याम छिद्लै्यमैंट ढंठिठेमत दलें रीडी गाटी मटठी विथेगट भर्तमाठ लाव उठ्ठित సैठग सेम से 12 उत्सां दिँच



तिंग भैमममिटेमठ भाढ टिंडीभां मिमषा नँवि वसी गग्तां दिँ मूरॅधिभॅउ गठकथान वलीटिर उला ठगी चै भरमान टिम लाव उण्छिठ वग्र भाए साट टिँ भुमविल Јट वग्वर वटी सठिउभंस भगिल्याद्यां
 जै निम वग्ठत वट्टीभां ं भमूँठधिभित गागकथन बवटाहिटा थिभा ने $m$ हे


 वृल्टीय चंस 91-9417563054

 नि्यु्उरटिद मग़लडां ठां भिलट से भभल मग्गमटे भाप्टे गत।

थीमीयीभิतठीटी भैकट टी मॅधडी से प्वाघत्बत्र भाप्टे टित गाठक टिँ घूष्षे टा लिका टॅमट से भाभले





 भगिलग्दां टी मुवॅधिभा एटी भैभटीひी भैबट भत्माण


 मॅधउ वर्गटाम्टी वठठी छग्ठीटी वै। थीमीयीभैठठीटी
 टी तांच वठठा $भ$ ङे विमे दी उठीवे ठाल टिम मर्घंयी टॅमटा गैठ वर्ठी ने भिे भातिग वठर दाल्ले हिभवडीभां
 रठठी छगीटी बै।

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 भिठेतन गैट से ठाडे，टिमटा मिया मैघंय उां भेठे ठाल
 यठ सा भाभल गी न सांत्रा चै। यठिले हिभाग टी उठुं，


 मदाल थैटा ने ठठे मत। वणणिठी हिँच री Јंदेठा，भेठा



 भाधितरम्ठ तॉउसे गं नां गठटे चं，टिठ उां उुगडी


 विमे ठा विमे तुथ टिछ माग्महे भांहींटा नै，विछिंकि
 भा तांटी नै। दरील मणगिघ सीभां गॉलां मृट वे मेठ माण मूँव विग मी के भैं या्टी सा विलग्म थीउा। दरील से



 टाट्टिभ डे वरणिठी टिच भा नाहा，मभें टिँ वसी उघटीली तर्ग गट्टी，ट्टिम वेम ठाल्ल मंघंयउ मा्ठे भमली रमउाद्टेत्न ही लेंटे भाणिटा चै।
मिं निले तिठे
 दाली के दी भेठ भुंग नगुग लटविभा सेषिभा，याट्टी यिला वे ひ్ँॅिभा मॅक ठीव नै। ह्रिथठँ B्रिन टिलग्मा मैं दी टिला टिउा वि गं मॅक



से माग्मले थेत्न गटा，तठु डिभानी वगवे भाठिटा। मूใमठी ने वि याठ वठ वगी मी，हुमते विग，टिम उठुं टी बट्टी वॉल ठरी गुँी，निम उठुं उॅप्य से wठ टितम＇ढ़
 उां गी ढैमला टिंटे गठ।

घगउ घवग्टट गेट वगरे，भैं टित टिँच गी




गंटेगा। भायहा गिममप्व विउाप्व जग्त वठ लहै उुमी री छंगो के भُसे वठम वीडे गठ। दबील टी उवुं छिमते दी घगुउ इठ टॅडा वि गमडे टि ठाठम यान्टी टी ठटी चै।



## वग्टी त̈त मगणिय

उभेम्न टिंटठ मगभा

91－98148－46159

से रढडठ दिच माठ चै， fिउा वठत टी えट्टी लंड रणी। छिठ मॅउ बुञ ताल्टा नै，ञुठ घूलत टी बसी लंड रती। टिर झुठ घंट्रिभा उां यूडे सा मवसे चं डे चपप ठुपी

 ही मरता नै। भैं मठ गी भर யघवग विभा। युग्टे माठे याठ थ्टा रीडे，चत्लीमे， भागठीभां भुरटमां जा्ट रीठीभां डे ट्टे निते मत ठाल Вिमटे ठाल चॅल चिभा। घगउ छीइ लॅठी गैटी मी，वाल्ले



 वउल रठी，वंटी उारा－चठी ठरी，ताटे－भहत्ताटे बर्ञ


टििरां मग़ मुसठा ठणिट मगिट तारहठ दी भाठ वे ठठी
 विग । वलजुग से टिध घंडी घणुडी गेठढेठी रीडी तां
 ठठी। जभग्त्त हे ही भमवठग्वट सिधाप्टी डे मग्गिघ से
 ढैमला उां भाधितवग्र，यूनउमा हे मठाट्टा मी। ढैमला मुठाट्ट गी मी，वि मूपनठी ती के विण छिंठ，भॅन थेमी जै，यूभग्रमा सा ठां लदे डे नमछ，ठाले हिल टी रदाप्टी
 उलां，यठ घैंर हा वैभ चै，मैं री रठता हिपे।

 भगीते टी उग्ठीध भिल वाटी चै। भवाली थेमी के ढिठ


 चै，ढिन टिव मगीरे सी उाठीध निल वाटी। भवाली थेमी ऊ यठिलां भेठ उप्वन्तला न विभा，उनॅवी के के मैं ह़मने
 Bिठ वेम ऊॅल विग चै， 10 माल्ल च वाटे，वस्टी ढैमला ठरी Јँचिभा，विंते नॅत के विंत भ．ढमठ घटल वाषे，त्तिम
 मयाठ विभा मी।

घंडा मिंथ भामटठ हंटी हिभटे गी भामटन लॅठा
 यगिल टिँ काद्टें यड़ास्टिभा यठ घॅन्विभां टी सां मरूल सी कलाम्टी लटी छिम के वटे ठठीं मी मंचिभा।

चाठ ढंड तां गेठ विमे मांझी व्लेरम्तर लट्टी

 हा टिंचठग्त मी। टिमे वनरे wठ भधघ्व ही तगों लगाहाट्टिभा मी। घ̆चे छिचेठी यड़ाप्टी वठत लॅठा यटे，वसे


 डे हैँय ही विमें ठा विमे से घंतु लैंटा।मरूल मभें हैंग्र

 टिरठीभैंट हाये
सँचट ही लॅठ विभा ने वि लॅठाटा तों मी। छिथठं रित
टिरठीभैंट वी ठालडी ठाल याम ने ठाटे। घंडा मिखिए से


そमउ रे छिमसे मवल बलटव ठाल गॉल वगटे गेटे विडे भायही वॉल रीडी， ＇मठ मेठा टिवठीजैंट टाये＇च भा विभा याटा गी थै विभाभ। ＇भमीं उां घंडा fिथय हा टापे＇च टिरवीभैंट ला उा，टिठ उां गालु गी गठिभा，सघ्वाठ विदासित्रि लपी केतट्र यहि वेम＇।
वल्पर के विडे घंडा मिँ उेठ टिथ टिथठीभेंट वालडी ठाल हॅय लूठा विभा，टिग

## ठीव वगहिटा यहै＇

 ला लिभा，＇जग मेठे えल द्या＇च हिवठीभैंट लँठा वे चैठी भा गाटी，घाप्द वर्गिटा मी वि ड़ टॅमिभा वि ट्राये

 ＇भग्मटठ नी ，हिठ टिधाठ रिथ्रिमीयल ढम नाहि，नरें वसे



दिँचं घँलटिभां ，＇जग भेठे हाल्ला टिधा वे उेठ ही लॅठा सांटा，ड़्रं उां भेदें गी तदां थंगा था उा टिठ ऊां डेठे वगवे गँटिभा ，डेके री लें मी रणिट टी．．＇गह Bिठ ग्रॉमे＇च घूल विग मी।

हुम सा सैमउ हिम टी मेच＇चं टिभाठटाठी टे $\boldsymbol{भ व ष ~ ल ॅ ठ ~ व ि ग ~ म ी । ~}$

##  <br> तिका्टी भडे तुलाप्टी

 टा भयिभायव Јंटा छिम लट्टी भाट टाल्ली ठॉल गेंटी चै ，टिम



 15 भागठ 1962 रें भाड्डा मद：मीमडी मठत्तीड वँठ सी

 गप्टी मबूल ऊं यूथ्य रीडी ।सिम छिथंत्र हिम रे भयिभルव घटत टा मुथठा सिभा भडे 1980 टिँ गोगट्टा （गठिभाट्टा）ऊं चं माल्ला भागट भिंइ वठग्ढट टीठठज़ ट्रेतिठा सा ठिथल্দr वठ लिभा।




 यठ Јली गल्ली टिठ बंभ ठाल छिठुां टी लठात भडे ट्टिइ
 भायटा तीदत टिठप्ग वठत जठ चं गट्टे भडे घितली


 2012 टिछ मठवग्नी भिइल मवल उम्लू्थन
 रागत टिसे उवठीषत चा माल मेटा किबाप्टी। मुइ Bिठां सी घटली मनवग्नी गग्टी मक्लल घंञुणम्टी वलां （मृगणुठ）दिधे 20 त्रु 2016 융 च गाट्टी भुजे टिसं गी ग्ट छिच मेटा मवडी यूथ्य वठ नगे गत। हुतुां के यहु थंक्षाप्व थूँ्जैरट भयीट पर्डत घटाव ठिमेगम यठमत बंभ ही रीडा हितुं टीभां टयीभां मेटाट्टां मरवर मरॅउत मिचिभा टिकाग हलें थूमीम्ना थॅउठ टिडा विभा।Bितां रे 2012 ऊं मवली इिछिटी ऊं टिलाहा घी．भिल．छ．टी इिठ्टिटी ही गट ऊर ह टिभाइहाँ
 घित्ञ मीलाम्टी मभ̆मिभा ठाल मर्षयड वेंन भाय गी Јॅल वठटे ठठे गत।छिं मवल टी विमे ही टायु इिछिटी Пें ग्रेम्ना
 तिक्छिंटे गठे गत। छिच भिठघ्यले，निलटमग्न， मा्टे मुवाभ टाले भडे भिगतडी टिरमाए गठ।
 Bिठुं टी यउती

91－94635－53962 मीभडी गठ्टीय वँठ ट्यीभा
 मलीवे ठाल्ल भाथटे दूषिभा सा यालूट ひैमट रीडा।यिएले
 गान्टी रहिंसठ मिंख भैभ．टे．，घी．भेउ，ठल गेट छियर्गंड मलंस टिथे गठि ठगी चै।घेटा समतटीय मिया घी．टैव．（मिदल ）वठवे भाथटे कटिँध सी उल्म वठ चिग चै।गठभेल मिच्य भायटे चठिह्टान ठाल भग्भिटगाइ （मंगण्ठठ）दिसे उठि ठठे गतायूभाउभा वठे छिं ग्मेमां मिगउजाप्व उगिट।

## 


 गुणि पगिलां दी 1992 च बढिभा मी｜टिम लेधर के






 दिनिभां के भयाविउ＇ग्राठभfि से ट्रिभान्टी मडे


 हारे गाटे ट्रेटट गठ। दगट्रजेग नै कि 1699 सी दिमाधी 1999 च। गुनगत्डी कम्नत दिँच दिँच मतुदाप ₹ वे



मत्रमिब हिलुलटं， टिमिटी मैंब ，यविटागर विम्माठभा दिजली सीदठ नांप भङे याळ－ १७नठी टी थूँइडा वगरे गहाले甘व के भापटे टिनी नीहत दिँच मगधिव टिनिभां के भायागिड थाउतां र्ठ यूमझिठीभां भुउाप्ष भअठां टी चैट रठवे घावमल्ल निउतट रीउा वे।
लेषव خे हंत महंते दिसिभां हाल वग्टी
 वगट्टी मिवानि दिचलीभां वगट्टीभां मभानटाम्यी जघागम ही थेमवर्गी रठटीभां गठ। तिदें निदें यमउब पइुरी मुण्र वठीषे ，टिर ऊे घंभस टिव वगट्टी च उन्ची घटी उगिसी चै। वगट्टीभां टा दिमा टमड़， दिधागयग याठव सी मैं
 \％ें घिलूल किगम ठठी

हैनीतीभु मउताभ fिय मॅट्ड वरटी，घलक्रक ग्री घटी
 थंताप्ती मागिउ टी माग्टी उनटी नै। थमउव यहुठजेग वै भढे लेपव द्याप्टी हा भाउत गै।


क वा उ fिंख यरुत हा घगड मेंरीत मी।गठ देले विउाप्व हिम えल गुसी मी। हिटुां टे वुंड्डीव－ गठ रल से गठ टिव सुढीभा टिवाटे टिँच घंघ्य，यिमउँलां से ठाल टिव एामिম्येंटी ही गुंटी मी।

यfす ए 「 व्रंडीवग्ठी भेवमत हिँ निभान्ता दिम़द्रम्ऩ नॅधरे मत
 స̄ंठ टिउग।

तेंसटार कानउ मका घटाप्टी，भाभ मता， घिभाठ，यठचे，भैतिर लैंटठठ ठग्गी यूचग，टेम़ कठाउां घाठे थूटठम्रती के भाषघाठां टिछ लेख भानि जउतां ठाल ले भरां हिछ घां घटाप्टी। टिम यूछण मरवा वंगाठम




 टितमग्री गाटां ठाल बत्यु，द्धिग्टात मभवैप
 थूनी मी।

## 

ॠभी थॅयठ सा वूंडीवग्ठी सल घटृठ्ठिट लप्टी

 टिरॅठ Јट्टिभा तिम टिँच कठाउ मिंख्य से मुझभ के मभाग्नटा्ती मुघट तंड वे रल सा हां निंसमउत्र

 घटएषিभा विभा।
6－यगिलां वूंडीवग्ठी टल टिछ बमांइ टिव तहे व．ल़ गंटी मी थठ कठाउ मिंय ंे माठे ढैमले लेट लटी बेंटठी वभेटी घटाम्टी ने वा़ी दिधाठ दटांटते घाभर मांश्री मगिमठी ठाल ढैमले वठटे मठ।

मांइतम सा वउल वठत मठाठ एार्गंठ सीभां



 मरूँध से मैमूट रा भंड वठ टेटेठा।＂
 इिमयिBिट घिल थाम रीडे उां काउउ मिंひ डे घटरेम़टन

 ठाल्ल वांडीवग्ठीभां के मऩस्टन विमात भिटल ठाल

 ट्टीभां कठ से भिगतउवम टिव ने नम्छ से ठगठे लह्ठिंटे गठे।




 दाल्लीभां तान्डी，यानभिव भने ढिउव काट्टराद्टां ऊ छुत्रां

 ता मवसी नै। हैनट्त गी टितवलाप्व से गठग्टल समडे
 मबसे गठ।

मका के विठडी यागटी ठाल भिल के विमाठां

 भध्रघणन मुठ् वीठी मी।

भैठ भैम भाठ टे टे टितां मुघटां टिच ऐेमी
 माडी यागटी हिं उैभ वठेगी वि थिमउँल से टिमान्ते के

 तेरठ हिठ भायटा ठदॅसीभा तर्गी घटलटठो उां माडी
 यठडी 亏 निंटा సेदेगी।
 fिंय डे टॅउ के मांश्रा घिभात टिँउा－व्रांडी सा भउलप्ष
 टिँच हिभरडीवाउ दैठ सी ₹सी सगा गंसी चै। टिन घंघ भडे थिमउँल सी मिमव्डिी रठी चै．．टेम र्म टिव हॅडी उघटीली टी लंइ चै भडे निगडे लव टिम गॉल के भगिमम

वठटे गत हुठुां हा ढगत्त वै वि मभान्नट्न्टी मियांडां छुंडे मभात्त टी मइ छिमग्ठी वठत।

Bुठुं लट्टी टिठवलाघ हा मउलघ मी वि＂भॅं－ सुसा दिदमघा घटलती छग्गीटी नै मे माढ़ मग़ दे घेटितम－ Г्दी डे टिरी Јट्टी ने।＂

3 भागठ 1929 से भायहे मंटेप़ टिध कठाउ

 टिभवडीभां के काठठी तरडा भडे रग्मिभां ही भाभरत




 विग Јदे，टिम हाल えटी ढ़र रणी थैंटा।

काउ मिंख ंे टॅपे－वचले लूरां प्वा्ठे टिव

 मटंध ठाल तीट लटी घ．ताद्ड रठत लटी विग।
12－रंगठमी हेउा भडे मग्डभा गांयी से हेले ひॅटाठी मीउानभैपीभा हे बताउ मिंथ ग्रां टी ढांमी घा आयटी मंगानेत्री विउम्व ，निमटठी भाढ हा टिंडीभर हैम्मरल वंगाठम＇से काता थगिला से 442 म．ढे


 घलवि यठिलां गी ढांमी टे टेटी छागीटी चै।

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（वग्रीठग्रा दिसे 1923 दिच वंगाठम भन्तल्म चष्टिए। भुग्नस भली रे भாये यूपग्तठी उग्नट


 भमीठ भमलभभ्त टिम लटी थैमे टेट लट्टी डिभग्ठ मत तिम रे भतिगे मुझभ 이 ततन टिउग। टेमे

 लप्टी थैमे टेट लट्टी वॅष ऑगो द्वाप्टिभ।
 पवम टे ठां＇亏े ठा याइत से जउत वगटे मरे। भतिटी घठिम्म से मभें उठाउ मिंय रे＂भढ्बु से मद्गल＂ठां टा लेध लिचिभा। ते टिम विठडी दगता टी उारउ भडे रमतँंगी टा ताट्टित्ता के के， छिग्रां त्र उनॅरी वठर लटी ठम मूञभ्भरित्टा चै। टिठ लेष त्रठ， 1928 से ＇विणडी＇दिँच＇fिटठठी＇से वलึभी तांभ गेठ Бटिभा मी）－मंया्टर

माइे भुलव निंती कैडी गएलड Јँठ विमे भुलू

 टिग वीउा तांटा चै वि डीव वटँइ टी भघ्षा्टी दाल्ले भुलव







माइ सुल又 प्रा गी भयिभाउमटन्टी चै
 टेटे ही इससे गं，डे हिं घिलवँल गी भाषिभाद्टान्ती वगठ्छिट दाला ज़व्य वटी मटीभां उ टिवमटी सा मैव


भमगीवा भडे ढबांम से टितरलाम्व हिच गी रठ टिउा मी के फॅन गुम के गेठ दी विमे विमभ सा कित केस मिटाठिट टी धाउत टिबमटी टे $भ$ मुल＇डे लूर घूया उँटिभा चे के भमी भमी मता गी भाउभा यूभाउभां टे ठी



 हेमां दिच माइे ठाल हैगा मल్
 मिरासिड वठत सा गॅव गी री चै？

मिंय से टिव भमल्भभा मॅस्त，fि．ठुठ
 द्चि
＂if the Hindu Society refuses to allow other human beings，fellow creatures so that to attend public schools，and if．．．［the president of local board representing so many lakhs of people in this house re－ fuses to｀allow his fellows and brothers the elementary human right of having water to drink，what right have they to ask for more rights from the bureau－ cracy？Before we accuse people coming from other lands，we should see how we ourselves behave toward our own peo－ ple．．．［How can we ask for greater political rights when we ourselves deny elemen－ tary rights of human beings．＂

Bि वरिंसे गठ वि सटे उुमी टिव टितमए
 हैंतां గ్ గ్ मरममे दिच पडुत ही ठरी ऐेंरे，उां ड़गइ वी



टितवग्ठी Ј，उां उुमी Јँच यलीटीवल गॅव भंगह से






 रं दयेठे भयिवग्ठ निलट्ठो，निम्ये वि Вिगतां ठाल भान्टभीभां टृता मलू बीउा नाल्देगा। ढिठ टिन वणिटा
 यर्ग्षा ठठे गठ，ढ़्ञल गेंटे।

रिंती मॅची गॉल वै，यठ हिठ मुट वे माठे उउथ छिठॅसे गठ। घैठ ！ठीव टेमे गॉल सा ढिवठ विस्टमां त्र टी चिभिए। मराउती थंउड दी टिम भमले＇डे मैधाट
 माभिल गेटे। पटता दिच fिए भगंमका Јस्टी। लाल्रा
 उले भाठिंटे उत，यूपाए मत। घडी घठिम दिडी， वाठभा－वाठभ इउथां Јटीभां，भाभला टिठ रवथेत्न मी वि

 Reformer（मभग्त मुयागर）गाठभ च यषे，यठ एাला



 टिमिंग ढिठ मरटा जै，थठ टिव थठ टिव भान्टभी माइे
 थंडड भालहीभा सैमे घडे मभात्त मयानव，महउउां से घगुउ घडे यूेभी डे Јँ ही का नाट्टे री－यगिए्ले टिर
 ट्विमतठ वीडिभा घितुां भायटे भाय रें भमूप्य मभझ्टे


उँघ！छिम टी यत्ता वठत टामडे नें भंटर पटिभा जै，Bिमे

 भमी छउुभलटि तां घटम्घटी से ठाभ＇亏े इठाइसे हैगो
 याप्टी सांटी चै। नं माठे टामठे हीच ऊ तीच बंभ वउवे माइे मैधां दिध हाया वउटे उठ，छिठां र्ष गी भमी
 टितमात के бल दी ठर्गी घिठा मवसे ？



 रीउा गैदे सां हा रीउा गदे，मिं ढाप्टिता क़त्र रीउा चै




 हॅसी। किस्ट द्यी। ढमम्ट ही गेटे। ड्षेठ！गुली－गैली मिधां टिँच दी चिभाग्त थैटा गंटिभा वि भमी ठा थिद्बे ठठि




 द्या ठठे गठ। टिम माठी गल छल ठाल fिस्थैमउात टी लागतउ ट्ड़ च चटी चै।

ट्टियठ सर भह्बांां के टेषिभा वी माइी पाउठ
 वसटी भायटी भायटी ज़ुगव ममए विग नै，उां भारी सुसे


（घग्री मढा 22 ＇डे）
www．ambedkartimes．com，www．deshdoaba．com
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## मी गुछ वूध मावि सी मिधिए भक्रम्ब

# भरघ ड्रतभुठ नीद्टत तीट ही तांध 

 से भवष कठथठ हैंा ऊ मॅघटा वै，हिठ





वट्टी सतभ कपे रीट यर्डागा।। वट्टी तरम गात भीत वृर्वाए।।

 वटी सरभ मैल विाठ वठिभा।। वटी तर वाठठ Jठि पठिभाए।।
 माय मंगि कटिछ तरभु यठर्थडि।। वठि मेदा कत्तु Jठि गठि ग्राठभडि।।


 （भंग 176）

 यूळ्ठ ठाल दिम्नाल्ल वठठ सी लंघी जाउठ सा त्ञिरठ वठटे गठ，किमटी मंशी


 （वाठिडी मगला स।।）








 टिधठट
टी मुग्न गी टिमटी मगी भाभितिभां＇च उटागढ वठटा मवटी चै।

 भरुमान हिम वृल भाल्लर सी व्थिए ठाल गी भाहिंटी ग़े－ ठटठि वरठि ने भायटी，उा हसठी मािठाण याट्टिभा।।




 लष हेवीभा चृविभाम्टीभा，लष थंठा थवटाहा।



निति वठङै वठट्र रीभा，लिधिभा भानट साल्ट।।




या़ याइ वाइी लटीभfo，याइ याि कठीभfo मप्प।।
 यइीभवि तेडे घठम घठम，यदीभfo तेडे भग्म।। यदीभे नेठी भागता，यदीभिण तेडे मग्म।।

 ढस्स़ल टॅमटे गे ढ्रठभ＇हिंटे गठ－
लि⿵ि लिधि थइिभा।। उेउा बइ़भिभ।।
घण उीवम बहिभा।। डेड हहिभा।।
घं केष रीभा，टेगी ट़ध टीभा।। मग्ण दे तीभा，भयटा रीभा।।



यठा हैपेउाहा।। भयटा वीभा वमाहा।।
 दिट्ट रुग्टै，विब् घाम्टि र याप्टी।।
गडै घेघाट्टी，भडी भमा्टी।। भंय क नाहे，ढिवि यढ्खउाट्टी।।
 ठातर，हरठि वटे में याप्टे॥


 ฮै।



वड राटिभा，वड वथड，रड बथ भथाठ।।


 ब్छ



मचु उा थठ ताट्टीभि，ता विटै मछा Јटि॥
बह्ड री मल్ छिउतै，उत्र वठे गहा येटि॥


मचु उा यण ताट्टीभ，ता सुठाडि ताहे सीछि।।
यठडि रम्टिभr म मयि बै，हिचि सेटि रठउा घीछि।।
मचु उा यठ ताग्टीभै，ता मिध मची लेटि॥
टट्टिभा साहै नीभ री，विढ्ञ थैठ राठ्र वटेषि।।
मच उां थठ ताट्टीभे，ता भाउН डीवसि वठे तिटग्म।

मच्ठ मउता गृष्टि राठ，यथ वहै येटि।।
ठातर दधांटे घेतडी，निति मच्र यले Јंटि॥（भंग 465）




 गِंटी जै।
वहट् म भ भित वहट् गाटे वहट् म मटीभा भீड।।


टे डै छैटे टेम वठि उा टमि भाटी रंड्र।१२ว।।


टिर ढिरा ठा गालाटि मउता भै मचा यटी।।



 वे $भ$ हे टिर दी ढिवर घचत ठा घंल वे विमे टा टिल रा टृधम्टीपे।
 यहाधिंटे गठ।
ठातर ढिने घंट्रिभै，उत मत ढिवर गेटि॥
ढिरे ढिरा मटीभै，ढिरे ढिरी मेटि।।


 सीटत सांछ वैँ̈ ग्मल रीठी ता्दे। किम ठाल मॅछ सी मभए भा वे तीहत से



 गठ।
 यवेलसी चै। टिमसे संत्राल ऊ मायंगत हिभवडी उां री नंगी，तडी，उदी，



ट्रतिभानी विम्मडे भГ्डा－थिउा，छेह－कठए，यडी－यउती，घंयय भडे






 ऐेद नी टिमटी टिभिभिभा टिंश वगटे गठ：













 भठाठ मभात्त छैठा रणीं उां हिम सा वग्ठत दी तीटत मंटने लॅकटां यदेठा। सीटत मभात्त भडे मभात्त तीहत सा यवर गै। टिम बठरे गठ मगिघ्वात यूक्ण
 दिध ठठि वे मंयूटर वठर टी मिसिभा टिंटे गठ। मभा＇न से उिभाठा र्ठ दठतिउ वउसे गठ। मुउस－थाउव，उौनघ，टिम्रठात，यूटीभां उय＇हिट，भद्डानं टी

 भडे गेग－ढेवीभां टी घां गॅर－गलग्ल ही बमाप्टी च टमईंय टी सिॅिभा टिंसे उठ－




 ऐेट ती से म्वघां दिध
Вिटभु वटेसिभा तीछि ड़ वमाट्टिभां मुध छुछ्च।














## सउत घगउ मध री रीपे

させध え वीछ ठ えटि॥
वग हातर मु ने मठां，गठि काद्टै में Јटि॥（फंग 1428）




नैमे नल डे घ्वटघ्वरा，Bुपनै घितमै ठीउ।।
ता गचठा डैमे ग्ती，वण ठाटर मूतिभीउ।।
भग्टिभा वगठति याद्दगी，भुठ्ध लंवा भनाह।।



 टिमरे टिछ ठणिट टाल्ले तीट दी प्रूप्तल टी उतुं गठ भडे छिगठां दॅल छाठे


 गंटी चै।
नठ्ठ मुध वछी चाठै मटा，मठठि उग री लेग।।



यूा्टी भभडा उस्ते，लँ भें भविवग्व।।



















 （घ＇्री भवाले मढे＇डे）

#  

(मढा 21 टी घ्वरी)






 विभा जै।
मुटिभि मड़ मैऊँษ विभाठ्र।।
टिगतां डितां गुटां सा याउती ठपप्प सी fिगठ सा याउत घट वे





 वठित वितउ वठ वे हिमटे ढल दिँच टात वठरा नै। भातिे सात टी गी




 ठमिभां टे दिवाठ గ్ㅇ मथमटट रीउा चै।

 (भंग 1293)

मुण्व कादें ठीठा सल हिच घटाप्टी गैदे उां ही मैं कर स्रिमटा



भायहा यठम्टिभाँ त यहाटट्टी षमभव यवे धागि।। (मंग 554)
 ढठीटा से उु भवलि लडीढ़, वएले लिध्ध त लेध।।






























 टिडी सांट्टी वै।

गुणघ्वा्टी हिछ मभठथट टी काटता टिदेव के तितयागिउ चै। तिम





 यूथु वठट्ठिंसा नै





 भग्टिभा भभउा उत डे कानी, छिथतिछे तिठमल निभात्र।। (मंग 1186)
 ढ़्मాहिंटे गतभपये
भघिटिभिए गिउ रीठ।। प्विघेर सीय मलीक।। (मंग 486)






 गी गमिल ग्रंटा नै।











 टिमउठी टी काल वठठी यैंटी नै। निम टिमउठी उ मीमाठ टे घडे भगं-थुवां










ษमझ్ हिमगठठि के वमनाकि।। (मंग 10)








 सम्ध गमिल गुंटी ने।

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(मढा 20 टी घंरी)

 दिधाठ से यूष्ठठ टा ठडीता गठ।

ग्टट टिर महाल Јँ हिठत्रा नै वि टिम भमले टा ठीव-ठीव गॅल री नै? टिम हा सटाप्व घइा मैगल ने। मब उँ थगिएां टिठ ढैमला वठ लेटा चग्गीटा वै वि मउ

 गठीप कंगी से अठ थैहा च विभा जै, टिम बठवे माठी Bिभठ टॅटीभां गी मान वठेगा भडे ट्रीभां टिच विमे
 ढन्लू गठ। टिटठां दठविभां भान्टभीभां ठाल सटँ माठे

 लँठ यटे भडे ठाल गी टिन दी दिवर यिभा वि टिट घठान्द्र ठा वठ टेट, उँ थुतठ-नठभ सी ढिलग्मढी सा



 याय रीडा। टितमाठां से भृतन टितमांीभ सा भाता भाउल-दिम्नटन्न, भडे भाग्डभ-तितबतडा हा बाद्ट माठ मूटिभा। घडा स्तल⿰ के वठिठ वमग्टिभा। घैठ, भॅत छिग्टे यठग्मनित सा देला चै।

टिमे टे ठगल गी टिर नँठ धठम्घी थैटा च



 घंडी घठग्वी थेता च वाटी, तिम ठंल्ल माडी उॅॅरी हिच

घडी ग्रवादट थैंसी नै।










 ฮॉल रर्गी चै।



 नॅट टेंे टिच वी ब्ठउ यटे।
 ग्लड छठां चिठ रर्गी मुयन मवसी तिठां चित वि हिठ टिटां ताठीषां त्र० वमीट भडे ठीच वठि वे भायटे थैठं
 ठगी ठीजिसे? टिमरा सहाप्व माढ चै, हिड वाठीघ गठ।





 लेटाभमी उां मभझटे गां वि हितां टा भायटे भाय ס्र







 से पूँ्भिभां గ్ర भरवॅमिभां टिध बठडी वठटाहिट। यठ,
 थेम रीडे गाटे द्विल '亏े भॅक्तगप्व से पग्रे ले वे
 उलम्छिट टी fिभि छिं विम उठं वठ मवरे गठ।

टिम वठवे भामी वर्गिरे गं वि हितां टे भाथटे
 ठा मैठाट? भमी उां मान वरिसे गं वि हिठे! भढ्ढु वग्हिट दाल्ले भमली मेदर के दीन हिंठ! भायहा

 वर मविभा, निम ठाल वि भॅत्त हुमटा ठां भॅत ऊॅव निस्टा
 गृसीभां गत।
 द्या वणवे भडे नि़िसगी भुभवित घटा रे टिर प्वइा कानी
 (Land Alienation Act) टिंडर्ल्ले- टिगम्न्नी भैबट

 टी भिम भेज, (लप्टमम टगभर मप्टत) मत्रूधां राल्ल घग्उ
 तम्ठ। भमल दिच डे उुगठे भायटे जउत वीउिभां घिटां उुगण्र्ण बूञ ही तर्णी भिल मरेठा। (Those who
would be free must themselves strike the blow) भान्त़ान्टी टी धाउत भान्नान्ती छग्र्ट टाल्टिभां గ్ర तउत वठरा छग्गीटा चै।






 सुभुउ रठ मवेठा। ड़मी लेरां सी स्रुवर ठा घटे।




 भडे गाठीघी ता भुॅध वग्ठर ने। टिम वठे छिम ठाल ड़मी






 यलीटीवल डे भागघिर टितरलाप्व हृमठे वमठरॅमे वठ लदे। उुमी गी डे भुलव टी तड़ च, भममी उवरड च।
 घड़ा वठ टिछ!

हितनेगी
(बठाउ मिंय दल स्ल 1928 से 'विठठी' गमएले टिच दिसठंगी टे रलभी ठभभ गेठ लिधिभा विभा लेध)

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 गॉल गठ बट्टी रठता चे थठ री बष्टी छठाउ fिंय घट मरसा नै？वी विमे के हिम से तीदत＇亏े इञ्डी भागी चै？



 थं बताउ मिंथ त्र 23 माल्ल 6 मगीते 16 टित टी छुभठ




 सी भमली दिगम्मउ छिठुां से हेब भानटम्，ढलमढा भडे तीटर निष्ठिट टा दिलिभट हींग गुंसा जै।

 लटी टिछानां से ठग्ल－ठाल्ल कागी भुम्नरल मभें गषिभाठ



 माग्महे थेम रीउा। टिम मिथगम＇नु भायहे लटी वुञ दी यूथउ वठता छिम सा मैंद करी मी।

कठाउ मिंय से टिलॅघट
ते हिणगिभा साग्टे उां
 ठीच सा हिं दिठुयी मी। छिठ भाधरा मी，＇ने ठीट च్ర్वट राल えटी हिभवडी ठीदां ने मरहा नै उां मेठी भां तिम के वि मेठ बास छॅविभा चै，मक ऊँ ठीटी Јटी छग्गीटी चे थठ छिठ भेठे लटी मव
 लपी हिण नएड वतरे तीटी भापे साट ट्रालिभां గॅं भां－पेप्षे भाध रे मिघेयत वठरा मी। नाउ－याउ तां भमीठ－गीठीष से हठठीवठर के

 ग्भी भडे लैटित डे भागवम से मभान्नहा्टी ढलम．ढे ऊ
 अटाठिट मटी मपयरां टी मुषัती हंउ Јटी छगीटी चै।

 थमीठ मैनटट 亏 यठिलां भिल साट्टी चग्गीटी चै। मिभाग्मी

 ऊँ भवडी या वे भमी Вिमी यूटाली से ऐेमी गवभां से


ग्रालगभ घट ताप्टीटे। Bिव उां नुएल्लभ
 मभान्नदा्र मघणथिउ वठरा चार्वेसा मी।। हिभवडीगाउ तीहत＇छ छिठ
 सेंभ ठाल्ल बठी गट्टी मुज़मीभउ मी। हिं तीटर सा युग भरंट भाटत सा

 वे सगमरं थामं मतभात ग्मल वठत हाल्ला，u्थि ढिठ वे ठहीभां घम्टां देधह दट्ला के लवाउगत
 यडुत हा मैंरीट मी। हिं भंगाठेत्र
 टिचाग मी वि उावड रा ट्टिमडेभाल हिं वठरा चग्गीटा




 यूंडी गं－पॅभी ठत्तठीभा मी। मगउना गांपी भडे लाल्का लग्तथउ वाप्टे सी मध़मीभु उ छिच यूठादिउ तरी मी यठ


 भैउ से मग्नहे ही भाग्रगम त्र फॅंो ठॅषिभा डे विमे इठ




 टी लाल्लमा के फसे मिसठब＇ $\begin{aligned} & \text { Bिम से ढलमढढे सा }\end{aligned}$ यठिठेराठ लॅठट हा जउत भाभ कानडी दा विग नै यठ री छिम टी दिगम्मउ डे हलमढे ते कान भात्टभी उर






 भुवँसमे टी थैगटाप्टी रठत टाल्ले थठभ भिउत गैम ग्त निम हैं Bुम के भाय व्रंडीवग्गी टा हां टिएउा मी， 1966






## \section*{} <br> 


 यागटीभां टी यूहग्ग रीडे घितां सघठी याम बीडे गत। टिड डिं भागठीकेमां भुे घितकी भैवट－2020 से याम
 गठ थठ ट्विगठां हा मिया भमठ दी यदेठा। तिम ठाल थंक्षाप्व सा 30000 भाइडीभा， 500000 मऩस़त्डन，भुठीभ
 घट「हिट दाल्लीभां ढठभं，बंथाटित भालिख，रयी






 व्र गठ गी Јँटो। निम सी किसिमेटाठी भॅटी（कान्तथा） मनवग्र भडे ेेंटठी षेडी मंडठी हैगिसत ऊभन ही गेटेगी। गुट मा्ठीभां मिभामी याग्टीभां टिगठां



 सा भमडीढ़ा छिठ दी भेटी सीभां उग्री．ढां से यल घंत वे
 मउंघ्रठ 2020 कागउ घंट सी वाल्ल से दिच विमातां से
 वठत टामडे भवम्ली टल से थूयात मुधघीव मिंथ घ घान्टल





 उठां गी बंगाठम थागटी ही $भ \alpha$ ल्ली यागटी के घटराभ
 नै। तिम उठुं 23 मउंघन， 2020 ก़्रे साधां गलवे टे भैन． भैल．से मतथी निंथ टिजा्ली भवग्ली टल दल्ल भडे वंगठम यग्गटी से साधां गलरे उं ग्ठे गटे कैथटत मंटीय मंय टिरे मइव डे भायटा भाथटे गे $े$ ठीभां ठाल
 टा नेम भाग्ठ रठी लॅवा विग्र मी घलक्लव ठग्तरीडिर

आधाइए मी।
टिडठां मिभामी याग्टीभां से लीउवां सीभां




 भँगो ला वे मठ तिदइे निंखां सीभां मुतीभां उिभाग
 उत्ञानां थंज़ाप्वी वॉउत्रभां टीभां म्रनीटीभां वठटाप्टीभां।



 किइतां टालिभा भापटे माम्वीभां ठाल मगग्रड दा ताभ थीउा।

भॅत Вमे भवग्ली टल के मघिभां से दूप

 ग्ट घीपा ती भायटी ताभीक घंत्ठिट लटी भमठीढ़ा से

 ठाल भाठ－याठ टी लडाप्टी ने। थंत्वाप्व－ठविभाटे से माठे
 किमे उठुं टी वृठघ्वा्ती टेट उ थिद्बे ठरी गटटठो। टेम्र टी तरउा दिछ मेंटी（कान्तथा）मवराठ से चिलाढ़ भॅठा से कांप्षइ घ घल गठे गत।

मैं वॅल्प नलाकाप्वा्ट टे टिर यठरे दिध ऐेधिभा वि हिपे टिर टिरीभां घटएठिट टाले सीभां सं


 गग्तमघएक，ज़．थी．，भॅय－य्येम भागठीठैमां दे धि．लाग़
 मरहा चै।
 घीभगी ठाल थीइड गां थठ ग्रह याट्टी मिठं लंभटा टे४

 यठतिभां दिच भुगठली विउत दिस मुफ्ल．लीभउ वठंगा। विठमांती सा ग्मटरत
－सुधर्हं fिंथ मिप्र 91－98556－96836

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यठिले मनिभां टिछ मेटीभां थंत्ञाप्वीभां टी घड़उ रिभागी महीट इिस गुसी मी। मेहीभा वसे－वसे सां थूग्गेटे भाष्टिभा＇डे घटव्टीभां तांसीभां मठ। मेटीभां अठ－यठ घटाप्टीभां नांतीभां मत। तिम टित मेटीभां घटाप्टीभां



 टिت मेटीभां टे उठुं टॅटीभां नांटीभां मठ। मेदीभां टॅटट


 साप्व ठाल दॅटीभां नांटीभां मर। नितुां क्ष तैठां मेदीभां विण सांहा मी। मेटीभां भाज उैठ＇डे भांहटं－ठुभांहटां ＇उँठीभां च वे ठल वे टिर－स्टने सीभां दॅटसीभां मर।
 ठॉलां वग्टीभां－वठटीभां ेे वसे मेदीभां हॅट लेटीभां， थडा गी ठा लॅठारा। चठा्टे थंत्ञाप्व सीभां मग्ठीभां तुठातीभां मेटीभां दॅट लैसीभां मठ। मेटीभां दॅटट टामउे भुँБली ठीक्न भैसा ग्रंसा मी। यठिला भैटा छॅरी सां धठग्म गग्गीटां यीठ लिभा तांहा मी तां घाज़ाग हिच्च धठीटिभां
 घठीव भैटा यूपड रठ लिभा तांट्टा। हिम उठुं लंड तोगा भैटा डिभाठ वठ लिभा सांट्रा मी। ढिठ टिम मूळे मैसे त्र

 थैटे ठाल हर टिंसे मरा ने मेहीभां घटंछिट लटी

क़तारीभां टिम घडे थेडे टि甘 घँड़ां－घड़ां भाटा के वे भंगुठे के छिठंगालीभां टी टाप्व ठाल मेदीभां दॅटसीभां मर। मेहीभां दॅटट टी दी वला गुँी मी। टिठ मेहीभां घंड़ी लंघाप्टी सीभां
घट्टीभां मरा लंभीभां मेदीभां घिंटी छट्टी तां घिंसे यडे क्ष भुलया भाठ वे Bिम Bैथठ ग्गिंत्रिभा भैटा चॅँ दे मॅसे चॅँ ठाल दलुट वे दैटीभां नांतीभां मरे नर ट्टिग गान्त－गान्ता हंमीभां テ नांटीभां उां टिगठां 우 निवठ सां वठीठ सीभां भिवां छुंडे मूटट टिउा सांता। छिठुं ममिभां द्धि वैवठं नां वठीठ से ढैध भाH गेंटे मठ। ढिठ मेटीभां दृटट टाल्लीभां भमीठां भा गाटीभाभं，टिड भमीकीत थिउ टिँच टे－चण யठां बल गी ग्टी मी डे गठ चत्त़ बस्टी ठा ₹ष्टी हुठुं wठ भमीत मिठट उुठिभा गी उर्विटा मी। वट्टी टाठ उां




तांट्रा मी। क्रूतीभां गृट्टभां

 हिछ भाटा इ़रतटी मी। गोइा टेट ठाल 25－30 मेदीभां टी लडी प्वगठ भा सांटी। नेवठ मैटीभां मेदीभां छग्गीटीभां गुटीभां उां भूटी हातटी ढिँट वठ लपी तांटी डे घठीव मेदीभां टृम्मे घठीव हाठटी ढिट वठ कट्टी तांट्टी मी। तिवल्टीभां मेदीभां त्र भमीत भैँच उँ वे वठीठ सां वूरूठ सीभां झुगा
 लैसे मठ। मेदीभां 중 मुवट चिद्ध वॅथइे टिँ ＇वॅठीभां वठ लेतांटे मह। ढिन टितुां मेटीभां त्रे विमे ट्टॅटे छाटी सां यरे से घूले हिँच या वे छु टी भॅगा छैँचन नॅध ने ब्रंत लिभा भतठाभां गम या वे दी
गुटीभां मत। निम ठाल नंग－घठगीभाभा
 मंगटीभां लॅठाटीभां मर। मेहीभां त्र पॅलीभा घटणिट क्टी वटी यविट्टान मैसे टिच घंडी मुत्ती या वे दी मेहीभां दॅट हैले मठ। यगिले मभिभां टिछ सर बाप्टी भायटीभां केटां గ్ㅣ मग्री fिलट सांटे मत उां छिग वैषीभां


उराद्टित fिस परैस
91－98763－22677 मेदीभां भायटीभां कैटां గ्ठ सगु से वे तांटे मत उग्गीध उां टिम सा तिरठ गीउां टि भाठिसा चैं

## गँ ढॅउती ठुभाल पॅले मेटीभां，

कैट नल काप्टी đॅलिभा।
ग्रह मेदीभां दॅटट टाल्लीभां ठीत्सल टिस्ति के घितती ठाल चैलूट हाल्लीभां भमीठां भा वाटीभां के तिठां





 दॅटट डा विट्टान टिह－टित खटटा सा विग नै।

#  



टलिड भैंइ भम्टित




 भंभिज्डमठ दिधे भुइ यूट्टेम्न गटिभा मी। काट्टें मिँध वाठु
 दाल्लउा से मिसेम्न भर्माठ रीडी मी। 15 ही मसी गुण ठाठर ती रे मिँध पठभ सी मषभारा वठ गठ उठुं से दिउरठे दटह-दिदमघा, ताउ-याउ, वृवा, तमल, लिका भासि गठ उतुं से केसकाट గ्र पड़ा रीउा। थंगाउ भडे
 रीडी मी। टिमे लडी डें भॅंग ड़वर्टिभां 10 दें गुण वोरिस







 लठान्डाठ मिँध पठभ 우 ษउН वठत उ लूठी ठटी भडे
 टी ढ़ॅट यम्छ के ठग्त वठ ही ठीडी सा मिये-भमिॅये उँठ




 घग्ड माने भयाठभिव, ठोठ मभगतिर रा्तत्त रीडे सांट्टे मठ नें मिध यठम टी यदिउत भडे हिंती-मुप्ती



 छिटी मिंध टिमाप्टी यठे गूणिट बठवे, टेथी या वे भा

 घिठग्टवी 10,11 mडे 12 अवड़्वर 1920 रें मभु
 विटठी भाग्डे टे भऩुषी मियां टी मी (मेठे टात्रा हिम देले हिभठ उवठीघत 30 मग्ल मशभिल मत) गभर्मीभा



 टिभवडीभां के घपइा दी टिउा भडे 11 भवड़घठ 1920




 प्रुभ वठत लपी युगी उतुं डिभाठ च वापे । 12






 गठव्म्मत मिंख के टिसिभागमीभां ₹ँ टिलाग्टा 'भवर्ली एल घठ मंसा प्राठ' से भण्टेटाठं म. वठउग fियद
 मर्गित्य से मंटत भढ्बउ मिधां टी भवराम वठत उे


 टी घाव्टी, मढा 638 टिचे दार लिभा विभा से भढ्ढउ
 दठउगट्थिा विभा, मंगउ हैमे उवां गी भवएल उधड



 17 भैंघठी वमेटी ( व्ञ लेषर 25 लिषटे गठ) सा गठर वठवे,म. डेता मिंय क्रूचठ क्ष 'टिम वमेटी हा सघेराठ' घटटाटिभा, टिम 17 भिंघटी वमेटी हिचे 10 भऩुप्वी मिध
 वपत्रा वठत देले छघे मॅज़स मिध भाठतभां के उा. मैढ़टीक विधल्ख टी दी मलाग लटी, तिम रे टिम बसभ
 उधउ डे चुगइिभां ेे वघन्तन वठ लिभा चै टिम टित ऊ भवर्ल उधड से 'समेटाव' हा भण्र्टा यविली दाठ नँस 'च

 रल टे गठठ सा भुजँ घटी।


 हा लूठा ठगी चै। मॅत्तरा मभें ही टिग देधट दिध भाटिभा वै वि 100 माल घीउ ताट्ट उ घाभर मॅत ही ताउ-गेरा्ठी लर थिइां 'च टलिडां ठाल क्तिभात्तडीभां वउसे गठ भडे गाठस्रभाविभां चु Bिठतां हा मभनिव

 यहिट लटी भान वगवे किडा नांटे चै। वइ तिगठा मिँय




 भक्रिसाधीभां 亏 दॅध हवएटिभा सांटा चै।टलिड

 गठ। रत्रिडां त्ठ छघे डिभाठ रीडे सांते हंठाठ त्र
 'च भाष्टिभा नै।

 दी टलिडां से दॅधठे गठ ल टलिडां टे भिजर मठीठां सा



मंठग्लव:

भद्डग्न मिय
मगत्त:
उठ्यूंड डे पठमिरठ
मिठतव:
उठभीउ, समवडर, वमलेम, रिलराब, भगिडाप्ष
\%9417518384,9815480892,9872199800
E-mail: punjabdarshan1469 a gmail.com
 टाठ टृथठ्टीभां ठरिसीभां गत। भिडी 2 भस्यूल 2020


 Bिगठां टी भिउर टेठ से भिडिभ मीमवण टाल्ली ट्रेवरा

 गोट 우 उत्ला लवा टिडा विभाल पिट खटरा टृरीभां कठ दिच ठातर-ठाभ लेट्रा मिगाउां से विठसे दल्ख़्युय गाटी।




 यहै 05 , भिडी $01 / 08 / 2020$ चग्गी भंगी थठ SGPC

 रीडे घितां, काप्टी ठाठराम गल्ल भंभिउमत सी यूटातठी से टिडी ठाटी से भैंविभा की ठरी मी विभा। टिम त्रे छमे उठां गी मभञ्भिभा ता मरहा बै,निटें 100 माल्ल यठिएां

 यांघंयी सा नितिरठ विडे ठरी देधट रृ निलिभा।
 वठत हालिभां के, घूग्गनट्टा्टी मेच डिभाग के मिधां हा




 र्ठे भआटे वलग्टे 'च ले वे टिगठां से तीटर थॅयत 이


 दॅल ले ताट टी लंड चै।

そँमऊ, टिम टान 30 मडंघठ, टित
 एगम्र' ऊं भा ठठे गठ घईंसा ज़रीदनमिटी से यूप्घुय टिटहात उा. उग्स बुभाठ गैम सी। छिठ टिडियग्म से খूँढेमठ गठ डे Bिठठां लट्टी हिडिग्म टा भवस गत्त कगीं घलूव मभान्त चै, मभान्त ही छिठ तिगडा गम्मीभागड तां गम्मीभागूमउ चै।

टिम टान छिं थंत्षाप्व से भतिटे लवां टी डी सीटत रसा सां हीठ गाम्य ॅॅमटठो वि छिठ विम गए्ल भाथटा सीटत घमठ वठ गठे गठ के छिगठां रे तदें संत सीभां ट्रम्नह्गीभां, मभान्ती टधठेहिभां टी भाठतमिव यीइा, भुफूरक डे भागयिव मंटग्ली గ़्ठ विदें भायटे रिडे डे गैहाछिंतिभां भायटी सीटत उँठ तानी ढॅधी। छिठ टॅमटगो वि टितुां लवां सा क्डउवाल री मी, हगउभात री चै डे कट्दिध री गेटेगा। भाछ, छियठां सा टिंकन्ञाण वठीटे।

## ठीउ

घागां ंटे टिच नटिल बूटटी भंष्यी
थै विभा घ्वाठ ती भाप्टे।
भ सा भर्गिठभ टिमटा ठगीछि उत सा कषे उत्ड़त ही भाप्टे।
 टिम ఫॅडे उां टिल भिलसे के，भिलट गट्ट र्ठ गा्टी।


तीभ वठरा भैं थैट घटां डे गल तां टिंच गटाटां।






भाप्टे ठी भैं छिइटा छग्गं उत के धैक तइा से। यठष मरां भैं ध्रठ के घंटा भैमा मघवर यड़ा टे। भेठे हैटां टे दिँच या टे चंत मुठत्त सा ह़ठ की भाप्टे।

## ठीउ

हेटां से पॅदे टि $\alpha$ टठिभा।
हेटां टे पूद्बे टिर टटिभा
ही चवरं ठा लाप्टी हेम र्ण ज़हठे टिव मांके विंते चुभ ती नवर्ं ठा लाप्टी टेम 이।

टिगरे हिँ भर सा मैदा ख．．लीभां टिछ ध्रूमीभां ठाभीभri। डउरां हा उल़्ष मस्सेटत， टॅमटै टिठ माइीभां वमीभां भॅघण ठा भाध वे प्रला
 हैटां टे पूँ्बे टिव टঠिभा।

भंघठ टी चा्टत घॅले यठडी टी दिही उलाप्टी।
 ढिरठां सा देम मिं टिउा लाव। ठा निंटे हगिट टेप्रीं टेम र्ठं।
हेटां से पूदे हिँ $\alpha$ सठिभा।
गाठारां 亏ु छिउतटे ठ छाद्टां से Bिइट घटलले। ॉॉलां ध़ुट ठर्ल वठं मैं，ट्रता तीभ टॅम वी घले। गाल से दिँ वृंव वंगीले ढाग। ती भेठे वाल्ल लग्ण से टेम हृㅣㅣ। हैटां से पूदे हिव सटिभाॅ।

ताथे ढ़लूग्ठी वएल्ली भंघन से सिंते उाठे।
 वरिस्टे माठे ठाल्ल ठल ताग।



## मभंवर्ट सीमां दैलीसमं

निंतुं हीटी मी नहाही माडी，
Bिठ भागी दृएले ढेठ भा वाटे।
डेठी भंठ गाटे हिमग्रेघ＇न्जी，
फामां दी कृदाप्टी वैठ रा।
wठं विभा मी यठस सी उर्धी， गोली के भाम्ञाभ धा लिभा।
 कठभां च ढिठे ट्रीभभं।

विगडी घां के पलीउग एाटिमा，

 माधधरे मटीट न विभाभ।

गग्म वठरे वुठमीभां दाले， लेव घैठे मइवां ठे।

उॅठी उय गाटी ब़रा एछ टाटे， খ్ॅठ तिभम्मउां टिछ।

रीगटा ऐेम्न चै निठंविभाए ड़ टॅम से थें रैंगो ले प्रॅदटे।

मैं चड़े ठा गठुेठी घट वे， मिटिभां टे Јّ̛ध Ђलटे।

मार्గ్ क्रूल गाटे मदाए थ थुट्टे， ठटिभां के uेग या लिभा।

मॅउ चठी ठा सटाप्रां नैंगी， मभं घटभग्म च विभा।

घ्वेट मॅव गापे हैभीरां दाले，


विँे भठ वाटे घंगा से उप्षे，


ले नटँ दी गॅरां टी गॉल वगटे， व्ठमी से थाने ३लट्टे।

भुंठे मठ गाटे वमम्टीभं बठटे， टावी दाल्ले घ्वट त तु त्रे।

मे $\alpha र ् ट ै ~ म ि भ ा म ी ~ ठ ृ ट ी भ ा ं । ~$

## 

## ठीउ। गप्टे！प्वम्वत्ग दे

गए्टे！घाप्वल्ग दे यीभां भान्ें विषिं दिछान्ठीभां।
किडे ठाती विडे सा्टी घट नितुणं के
हे डेठीभां व్लां के छिमान्ठीभां।
क्रूल तां क्रलेषे किडे यी संभे उंटरा।

 गप्टे！घप्वल्ग दे．．．．．।

डेठे थिंड टिक्तिउां डे थॅउ सी से घां ऊरी।
टेम सी रमुठटान＇वॅलु भेठी भां तरी।
घ प्वले टी थॅवा टी ट्रगम्टी रेदें मार्ठ्र，

ग्टे！घ घाप्यला दे．．．．．．．।
भगिभियं से मिठ गुंटा यीभां हा ही भाट हे।
मगिभे से भल్खू सिंत，wठ ही भमाट्ट दे।


गप्टे！घ्वाप्वला दे ．．．．．．．।
यीभां थॅउ नॅधटा ने यगिलां टिथ उँल दे।
वसे ही ठा थॅउ ढेठ घूलसे वृप्वल दे।
 गप्टे！प्वप्वला दे．．．．．．．．．।

## ठीड

विछि ठॅलिभें यठटेम दे मॅनटा विछे चॅलिभें यवटेम।
यगिलां डेगी घघली घटली，ढेठ घटल न्ल देम।
दे मॅसटा ！विछी ठॅलिभैं यठटेम？
यठउ थठाप्टी चिटी चमझी।
डेग छमे भूल का टभझी। गेवे कठटी भठ नु फंभझी।
ॠँछां टी हट्वण्ठ से घटले，
विछि हैँ चॅलिभें टेम।
दे भग्गीभा！विधिं चैलिभिं यठटेम？
घार्गी मेंे वृठाला चुइए।
ग्ले टिम सा वृँ जै गुग्रा।
प्राल्ली गल्ले चिभा थंख्यइए।
थेटी से दिँच ₹ठे गएले，
इप्यीभां दटले धेम।
दे भग्गीभा ！विधि चॅलिभिं यठटेम？
देध देध ूृतां सीभां उगठं।

डेठे दठठो लॅ甘 गत्नाठं।
चेडेे बठवे भां 亏े पठठी，
उंटे चगिट ग्भेम्न।
दे मिंया ती！ठा नाट्ीी थठरेम।
भिघटी थीय चडुए द्गलिभा।
भॅय टिँ हैउ वे ताह टालिभा।

विण亏ें ज़ु टिच थै वाषे，
निगडे सेंटा मी छिचटेम्न।
दे भग्गीभा ！विढ्ठ चैलिभिं थठटेम？
मितिभा टुठीभां वंगा घठंगी।
wठ ही चटटी फॅयी चंगी।
नात भेगी विछि मुली टेगी।
टिल सा मीमान घट्टे वेवठं，
ठा ला भिमी ठेम।
दे मॅसटा ！ठा नाटी यठरेम।
हेइ भगरातिभा ड़्ड म्वां नॅप्व नंगीभां।


मुठं टिध राउा वीक घक्षम्न ，ढठीस नै।



भயटटे गी वंगा से घटाप्टे टितुणं वॅघ हे।




गुउडत्तक विॅल

 विट्वे विहोे टिं त्＝टिलानी यमिभा


ती गुण्व घाप्व रारव।
यहठ गात्，या्टी नै प्रम्वल， यठड चै माठी भाप्टी।
टित उे चठ्ड 氏िठादे मझे，
भमल प्राउ मभझ्र्पी।

ट्टित मंउय गैहाटिका
सी，वरे घघप्वा हाठव।
 वाठ रठघाठे नाप्टीटे वैरारां
मीगणं मब ठग भॅले।
मर थठटेमी धिंलु विभाभा 亏े
वृनिभा भाथट मर्टिभा
नी घित प्वप्वा हातर।
द्विठघा सहा गुभाषिभाए नी
घित घ মाप्वा हारब।

 दित घंले मउ नाठटगठ，
उंगीण्थि मुइ रगी भाष्टित
ती मउा व्वाप्व हातव।
भर टे वैठे ठृ़्षम हे भुइ
उेल वडगण उाटिभाए नी，
द्वित घাप्वा हारव।

## ठीउ

हेटां से चिॅ̈े टिव सठिभा， ती नवं रा लाप्टी टेम 으। ज़दटे टिव मांके विंते छाभr， ठी निव राल लाट्टी हेम గ్ర ।

टिगटे टिँ मर टा मैंत， w్．．लीभां टिँच ध्ञामीभां वाभीभां। रठटां डा उलษ्ष मभ్జRटत，
टॅमटै टिड माइीभां वमीभां।
भॅघठ ठा भाध के प्रफा।
ती नूरं ठा लाप्टी टेम గ్ㅇ।

## ठीउ

घंल यटे उप्रप्व मुउाल ठगिट लॅठाटे।




घिता दिमभा्ट मत घड़ा वी हिटाम नै। ट्टॅटी उाठ नॅइ घाष्वा，डेठे 亏 टिन भाम नै।

यगिलां ठיल्ल हॅय काद्टें माइे wठी उंगीभां।



नितुां चीटी मी नहागी माठी， Bिग भागी दाएले हेग भा वाटे। ऊैंगी भंत गाटे हिममेपेपन्ती， भमां दी बेंदप्टे बें रु। सन विभा मी यठन टी नाधी，


 विगडी घं डे पलोडा हाटिभा， थॅउत घाग्र घट गाटे।

 गाम वठरे वठमीभां टाले，





ह्डना नीभ टॅम री घेले। गाल से टिच चृंग वंगीले ढाग। ही गाणिट्ट रा घटाप्टी हेम 으। यठठी सी दिही उलाप्टी। थँटां उां टेट लेठीभां，


 सथट निछिं वठत टिम्ना वरिसे माठे ठाल ठ तल सा।
 हैटां से पिॅहे टिर टठिभा।

गाठारां 亏 छै छैउठटे ठ छाटां टे छिइट पटलले। गॉलां ध्ञाट ठाल वठं भैं，

## मभ＇वग्ट टीभां घौलीमां

मेवरे तिभामी नेटीभां। रीगटा सेम नै निर्विगाभ ड़ टॅम से， थेन रेंगे ले थॅदटे। मैंड छडे़े ठ उठुें घट वे，


 भूउ गठी ठा नदाप्यं नेगी， मभां घटभाम न विभा। पूटे मूव गापे छिभीचां टाल्ले， दिटरें ठ क्ठचल्ल भा विभा। विरेंे भठ चाटे घ वाठा से गृें， थैलां थठिंरे मैठ थૅБरे।
 लूर सरं दो गरां टी गाट्ट
वगमी से भाटे उलटे।
 टारी दाल्ले घ్ टर ता तुझे।

## घात्य

ने छिटां ताल्लभां के
 उुग्ठीभां डे डुग्ठे पठीटाठ सीभां
धाग्गमां 우
मघ्పउा हिंगाल नाट सीभां
रमभां ษा गी लटीभां गठ
उां घाथ् डेठे चिद्ध $\boldsymbol{x}$ मी दी सीभ वे वी वठरा
भें वउटे गं घाथ
टिर द्वान मांअ मैंथठम बठरे देध लेंटे गं ते घ̆च गाटे उां घ̆च गाटे
Bि₹ घचट टी भाग वसी ठठी चै
टिंटां नठहाटिभां 亏
घथ जम्ट भा ठठी चै भैर्ठ
भひटे दॅउ दइेविभां टी गॉल
तें विण वठटे मत
＂सिरॅठ लेगे सी लॅठ＂
ग्रह उां टिठ लॅठ ठी उठ मबसी नै
 भॅटी Јेंां గ్ర
डे मॅऽ वश्ञ कादां वठत लपी तिता से टीभाल्ले घगउ गठ भॅटी बताउ डे मताने भाठ भैम भैम दाले

पश्ञ डेगी टिरूल्ले टी थेम्न रठी नाट्ट टेटी छिठां के
亏े भेर्ठे ही ठाल गी ले चल
 मै भีटे टठवीभां गठ मवेलीभां त्रे घ्वलाभ वे लिभाठिती गं गटे वी घाथा भमी मैक चलांगो डेठे हाले

घेड माठे गठ
भमी 甘ेउां से गं
यमीठे माइे टठाटे भा
 ढमस्रां माइीभां गत मिठढ माइीभां

亏ँ ढिरठ रा वठ
भमी चैल्े गं मॅक

－उ्लद्टीठ fिंय टेगविभाता 91－98141－73402

## वैरेत दूँध तूवाही च गס

रग्गहा भr विभा टिठ बठठा，
भेदें गाक्षान्ण वैसां गटा।
छाने यामे नटा घंट，



 ठगले मभगिर ग्री घटा्टे， Јँसां 유 मैठीटाप्टीक्षत वठती भि। सुठी चलाठ गे ऊु इठटी भि।

सुठाठी हइ वाट्टी मघत्ञी भீडी， हेधटी भाल्ट，रिभान्तन डे किछी। भभण्ट 드 हॅठ वे टेपे टंटी， वरिंसी Еँम का्टी वैस्टां लाप्टे भा। भरिगाग्टी हे घणु मउग्टे भां।

ठा घ̆षे ठाटे मवूल टिर टाग्री， फठ गी ठरिसे सिगा मा मी। ढीमां हाल्रिभां ंे भॅड भानी， तुगाठी ढम ठाष्टी टे टिँ छुवठ से। तिउ ढीमां हा．ल़े टॅवठसे।

तुठाठी डंठ घ̆षिभां जँ भा＂टी， वठ्टे भाठलाम्टीत गी यड़ुास्टी। ठगिंसे ढेत＇亏े तज्तन टिरम्टी， घटी अधां గ్ ரि टिमटा खटरा हे। ठा भुठा भैघ＇्टील ऐेधट गटहा टे।

सठारी ऊिँ चिगाइी नाल्टे， भमां 300 चुयीभा रमग्टे। माभ उॅर छैंग ही ४ठठिभा ताग्ट， घटी घितली सा भा विभा ढ़तला हे। वग्टी கাवइ＇हिठ గ్ గ उठल पे।

सवाठी ता वे घैव＇छ हइ वाटी र＇बिंटन भूो ता वे घडु गाटी। ला्टीठ से टिसे सा वे भु वाटी，
यैमे रहण्छिट सा टाहिछठ कठ्ी पे। ठाले विम्न मराठ सी कत्टी से।

तुठाठी दूव ग्ठ वे घठि गाटी， ＇गुर्ंसन＇ठ＇ल़ टॉली थै गाटी। वरिस्टी टी．ही．टाल़ी रणि ठाटी， भंवइा तिड डेत्जी ठफल हयता से। ग्ट चॅघ गी ठग्धा लॅठाटा टे।
－गाणटिटठ मिध्य छियल 91－98411－45000
 ॅॅल घैठ कठग्टां हांग्＝उां भुव नांट्टे गाल से ढा्डे।



भाइे लरी ही छंगो घट तांटे से भिटे గ़्र तठा उाइे ।

घीपे घट फ్లॅट भषंछिसे वम्पत्त मॅउा उे भयिवग्ठी，
थैनी माल्ली हैटां टेले लरी लॅठसे ढिठरा गॅउवग्ठी।










उर्धिटठ मान्मा 91－98146－67682

## 

## 



उभठीड्ड म＇ট्छिष ठיल भॅठ
 भाटिभा वे । टि $\alpha$－द्य गिसी ढिलमां रीउीभां थठ
 गठ डीमटी दिले म．ढल गुंटी चै। गामिव यठिट्राठ


 ग्लांवि थेता＇्वी ढिल्भां वउठी छग्गेंटी ने।

> मरर्तिटट उरेत्न टे छ्रभr्व

ड्डगतम्रत नलंयठ सा यूटातिड गामिव

 टित छिठ ढिल्भां टा मंगीउरग्न घटेगा । तटिभां त्र


मंगीउ सी मिधलाप्टी ही छिठ से विण च । भमली विमएत उट्तीउ घग्टा
 ठाट्टिर उट्तीउ घाप्टा हे चित ठन्ड विमग्ठी भंटलत लटी भायहे दिछाठां ठाल टिॅडा नै। टिसें उॅव टहीट
 रसे थैली हाग्गी नै । माप्वम्न ठट्नीउ घाव्टा माप्वम्न ।

## मैटीय तिठी＇चवलेट＇

टिव उां मंसीय टे टवेर सा ठांभ＇चार－ लेट＇ने । ह्टमठ छिमटा＇चवलेट＇तिग चिगठा के
 वि मंटीय से＇चारलेट＇सी दिरठी घगुड च ठगी चै । Еीय घेयाग्टापे सा गीउ ठा मंटीय गिट्ट गास्टिरा घट

वाट्टी नै । ठीभा के ऊॅग भरुमाठ गठ मंगीउ माप्टीट डे＇चवलेट＇टी भिठग्म ३३ ऊघ्वा३．।

## मुग्तीउ क्रॅलठ टी fि्भग्टिउ

थंत्षप्व डे सेम्म से गठ विमएठ ठाल्ल गं में
 वि सठमा सिँउ वि मभ＇्त यठिलां，वला ढिठ，विमाए
 थंत्राप्व कठ＇च टिम लटी यूरममा चे ठठी चै।

> हैबमट मटाठ : तमत

गग्तर घ̆उत विटट टिठभाउा द्धितव रे
 ठाल समूत भवाठीयउउी मटाठ भैवटवैम Јटेवी । समतर 4 ढिल्भां रठ ఫ్ర̆वी चै

## विमाठ

गइ सिभाएल ऊंठो थैठ डेठी निव यंटा नें। यठडी भां उेत्ठ मिनटा भान यीइं गठटा नें।


 भायटे Јॅइ भाम टी टठट भाथे तठरा ने।

थैसा वठे भरान्त धांप्टे रीट यडंगो यम्बू थंढी। मिभाल्ली या्टी ल हिटे ठंसे याट्टी ठठरा नें।
 भायटी गी Bियत्त सा भूल भैवाट उठरा नें।

रणिटे हिम ऊृ नॅट सां विमाए भाध लटीटे। भाधटीभां लंडां भागरा हा गैवे कठटा से।
 ब्रूपे याट्टीभां टा उग्ण रठिभान्दी उठटा नें।


－गुणटि्टिठ मिथा
91－98788－66768


प्राप्वां सा टिर मंगट्र थंढी
fिभा भालुटा यान्टे
डितरा डितरा
ठीझां टा，
नें तैंड वे
मॅयवं से ठाल
मेगट्ट wठ मत्नाट्टे
ज्ञाप्वां हा टिग मेंगटा थंढी ठग्र्टा क्र
चुमीभाभं डे पेके
तिदें डेठीभां
उसीभां भंटत
घेठे थैटे मेठे
भेठे Јॅष 융 ऊिu चै डेठ
सीवह मेठ गठ हिव मुयठा
गठ टिर धागिम्न गठ टॅहै टिँ गिमा सइिभा डेग टिछि इतारा
 थंढी दांगठ
यठ टिग यैटे
गट ठृा नॅडे
डेठे दी डे भेठे दी


वंगा भलितरा
हैंग सा
मंभटा गुध गु
वॅला Jঠटिभा
सीवह मेठे प्रग्वां हाल्ला
थंढी मी ने भालुट्य यढिंटा
मटभा धा वे मेटिभा

－मेंीभां डा्वडी，तलंपठ


## 

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# DHAN DHAN SRI GURU RAVIDASS JI <br> Bole' So Nirbhay! Guru Ravidass Maharaj Ki Jai! 

## Guru- Piari Sadh Sangat Ji,

Sri Guru Ravidass Temple Pittsburg- Committee has decided to open the Gurudwara Sahib on Sundays, from 10:00 AM to 1:00 PM, starting September 6, 2020. Kitchen and Langar hall will remain closed until the conditions improve. Sangat is requested to follow Contra Costa County's COVID-19 health and safety guidelines. Everyone must wear a face mask and wash hands before entering Darbar Hall and maintain 6 feet distance from others to avoid the spread of CORONA Virus. If you are not feeling well, please pray at home but do not come to Gurughar as a precaution.

Committee is taking applications for new SEWADARS ( board members) applications were sent to members last month. However, the election date has been postponed due to CORONA Virus. Sangat will be notified once the election date is re-scheduled.

Gurughar members are requested to renew their membership by paying their annual renewal fee. Your donations are greatly appreciated.

For any special needs, please contact the managing committee. We pray to Waheguru ji for the safety and good health of the entire Sangat.
"NANAK NAM CHARDI KALA TERE BHANE SARBAT DA BHALA"

| Chairman <br> Jagtar Bhatia | President <br> Shinder Paul Narabut | Sangat <br> De Sewadar | General Secretary <br> Dharam Pal Chonkria | Treasurer <br> Vinod Kumar |
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# Ambedkar Times <br> Editor-in-Chief! Prem Kumar Chumber 

## Prem Chumber

## Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times

After the convicts in the Delhi Nirbhaya case, which shook the conscience of the entire nation on 16 December 2012, were hanged to death in March 2020, the reaction of the mother of the hapless victim was: "Women now will feel safe." But unfortunately, our daughters, especially belonging to lower castes, continue to face similar heinous crime amidst the undeterred presence of beastly sexual offenders despite the implementation of strictest punishment. On 14 September 2020, a 19-year-old Dalit girl from Hathras in UP, brutally raped and physically tortured by four upper caste men of her own village in its agricultural fields, was admitted to Jawaharlal Nehru Medical College and Hospital, Aligarh in paralysed physical condition, with severe spinal injuries and deep cut on her tongue. Finding no improvement in her continuous deteriorating conditions, she was shifted to Safdarjung Hospital in the national Capital city of Delhi on 28 September 2020, where she succumbed to her deep injuries next day at 6.55 am . During her 15 day long tortuous life conditions in the hospitals she displayed great courage to reveal the ugly faces of the four demons in the shape of human beings who perpetrated untold crimes on her body and soul. Many such cases of horrendous miseries go unreported across the length and breath of the country. "The two separate incidents of violent sexual assault on two adolescent girls, followed by the killing of one them in mid-August in Uttar Pradesh, are fresh in memory" as reported in the editorial of The Tribune today (September 30).

What makes this case more shameful was the context of its deadly offence and its caste stance. The hapless victim belonged to the lower caste. Her tormentors come from upper caste communities. Yet another horrible dimension of this heartrending rape case is the site of the crime. The goons' reportedly dragged the victim by her head scarp while she was working in the village agricultural field belonging to the landowners. This clearly shows the precarious living conditions of the landless Dalits and the deadly fate of their women folkswho were forced to visit the village fields to fetch fuel for the hearth and fodder for their animals under severe poverty. And the perpetrators of the crime were none other than the ones who owned the land and take hollow pride in their being belonging to upper caste communities. Dalits, at the first, needs to be liberated from their demeaning poverty, if their women are to be saved from such beasts in the shape of humans. Secondly, the law enforcement agencies are to be equally held responsible for the continuation of such grave crimes despite the presence of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, an Act of the Parliament of India enacted to prevent atrocities against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It is reported that the victim's body was taken to her village in Hathras after midnight from the hospital in Delhi and was cremated by the UP police without allowing her family to participate in the cremation process and performing the last rites as per their traditions. The police refused to listen to the pleading of the victim's father and family to allow them to take the body of their daughter to their home and cremate her in the morning. The woman's father told NDTV "We wanted the last rites to be performed according to the Hindu traditions. Despite our protests, the cremation was performed. They took the body forcefully. We couldn't see our daughter's face for the last time" (https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/up-hathras-rape-victim-cremated-by-cops-family-begged-to-pay-last-respects-2303004)

## From the Forgotten Chapters of History

Even after nearly a century, the Indian revolutionary movement as represented by the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) and its most prominent face in public as well as among academics - Bhagat Singh - continues to evoke interest and inspire research (primarily because he left behind a substantial corpus of writings). This interest and research is largely focused on the ideologica and political aspects of the revolutionary movement and its leaders. Even though the young band of revolutionaries are upheld for their socialist, anti-communal and anti-colonial ideology, they are criticised for not engaging with the masses and instead limiting themselves to petty-bourgeois youth, especially college students.

This particular critique of the revolutionary movement occurs despite the presence of numer-
have mostly narrated the brief encounters between Madari Pasi and revolutionaries like Shiv Verma and Jaidev Kapoor. What transpired between both groups and details of their interactions have not been touched upon

There were at least three points of contact (two latent and one manifest) between the Eka movement and the revolutionaries.

## Eka movement

The Eka movement was a tenant farmers movement in Awadh in the early 1920s, against the oppression of zamindars and taluqdars. It was led by Madari Pasi, who belonged to the 'untouch able' Pasi community. The movement derived its name from its attempts to unite poor and marginal peasants, tenants and petty landlords, irrespective of caste and religious identity, against the Taluqdar-

ous writings by the HRA and its members where they have clearly emphasised upon the necessity of organising peasants and workers for a socialist revolution. In 'An Appeal To Young Political Work ers', Bhagat Singh has listed eight core agenda items apart from freedom around which the Indian revolutionary movement was to be build. Out of the eight, four were directly concerned with the peas antry. These four demands were a) Abolition of landlordism, b) Liquidation of the peasants' indebt edness, c) Nationalisation of land by the revolutionary state with a view to finally lead it to improved and collective farming and d) Abolition of all taxes on the peasantry except a minimum of unitary land tax.

If we dig a bit deeper into the history of popular movements in the late 1920s in northern India, we come across a curious and interesting connection between two movements and two figures which has till now largely evaded the eye and scrutiny of historians. These two people are Madari Pasi and Bhagat Singh, and the two movements are the Eka movement and the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the HRA and then its successor organisation, HSRA

That Madari Pasi and revolutionaries of the HSRA were in contact with each other has found mention in some works like Pramod's Kumar's Shiv Verma: Sardar Bhagat Singh ke Sahyogi (National Book Trust, 2013), Subhash Chandra Khushwaha's Awadh Ka Kisan Vidroh: 1920-1922 (Rajkamal Prakashan, 2019), Brij Mohan's Krantiveer Madari Pasi (Rashmi Prakashan, 2018) and Rajiv Kumar Pal's Eka (Navarun Publication, 2019), but they

Big Landlord-British Raj combine. The movement began in the fall of 1921, reached its peak in the early months of 1922 and later lost its momentum due to massive police crackdown in the wake of its increasingly militant nature. The movement was launched from the Hardoi district of Uttar Pradesh, from where it spread to several other districts like Kanpur, Unnao, Sitapur, Lucknow, Bahraich, Bara banki etc. Initially, the movement was supported by some Congress and Khilafat leaders and activists, but as soon as the movement took a militant turn and started aggressively resisting the goons of the Taluqdars-Landlords, the Congress-Khilafat leaders withdrew their support

With the withdrawal of support from an influential section of the native elite, the colonial administration intensified its repression, forcing many of the Eka leaders, including Madari Pasi, to go underground. Fearing increased state persecution, nationalist periodicals too stopped covering the movement, while lawyers refused to take up the cases of arrested peasants.

Role of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi
In such a repressive environment, it was only Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, the editor of Hind daily Pratap, who thoroughly covered the Eka revolt. He was also one of the leaders of the Kisan Sabha in Kanpur, and had reported on the Baba Ramchandra-led Awadh Peasant Revolt in great detail. Vidyarthi, despite being a member of the Con gress Party, was also very sympathetic to the cause of revolutionaries and provided them with various forms of support: economic as well as ideological.
(Contd. on next page)

12th October 1920: a fairly big jatha of untouchable Sikhs organized as Khalsa Biradari, supported by a couple of reformist professors from the Khalsa College, marched from the Jallianwala Bagh to the Darbar Sahib with a deg of karah parshad. There was a commotion in the Darbar Sahib when the Head Granthi refused to accept the parshad. All assembled agreed to seek advise from Guru Granth Sahib. The vaak that appeared was a beautiful composition of Guru Amar Das which moved everyone present to tears and the Granthi who was adamant in refusing the parshad earlier, prayed, accepted and distributed it. Then the jatha proceeded to the Akal Takhat whose priests fled the scene. The Takhat couldn't be left unattended; hence Kartar Singh Jhabbar sought 25 volunteers' service to take its care. The government appointed Sarbrah was requested to ask the irresponsible priests to offer their apologies. They didn't turn up. The next day the Deputy Commissioner called Sarbrah, the priests and representative Sikhs for solving the crisis. The priests didn't come, leading eventually to the formation of Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee in a short time. This further led to the Gurdwara Reform movement to liberate the major gurdwaras from the clutches of mahants.

This bold act was
in defiance of the prevailing disabilities imposed ailing Dalit Sikhs in the second half of the nineteenth century. Why were these bans imposed on them and by whom? Gurdwaras in general and Darbar Sahib in particular had always been open to all, irrespective of
caste and religion in three hundred years prior to that? It was a shameful act of brahmanized mahants who had come to control large properties attached to the historical gurdwaras and it was also at the behest of the newly emerged upper-caste Sikh lords who hobnobbed with the British masters. Disgustingly these casteist acts were deeply against Gurus' precepts and practices. Brahmanisation of Sikhi was a long but slow process that got crystallized during Ranjit Singh's rule and the British rulers gave it a legal stamp. Singh Sabha movement tried to salvage the situation and it is ironical that it's great leader, Giani Ditt Singh who was a fine scholar, writer, orator, journalist editor, professor and missionary was also treated with contempt only because he happened to be coming from a Dalit background. With new awakening among educated Sikhs, several representations had been

made to the British authorities to hand over the management of gurdwaras completely to the Sikhs. But to no avail. Fascinatingly this event led by Dalits clinched the longstanding demand that heralded in the new age for the Sikhs. It is very unfortunate that the casteist Sikh scholarship has never acknowledged this great event making an epochal change in the history of Sikhs.

How does remembering this great event now assumes significance for the Sikhi as propounded by the Gurus? Have the Sikhs at large got free of casteism (jaat-paat) in the last hundred years since then? Max Arthur Macauliffe, a great scholar of Sikhism had made an astute observation towards the close of the nineteenth century that Brahmanism was such a Boa Constrictor (ajgar) which had swallowed Buddhism in the past and it was ready to engulf Sikhism then. Don't we see the same danger
hanging over Sikhi's head now? If Sikhi has to survive, it must give up all brahmanical nonsense of casteism and ritualism which the great Gurus had clearly and strongly condemned and had inculcated egalitarianism among the Sikhs.

## Webinar:

We are inviting scholars in a series of lectures through Webinar (410 October, everyday at 6.00 pm IST) on this crucial theme of caste and untouchability among Sikhs. Our purpose is to understand the issue right from Gurus' period up to now. Sikh history like any other has not been linear; it had different phases and shades. If socially we have had a golden period in the Punjab history during 1520-1750, thereafter a slow but sure brahmanical virus inflicted the body politic of the Sikhs, so much so that casteism came to be practiced and restrictions were imposed even on the free entry of Dalits in the Amritsar Darbar Sahib in the second half of the nineteenth century. Even though the 1920 major event made a significant change in the Sikh history yet the virus of casteism has persisted till the present times. The scholars would cover the entire period of Sikhism on the related issues pertaining to religious, political, social and economic life of Sikhs around the theme.

## Bhagat Singh Meets Madari Pasi: From the Forgotten Chapters of History

It is likely that through the daily Pratap, a popular newspaper among the nationalists (Bhagat Singh served as its sub-editor), and surely through its editor, a lot of young revolutionaries would have come to understand the peasant issue, which is later reflected in their political writings and speeches.

The other latent contact between the revolutionary movement and the Eka movement resulted from the same geographical area of operation of both movements. When the Kakori train dacoity took place hardly 50 miles from Hardoi in 1925, the colonial police suspected that Madari's group might have helped the revolutionaries although Madari himself was in jail at that time. Though the police was not able to establish any link, but as the scholars mentioned above have pointed out, Madari and his group were aware of the HRA revolutionaries and their activities and had sympathy for them.

## A meeting of Titans

This brings us to an interesting chapter of history hitherto ignored by historians: a meeting between Bhagat Singh and Madari Pasi (which also has an element of comedy). This interaction happened via two young revolutionaries mentioned above, Verma and Kapoor, who belonged to the Hardoi district from where the Eka movement began.

Verma, as a school student during the heydays of the Eka movement, was greatly inspired by Madari

Pasi and the movement he led. In 1922 (before Verma joined the clandestine revolutionary party), he went as a delegate to the Lucknow session of the UP Congress and appealed to the leadership to take up the cause of Eka leaders and peasants involved in the movement, who were facing brutal repression from the colonial state. His appeal fell on deaf ears and young Verma was very disappointed and disillusioned with Congress politics. Later, he went to meet Vidyarthi in Kanpur and appealed him to take up the cause of Eka leaders and peasants, which the latter took up with great empathy.

Eventually both Verma and Kapoor joined the underground resistance and worked with Bhagat Singh and others. Bhagat Singh was a young, 20-year-old anti-colonial activist at this time, who was trying to reorganise the Hindustan Republican Association after the Kakori arrests. There were two major centres of underground revolutionary activities: Lahore and Kanpur. In Kanpur, the revolutionaries were guided by leftist intellectuals like Vidyarthi, Hasrat Mohani, Satyabhakt and Radha Mohun Gokul to work amongst the industrial workers and the peasantry.

In order to understand the issues of the peasantry, this band of young revolutionaries tried to engage with them. Hence, Verma and Kapoor established contact with Madari after he was released from jail in 1926. Madari showed sympathy for their cause and told them that he wanted

Verma and Kapoor were perplexed. As they revealed many years later in their interviews given to Nehru Memorial Museum \& Library (NMML) and in their autobiographical notes, they took this issue to Bhagat Singh as they did not have a traditional kind of robust and well-built leader who could meet the expectations of a villager like Madari. So, they decided to invite Madari to a park and here they showed him a fullbodied stranger as their leader, from a distance. Madari was really impressed and gave them a lot of weapons for their party.

Bhagat Singh, Verma and Kapoor stayed with Madari for few days as the latter was organising tribal peasants at this time because he was by now sidelined in the tenants' struggle. Madari Pasi, who once had undermined the traditional caste hierarchy and had unified peasants as a class, bypassing the differences of caste and religion, was increasingly ignored and derided by 'upper' and 'middle' caste leaders in later phases of the tenant struggle. Now, Madari Pasi dreamt of waging a guerrilla war against the British. But the revolutionaries couldn't make use of his army as they couldn't afford to blow the cover on their underground movement owing to Madari's growing impatience.

From HRA to HSRA
Revolutionaries of the HRA grew more and more sympathetic to the cause of workers and peasants, and
finally in 1928, they added the word 'socialist' to their organisation's name. This shift was not merely a result of a theoretical engagement with socialist and Marxist literature, rather it was also a product of engagement with the everyday lives of peasants and workers. In Punjab, the HSRA members were in touch with the factory workers and peasantry via the Kirti Kisan Party, whose leader was Sohan Singh Josh, who also happened to be the editor of famous periodical Kirti (meaning worker), while in Kanpur their engagement with trade union politics happened through Vidyarathi and Hasrat Mohani who were part of the Kanpur Mazdoor Sabha.

Both Bhagat Singh and Vidyarthi were martyred in March 1931, within a span of few days. As far as Madari Pasi is concerned, there are only speculations over his death.

Contrary to the popular view, which even pervades a section of the academia, HSRA members were deeply engaged with workers and peasants of the country and considered them to be the real revolutionary force in Indian society.

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The authors would like to thank Firoz Naqvi for his inputs\]

Source Courtesy: The Wire
September 28, 2020

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| :---: | :---: |</table-markdown></div> Hindi was devised by a Scottish linguist of The East India Company - it can never be India's National Language <br> quently a Hindi translation of the 

If the Anglophone Indians are derided
as 'Macaulay's children', then the
Hindi speaking Indians can also be called 'Gilchrist's children'.

My late maternal grandmother - who had studied philosophy and biology in the 1940s Calcutta had told me once during my boyhood, that Calcutta was the birthplace of the modern Hindi language: it was 'invented' by the British in Fort William, Calcutta.

I remembered my grandmother's words when I read the news reports about the recently concluded 'Hindi Divas' day when the Union Home Minister Amit Shah pitched for Hindi as the national language of India.

This prompted me to consider and figure out why my maternal grandmother said what she did. I wanted to know about the 'suppressed truths' and understand the 'secret history' of Hindi.

Now I wish to share with you what I found; and have to begin by recalling few essential facts about the languages of India.

Linguistic Diversity of India
Papua New Guinea - with a population of just over seven million - has world's highest number of languages: 852 ( 840 are spoken and 12 are extinct). It tops the Linguistic Diversity Index (Source: UNESCO 2009) with 0.990 . India comes at \#9 with a score of 0.930 .

But if we measure linguistic diversity by total population, India with 1.3 billion people (\#2 by population) is much ahead of the rest, including China (1), United States of America (3), Indonesia (4) and Brazil (5). And hence, one can say, India is the 'most populated linguistic diverse country in the world'

Census of India of 2001 said that India has 122 major languages and 1599 other languages. It recorded 30 languages which were spoken by more than a million native speakers and 122 which were spoken by more than 10,000 people.

There are 22 scheduled Ianguages of India - Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithali, Malayalam, Marathi, Meitei (Manipuri), Nepali, Odia, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santhali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu - and two official languages of the Union Government: Hindi and English.

In addition to the above, the Government of India has awarded the distinction of classical language to 6 languages which have a 'rich heritage and independent nature': Kannada, Malayalam, Odia, Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu.

Tamil is also one of the oldest living languages in the world and this Dravidian language predates even Sanskrit (a part of the Indo-Aryan family of Indic languages).

Contrary to the perceptions formed by boisterous disinformation campaigns, Hindi is not the national language of India. India has no national language.

As per the 2011 census, only $26.6 \%$ of the Indians identify Hindi as their mother tongue.

## Hindi Language

Modern Hindi - one of the youngest Indian languages - is based on the Khariboli dialect (vernacular of Delhi and the surrounding region) and its literary tradition evolved towards the end of the 18 th century.

Khariboli itself had evolved to replace earlier dialects such as Awadhi - the sweet-sounding language of the commoners in which Tulsidas' Ramcharitamanas was composed in the early 17 th century. The Awadhi bhakti poem popularized Lord Rama all over North India; that in turn is influencing the politics of modern India. I have recounted the fascinating story of How did Lord Rama become a Hindu god? in an essay

Chambers' Biographical Dic-
describes him in his advanced tionary describes as "his bushy head and whiskers were as white as the Hi malayan snow, and in such contrast to the active expressive face which beamed from the centre of the mass, that he was likened to a royal Bengal tiger - a resemblance of which he was even proud."

In 1782, Gilchrist was apprenticed as a surgeon's mate in the Royal Navy and travelled to Bombay, India. There, he joined the East India Company's Medical Service and was appointed assistant surgeon in 1784.

During Gilchrist's travels in India, he developed an interest to study Hindustani languages. In 1785 he requested a year's leave from duty to continue these studies. This leave was eventually granted in 1787 and

Bible appeared in 1818 and Udant Martand, the first Hindi newspaper, was published in 1826 in Calcutta. Gilchrist wrote 'bifurcation of Khariboli into two forms - the Hindustani language with Khariboli as the root resulted in two languages (Hindi and Urdu), each with its own character and script.

In other words, what was Hindustani language was segregated into Hindi and Urdu (written in the Devanagari and Persian scripts), codified and formalised.

Santosh Kumar Khare on the origin of Hindi in Truth about Language in India wrote in his essay: 'the notion of Hindi and Urdu as two distinct languages crystallized at Fort William College in the first half of the 19th century.' He added: "their linguistic and literary repertoires were built up accordingly, Urdu borrowing from Persian/Arabic and Hindi from Sanskrit.

In the words of K.B. Jindal, author of A History of Hindi Literature: 'Hindi as we know it today is the product of the nineteenth century.

Contemporary Dutch historian Thomas De Bruijin says that Fort William College in Calcutta was 'more or less the birthplace of modern Hindi.

George Abraham Grierson, noted Irish linguist of the late 19th and early 20 th century, said that the standard or pure Hindi which contemporary Indians use is 'an artificial dialect the mother tongue of no native-born Indian, a newly invented speech, that wonderful hybrid known to Europeans as Hindi and invented by them.'

Hence, my late maternal grandmother was right: the birthplace of modern Hindi is Calcutta. And it was in Fort William that this invention took place under the tireless efforts of John Gilchrist.

If the Anglophone Indians are derided as 'Macaulay's children', then the Hindi speaking Indians can also be called 'Gilchrist's children'

## The Conclusion

In our 'civilisational state' of modern India - whose history goes back to 8000 years or more - a language that is just over 200 years old and a construct of our colonial imperial masters - that too by an employee of a rapacious private corporation, The East India Company - cannot possibly be considered as the national language of India.

Union Home Minister Amit Shah's statements on the Hindi Divas day are indicative of the broader Hindutva agenda and the political attempt to impose Sanskrit as the 'mother language' and Hindi as the 'national language'.

But Sanskrit isn't the mother language of India. No single language can be called as the 'mother language' of our ancient land that contains such linguistic diversity that has
(Contd. on page 5 )

# Mahatma's Fast - Adjourned Motion 13th September <br> Mr. M.C. Rajah spoke as follows:- 

 "Never in the annals of the history of India has the issue of the Depressed Classes assumed the importance it has today. For this we, of the Depressed Classes, must for ever be grateful to Mahatma Gandhi. He has told the world, in words which cannot be mistaken, that our regeneration is the fundamental aim of his life. If world conscience cannot be roused even now to a realisation of the position of the Depressed Classes, then we can only conclude that all the instincts of humanity are dead in the world today."Let me remind the House that ours is an all-India problem, and not confined to some provinces as it is in the case of the Muslims and the Sikhs. I have heard it repeated often that the Muslims and Sikhs claimed special consideration, because they are martial races. So have we been in the ancient history of India. But, Sir, what we claim is that we have, in addition, been most law-abiding and loyal citizens. Even when social laws degraded us to a position of untouchability, we never took the law into our hands. We depended upon the moral conscience of our countrymen being roused to a realisation of the grave injustice and inhumanity practised against us. "The question before the House is the situation created by Mahatma Gandhi opposing the grant of communal electorates to the Depressed Classes. I am sure there is no member in this Hon'ble House who will not regret that circumstances should have forced such a great personality to take a vow to play on his life. But, Sir, the correspondence shows that the Government had enough warning. They did not attach full importance to our considered views expressed in our conferences. They should have taken at least the grave warning given by Mahatma Gandhi and desisted from the course of creating separate electorates.
"Sir, the situation as it confronts us today, is as follows. The British Government have given their communal decision. They declare that it shall hold the field for 20 years in respect of the Depressed Classes, unless there is a unanimous request made before the constitution is framed or ten years after the constitution has worked. I wonder what is meant by unanimous request? In the political history of any country has such literal unanimity ever been attained on any issue? Is the British Government sure that Britishers are unanimous in giving India a further measure of responsibility? Is even the National Government sure that the Conservatives, as a whole, back its Indian policy? This condition of unanimity is thus a dodge to keep us perpetually divided. "I claim that my community is already in favour of common electorates, and I will prove my contention by a few quotations.

You all know that the British Government sent two delegates to represent the Depressed Classes at the Round Table Conference - Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan. Dr. Ambedkar presented the case of the Depressed Classes in Bombay before the Simon Commission. He presented the statement of his sabha, where he pleaded for joint electorates."

## After giving a quotation

Mr. Raja proceeded:
"Again in his minute of dissent to the report of the Bombay Provincial Simon Committee, Dr. Ambedkar demanded joint electorates with reservation of seats.
"As regards Rao Bahadur Srinivasan, when he appeared before the Simon Commission in Madras, to a question put by a member of the Commission, whether he wanted separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, he said: 'Not at present'

His reasons were that our people are not yet advanced to have separate electorates and unless you give adult franchise, the Depressed Classes should have no separate electorates. This was in 1929 when he went to the first R. T. C. The Depressed Classes Federation of Madras, of which Mr. Srinivasan is the president, passed a resolution supporting joint electorates and giving him that mandate for being placed before the R. T. C. In this connection let me remind the House that even Dr. Ambedkar demanded joint electorate with reservation of seats at the first Round Table Conference.
"When the Indian Central Committee's report was published giving the Depressed Classes joint electorates with reservation of seats for all provinces, except Madras, there was no hue and cry. When the Simon Commission's report embodying electorates with reservation of seats was published, there was no protest raised against it. My friend, Dr. Ambedkar, while speaking on the recommendations of this Commission, welcomed this system, in the interests of his community, and raised an objection to the system of a panel from which the Governor was to select candidates for the Depressed Classes. Indeed, Dr. Ambedkar, speaking at the Kamptee Conference in 1930, declared: 'No share of political powers can come to you, so long as the British Government remains where it is. It is only in a Swaraj constitution that you stand any chance of getting political power into your hands.' He said in the same speech: 'Swarajya is going to be a system of government in which you (Depressed Classes) stand a chance, other things being equal, of being amongst those who will be installed as political sovereigns of this country.
"I do not know what brought about a revolution in the state of mind of Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Srinivasan at the second Round Table Conference when they sacrificed a system whereby they would have ob-
tained the right to be political sovereigns, and secured instead the expression of the minimum voice for people who deserved the maximum electoral power to direct the Government from within.
"Now, Sir, it will be clear to the House that joint electorates were acceptable to my community from the time they understood that there was to be a transfer of power to Indian hands. The position we took was that under a scheme of government in which Indians will rule, our safety lay not in finding channels for voicing our opinions, but in taking our due share in the government of the country. Indeed, this is my chief attack on the Premier's letter to Mahatma Gandhi. He tells us that he has given separate electorates for twenty years, to enable us to get a minimum number of seats to place our views before the Government and the Legislature of the day. This privilege we have already enjoyed under the Montford Reforms, and it has enabled us to get representation in numerous local bodies and in the legislatures, both Provincial and Central. We are sufficiently organized for that purpose, and do not need either special pleading and special succour in the future. What we do need as a real remedy for our uplift is the definite power to elect our representatives from the general constituencies and hold them responsible to us for their actions. "I do not know why the Prime Minister calls the scheme of joint electorates with reservation of seats as impracticable. It is already in force in the local bodies in Madras and some other provinces, and has worked very satisfactorily. I contend, Sir, that the scheme enunciated in the communal decision involves our segregation and makes us politically untouchable. I am surprised at the argument of the Prime Minister that there is no segregation because we can vote for caste Hindus who will have to solicit our votes.
"There is, Sir, another tragic side to the controversy. When we claim special protection from the Government for some share in the official services which is given by the Government of India to other minorities and backward classes, we are told that we are classed as Hindus and have no special claim. But when we declare that in the matter of legislative representation, we would like to join the general body of Hindus, we are told that we are a separate community (Applause).

The sufferings which my community has undergone at the hands of caste Hindus have been acknowledged by the caste-Hindus themselves. I am prepared to admit that there are a large number of reformers among them who are doing everything possible to improve our status and position. I am convinced that there is a change of heart and a change in the angle of vision of the caste Hindus. We, the Depressed

Classes, ourselves as
true Hind true Hindus. We feel that the moral conscience of the Hindus has been roused to such an extent that our salvation lies in bringing about a change from

body of Hindu society and not by segregating ourselves from them. The course adopted by the Government would certainly arrest the progress of this most laudable movement.
"I must say, Sir, that the Prime Minister's letter, in its entire conception and expression, has disappointed me most. He argues, for instance, that reservation of seats under joint electorates would not get genuine representation for us. Does the Prime Minister know that the Simon Commission, consisting of seven chosen Britishers, held, after a most thorough investigation on the spot, that such a system would produce genuine representation for us? Even the fear expressed by the Prime Minister is resolved by Mahatma Gandhi who has said that he is ready to enrol every adult member of the Depressed Class as a voter and impose a stricter test on caste Hindus. May I ask why the Premier is not prepared to consider this solution?
"Now let me summarise the position. The Premier is for separate electorates, to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the Depressed Classes. Mahatma Gandhi's decision is for over-representation of the Depressed Classes in joint electorate. My pact with Dr. Moonje of the Hindu Maha Sabha gives my community reservation of seats on a population basis through joint electorates.
"In conclusion, let me add that I have known and studied the question of the Depressed Classes in all its bearings all over India during the quarter of a century of my public life. I was privileged to review it fully during our tour with the Simon Commission. I would therefore ask the Government to take this assurance from me, that our best interest require that we should not be dissected from the Hindu community but that we should have our due representation in the legislatures on the basis of reservation. The crisis that faces us today is very grave. There hangs in the balance, the life of the greatest Indian of our time, and there hangs in the balance the future of the millions of the downtrodden people of this country. Is the Government going to take the responsibility for killing one and reducing the other to perpetual servitude? Let it make its choice well and wisely." (Applause).
Source Courtesy: The Indian Annual Register, July-December 1932, Vol.II

More than a dozen opposition parties had urged President Kovind not to sign the contentious bills, alleging that they were passed "unconstitutionally" in "complete disregard" of parliamentary norms.

President Ram Nath Kovind on Sunday gave his assent to all the three contentious farm bills, which opposition parties say are anti-farmer and corporate-friendly, after they
regard" of parliamentary norms. The Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) even pulled out of the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) coalition at the Centre over the passage of the contentious farm bills, which the Pun-jab-based party said were "lethal and disastrous". The SAD and the BJP had been allies since 1996 when both forged a pre-poll alliance ahead
and anywhere. It is this power which is the foundation of their growth, now the same power has been given to farmers across the country. They have got the freedom to sell not only fruits and vegetables but grains, sugarcane, mustard and anything that they grow, they can now sell to anyone and anywhere they like," PM Modi said while addressing the 69th edition of his monthly 'Mann Ki Baat'
this is aimed at facilitating remunerative prices through competitive alternative trading channels.

The Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement of Price Assurance and Farm Services Act, 2020, seeks to give farmers the right to enter into a contract with agribusiness firms, processors, wholesalers, exporters, or large retailers for the sale of future farming produce at a

were recently passed by Parliament during its monsoon session amid vehement protests.

The three bills - The Farmers Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020, The Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Service Bill, 2020, and The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill, 2020 - have now become acts.

The government, which has said that these landmark legislations will make farmers self-reliant, has notified them. More than a dozen opposition parties had urged President Kovind not to sign the contentious bills, alleging that they were passed "unconstitutionally" in "complete dis-
of the 1997 Punjab assembly elections which brought them to power. Farmers, especially in Punjab and Haryana, have been protesting against the bills and have said the Centre's farm reforms would pave a way for the dismantling of the minimum support price system, leaving them at the "mercy" of big companies.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been trying to allay the fears of the farmers, saying that the country's agriculture sector has unshackled itself after the passage of these bills. Farmers and the farm sector, Modi said, need to be strong to lay a strong foundation of "Atmanirbhar Bharat"
"They have the power to sell their fruits or vegetables to anyone,
radio programme.
Several Union ministers, including defence Minister Rajnath Singh, have said said the Centre has taken the steps to ensure that farmers get the right price for their produce.
"Our government has taken steps to ensure that the farmers get the right price for their produce. I have studied the bills, and I am saying that the farmers will benefit from it. But some people are trying to mislead the farmers," Singh said recently.

The Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020, seeks to give freedom to farmers to sell their produce outside the notified APMC market yards (mandis). The government says
pre-agreed price. And the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act, 2020, seeks to remove commodities like cereals, pulses, oilseeds, onion, and potato from the list of essential commodities and will do away with the imposition of stock holding limits.

The Sukhbir Singh Badal-led SAD had asked the central government not to bring the bills in Parliament till "all reservations" expressed by farmers are "duly addressed". But when the Centre did not pay heed, the SAD asked the government to send these farm bills to a select committee, which did not happen. SAD leader Harsimrat Kaur Badal then resigned from the Union Cabinet in protest. Source Courtesy:

Hindustan Times, September 27, 2020

# Hindi was devised by a Scottish linguist of The East India Company - it can never be India's National Language 

## (Continue from page 3)

 emerged from several language families: Indo-Aryan or Indic, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan, Austroasiatic, Tai-Kadai and Great Andamanese.Neither Hindi - as pointed above - can be imposed as the national language of India. India needs no single national language; diversity is the fundamental national characteristic of India, and it should remain that way.

We - the Indians who don't come from the Hindi-Hindustani cow belt - clearly understand that an organised 'socio-cultural engineering mission' is going on in India that wishes to 'colonise' - euphemistically 'unify' - all plural Hindu communities under the flag of singular 'Hindutva'.

The imposition of Hindi Ian-
guage upon all Hindus who don't speak Hindi is part of the larger polit ical mission towards the establishment of 'Hindutva Rashtra' masquerading as 'Hindu Rashtra'

Article 29 of the India Constitution ensures us equality for all citizens of India as far as conservation of their language is concerned, their culture is concerned and their script is concerned.

Imposition of any single language upon the rest is constitutionally invalid, and the effort to do so in midst of such linguistic, ethnic and cultural diversity of modern India - is likely to boomerang and cause more regional stresses, disharmony, disunity and disaffection.

India doesn't require the 'unity' of 'one language, one nation'. India needs to assert its own sover-
eign and unique 'civilisational spirit' of 'Unity in Diversity'

The Mother of All Ironies
In 2017 I published an essay to write about 'How Hindus Became Hindu and Why Hindutva is not Hinduism'. Now I also wish to point out - what I call - the mother of all ironies.

RSS-BJP-VHP or the Sangh Parivar's Hindutva ideology is based upon four key words: Hindi, Hindu, Hinduism and Hindustan.

The Sangh ideology considers Muslims and Christians as phirang invaders into India. But it was the Persians who coined Hindu and Hindustan; and it was The East India Company and the British Empire which developed Hindi language and added 'ism' to Hindu.

Hence, the entire 'identity, world view and nationalist' politics of
the Sangh Parivar is based upon what the 'Muslims and the Christians' gifted to us!

There can be no greater irony than this. This is the mother of all ironies; the height of all heights.

First
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## Source Courtesy:

CounterCurrents.ORG,
September 27, 2020

#  FIRST SCHEDULE. - (Composition of the Federal Legislature.) 

The CHAIRMAN The Committee will find that there are a number of Amendments on Schedule I which have to do with the question of communal representation. It may be for the convenience of the Committee to know that I do not propose to select any of these Amendments because it will, in my opinion, and, I think, the Committee will agree, be far more convenient to discuss the important question of communal representation on Schedule 5, where that question really arises. If any substantial alterations are made in respect of this matter by the Committee to Schedule 5 it will mean that Amendments, mainly of a drafting character, will afterwards have to be made to Schedule 1, and that can be done on the Report stage.
Mr. DAVID GRENFELL Is the Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for Caerphilly (Mr. Morgan Jones) in Order-in page 255, line 25, after "India," to insert: ten seats shall be allocated to representatives to be elected by women members of the Legislative Assemblies, ten seats shall be allocated to representatives to be elected by members of the Legislative Assemblies who are of the scheduled castes, ten seats shall be allocated to representatives to be elected by members of the Legislative Assemblies representative of labour.
The CHAIRMAN Yes. It is my intention to call it.
3.33 p.m.

The CHANCELLOR of the DUCHY of LANCASTER (Mr. J. C. Davidson) I beg to move, in page 255, line 18, at the end, to insert: Provided that the Ruler or a subject of an Indian State which has not acceded to the Feder-ation-
(i) shall not be disqualified under subparagraph (a) of this paragraph to fill a seat allocated to a Province if he would be eligible to be elected to the Legislative Assembly of that Province; and
(ii) in such cases as may be prescribed, shall not be disqualified under the said sub-paragraph (a) to fill a seat allocated to a Chief Commissioner's Province.

This Amendment is put down in order to make clear that the subjects of Indian States may be able to be elected to the Federal Legislature and also may be able to be elected, provided that they are qualified, to a Provincial Legislature. Paragraph I of this Schedule, as at present drawn, is too narrow, and, in the opinion of the Government, it would be a hardship that a powerful community of State subjects such as the Merwaris, who are engaged in commerce in India, should be ineligible to election. This Amendment has therefore been proposed. Where an election is to take place in a Chief Commissioner's Province, provision will be made to enable the State subjects to be included through the rules to be proscribed by the Governor-General.
Duchess of ATHOLL Will my right hon. Friend give us some idea of the
qualifications that will be necessary to make a person eligible to election to a Legislative Assembly to fill a seat allocated to a chief commissioner's province
Mr. DAVIDSON The qualifications are included in a later schedule, and can be discussed when it arises.
Colonel WEDGWOOD I am glad that the Government have made this provision for the Merwaris. It is wise that the subjects of native States should be entitled to sit in British India. The Committee and the Merwaris owe a debt of gratitude not so much to the Government, as to the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Kirkpatrick).
Amendment agreed to.
3.37 p.m.

Mr. D. GRENFELL I beg to move, in page 255, line 25, after "India," to insert: ten seats shall be allocated to representatives to be elected by women members of the Legislative Assemblies, ten seats shall be allocated to representatives to be elected by members of the Legislative Assemblies who are of the scheduled castes, ten seats shall be allocated to representatives to be elected by members of the Legislative Assemblies representative of labour. The Schedule makes provision for the election to the Council of State of representatives of Governors' Provinces, Chief Commissioners' Provinces, and other interests, and it is proposed that 150 representatives should be elected by the college of electors. We are anxious that anything that they do should not destroy the prospects of a representation of the special interests mentioned in the Amendment. We are not satisfied that any representation at all would be given to these three classes of persons. In order to ensure that there shall be a minimum representation, and that the voices of these special sections shall be heard, we propose the Amendment. The numbers we propose will be a small proportion of the total number of seats on the Council. We should very much fear the operation of the Council of State if there were no representation of the depressed classes, or of women or of labour. It could hardly be a representative assembly at all, and the voice of a very large body of people might be condemned to silence for years to come. They might remain inarticulate for generations, unless we take steps now for them to find a place, and decide that they shall be elected by people who will be instructed, in order that the result of the election shall be unmistakable from the outset. The Amendment does not go so far as to say that there shall be 10 women but that women shall elect 10 persons. Still, we hope that will result in the presence of at least 10 women on the Federal Council of State and at least 10 representatives of Labour.

India, like the rest of the world, is going through conditions of great stress and the relations between capital and labour will be involved. It will experience that stress
to a greater extent, perhaps, than any other country in the next 20,30 or 40 years. If India is to arrive at a higher degree of prosperity she will do so largely through becoming more highly industrialised, and in that process of industrialisation employers and workpeople will frequently come into conflict. The workpeople will realise that there is no provision in this new Constitution for any action to be taken to improve the standard of living of the labouring people and will have to fall back upon action to be taken by themselves. It is by their organisations and by their influence in politics that the working people in our own country have secured improvements in labour conditions here, and if we are to give the depressed classes and the labouring classes in India an opportunity in this new era of industrialisation we must at this stage introduce these safeguards for labour into the Constitution. I do not anticipate any resistance to this Amendment on the part of the Government. I cannot conceive of any argument in opposition to it being put forward. I think it must have been through an oversight in drafting that these three classes were left out. 3.44 p.m.

Mr. COCKS I would ask the Government to consider this Amendment very seriously, because it is designed to remove a grievance which I know the Government did not intend to impose and which, perhaps, they hardly foresaw. It is a grievance which is incidental to the change made in this Bill since the original proposals for the constitution of the two Chambers were suggested two years ago. This grievance is due to the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee adopted by this Committee to change from direct to indirect elections to the Lower Chamber. That decision was made on the merits of direct and indirect election but, of course, I could not go into that matter now. Consequential upon the change in the method of electing the Lower Chamber we found that we have to have a new kind of second Chamber, because the present Assembly is the old second Chamber elected by the Lower Houses in the Provinces. It was therefore decided to set up a second Chamber to be elected by the upper Chambers in the Provinces, and in the case where there were no upper Chambers members were to be elected by a small body of people who would be just the kind of people who would have formed the second Chamber.

The result of that is that the scheduled classes, in particular, have been put under a great grievance. Under the old proposals the scheduled classes would have had, I calculate, at least eight members in the Council of State and now they will have none at all. In the original proposals Madras had the right to elect 20 members to the Council, and they were to be elected by proportional representation by the 215 members
in the Madras Chamber. That gave a quota of 11 , or 10.75 . The 30 members of the depressed classes in the Madras Chamber would therefore have had the opportunity of electing two members to the Council of State. In Bombay, in the same way, they would have been able to elect one, in Bengal two, in the United Provinces one, and in Bihar and the Central Provinces one each. That would have given them a total of eight representing the depressed classes in the Council of State.

I frankly admit that under the old system neither Labour nor women would have been able to elect any at all, but if Labour had thrown in its votes with the scheduled classes, as we were told they might do they would have been represented and the eight seats would have been brought up to 13-there would have been extra representation for Madras, for Bombay, for Bengal, for the United Provinces and if the scheduled classes combined with the Labour members they would have one representative for the Punjab instead of none. As for the women, if they had combined their votes with the other two it would have given them another two seats-one more in Madras and one more in Behar. I do not suggest they would have done that, but they could have done it. The scheduled classes have a very direct grievance because they would have had eight seats undoubtedly and now they cannot have any. On that same argument Labour and women have a more remote grievance, because they could have only got representation anyhow by combining with the scheduled classes. Compare these figures with the present proposals. If hon. Members will turn to pages 257 and 288 they will find that the 20 members for Madras, instead of being elected by 215 members of the Lower Chamber by proportional representation, are elected by 56 members. In Bombay 16 members are elected by 30 . In Bengal 20 are elected by 65. In the United Provinces 20 are elected by 60. In Behar 16 are elected by 30. These electorates which are the Upper Chambers in the Province are elected on a very high property franchise.

On that system it seems impossible for the scheduled classes, Labour, and, I imagine, the women, to get any votes at all, certainly Labour or the scheduled classes. There is only one exception to that-Bengal. In Bengal, 27 of the 65 who elect the 20, are elected by the Assembly by proportional representation, and the quota of just over three would give to the scheduled classes if they joined forces with Labour perhaps four members out of the 27, who might possibly get one representative elected to the Council of State. Provision is made for the election of Muslims, Indo-Christians and Europeans to the Second Chamber but none for the three classes mentioned in our
(Contd. on next page)

#  FIRST SCHEDULE. - (Composition of the Federal Legislature.) 

(Continue from page 6)
Amendment. Certain pledges were given by high authority that those classes would have adequate representation. The Governemnt accepted the Poona pact, which had reference to the communal question, and which guaranteed to the depressed classes "adequate representation in all the legislative bodies." We are discussing one of the legislative bodies, the Second Chamber, which will have practically coequal powers with the Lower Chamber, and the promise made to the depressed classes should hold good in regard to this Second Chamber as in other respects. The Prime Minister, in a message to the chairman of the Franchise Committee, said: The new Constitution must make adequate provision for the representation of the depressed classes. I gather that he meant that representation must be given to them in all the Chambers.

The Committee, I think, will agree on the general principle, and will be in sympathy with it, apart from the special complaint. I have had letters from India on this subject, in which the opinion which I have been putting to the Committee has been very strongly expressed. We are dealing with an important legislative body, and it is not only unfair but it is not wise that important classes should be totally unrepresented upon it. Proposals have been made in the past by hon. Members on the Conservative side of the House for the reform of another place, and some of them have suggested that in the reform of that Second Chamber trade unions should have their representatives. Yet it is proposed that three large classes in India are to have no representation upon these Second Chambers, which will deal with matters affecting their interests. I hope the Committee will agree that that grievance should, if possible, be remedied. I make an appeal to the Government on this matter. The grievance has been unintentionally created, and we suggest that this is one of the ways in which it can be removed. Perhaps the Government will say to me: "Even your figures at their highest only give the three classes a representation of 15 , whereas our proposals will give them 30." We think they should have 30, but I am sure that all those classes in India would be very grateful to the Government if they had the certainty of a representation of 15 . 3.55 p.m.

Mr. ISAAC FOOT Earlier in the Debate, an hon. Member on the Government side raised the question of the scheduled classes - which phrase is used to denote the depressed classes. He said he had been informed that the scheduled classes had no grievance in respect of the Legislative Assembly because, as a result of the Poona pact, they would have a larger representation than would have been possible two or three years ago, when these contro-
versies commenced. That hon. Member was informed that the grievances would be considered when we came to the Schedule which is now under discussion. It is not open for us to go into the merits of the question of direct or indirect vote for the Legislative Assembly, and I have no intention of entering upon that territory. The Committee have now to consider that one of the results of the changewhether that change was for the better or not-is that it is not only an entirely new method of dealing with the Council of State, but the change was arrived at so late by the Joint Select Committee that there was very little time for them to consider the consequences of their decision. That was commented upon in another place by Lord Salisbury, who was on the Joint Select Committee and who put his views later before the House of Lords.

I am not allowed to quote what was said by the Noble Lord in another place. Although he approved of the system of indirect election as compared with the direct vote, he thought that the consequences were fantastic. We shall have an opportunity of commenting upon that view when we are discussing a later part of the Schedule. I am now concerned only to deal with the depressed classes. I had an opportunity of taking part in the Debate in this House in 1931, when we first considered the proposals of the first Round Table Conference, and I expressed the opinion, which I think will now be shared by practically all Members of the Committee, that if India entered upon this great constitutional change she could not shut out consideration of the depressed classes, who number anything from 30,000,000 to $60,000,000$ of the population, and that any attempt to shut them out would only condemn to sterility and failure the future of that country. I believe there will be a common feeling on this matter in the Committee, and that even those with whom we have been crossing swords on other aspects of the India controversy will be in agreement that that great section of the Indian people must have a fair share of representation if the constitutional proposals are to succeed.

I have already said that no complaint will be made as far as representation to the Legislative Assembly is concerned. One hon. Member has observed that although under the Poona Pact the depressed classes were given considerable representation, they were still in a minority. That is inevitable, and nothing can be done to change that. The result of the change made at the eleventh hour by the Joint Select Committee was that a grievance was created, so far as the scheduled classes were concerned. Hon. Members who have been in communication with India have had it made clear to them that that grievance is very seriously felt. I shall be interested to hear what the UnderSecretary has to say on this matter,
in which he has a very special interest, because in addition to holding the high office that he now occupies he was a member of the Franchise Committee and was brought face to face with some of those problems when, with some of his colleagues, assisted by many eminent Indians, he was able to go over a large part of India and inquire into this matter.

I would like the Under-Secretary to tell the Committee whether the Government recognise that there is a grievance of which the depressed classes complain; and whether this change has taken the representatives of the scheduled classes by surprise? When they were here and joined in our discussions, all the discussions proceeded upon the assumption that the action of the Secretary of State in standing by the White Paper would probably be the final conclusion arrived at. I think that the examination and cross-examination by the Indian delegates would have been very different if they had thought that a system of indirect voting would have been set up. Most of us assumed that because of the adamantine attitude taken up by the Secretary of State all through, such a policy could never be undertaken. Therefore, to my mind the Indian delegates when they left assumed that the direct vote would be the system established. They had not contemplated at that time this constituency for the Council of State. I would like Members of the Committee to understand that the constitution of the Council of State was never under review by the Joint Select Committee when the Indians were present; it was never across the horizon at that time. If it had been under consideration the very able delegates they had, in cross-examining and examining the many witnesses and experts, would have directed their inquiries in that direction. They have not had the opportunity. So that the constitution of the electing body for the Council of State is something upon which we have had practically no discussion, and certainly no discussion while the Indian delegates were present. The only object in having the Indian delegates present was that we might be able to canvass their views on matters so closely affecting the future constitution of their country. That opportunity in the circumstances never arose.

Therefore, I ask Members of the Committee to understand that there is a special responsibility upon them in this matter, inasmuch as we are now covering territory where we have not had the opportunity of representation of the views of the Indians themselves. We shall have an opportunity later, I assume, before this Schedule is completed, of commenting upon the constituency which will elect the Council of State. I think it is a preposterous constituency, one of the disastrous results of what I think was a disastrous decision in relation to the indirect vote. But there is no doubt at all that the most specific
pledges have been given, as the hon. Member for Broxtowe (Mr. Cocks) has said, to the depressed classes, that they should have reasonable or adequate representation upon any of the governing bodies under the new constitution. I have my sympathy with the Government on the matter. I know that they saw these difficulties from the beginning. That is one of the reasons why the Secretary of State again and again said that he could not contemplate a change of the direct vote to the indirect.

These are the two questions to which I would like to have replies: What representations there were from the scheduled classes upon this question of their representation in the Council of State; whether they expressed their grievance in this regard; and how the Government contemplate that that grievance is in any way to be met? Are the depressed classes to be left without remedy, or to what extent is any remedy likely to go? I believe that the only way in which we can help those who have for many generations been in a condition of extreme disability and hopelessness, the only way in which we can relieve their condition is to give them some responsibility and to give them some representation in both Houses, so that those who want to obtain places in those Houses shall for the first time in Indian history have to go to these people and consult their wishes. From the beginning I have tried to take some interest in the cause of these people. I think it has appealed to me, as to all who, have gone into the matter, and I am very glad, therefore, that the Amendment has been raised, because it gives an opportunity for a full discussion upon a very important matter. I submit very respectfully the questions I have put to the UnderSecretary.
4.7 p.m.

Major MILNER I think that the hon. Member for Bodmin (Mr. Isaac Foot) has rendered a distinct service to the Committee in making it clear that this matter of the constitution of the Council of State was not in detail before the Joint Select Committee. As far as we on the Labour benches are concerned I do not think there is any Amendment which is of more importance to us than that now being discussed. The position quite simply is that in the Council of State it is extremely unlikely there will be any representative of women, Labour, or the depressed classes, and unless the Under-Secretary can satisfy the Committee that these very important and distinct sections of the Indian community are to have representation in that body, I hope that sufficient feeling will be expressed to persuade or compel the Government to provide representation for them. In the form in which the Bill is before the Committee it seems to me that that representation can only be brought about by some reservation or alloca
(Contd. on next page)

# 6) AmbedkarTimes www.ambedkarimes. com <br> VOI-12 <br> 8 Issue-29 <br> Commons Sitting of 7 May 1935, Government of India Bill FIRST SCHEDULE. - (Composition of the Federal Legislature.) 

(Continue from page 7)
tion such as is proposed in the Amendment.

The hon. Member for Bodmin dealt fully with the position of the depressed classes, and I do not propose to labour their case, important though it is, except to say that unless some special provision is made in the Bill, those 40,000,000 or 50,000,000 of people in the depths of poverty and degradation, and suffering from a number of social and economic disabilities, will have no representation at all in the Council of State. As far as the other two sections of the Indian community are concerned, I would like to say a few words. We on the Labour benches certainly regard the representation of women as extremely important. I do not think there can be any more important factor in the future government of India than that women should have some representation, some foothold, from which they can build up greater representation and greater power in the future. Unless provision is made for them greater than any hitherto or greater than that which is proposed to be made by the Government, women will not have the foothold which in our judgment meets the needs of the situation.

The cause of the great majority of the women in India, the cause of their children and the future of the whole Indian race, depend to a large extent on women being able to come out into the open and to take their share-it may be only a small part at first, but later it would be a greater part-in the government of their country. That is more particularly important in the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. The great majority of women's questions in India, or the most important ones, have no particular relation to Provinces. The marriage customs, purdah, and matters of that sort extend in varying degrees throughout the country, and are therefore more peculiarly matters with which the Federal Legislature and the Council of State are likely to have to deal. It is extremely important that women should have some representation in that Council. We all know that over the greater portion of India women today occupy a position of inferiority. We have done very little in the last 150 years to improve their position. They still suffer from all these deplorable customs, such as purdah, keeping them in effect in seclusion for the whole of their lives; and that statement applies, as we know, to the highest as well as to the lowest. On one occasion I had the privilege of attending the Bombay races. One saw the Maharaja's car drawn up with his wife or wives inside, and the curtain was drawn. That sort of thing applies in varying degrees to other sections of the community. It is essential that we should make a breach in this centuries-old wall that surrounds the women in India.

There is another very impor-
tant factor. It is important in our own country, but even more important and more serious in India. That is the question of maternal mortality. There are members of this Committee who can speak with greater knowledge on this subject than I possess, I think that the hon. Lady the Member for the English Universities (Miss Rathbone) gave some figures in a previous Debate which showed that between 100,000 and 200,000 mothers die in childbirth every year. The social services in that respect, the midwives and doctors and so on, are only conspicuous by their absence throughout the greater portion of India. All these matters, apart from general questions of education, the great prevalence of illiteracy amongst women and the 101 questions of that sort, do require that women should be given a foothold in the government of India, and more particularly in that portion of it which will be represented by the Federal Assembly and the Council of State.

We, therefore, hope that the Committee will regard this matter with the seriousness which it deserves, and will pass the Amendment so as to indicate to the Under-Secretary the Committee's feelings on the subject. Is the Under-Secretary able to assure the Committee that unless some provision of the nature proposed is made there will be one woman likely to sit in the Council of State for many years to come? I cannot conceive that he can give an affirmative answer to that question. Apart from the women rulers of important States - there are one or two of them - I do not think it likely that the general body of women will have representation in the Council of State. I turn for a moment to the question of the representation of labour. There, again, by reason particularly of the matter of indirect election to which the hon. Member below the Gangway has referred, there is no possibility whatever of the labouring elements or the poorer classes of the community, or the trade unions, obtaining within any time that we can foresee a single seat in the Council of State. One knows that those who are to be elected to the Council of State are to be elected by the Upper Chambers of the Provincial Legislatures. Those Upper Chambers themselves will consist for the most part of well-to-do and prosperous landlords or lawyers, or people of that sort, and there is no possibility, indeed it is not contemplated that any of those gentlemen who come under what may be called the Electoral College, except perhaps in an exceptional case-perhaps Mr . Joshi or some other leader of that sort-may be elected.

I do not think there is any possibility that those representing those important classes-representing I imagine 90 to 98 per cent. of the people of India-will have any representation in the Council of State. I imagine the hon. Gentleman will probably say there is a special inter-
est for which we have made provision in other legislative bodies. For instance, we are not proposing to give any representation to commerce or industry in the Council of State. Quite obviously those special interests will already be amply represented in the Upper Chambers both federally and provincially. Therefore, I suggest to the Under-Secretary there is very little validity in that argument.

Again I challenge him: Is Labour, as we know it in India, likely to have any representation in the Council of State? The Princes, as we know, are to have special representa-tion-indeed, an overriding representation, as we think - and there is not going to be one voice able to be raised on behalf of that great and important body in the interests of the great majority of the people of India. I cannot conceive that this Committee is going to sit idly by and let any of these three classes-women, labour or the scheduled class-go without some representation, however small it may be, and that representation can only be obtained on allocation or reservation as proposed in this Amendment. I cannot conceive of the Committee letting that state of affairs go without protest. It may be that some alteration of the communal award in that regard may have to be made. It is far more important that those classes should have represen-tation-a representation hitherto denied to them. We, above all people, sitting freely in this House as we do, among Members representing every section of the community, men and women alike, should see that in India representation is similarly granted to all sections of the community, and particularly to those sections which need it most. If I had to choose, I am not sure that I would not put the claim that women have on a higher basis than that of labour.

It is true that Mr. Whitley's Commission said there was no section which had a higher claim to special representation than labour had, and I think labour has an extremely strong claim. We know the Simon Commission said that the future position of women was the key of progress, and there is no one, who has visited India or knows the least bit about it, who is not anxious to break down the position from which women are suffering in India to-day. I hope that this Committee will insist on provision being made so that those three classes-women, labour and the depressed classes-may be represented on what will be the most important legislative body.

Brigadier-General Sir HENRY CROFT May I ask the hon. and gallant Member whether he can inform the Committee whether the conference of Trade Unions which met, I think, a fortnight ago in India considered this particular point, and whether this particular Amendment has been tabled from the point of view of labour on account of such representations from India, or
whether the decision of the conference had nothing to do with this or reforms in general?

Major MILNER I regret I cannot give the hon. and gallant Member information about a conference which took place a fortnight ago in India, but the Committee might rest assured that this claim has the support of the body representing labour in India. I have a memorandum from Mr. Joshi, representing the Trade Unionists, in which he makes a special point of the lack of representation of labour. I think the Committee may take it that a provision of this sort would have their whole-hearted support.

## XXX

Duchess of ATHOLL I feel it is very important, however it may be arrived at, to have women on the Council of State as well as in the Legislative Assembly. There are very big social questions which specially affect their welfare, their lives and their health. It seems to me absolutely essential that they should be in a Council in which these questions may be discussed. It is all the more essential that they should be represented in the Council of State, because if this Bill is passed in its present form the Governor-General will have no powers whatever in regard to the welfare of women or any other class of persons in India except in so far as he can protect the peace and tranquillity of the country. At the present moment he has the power to require any Act to be passed by the Indian Legislature which is essential in his opinion for the peace, tranquillity and interest of India. As this question of social welfare is being left entirely in the hands of Indian Ministers both in the Provinces and the Central Legislature, it does seem to be absolutely essential that women should be represented in all these various bodies and I am very glad the Government, however tardily, have recognised that fact.

And as they have brought themselves to make a breach in preserving places for a special interest, I feel there is a case to be made out for reserving seats for members of the scheduled castes. The Minister, in referring to this matter, said that members of these castes were, under a communal award, to get a better deal. He referred to the changes made in the representation of the scheduled castes by the Poona Pact made between Mr. Gandhi and representatives of the depressed classes. As the result of that, the number of seats to be reserved to the depressed classes, was considerably increased, but at a cost of the separate electorates which the Prime Minister's original award would have given. As matters stand now, their seats are reserved in the seats to be elected by what are known as the general constituencies. There will be a primary election of members of the scheduled castes, in which they will elect four candidates, and out of these the
(Contd. on next page)

#  FIRST SCHEDULE. - (Composition of the Federal Legislature.) 


#### Abstract

(Continue from page 8) general constituencies will elect the persons to the provincial assemblies. When one remembers that the scheduled castes are bound to be very much outnumbered in the general constituencies by caste Hindus, it seems extremely doubtful in the minds of those who know India whether the members of the scheduled castes will succeed in returning the members of their caste they most desire to see elected. If the election


 really depends on the votes of caste Hindus, and if the interests of caste Hindus and members of the scheduled castes and depressed classes conflict, as they may well appear to do, it may be that there will be members of the scheduled castes who will wish some of their very severe disabilities removed, and members of the castes who do not see eye to eye with them. Does it not stand to reason that, as a result of the final election, where caste Hindus predominate, the members of the scheduled castes finally elected will be those who do not insist on a strong line about the needs of their fellows? It seems almost unquestionable that the general constituencies will chiefly return members of the scheduled castes who can be relied upon not to take so strong a line as other members of these castes.We have also to remember that members of the scheduled castes are very poor, and it may be difficult for them to meet the expenses of election. Many persons in India are in debt to moneylenders, who nearly always are caste Hindus. That will give the caste Hindus an enormous advantage in many of these elections. Therefore, I am afraid that I cannot agree with my hon. Friend that the members of the scheduled castes are getting a better deal under the revised communal award than the Prime Minister really intended them to have. Though the India Office believe that members of the scheduled castes are likely to be returned to the Council of State in numbers not less than four, and perhaps from four to six, it is open to question whether these four or six necessarily will be men who will be thoroughly representative of the scheduled castes, the men whom members of these castes would most wish to have representing them in the Council of State. I cannot help thinking it might be wise, if the Government could find it possible, to extend the breach which my hon. Friend admits has been made in the original intention with regard to the Council of State. If they are going to insist on places being reserved for women, they might very well insist on places being reserved for members of the scheduled castes.

I would observe to the Committee that my hon. Friend, in what he has promised to do with regard to the Governor-General's Instrument of Instructions, has really put the representation of Labour in the Council of

State on a firmer basis than the representation of the scheduled castes, because it is quite certain from what he has said, if I have understood him aright, that if there is no representation of Labour in the Council of State through the members elected to that Council in the various Provinces, the Governor-General will be instructed to make up that deficiency by means of nomination, but no such assurance has been given with regard to the scheduled castes.

## XXX

Sir H. CROFT The discussions on this vital Schedule have ranged over a considerable number of subjects, and had the opportunity occurred, my hon. friends and I would have very much liked to stress certain other points. Before we leave the Schedule I desire to call attention once more to two or three startling innovations which have been introduced under pressure this afternoon. The Schedule as it is now leaving us is very different from that which is printed in the Bill. The Council of State, instead of being formed on simple lines, clearly to be understood, as suggested by the Joint Select Committee, is now to have certain confusions and political differences, and even differences of sex are going to be accentuated owing to a decision taken this afternoon. Women who cannot find entry into these democratic institutions in India in the normal way at the present moment, owing to the fact that ideas about the liberation of women are more backward there than in this country, where we are so enlightened, are to be sent up to the Council of State. There are to be six women from the six leading Provinces, whether that is the desire of Indians or not. Personally, I think it is a pity that the Under-Secretary should have varied the principles which we understood had been precisely laid down at earlier stages. I presume that six male representatives from those Provinces are to be excluded, willy nilly, in order to make way for these privileged ladies, who sail into this Upper House by this extraordinary method.

On several occasions the Government rebuked us on these benches when we made certain suggestions concerning trade and other matters which we felt would be for the good of India. They were shocked at the idea that we should endeavour to impose anything on India. The whole of the serried ranks of Lancashire almost collapsed when they were told that they must not do anything which could be regarded as imposing Imperial preference on India. They faded away like the mist before the sun, after having put up a very bold fight for a tariff advisory board. Why were they driven off the battlefield so easily? Because they were told that it was wrong to impose anything of the kind upon India. Now, contrary to the Joint Select Committee's Report, we are to have these most desirable-as we would con-
sider them in this House-members India, and their presence is going to be felt in the Council of State.

Well may Indians declaim against the way in which we are insisting upon what is wise for them according to our Western theories when they see that there are to be six representatives of the angelic part of the world introduced into the Council of State in India whilst we have decided that it is not wise for our women to sit in the House of Lords. It is a violation of the principle which has hitherto been laid down by the Secretary of State that no special interests should be chosen in order that this Chamber may be of a different character from the Legislative Chamber. For some extraordinary reason which nobody understands the Under-Secretary has varied that provision.

The same observations apply to the depressed classes. I think it is rather unwise that the hon. Gentleman should have given way to one or two rather ineffective arguments from the benches opposite, because who is there who has really heard the case of the depressed classes in India who will deny that they really have no effective representation at the present time? Who can deny that the best representatives of the depressed classes in India would be men selected by the Governor-General for their great authority, such as distinguished and enlightened Indians who could look at the problem from the point of view of India as a whole, or distinguished and experienced British administrators who would be chosen on account of their great work? I cannot help thinking that it was unwise to give way in this matter.

Everybody knows that there has been a change of opinion among the leaders of the depressed classes. They seem to be very amenable to any kind of agitation, and I do not believe that they will stand up to any great difficulties, religious or otherwise. I believe that their leaders only swallowed the Poona Pact because Mr. Gandhi refused to swallow his food. They have shown no such leadership as would stand up to political pressure. The Under-Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government would have done far better for the depressed classes in India if they had al-lowed-although "allowed" is the wrong word-the Governor-General naturally to choose the finest representative he could find in the whole of India, one who could be relied upon to look most favourably upon the problems which confront the depressed classes.

In regard to that part of the subject which is passing from us now, we have this extraordinary decision of the Government to interfereI do not think that that is the wrong word-by suggestion with the choice of the Governor-General in the matter of Labour representatives in the Council of State. I believe that the

## Governor-General has six nominated

 members whom he is allowed to choose. In the opinion of my hon. Friends and myself that number is utterly inadequate. It has been seen time and time again in the last three weeks how vital and essential it is that the Governor-General should have a sufficient number of nominated members who are skilled in administration and who are picked men, able to help these democratic institutions during the strivings of their infancy. Out of this precious six whom the Governor-General has, and who ought to be the absolute pick and flower of the available men in India, we are told now that the GovernorGeneral has to give special consideration to Labour representation.I was surprised to hear the Under-Secretary of State say that the choice of the Governor-General has to be narrowed down in this connection, and that the Governor-General has specially to consider what are called Labour representatives. There are no representatives of Labour in India. That is an entire misnomer. Vast numbers of the workers of India are utterly unorganised, and the only people who assemble together in any form of organisation are to be found in two or three of the big cities, where there are trade unions. They had a conference three weeks ago. The champions of Labour, whom I am glad to see looking so full of fight on the Opposition benches this evening, will probably bear me out when I say that that conference desired that the Bill should not be inflicted upon India at all. I hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition would have taken his cue from his comrades in India, and would have resisted this Measure altogether, but no, he is the principal supporter of His Majesty's Government. When my hon. Friends and I have endeavoured to uphold Conservative principles and have stood out for them in the Lobby, we have often seen the Socialists and Liberals pressing His Majesty's Government through the Lobby from one bad decision to another.

I beg the Committee to realise that words have been bandied across the Table with the result that the Under-Secretary has definitely suggested that the Governor-General shall give special consideration to the question of Labour representatives. I suggest that such organised Labour as there is in India-we have heard from the hon. Member for Westhoughton (Mr. Rhys Davies) that there is very little of it-falls into two categories. One category can be described as Communist, and wherever they have given votes the votes have been for complete swaraj, and the entire elimination of British goods and all that they call foreign goods. They have a complete disregard of the welfare of industry and labour in this country. I am not sure that the other category is not more numerous. It is the category of trade union organised
(Contd. on next page)

Dr. Ambedkar, Law Minister, has appealed to the people of India to embrace Buddhism.
"The present Hinduism", he said, "about a thousand years ago was nothing but Buddhism, but due to the Muslim invasion and other causes it lost its purity and was mixed with dross.

Dr. Ambedkar, who was speaking at the Buddha temple at Worli last night, deprecated the idea that political independence would end all the ills of the country. So long as man creates barriers between man and man, India can never be prosperous.

To end these troubles India must embrace Buddhism which is the only religion based upon ethical principles and teaches how to work for the good and well-being of the common man."
Dr. Ambedkar declared that he would devote the rest of his life to the revival and spread of Buddhism in India. PTI., Bombay, Sept., 30.

## Dr. B. R. Ambedkar advocates adop-

tion of Buddhism by Hindus.
We are glad to note that all the articles in the Vaisakha Number of the Maha Bodhi have been much appreciated in the cultural and literary circles of Asia and Europe. It is surprising to find, however, that Dr. Ambedkar's article, "Buddha and the future of his religion", published in the said issue, although it has been highly appreciated, should have evoked adverse criticism and that his innocent advice offered to the Hindu community to accept Buddhism as a cardinal principle in its religious life should have been misconstrued in some Vedantic quarters in India. It must be admitted by all students of Hinduism that the word Hindu itself is a word of foreign origin and is nowhere used in the old scriptures. It is also known that the Muslim invaders from outside India used this word for the first time to signify all religious sects across the Indus, namely, the Shaktas, the Vaisnavas, the Tantrikas, the Bauddhas, the Jains, etc. Thus from the standpoint of the origin of the word itself, a Brahminical Hindu alone cannot
claim to be a Hindu, and deny the term to other religious sects in India. It is further to be seen that the religious scriptures in India, whatever might be their sectarian denominations, claim for themselves the common label, "Arya Dharma" or "Arya Marga", i.e., Aryan path as opposed to the Non-Aryan paths. Nobody, not even a Brahmanical Hindu, can have objection, if one changes one form of Arya Dharma for another.

Dr. Ambedkar has given some cogent reasons why a Brahmanical Hindu may sometimes like to adopt Buddhism and offer it to his co-religionists. The Indian constitution itself clearly lays down that "the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jain, or Buddhist religion". It is also well known that the Brahmanical Hindus look upon Lord Buddha as the ninth Avatara (Incarnation) of God Sri Vishnu and the present age as the age of the Lord Buddha to be followed by the age of Sri Kalki, the last Avatara who would come only at the end of the Kali age. From all
these considerations, it is surprising why a Brahmanical Hindu should object to one taking refuge in the Buddha, His Dharma and His Sangha, during this age of the Buddha. In bygone days, brothers belonging to the same family in India could often be found professing different religious creeds - one being a Shaiva, another being a Vaisnava and the third being a Buddhist, and there had never been any domestic unhappiness on that account. If that was possible in by-gone days, why should not the same thing be possible now in free India when the constitution itself wants to obliterate all superficial differences amongst the Brahmanical Hindus, the Buddhists, the Sikhs, and the Jainas? Further, when Hindu India is proud of her cultural links with the Buddhist lands like Japan, China, Burma, Thailand, IndoChina, Ceylon, etc., it would be unwise for any Indian to minimise the intrinsic merit of the path of the Buddha.
Source Courtesy: The Maha Bodhi, Vol. 58 (1950)

## Commons Sitting of 7 May 1935, Government of India Bill FIRST SCHEDULE. - (Composition of the Federal Legislature.)

## (Continue from page 9)

 Labour, which is absolutely under the thumb of the capitalists, the mill-own-ers-hon. Members know that what I am saying is a fact - who, in the time of boycott can completely control their actions and can force them to take action so disastrous as that then entered upon to the great disadvantage of India.I hope the Committee appreciate that a very great change has taken place. I regret that the Under-Secretary has given way on these two points, because they are not going to be for the better government of India. If the Bill is to be passed into law, I should imagine that it would be desirable that we should make it strong, and that we should not pander to sectional interests. From whatever point of view we may look at the Bill, no Member of the Committee can fail to realise that it is impossible, in the present state of India, to obtain representatives of Labour. The men who
will best represent the workers of India are those who have had experience in all the great difficulties of the vast country areas, and who understand the difficulites which confront the ordinary peasant worker at the present time.

One other subject to which I desire to refer is of immense importance, but time has not permitted us to discuss it this evening. I will only refer briefly to it, in so far as it occurs in the Schedule. It is stated that every Prince is to have absolute choice in selecting the person or persons who, in the Assembly at Delhi, will represent his State. Everybody realises that the Government of India will be Hindu. The vast majority, I think something like 70 per cent., of the Princes and ruling Chiefs in India are Hindu, and the result is that if you go straight ahead and give them no direction in the Bill that the representatives should have some relation to the communal opinions of the inhabitants of the

States, the Hindu electorate will be immensely enlarged, and our decisions to set up in the Schedule a number of electorates will be weighted still more tremendously in that direction.

Anything we could have done to have narrowed the religious differences of India would have been wise. We have had that point cropping up in every discussion on this Schedule this evening. The danger for the future is that you have such an overwhelming majority of Hindu members in British India. It has always been put forward to members of this party that the Princes are going to be a conservative and stabilising influence-but I wish to point out this fact, that religion will be at the root of practically every great political difference which will occur in India. Nearly every great, burning topic which occurs in India is on account of these intense religious differences. Does the Committee realise that if the Schedule goes through as it is the Princes will be able enor-
mously to increase their Hindu majority? And the consequence is that far from making for equipoise we are going to overweight the Hindu electorate enormously, because we have done nothing to see that the people of the States shall have adequate representation of their communal differences among the representatives whom the Princes may choose. This always seems to me to be a matter of vital importance.

Here you have great Princes ruling over States. The Prince may be Hindu or Mohammedan, with his subjects following other religious opinions. Knowing what we do about the intense religious feeling in India, are we wise to lay down that a Prince can disregard entirely the religious opinions of the people in his State? Should we not have been wiser to have seen to it that the representation should have been something comparable to the religious opinions of the people who dwell in these States?

an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, in pursuance of the provisions of Section 309 of the Government of India Act, 1935, praying that the Government of India (Provincial Legislative Assemblies) Order, 1936, be made in the form of the draft laid before Parliament, subject, however, to the following amendments:- In paragraph 2 of Part I, after line 28, on page 2, insert, - '"member" in relation to a constituent body for a commerce and industry, mining or planting constituency, does not include an associate member.' In paragraph 6 of Part II, in line 31, on page 8, after 'is,' insert 'an Indian Christian.' In paragraph 9 of Part IX, after line 29, on page 60, insert, - '(6) Paragraph 9a of Part IX of the Sixth Schedule to the Act shall apply in relation to the Shillong constituency as it applies in relation to territorial constituencies.' In paragraph 14 of Part XI, in line 14, on page 69, leave out road and public works,' and insert local, 'land or village.' I think it would probably be convenient if we were to take on this first Motion a general discussion embracing all these Orders. Most of the points of interest are raised on this first Motion and are repeated either in the Provincial Legislative Councils Order or in the Orders relating to Burma. These Orders in Council represent a further series of steps in the steady progress which is being made with those arrangements which are necessary under the Government of India Act. They mark a stage in the steady progress which is being made towards the establishment of the new Constitution in the Provinces of India. As such, I think they will be welcomed by the House. The magnitude of the task involved cannot be exaggerated. Hon. Members looking at this massive set of documents, may well marvel at the expedition with which this machinery of representation has been perfected by those responsible. There is some urgency that the House should give its approval to these Orders, since, after Parliamentary approval has been given, it will be possible to make the administrative arrangements necessary in order to set up the electoral machinery which will bring into being, in due course, after the Elections the new legislatures in the Indian Provinces. It is essential that such administrative arrangements as the making of the electoral rolls should lie undertaken in the course of this summer, if the elections are to be held, as we hope, next cold weather. If Sir Otto Neimeyer's report on the financial conditions of the Provinces is not unfavourable and if the House approves an Order which the Government, in due course, hope to lay on the subject, setting up the new Provinces, the new legislatures will be able to start their wok and provincial autonomy will be able, to begin next Spring, which is the time, I referred to when introducing the previous Orders the other day.

The handling of masses of detail has become almost second nature to all those officers who have to deal with this complicated problem and it will be appropriate if I pay a tribute on behalf of my noble friend to the very remarkable work of the Delimitation Committee in preparing this material. Sir Laurie Hammond left this country in September last and was joined in India by his two Indian colleagues, one a judge of the High Court of Madras and the other a judge of the High Court of Lahore. They toured India and covered nearly 10,000 miles and in the short period of just over three months produced a very interesting, very detailed, vary efficient and, what is, perhaps, most important, a very human set of blue boot s on this interesting subject. Hon. Members no doubt regard themselves as experts on electoral matters. I think we all regard ourselves as experts on such questions, at any rate in our own constituencies, and, as experts, I think we ought to appreciate the human, quasi-judicial explanation of the many problems involved in this subject which is to be found in the Hammond Report. I stress the fact that the inquiry was quasi-judicial, in that the committee included two judges of the High Court

In order to make those Orders a little more easily comprehensible my Noble Friend has issued an explanatory memorandum in which hon. Members may have been able to read a description of the Orders themselves and also the particular points on which the Government differ from the report of the Hammond Committee. Actually those points are not very considerable. They are set out in such detail and so clearly in this memorandum that it will not be necessary, I think, for me to deal with them at great length. I shall, however, try to make clear the chief points in these Orders, as I see them, and, of course, if any points are raised by hon. Members in the subsequent Debate I shall be only too glad to answer them. It seems to fall to my lot to have to try to explain, as shortly as I can and I hope as clearly as possible, rather complicated pieces of machinery such as this machinery of representation with which we are now dealing.

I think the House would be wise to accept, some of the detail at any rate, from the Committee, having regard to its quasi-judicial character, but I shall touch upon the main points. I propose to consider, first, the territorial constituencies and the problems raised by them and afterwards the special constituencies in which special interests are to be represented. All the constituencies follow the Table which the House approved in the Fifth Schedule to the Government of India Act and which is sometimes known as the communal award. The task of the Committee was to set out the limits of those territorial constituencies geographically, according to the communities and according to the Table already approved by the House. The
territorial constituencies therefore are on a communal basis. A certain number of them are to be classed as general constituencies. These are, for the most part, single-member constituencies though, in some, seats are reserved for representatives of the scheduled castes, according to the scheme laid down in the Poona Pact negotiated between the scheduled castes and the caste Hindus. There are a few, especially in Bombay, where the general opinion is in favour of multimember constituencies, in which seats are reserved for representatives of such races as the Mahrattas who have the privilege of having reserved seats for some areas.

One of these Orders sets out a list of the castes which are to be regarded as "scheduled," according to local conditions in the particular Provinces named. If I refer to that particular Order now it will enable me to touch upon that subject. The Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order of 1936 sets out, in its schedules the different castes which, for the purposes of reserved seats in the general constituencies, are to be regarded, according to local conditions, as scheduled castes. If hon. Members want to pursue the definition of "scheduled caste" more closely they will find the most authoritative work upon the subject, at any rate in a short compass, to be the chapter dealing with scheduled castes in the original Franchise Committees report. It gives some idea as to how these castes were chosen as being scheduled.

The second type of territorial constituencies, apart from the general constituencies, are the Mohammedan constituencies, which are fixed according to the Table of the communal award in the original Act. The third type are the Sikh constituencies, which are to be found in the Punjab and North-West Frontier provinces, Then there are seats for Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians included in nearly every province. The territorial seats then are on a communal basis and divided out among these various communities. The size of these constituencies may be of some interest to hon. Members, and I think the best way of arriving at a realisation of the size is to turn to volume II of the Hammond report and study the tables at the very beginning of the report, which set out the average area, population and voting strength per constituency and, on the back of the tables, per territorial seat in the new Houses in the provinces. That sets out clearly the size and the population and the number of electors likely to be found in each seat. To sum up the results of that table for the benefit of the House, it is true to say that the new seats, thanks to the size of the House having been increased, in each case will be approximately half the size of the seats in the old Chamber, and therefore to that extent the difficulties which candidates have experienced in getting into touch with the
electors will be reduced by one-half. Now let me turn to some of the difficult decisions which the Committee had to make in deciding upon these territorial constituencies. They had to decide, first, upon the complex question of urban versus rural, which has been referred to in one of the early chapters of the Hammond report. They had to decide which -constituencies should be urban and which rural, and they had - a very important matter for India - to see that the weightage received by the towns was not too great in comparison with the countryside, which is, after all, the largest feature of India's problem. I think part of the common sense methods adopted by the Hammond Committee is found when they try to define a town. After going through various technical descriptions, they come down on this common sense one: "When is a town not a town. When it is so declared by the local government, with the support of popular opinion." It seems to me a thoroughly common sense description of an otherwise very technically difficult subject, and in alluding to this definition I think it sums up the sort of common sense with which hon. Members ought to approach these Orders.

Provincial and local idiosyncrasies have been followed wherever possible. That was the principle which animated those of us who served on the Franchise Committee, because it is hardly necessary to remind the House that these Provinces of India have their own local characteristics and that each one of them is as large as a European country. The upshot of their decisions about urban versus rural is that India, in the villages, which I believe Parliament has always wished should not be dominated by the urban element, will find a proportion of its seats slightly in-creased from what they were previously in the ratio of urban versus rural; that is, the proportion of urban seats will be reduced from what they were before by a small percentage.

The second problem to which the Committee applied their minds was whether these constituencies should be single-or multi-member. I am summing up some of their problems so as to try to make these Orders a little clearer. The Committee decided that the general rule should be for sin-gle-member constituencies, except in the general seats to which I have referred, in which one seat has to be reserved for members of the scheduled castes, and in a few other cases, notably in the Presidency of Bombay, where the general rule is to be a multimember constituency. I will allude to that in a minute.

The Government have shown in their explanatory memorandum that the Committee originally decided in favour of multi-member seats in Madras. The Committee thought at first that it would be easier to secure the election of representatives of some of the sub-castes into which the
(Contd. on next page)

# Commons Sitting of 30 March 1936 Government of India Act, 1935 

## (Continue from page 11)

Hindu community is so very much divided were there to be multimember constituencies, but the Government, on considering this matter, after taking into account public opinion as expressed in a debate in the Council recently in Madras, have come to the conclusion that it would be wiser to adhere to the single-member system, because, after all, there are sub-divisions of the Hindu community in other Provinces and other parts of India as well as in Madras. A single-member constituency is more simple, and in view of the massive nature of this electoral machinery it is surely wise to go for simplicity where we can.

In the case of Bombay, however, there is a, different problem. There it is races that desire representation, and not simply sub-castes of the Hindu community. For some years Bombay has had a multi-member system, and it has been thought wiser to continue a multimember system, particularly with regard to the racial subdivisions, in particular the Mahrattas and the Parsees. Therefore, in view of past history and of these particular races in Bombay, there are to be multimember constituencies in Bombay. The general rule is for single-member constituencies, except in Bombay and in one or two isolated cases where geography demanded, as it has appeared to demand in this country one or two double-member constituencies, that the system of double-member constituencies should prevail. Therefore, the decision upon the question of single-versus multi-member is for simplicity and in favour of single.

What is decided about the method of voting? What sort of vote shall be used in these constituencies? Some critics of this plan have thoughts that it is likely to be very complicated, but I would again point out here that we do not wish to throw any sop to those higher mathematicians who take a great interest in the intricacies of the different kinds of votes. Our wish is to try to adhere to simplicity, and therefore the simple rule has been followed that in singlemember constituencies the single vote shall be used. In double- or multimember constituencies the decision is in favour of the cumulative vote. The cumulative vote sounds very mysterious, but it comes to this, that an elector shall have as many votes as there are seats, and he shall give his votes either in one bunch for one candidate or spread them about, as many votes as he has, among several candidates. The reason we have chosen this cumulative system in multimember constituencies is that, following the advice of the Franchise Committee, we believe it will broaden the choice of the elector and will tend to break down those boundaries of caste and creed which are the basis of all India's difficulties.

Another reason why in multimember constituencies, of which the House will have seen there are very few, we have chosen this system is
because it seems to fulfil the spirit underlying the Poona Pact. The Hammond Committee have written some words of great wisdom about the Poona Pact which are imbued with the same common sense which has led them to come to their other decisions. They say the basis of the Poona Pact, in which one seat is reserved in general constituencies for scheduled castes, is mutuality, that is, that it is possible in the election for scheduled caste voters to vote for a caste Hindu and for a caste Hindu to vote for a scheduled caste candidate in mutuality. It is only in such things that the spirit of the Poona Pact, which was intended to preserve the scheduled castes within the Hindu fold, will be preserved.

The House will remember that in the Poona Pact there is, first, a primary election to elect a panel of the scheduled caste candidates. From this panel four scheduled caste candidates are chosen, again by the simple single vote. Once the scheduled caste panels are elected through the primary election, they then vote with the caste Hindus for the two seats in the general constituency, of which one is reserved for a scheduled caste candidate. The use of the cumulative vote encourages this principle of mutuality. The House will notice that opportunity has been taken in this Legislative Assembly Order to remedy the franchise proposed for the scheduled castes. When some provincial electoral rolls were being worked out it was found that the scheduled caste electors did not in every case come to 10 per cent, as had been originally suggested, and so the opportunity has been taken to alter their franchise, to give an opportunity to lower it, to give an opportunity for more scheduled caste electors to cast their votes. The last reason in favour of the cumulative vote is that this method has been successfully used in Bombay, where there have been multimember constituencies.

So much for the territorial constituencies, with which these Orders are chiefly concerned. There are also many special constituencies provided for by the original Act, so that this electoral system in India is not, as some would suppose, merely a copy of Victorian practice, but combines the territorial and the functional system in a nicely balanced communal framework, and therefore, from the point of view of India, is a thoroughly up-to-date and suitable system. There are special seats reserved for women, commerce, labour, land-holders and universities. The electorate for these seats is included in these Orders in Council and was left by the Act for these Orders to deal with.

The women's seats are to be for the most part in urban areas, because it is found more suitable for women to canvass for votes in urban areas in the present state of social development in India. For the Mohammedan seats in four provinces the women will canvass women alone, be-
cause of the social conditions in that community, but for the general seats the women will seek the suffrage of men and women. In passing let me say to those enthusiasts for an increase in the influence that women will be able to exert in these matters in India, that we have found it possible to include a provision abandoning the application requirement for women with a wifehood qualification in Madras. To that extent the number of women in Madras will be increased. The application requirement was abandoned in a good many other provinces when we discussed the Bill, and I am glad to be able to announce that the application requirement has now been abandoned also in Madras. Then as to the labour seats, if Labour does not succeed in electing its own members in the general constituencies, which owing to the franchise will be possible in one or two wards of Bombay, there are to be two special methods by which Labour will elect functional representatives-first, the labour constituency as it is called; and, second, the trade union seat. The roll of electors in the labour constituencies will be made up by the pay-rolls of certain factories in certain areas, which are set out in the Schedules of the different provinces in this Order. All those workers working in those factories and included on those pay-rolls will be included as electors of the Labour seats. Perhaps hon. Members opposite will be interested to notice that we have abandoned the minimum wage qualification in these labour constituencies. We think that if there are to be labour constituencies every opportunity should be given to those who fulfil the other conditions laid down in the Orders.

The trade union seats will be elected in the manner described, for instance, in the Madras portion of the Order, in paragraph 24 and onwards, as set out in the Order. This method may be summed up as follows: Only those trade unions which are recognised according to the terms of the Order will be used as electoral colleges for the election of representatives, through their members, to sit for these trade union seats. This method has been found necessary in view of the fluctuating existence of trade unions in India. Unfortunately, some trade unions at any rate tend to be of rather a mushroom growth, and if a trade union is to form an electoral college, the Hammond Committee, and indeed before them the Whitley Commission on Labour and the Franchise Committee as well, recognised that some method of ascertaining which trade unions should be regarded as suitable and permanent enough to be an electoral college, should be devised. The Government, therefore, have suggested that the trade unions should fulfil certain conditions, that the Governor should act as a tribunal and certify certain unions as being recognised for the purpose of forming electoral colleges. In passing I should say that the Governor will be empow-
ered to pass on his duties to a tribunal, which he can set up for the purpose. It would be really rather over-weighting things if we were to suggest a tribunal in every province; since in some provinces only one functional Labour seat is included in the original table which Parliament passed, it would be rather overweighting the suggestion if a tribunal were to be set up to certify a union for the purpose of one Labour seat only.

We are not discussing the broader and perhaps more interesting question whether trade unionism ought to be encouraged; we are discussing whether trade unions should be used as electoral colleges for the election of Labour seats, and the Government, despite the criticism of Labour leaders in India-the House will see it in the Hammond Committee Report-has decided that it will encourage trade unionism according to the advice of the Whitley Commission, if certain seats are reserved for trade unions. The Government has purposely taken this step on the definite proviso that the trade unions chosen shall be durable and shall not have a fluctuating existence. There are one or two general considerations that are worth making about the labour seats. The representation of Labour in these functional seats is the most important thing. This method is really experimental. Labour may gain certain seats in ordinary general constituencies, but in this transitional period at any rate it is important that there should be some functional seats for Labour to express its views. There are now to be 38 labour seats according to the original table, which is a great advance on the numbers before.

The representatives of commerce are to be chosen in the manner set out in the Order, and here the same principle has been adoptedthat those who shall vote in the commerce seats shall really have some commercial stake in the country. The landholders' seats are to be continued, but are not, like the labour seats, to be increased; they are to be continued in the constituencies of the landholders as set out in detail in the Order. It has been found possible to include all the Taluqdars of Oudh and not only, as recommended by the Hammond Committee, those who pay a land revenue of not less than Rs.10,000 per annum They will be a source of satisfaction to all those who have studied the influence of the Taluqdars of Oudh The university seats are to be based not only upon the Senate or Court, but upon graduates of a certain standard. This sums up the different sorts of special seats and the method of election to each. The methods differ slightly, and in some of them the distributive vote has been adopted, but for the most part simplicity has been followed.

Of the other Orders before the House the first is the Legislative Councils Order, which deals with the Upper House in the provinces. The
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| To the growth and glory of this Hindutva contribution had been mader by |
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| Vaisyas like Harsha and Shudras like Tukaram. |

On November 4, 1927, a function took place at the Damodar Hall in Bombay. The Depressed Classes Institute entertained at a party Mr. Mardy Jones, Labour M.P., who was then on a visit to India. Mr. Jones said that he was pained to see the tragic dehumanised condition of a people who numbered more than the total population of Scotland and England. Mr. Jones concluded by expressing the hope that the great man of learning and energy the Untouchables had produced would soon deliver them from bondage.

Simultaneously with the preparation for the Mahad struggle was coming to a head the issue of temple entry at Amraoti. For the previous three months this struggle was boiling, and the trustees of the Ambadevi temple were served with a notice by the promoters of the temple entry movement. Their reply came on August 21 that it was not possible for them to break off traditional customs and to allow the Depressed Classes to enter the temple. Thereupon leaders like Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, other promoters of the temple entry movement in Berar, and Mr. Gavai, a leader of the Untouchables, held a
meeting at Amraoti to discuss the issue. A compromise was suggested, but ultimately it broke down. The vanguards of the movement, therefore, decided to hold a conference to take a final decision as to the struggle. Accordingly, on November 13, 1927, a conference of the promoters of temple entry movement was held at Indra Bhuvan Theatre, in Amraoti, over which Ambedkar was invited to preside. A vast crowd surged up at noon to receive the leader of the Untouchables at the station. The proceedings of the Conference commenced in great excitement. Among those present were Mr. Tikade, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Chaubal, pleader; Mr. K.B. Deshmukh, Mr. Deorao Naik, Mr. D.V. Pradhan and Mr. R.D. Kowly. Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh made an introductory speech, traced the developments leading up to the Conference, and proposed the name of Ambedkar to the Presidential Chair. Mr. Nanasahib Amritkar seconded the proposal.

Ambedkar then rose to deliver his address amidst tumultuous applause. He said that the image of God in the temple should be accessible to all who wanted to worship it, without
any discrimination, binding or condition. Recalling how the Hindus denounced the South African Government for throwing Indians into separate compartments, he proceeded: "The most important point we want to emphasize is not the satisfaction you get from the worship of the image of God, but the plain fact that a temple is not defiled by the presence of an Untouchable, nor is the purity of the image affected by it. That is why we oppose the idea of separate temples for us and insist on entering into existing ones." Coming to the legal side of the question, he said that although it was a fact that the temples were not built with the aid of the Untouchables, they must be open to them for the simple reason that the temples belonged to all the Hindus and for the benefit of Hinduism. And even though in certain cases a temple was a private property, it was meant for the use of all Hindus; and since they called the Untouchables Hindus, they were entitled to entry into the temples to worship the deity. He then turned to the cultural side of the question and said eloquently: "Hindutva belongs as
to the Touchable Hindus. To the growth and glory of this Hindutva contribution had been made by Untouchables like Valmiki, the seer of the Vyadhageeta, Chokhamela and Rohidas as much as by Brahmins like Vashishta, Kshatriyas like Krishna, Vaisyas like Harsha and Shudras like Tukaram." "The heroes like Sidnak Mahar who fought for the protection of the Hindus were innumerable. The temple built in the name of Hindutva the growth and prosperity of which was achieved gradually with the sacrifice of touchable and untouchable Hindus, must be open to all the Hindus irrespective of caste." He further said that if they accepted this fact, there was no use telling the Untouchables that they were not entitled to that right because they had not used it in the past, inasmuch as they could not prevent a man from going along a certain road because for years together in the past he had not used it. What was true in the case of roads, was also true of temples and public watercourses, he concluded.

Source Courtesy:
Dr. Ambedkar Life and Mission By Dhananjay Keer (First published: 1954)

# Commons Sitting of 30 March 1936 Government of India Act, 1935 

## (Coninue from page 11)

 constituencies of the Upper Houses are to be nearly all single, and as there are fewer seats there the constituencies will naturally be larger and the electorate will be smaller. The House will remember that my Noble Friend placed a White Paper before the House in September, and that it included the electorate for the Councils of the provinces. The contents of that White Paper are now included in these Order, so that in the provincial councils the electorate to the Upper House is included as well. There are no special interests in the Upper House.The last two Orders refer to Burma, the first the Burma House of Representatives Order and the second the Burma Senate Elections Order. The general principles in these Orders are the same as in the Assembly Order, and follow exactly the same lines, and deal with almost exactly the same problems.

There are one or two minor Amendments on the Order Paper and for these I must apologise, but in the immense mass of material that has been dealt with it is really surprising that the corrections have been reduced to this minimum. The only one I want to refer to is the first one on the Order Paper, following the first Motion, which deals with bodies associated with commerce and the constituent bodies of commerce seats. The reason for this is to exclude the associate members, since many of them are foreign firms. Apart from that the Amendments are detailed or drafting,
and I shall move them in company with the main Order.

In conclusion let me say that India has proceeded by slow degrees to the present extent of her franchise and the present nature of her system of representation. This is a massive system of electoral representation but it is no more massive and imposing than our system of social assistance, and I do not believe that it is any less well worked out, or that it will prove any more unwieldy. The slow progress which has led to the laying of these Orders before the House has entailed at least four years' consideration and includes now nearly 200 years of British Parliamentary and electoral experience. I do not think it is too much to hope that the experience which we gained as a result of the struggle between the Buffs and the Blues in many a county borough such as Eatanswill will be put at the disposal of India and enable India to profit by our experience and learn perhaps by some of our mistakes. I am certain that the Indian countryman when he gets an opportunity to use the method which we are putting before him will be able to decide upon a local figure in exactly the same way as our people decide here at home. I have confidence in his knowledge of public affairs and influence upon them, and the liberty thus won through the trial and ardour of a slowly-expanding electoral system; and I hope that this scheme will achieve the same result and save India from some of the abuses and mistakes that

## have made.

Mr. SPEAKER The hon. Member suggested that the Debate should take place on all the Motions together if the House agree. If the House does agree to that course, I will put the Questions separately after a general debate. 4.15 p.m.

Mr. MORGAN JONES I beg to move, at the end of the Question, to add the words, In Part II, on page 13, in line 36 , leave out paragraphs 23 to 27 . We are once again called upon to discuss some of these Orders, which are somewhat exceptional in character in so far as the procedure by means of which we can deal with them in this House is somewhat exceptional in itself. I think I am right in saying that we do not take leave of them at this stage, but that they have to go to another place and will return to us at a later stage when they have been discussed there. We hope that our discussions on the succeeding stage will be more or less formal, and we propose to say what we have to say on this stage to-day. The first thing we ought to do is to say how completely one associates oneself-and I am sure my hon. Friends on this side do - with the well-deserved tribute which the UnderSecretary paid to Sir Laurie Hammond and his colleagues for the colossal piece of work which they have performed. Those who had the privilege of participating in the work of the Joint Select Committee will appreciate how stupendous was the task which confronted the Hammond Committee
when it embarked on this study. Its success is really notable, and the fact that it has been achieved in so short a time makes it one that merits our complete commendation.
The work which this Committee undertook was of tremendous importance because, whatever our views may be about the nature of the new constitution which was carried last year by Parliament, we all admit that in the long run any constitution depends on the care and precision with which these particular provisions are laid down in Orders from time to time. When we were discussing this question in the Joint Select Committee I often wondered how in the long run it would be possible to overcome two or three major difficulties. There was the difficulty of religious antipathies and antagonisms-a very important element, so far as I was able to understand the situation in Indian life. Then there were the difficulties within the Hindu community with regard to castes and subcastes. There was, too, the exceedingly difficult task of framing some sort of franchise system which would give something workable when the Constitution was inaugurated. When I thought of these, among other problems, I felt that they were almost insuperable. However, the Hammond Committee has now presented us with some recommendations, and although I do not pretend that we agree with all of them, they do give us a series of proposals which enable us to visualise the problem as it actually is.

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| The Aryan race theory is so absurd that it ought to have been dead long ago. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
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"What is it that is noteworthy about this book? Undoubtedly the conclusions which I have reached as a result of my investigations. Two questions are raised in this book: (1) Who were the Shudras? and (2) How they came to be the fourth Varna of the IndoAryan society? My answers to them are summarised below
(1) The Shudras were one of the Aryan communities of the Solar race. (2) There was a time when the Aryan society recognized only three Varnas, namely, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas.
(3) The Shudras did not form a separate Varna. They ranked as part of the Kshatriya Varna in the Indo-Aryan society.
(4) There was a continuous feud betwen the Shudra kings and the Brahmins in which the Brahmins were subjected to many tyrannies and indignities
(5) As a result of the hatred towards the Shudras generated by their tyrannies and oppressions, the Brahmins refused to perform the Upanayana of the Shudras.
(6) Owing to the denial of Upanayana, the Shudras who were Kshatriyas became socially degraded, fell below the rank of the Vaishyas and thus came to form the fourth Varna.
XXX XXX XXX
The Aryan race theory is so absurd that it ought to have been dead long ago. But far from being dead, the theory has a cosiderable hold upon the people. There are two explanations which account for this phenomenon. The first explanation is to be found in the support which the theory receives from Brahmin scholars. This is a very strange phenomenon. As Hindus, they should ordinarily show a dislike for the Aryan theory with its express avowal of the superiority of the European races over the Asiatic races. But the Brahmin scholar has not only no such aversion but he most willingly hails it. The reasons are obvious. The Brahmin believes in the two-nation theory. He claims to be the representative of the Aryan race and he regards the rest of the Hindus as descendants of the non-Aryans. The theory helps him to establish his kinship with the European races and share their arrogance and their superiority. He likes particularly that part of the theory which makes the Aryan an invader and a conqueror of the non-Aryan native races. For it helps him to maintain and justify his overlordship over the nonBrahmins.

The second explanation why the Aryan race theory is not dead is because of the general insistence by European scholars that the word Varna means colour and the acceptance of that view by a majority of the Brahmin scholars. Indeed, this is the mainstay of the Aryan theory. There is no doubt that as long as this interpretation of the Varna continues to be accepted, the Aryan theory will continue to live. This part of the Aryan theory is therefore very important and
calls for fuller examination. It needs to be examined from three different points of view: (1) Were the European races fair or dark? (2) Were the IndoAryans fair? and (3) What is the original meaning of the word Varna?
XXX XXX XXX
Enough has been said to show how leaky is the Aryan theory expounded by Western scholars and glibly accepted by their Brahmin fellows. Yet, the theory has such a hold on the generality of people that what has been said against it may mean no
following include the most important of them
(1) The Shudras are alleged to be non-Aryans, hostile to the Aryans, whom the Aryans are said to have conquered and made slaves. How is it then that the rishis of the Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda should wish glory to the Shudras and express a desire to be in favour of the Shudras?
(2) The Shudras are said not to have the right to study the Vedas. How is it then that Sudas, a Shudra, was the

more than scotching it. Like the snake it must be killed. It is therefore necessary to pursue the examination of the theory further with a view to expose its hollowness completely. Those who uphold the theory of an Aryan race invading India and conquering the Dasas and Dasyus fail to take note of certain verses in the Rig Veda. These verses are of crucial importance. To build up a theory of an Aryan race marching into India from outside and conquering the nonAryan native tribes without reference to these verses is an utter futility. XXX XXX XXX

I have shown what strength there is in the thesis I have presented. I will now proceed to show that the thesis is a valid one. There is one test which I think is generally accepted as the right one by which to appraise the validity of a thesis. It is that a thesis which demands acceptance must not only suggest a solution, but must also show that the solution it proposes answers the riddles which surround the problem which it claims to have solved. It is this test that I propose to apply to my thesis.

Let me begin by listing in one place the riddles of the Shudra. The
composer of the hymns of the Rig Veda?
(3) The Shudras are said to have no right to perform sacrifices. How is it that Sudas performed the AshvaMedha sacrifice? Why does the Satapatha Brahmana treat the Shudra as a sacrificer and give the formula of addressing him?
(4) The Shudras are said not to have the right to Upanayana. If this was so from the very beginning, why should there be a controversy about it? Why should Badari and the Samskara Ganpati say that he has a right to Upanayana?
(5) The Shudra is not permitted to accumulate property. How is it that the Maitrayani and Kathaka Samhitas speak of the Shudras being rich and wealthy?
(6) The Shudra is said to be unfit to become an officer of the State. How is it then that the Mahabharata speaks of Shudras being ministers to kings?
(7) It is said that the duty of the Shudra is to serve, in the capacity of a menial, the three Vamas. How is it then that there were kings among the Shudras as testified by the case of Sudas and other cases mentioned by

Sayana?
(8) If the Shudra had no right to study the Vedas, if he had no right to Upanayana, if he had no right to sacrifice, why was he not given the right to have his Upanayana, to read the Vedas and to perform sacrifice?
(9) The performance of Upanayana of the Shudra, his learning to read the Vedas, his performing the sacrifices, whether they were of any value to the Shudra or not, were certainly occasions of benefit to the Brahmins in as much as it is the Brahmins, who had the monopoly of officiating at ceremonies and of teaching the Vedas. It is the Brahmins who stood to earn large fees by allowing the Shudra the right to Upanayana, the performance of sacrifices and the reading of the Vedas. Why were the Brahmins so determined to deny these concessions to the Shudras, when granting them would have done no harm and would have increased their own earnings?
(10) Even if the Shudra had no right to Upanayana, sacrifices and Vedas, it was open to the Brahmins to concede him these rights. Why were these questions not left to the free will of the individual Brahmins? Why were penalties imposed upon a Brahmin if he did any of these prohibited acts?

How can these riddles be explained? Neither the orthodox Hindu nor the modem scholar has attempted to explain them. Indeed they do not seem to be aware of the fact that such riddles exist. The orthodox Hindu does not bother about them. He is content with the divine explanation contained in the Purusha Sukta that the Shudra was born from the feet of the Purusha. The modern scholar is content with the assumption that the Shudra in his origin is a non-Aryan aboriginal, for whom the Aryan quite naturally prescribed a different code of laws. It is a pity that none of these classes of people have cared to acquaint themselves with the riddles which surround the problem of the Shudra, much less have they thought of suggesting a theory of the origin of the position of the Shudra capable of solving them.

With regard to my thesis it will be seen that it can explain everyone of these riddles. Postulates (1) to (4) explain how the Shudras could be kings and ministers and why the rishis should praise them and desire to be in their good books. Postulates (5) and (6) explain why there was a controversy over the Upanayana of the Shudra, also why the law not only denied the right to the Shudra but imposed penalties upon a Brahmin, helping to make it effective. Indeed there is no riddle which the thesis does not solve. The thesis, if I may say so, is a close and a perfect fit. Few theses can therefore have a better title deed than this.

## Source Courtesy:

Select Passages from Who Were
The Shudras in Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 7

## It is erroneous to believe that the Shudras were conquered

 by the Aryan invaders. In the first place the story that the Aryans came from outside India and invaded the natives has no evidence to support it.What was the position of the Shudra before Manu? Manu treats the Shudra as though he was an alien Non-Aryan not entitled to the social and religious privileges of the Aryan. Unfortunately the view that the Shudra was a NonAryan is too readily accepted by the generality of the people. But there can be no doubt that this view has not the slightest foundation in the literature of the ancient Aryans.

Reading the Religious literature of the ancient Aryans one comes across the names of various communities and groups of people. There were first of all the Aryans with their fourfold divisions of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Besides them and apart from them there were (i) Asuras (ii) Suras or Devas (iii) Yakshas (iv) Gandharvas (v) Kinnars (vi) Charanas (vii) Ashvins and (viii) Nishadas. The Nishadas were a jungle people primitive and uncivilized. The Gandharvas, Yakshas, Kinnars, Charanas and Ashvins were professional classes and not communities. The word Asura is generic name given to various tribes known by their tribal names of Daityas, Danavas, Dasyus, Kalananjas, Kaleyyas, Kalins, Nagas, Nivata-Kavachas, Paulomas, Pishachas and Raxasas. We do not know if the Suras and Devas were composed of various tribes as the Asuras were. We only know the leaders of the Deva Community. The well known amongst them were Brahma, Vishnu Rudra, Surya, Indra, Varuna, Soma etc.

Due mostly to the ignorant interpretations of Sayanacharya some very curious beliefs prevail even among the best informed people about these communities namely the Aryans, the Asuras and the Devas and their inter-relation and their consanguinity. It is believed that the Asuras were not a human species at all. They are held to have been ghosts and goblins who plagued the Aryans with their nocturnal visitations. The Suras or Devas are understood to be poetic deifications of nature's forces. With regard to the Aryans the belief is that they were a fair race with sharp nose and had a great deal of
colour prejudice. As to the Dasyus it is asserted that a Dasyu is only another name for a Shudra. The Shudras it is said formed the aboriginals of India. They were dark and flat nosed. The Aryans who invaded India conquered them and made them slaves and as a badge of slavery gave them the name Dasyu which it is said comes from the word Das which means a slave.

Every one of these beliefs is unfounded. The Asuras and Suras were communities of human beings as the Aryans were. The Asuras and Suras were descended from a common father Kashapa. The story is that Daksha Prajapati had 60 daughters, of them thirteen were given in marriage to Kashapa. Diti and Aditi were two among the 13 of Kashapa's wives. Those born to Diti were called Asuras and those born to Aditi were called Suras or Devas. The two faught a long and a bloody battle for the soverignty of the world. This no doubt is mythology and mythology though it is history in hyperbole is still history.

The Aryans were not a race. The Aryans were a collection of people. The cement that held them together was their interest in the maintenance of a type of culture called Aryan culture. Any one who accepted the Aryan culture was an Aryan. Not being a race there was no fixed type of colour and physiognomy which could be called Aryan. There was no dark and flat nose people for the Aryans to distinguish themselves from. The whole of this edifice of colour prejudice as being factors for division and antagonism between Aryans and the Dasyus is based upon a wrong meaning given to the two words Varna and Anas which are used with reference to the Dasyus. The word Varna is taken to mean colour and the word Anas is taken to mean without nose. Both these meanings are erroneous. Varna means Caste or group and Anas if read as An-As means uncultivated speech. That statement that the Aryans had a colour prejudice which determined their social order is arrant nonsense.

If there were any people who were devoid of colour prejudice it is the Aryans and that is because there was no dominant colour to distinguish themselves.
t is wrong to say that the Dasyus were non-Aryans by race. The Dasyus were not a pre-Aryan race of aboriginals of India. The Dasyus were members of the Aryan community who were deprived of the title of Arya for opposing some belief or cult which was an essential part of the Aryan Culture. How this belief that the Dasyus were Non-Aryans by race could have arisen it is difficult to understand. In the Rig Veda (X. 49) Indra says: "I (Indra) have killed with my thuderbolt for the good of the man, known as Kavi. I have protected Kupa by adopting means of protection. I took up the thunderbolt for killing Susna. I have deprived the Dasyus of the appellation of Arya." Nothing can be more positive and definite than this statement of Indra that the Dasyus were Aryans. Further and better proof of this fact can be had in the impeachment of Indra for the various atrocities he had committed. In the list of atrocities for which Indra was impeached there was one charge namely the killing of Vratra. Vratra was the leader of the Dasyus. It is unthinkable that such a charge could be framed against Indra if the Dasyus were not Aryans.

It is erroneous to believe that the Shudras were conquered by the Aryan invaders. In the first place the story that the Aryans came from outside India and invaded the natives has no evidence to support it. There is a large body of evidence that India is the home of the Aryans. In the second place there is no evidence anywhere of any warfare having taken place between Aryans and Dasyus but the Dasyus have nothing to do with the Shudras.

In the third place it is difficult to believe that the Aryans were a powerful people capable of much military prowess. Any one who reads the history of the Aryans in India in their relation to the Devas will be reminded of the relationship that subsisted be-
tween the Viellens and their lords during the feudal times. The Devas were the feudal lords and the Aryans were the Villens. The innumerable sacrifices which the Aryans performed have the look of fudal dues paid to the Deva. This servility of the Aryans to the Devas was due to the fact that without the help and the protection of the Devas they could not withstand the assualts of the Asuras. It is too much to presume that so effete a people could have conquered the Shudras. Lastly there was no necessity to conquer the Shudra. They were Aryans in the only sense in which the word Aryan is used, namely, the upholders of the Aryans Culture. Two things are clear about the Shudras. Nobody has ever contended that they were dark and flat nosed. Nobody has contended that they were defeated or enslaved by the Aryans. It is wrong to treat the Dasyus and Shudras as one and the same. As a people they may be the same. But culturally they were quite different

The Dasyus were Non-Aryans in the sense they had fallen away and rebelled against the Aryan culture. The Shudras on the other hand were Aryans i.e. they were believers in the Aryan way of life. The Shudra was accepted as an Aryan and as late as Kautilya's Artha Shastra was addressed an Arya.

The Shudra was an intergral, natural and valued member of the Aryan Society is proved by a prayer which is found in the Yajur Veda and which is offered by the Sacrificer. It runs as follows:

O Gods
Give lustre to our holy priests, set lustre in our ruling chiefs, Lustre to Vaisyas, Shudras: Give, through lustre; Lustre unto me." It is a remarkable prayer, remarkable because it shows that the Shudra was a member of the Aryan Community and was also a respected member of it.

## Source Courtesy:

Select Passages from the Chapter: Shudras and the Counter Revolution, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 3

## CHANGE OF NAME

# I Gurbachan Singh Gill S/O Hoshiar Singh Resident of 2610 E Paseo Ave, Visalia, CA 93292 Now I have changed my name From Gurbachan Singh Gill to Gurbachan Singh All concerned kindly note it. 



## The Ad Dharm Movement and Dr. Ambedkar

When in 1915 nationalists led by Lala Hardayal. By Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was giving final touches to his Ph.D. thesis at Columbia University in New York, a Punjabi youth, who had gone to America a few years earlier, was involved in a dangerous mission of smuggling suns from California to the Punjab for inciting mutiny in India. This Punjabi youth later became famous as Babu Mangu Ram, the founder of the Ad Dharm Movement. Mangu Ram was born in a small village Mugowal in district Hoshiarpur, Punjab on 14 January, 1886 in an untouchable family; his father was a leather merchant. As by then the doors of education had been opened to all by the British rulers, Mangu Ram was sent to the school in the nearby village, Mahilpur, but the treatment meted out to him by the Hindu teacher was far from human. Like Bhim Rao in Satara, Mangu Ram too was made to sit outside the classroom. Not only that, even the teacher would not teach him directly; he was invariably given lesson through a Muslim student. Somehow, Mangu Ram passed his middle examination and joined high school at Bajwara, a nearby town. Here too. He was subjected to the same humiliation, and was made to sit outside the classroom. One day, it rained so heavily that in spite of taking shelter under a tree, Mangu Ram was completely drenched. And when the snow-balls, accompanied by high velocity winds, fell like missiles on him, he was unable to bear it any longer. So, he ran to take shelter inside the classroom. As soon as he had entered the room, the teacher saw him, and instead of showing any sympathy, he started beating him with a stick for having come inside. Weeping and crying, Mangoo Ram went out, and somehow reached his home.

Unmindful of the insult and beating, Mangu Ram again went to the school next day. As soon as he reached there, he was surprised to see the teacher in the process of purifying the classroom by sprinkling water on the wooden table, chair and the tats on which the students used to sit. On seeing him, Brahmin teacher cried out, "Oh Chandal, you have come again". Fearing another beating, Mangoo Ram hastened back, never to go again to the school. And that was the end of his education.

With his education coming to an abrupt end, Mangu Ram became unemployed, and bit frustrated too. In 1909, he, along with some other young men from the village, went to California, U.S.A. in order to earn some money by working in the Peach Orchards of Fresno and elsewhere in the San Joaquin valley of central California. Instead of earning money, he, however, became involved in the activities of the Ghadar Party, an international network of militant Punjabi
his sheer devotion and sincerity to the cause of India's freedom, he came to be regarded as the most dependable and reliable member of the organization. In 1915, Mangu Ram volunteered to be one of the five Ghadarites accompanying a shipload of guns and propaganda material headed for India. This ship was unfortunately intercepted by the British as Batavia, and was sealed. It remained sealed for nearly a year, with the five Ghadarites as prisoners inside. In the meanwhile, they were prosecuted in absentia, and sentenced to death for taking out the weapons illegally on the ship. On hearing the capital punishment, some patriot Indians in Germany decided to help the imprisoned Ghadarites. Somehow, they managed to smuggle the prisoners out from the sealed ship, and sent them in different directions. Mangu Ram was put in a ship going to Manila. By mistake,

however, the ship reached Singapore. Unfortunately for Mangu Ram, here he was recognized by some traitor Indians who had earlier worked for the Ghadar Party. They informed the Police. By now, for running away from Batavia, death warrants had been issued by the British Government to be executed wherever any one of them was found. Accordingly, the Singapore Police began preparing for his execution. Then a miracle happened. Just half an hour before his execution, a gentleman named Barde, whom Mangu Ram had never seen or met, came, caught him by the arm, took him out of the Thana, and putting him on the same ship in which Mangu Ram had come, he asked the Caption of the ship to sail for Manila. By the time the Police swung into action, the ship had crossed the Singapore Port Limits. Having failed to intercept the ship, the police caught hold of some drunkard; executed him to cover up their lapse, and announced that Mangu Ram had been executed. This news was later published in the Indian Newspapers.

For the next $7-8$ years, Mangu Ram hid in the Philippines, and during this period he had no contact with his family as no letters could be written
for fear of being intercepted. Taking him, therefore, as dead, his wife married Mangu Ram's elder brother, who was a widower. The validity of the death warrant issued by the British Government lapsed in 1924. Then Mangu Ram thought of returning to India. Accordingly, he came back to Punjab in 1925. Soon thereafter, Mangoo Ram became involved in another kind of freedom struggle, the liberation of the untouchables, the people among whom he was born, and the people who were meekly suffering the atrocities of the Hindus. Babu Mangu Ram's association with the Ghadar Party had broadened his outlook, and sharpened his skills as an organizer. Soon he found a band of like-minded young men involved in the social work, and began organizing them in order to liberate the downtrodden from the clutches of the Hindu social slavery.
Encouraged by the response to his


Dharm Mandal were established in Jalandhar city from where the movement was organized in a systematic manner, and the devoted missionaries spread the message far and wide in the Punjab, and even beyond. Since the Mandal had accepted Sahib Shri Guru Ravidass Ji as its spiritual leader, the movement became primarily popular amongst the Chamars, and they readily adopted the nomenclature of Ad Dharmi.

At the time, Babu Mangu Ram was organizing the untouchables of the Punjab under the banner of Ad Dharm; Dr. Ambedkar was fighting a similar battle in another part of the country. Though they were thousands of miles apart, yet their ideas and methods of struggle were almost identical. Both believed that the present day Scheduled Castes are not Hindus, and that their salvation lies only in being independent of the Hindu religion. Both believed in selfhelp and advocated peaceful means to achieve their goal. Both laid the greatest emphasis on 'education'. Babasaheb considered "education" the key to all progress, and Mangu Ram says that only "education can lead us to Sachkhand (the realm of truth)." Again, Babasaheb exhorted the people to follow the Three Commandments of 'Education, Agitation and Organization' to gain power. According to Mangu Ram, the poor have three kinds of power: "Qaumiat (collective solidarity), Mazhab (spirituality) and Majlis (organization)".

Within a year of its founding, the Ad Dharm movement created quite a stir in the Punjab by constant rallies and conferences, if forced the Government of the day to take notice of the problems of the untouchables. One of the rea-
ideas, Babu Mangu Ram convened a Conference at his village Mugowal in district Hoshiarpur on 11-12 June, 1926. Addressing the largely attended Conference, Babu Mangu Ram proclaimed that the Untouchables constituted a separate Qaum, a religious community like the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, and those they were the original inhabitants of this country. Hence, the movement was named as Ad Dharm; and its leaders devised distinctive costume, bright red turbans and shashes; coined a new sacred mantra or symbol, "Sohang" and exhorted the people to call themselves as Ad Dharmis.

The primary object of the Ad Dharm was to give the untouchables an alternative religion. Its another object was to reform the society from within. As social movement, the Ad Dharm exhorted the people to abstain from immoral practices; to lead a life of purity and piety; to discard the use of alcohol, drugs, give education to boys and girls, and to treat all men and women equal in the society. On the whole, the movement was aimed at giving the untouchables a sense of pride and dignity as members of the Ad Dharm.

The headquarters of Ad sons of the poverty and exploitation of the untouchables was the pernicious system of beggar, the system under which they were forced to live at the beck and call of others and were obliged to do a great deal of work without any remuneration whatsoever. The Ad Dharm Mandal agitated against the system of beggar, and demanded its abolition. The Mandal also agitatedfor repealing the Punjab Land Alienation Act which prohibited the untouchables from buying even a small piece of land. The Ad Dharm movement reached its peak at the time of 1931 Census. As a result of their sustained propaganda, more than half a million untouchables declared themselves as Ad Dharmis. This showed the organizational skill of its leaders. "The massive support", as says Mark Jueregensmeyer,"created political capital, and Mangu Ram used that capital in political ways. Ad Dharmi candidates stood for public offices and an alliance was created with the Unionist Party. In both instances, scheduled caste leaders supported by the Ad Dharm organization achieved public positions".
Courtesy: Dr. Ambedkar and Punjab by D. C. Ahir

