# (6) Ambedkar Times <br> Editor-in-Chieft Prem Kumar Chumber <br> Poona Pact, Affirmative Action and Dalit Social Mobility 

Poona Pact (September 24, 1932) sets the stage for the institution of state affirmative action during the colonial administration in India, which in turn gave shape to a long drawn political struggle by the millions of the socially excluded sections of the Indian society for an egalitarian social order. It came into existance after the promulgation of the Communal Award on 16 August 1932 by the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, which provided for separate electorates for the 'Depressed Classes' along withthe Muslims, the Europeans, the Sikhs, the Anglo-Indians and the Indian-based Christians. The Communal Award, in turn, was based on the findings of the Indian Franchise Committee, called the Lothian Committee, and the detalied discussions that took place at the London Round Table Conferences 1930-32.The Lothian Cmmittee was constituted in December 1931 under the Chairmanship of the Marquees of Lothian, C.H., Parliamentary under Secretary of State for India. It consisted of 18 members of whom Dr. Ambedkar was one. The Committee began its work of hearing the views of the parties concerned and the provincial franchise committees constituted by the respecive Provincial Legislatures on 1 February 1932 at Delhi. It conducted its enquires in Lahore on 31 March and 1 April 1932. The Ad Dharm Mandal and Dayanand Dalit Udhar Mandal represented the Depressed Classes of the Punjab before the Committee. The Ad Dharm Mandal delegation consisted of 18 members, including Mangu Ram Mugowalia (President), Hazara Ram Piplanwala (General Secretary), Hans Raj (Vice-President), Ram Chand Khera (Editor, Adi Danka), Pt. Hari Ram and Sant Ram (Ahir 1992: 8-9). Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia laid emphasis on the special electoral rights of the lower castes in the legislative assembly while asserting that people belonging to Depressed Classes were neither Sikhs, Hindus, Christians nor Muslims. He reiterated that they were, in fact, the indigenous people of India whose religion was Ad Dhrm. He also sent telegrams during the Round Table Conferences in London pledging Ad Dharm support for Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as the leader of the Untouchables in India instead of Mahatma Gandhi (Ram 2012: 682). Consequently, the Communal Award was proposed to find an amicable solution to the varied conflicting communal interests. It was built on the principle of separate electorates, which the British government had already put in place through the Indian Councils Act 1909, commonly known as the Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) and the MontaguChelmsford Reforms (1919). Under a separate electorates system, each community was allocated a number of seats in the legislatures and only members from these communities would be eligible to vote to elect a representative of

Mahatma Gandhi, who was in Yervada jail (Pune) at that time, interpreted the Communal Award as a British conspiracy to separate the Depressed Classes from the Hindu electorates in order to weaken the Indian freedom struggle. To stall its implementation, he announced his fast unto death and began the same on September 18, 1932. Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, who later became the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of Independent India, supported the Communal Award. He thought that it would empower the Depressed Classes (lower castes) and help them in their struggle for equality and dignified life. Dr. Ambed-

seek upward social mobility. Despite thedilution of the gains pegged at the Communal Award, all said and done, the Poona Pact marked the beginning of the movement against the centuries old social practice of Untouchability within the overall domain of the Indian nationalist struggle. It had also established Dr. Ambedkar as then sole leader of the Depressed Classes across the country. It is pertinent to mention here that the postCommunal Award leadership of Dr. Ambedkar strongly impressed upon Mahatma Gandhi the urgency of the resolution of the protracted evil of social exclusion practiced in the form of 'Untouchability'. The confrontation, at that time, between Mahatma Gandhi and other Hindu leaders on the on hand, and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on the other brought the long ignored Dalit question into central focus of the Indian freedom struggle. The whole country was morally awakened for the cause of the uplift of the Depressed Classes. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the events that led to the signing of the Poona Pact made the Depressed Classes a formidable political force to be reckon with perhaps for the first time in history of India.It also cleared the way for the in-

## of power. Both the perceptions were to

 some extent correct" (Juergensmeyer 2000: 230).The Untouchables found their fear justified when Dr. Ambedkar was forced to agree to a solution called Poona Pact under the duress of communal consequences of the death of Mahatma Gandhi as a result of his fast-unto-death.Though in the Poona Pact Depressed Classes were able to achieve increased representation (147 reserved seats) in comparison to what they have granted in Communal Award (71 seats), Ambedkar complained of blackmail for the loss of the separate electorate provision that could have given the lower caste an exclusive identity of the own to
kar got tremendous support from the leaders of the Ad Dharm movement in Punjab. Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia, President of the Ad Dharm Manda, as
mentioned above,took keen interest in President of the Ad Dharm Manda, as
mentioned above,took keen interest in the implementionof the Communal Award. When Mahatma Gandhi sat on fast-unto-death at Poona against the separate electorate for untouchables, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia followed suit declaring: ‘Gandhi if you are prepared to die for your Hindus, then I am prepared to die for these untouchable.'The fast undie for these untouchable.' The fast un-
dertaken by him continued for 28 days from 20 September to 17 October 1932, until the pact was publicly received (Ram 2004: 335). He broke his fast-unto-death by accepting juice from Sant Sarwan Dass, the then head of the Dera Sachknd Ballan (Ram 2008: 1349).On this ground, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia
was accused of being casteist: "The rift ground, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia between the liberal Gandhian and radical untouchables was not healed, howerver, since each continued to percieve the
other as an obstacle to achieving interother as an obstacle to achieving intercaste harmony. Gandhi thought the un-
touchables' militant separatism was caste harmony. Gandhi thought the un-
touchables' militant separatism was reinforcing the concept of caste and the untouchables thought Gandhi was trying to whitewash existing differences and to Award. When Mahatma Gandhi sat-unto-death at Poona against the sep-
clusion of
reservation provisions for the Scheduled Castes in the Government of India Act 1935 as well as the Constitution of the Republic of India. For Ambedkar, an


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scholar, able administrator, jurist of world repute and a thorough democrat, the utimate goal was to annihilate caste from the social soil of Bharat; and for that he was ready to sacrifice every thing that come in his way. He was also a practical statesman, who took twenty years to decide to embrace Buddhism and his Dhamma, as he documented in his magnum opus "Buddha and his Dhamma" published posthumously, to fulfil his vow not to die as a Hindu.

The Poona Pact cemented his resolve that social emancipation of the lower castes is as much an important issue as the political freedom of the country. He never compromised on these two most essential goals of his life. His love for Bharat and his people was indivisble. He was of the firm view that caste was the biggest hurdle on the way of independent Bharat. It must go for Bharat to deliver its message to the world.Dr. Ambedkar devoted his entire life for the emancipation and empowerment of the lower castes of India who for centuries were compelled to live in deplorable lives. He tried different ways to get rid of the graded caste inequality.First, he did his best to improve upon the situations through reforms within Hinduism. But soon, he realized that reforms within Hinduism will not work for the annihilation of caste because without caste the whole structure of Hinduism would come down like a house of cards and that would not be acceptable at all to its protagonists. "Annihilation of Caste", as he mentioned in this booklet, requires doing away with those Hindu Sastras (sacred scriptures/law books) that sactioned caste divisions. The protagonists of Hinduism, he said, would never agree to comply with such suggestions. Thus the other way, he asserted, to seek casteless social order was to say good bye to Hinduism and construct a new society under a different religion for the Ex-Untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar finally left Hinduism and established a new social-religious order popularly known as Navayan-Buddhism (Buddha and His Dhamma) where no one is subjected to any social discrimination based on accretive and primordial notions of caste and creed. In between, Dr. Ambedkar battled many struggles for (Contd.on next page)

# Poona Pact, Affirmative Action and Dalit Social Mobility 


#### Abstract

(Continue from page 1) the betterment of living conditions of thelower castes. Poona Pact was one of such major struggles.

It was through this historic Pact that Dr. Ambedkar got voice for his people in the provincial legislative structures in the form of certain fixed number of seats. That was September 24, 1932. A lot has changedsince then. Under the current Neo-liberal regime, the State in India is fast withdrawing from its responsibilities towards the people. It firmly believes that market can save them from all the hardships they face. In other words Neo-liberalism is being projected as the messiah of downtrodden. In such a changed scenario, downtrodden have to rethink rather critically about the nature of a struggle that they have to wage for the acquisition and protection of their rights. Quite interestingly, there is an alternate viewpoint emerging from within the inner academic circles of the lower castes, which stipulates that the Neo-liberal market economy offers lots of opportunities to the socially excluded sections of the society, who no-longer face any


social exclusion in the aftermath of 1991 Globalizing India. This view-point also talks about Dalit Capitalism, Dalit billionaires and DalitChambers of Commerce; and English as a language of social emancipation and economic upliftment. It also calls for the 'Dalit English Ianguage movement' (Yengde 2020). What it, however, forgets is that in the free market economy only those are welcomed who have the required capital to invest. And the capital in India used to be the prerogative of the upper castes only. Lower castes were deliberately kept out of its reach by all possible means under the garb of a discriminatory and hegemonic socio-religious order. What about the millions of lower castes who do not have requisite capital to invest and enter into the so-called non-discriminatory market economy in India? Would they not be discriminated in this Neo-liberal economic order? Neo-liberalism is no more different from capitalism. Both Capitalism and Neo-liberalism thrive on accumulation of capital in the the form of profit. There is no escape route avail-
from the stairless multi-storey caste building. Both are quite comfortable with caste and its elusive socio-cultural parapharnalia. We must not forget that the two main enemies of the lower castes are, as cautioned by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, are Capitalism and Brahmanism. For him Brahmanism is not a caste. It is a state of mind (what Dirks called 'Castes of Mind'). It is not a specific person of a particular caste. It is an ideology that can floursh within any caste group as well as economic model be it Capitalism, Neoliberalism or any other subtlist variant of it at any point of time during its dialecti-cal-material transformations. It is both a question of sociology and political economy that needs to understood in juxtaposition of each other at the one and the same time. It needs to be rescued from the narrow social binaries of Svarnas vs Avarnas. To that extent, the teachings of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar seem to be of much more value today from the perspective of Poona pact, affirmative action and Dalit social mobility.

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## MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE AD-DHARM MANDAL

 OF THE PUNJAB, JULLUNDUR CITY TO THE INDIAN FRANCHISE COMMITTEEIn the first place we want to make it quite clear that we are not Hindus. There is no doubt that from time immemorial on account of political and economic pressure we have been kept in the fold of Hinduism. But this was done by the trickeries of the Hindus for their own political purposes. We are as separate from the Hindus as east is from the west and north is from the south.

We are the descendants of the aborigines of India who were the real sons of the soil. We were conquered by the Aryans, and since then we are treated as war captives and therefore something below humanity. Since then many kings have ruled this country, but our lot has not been bettered in the least.

We are treated by the Hindus as Untouchables; but strange to say that we are treated as Hindus in the census report; we are shown as Hindus, although no Hindu would eat food or drink water touched by a member of our class. A Brahman would take a bath if he were to touch our person nor would he act as priest over our ceremonies. No Hindu would tolerate our living with him; we are looked down upon by everybody. No Hindu barber will shave us, no Hindu washerman will wash our clothes, no Hindu water-carrier will supply water to us, no Hindu will shop from our shops. In short, no Hindu would like to enter into any dealing with us.

The Hindu religious sacred books have emphatically separated us from the high class Hindus. For example, we might quote the following: (a) Manoo Smriti, chapter VIII, shloks 413, 414, 415, 267, 271, 272, 279, 280, 282, 283.
(b) Manoo Smriti, chapter XI, shlok 131
(c) Manoo Smriti, chapter IV, shloks 80, 81
(d) Walmiki Ramayan, Uttarakand

Sarf, 87
(e) Manoo Smriti, chapter $X$, shloks 125, 129, 96
(f) Manoo Smriti, chapter V, shloka 140
(g) Wishanoo Smriti, chapter I, shlok 15
(h) Dharam Sutar of Maharishi Gotam, Chapter IV, shlok 12.

It is, therefore, submitted that we are absolutely separate from the Hindus. Under no circumstances we are prepared to join the Hindus. We are a separate body and form a separate entity of our own. We would, therefore, urge that in justice separate representation ought to be given to us. Without this we cannot have any voice in the legislatures. It has always been unjust on the part of the Government to yoke us with the Hindus. This is why we have not been able to make any progress at all. We have been always exparted (exploited?) by the Hindus and now we refuse to be exparted (exploited?) by them anymore.

According to the Census 1921 we are nearly 40 lacs in the Punjab. We claim that in the 1931 census our number must be much more. It is true that in the census of 1921 we are given as Hindus or Sikhs; this is due to the absence of our awakening to the real state of affairs. We have not till lately bothered ourselves with political questions as the clever Hindus had always thrown dust in our eyes. In this respect the movement for our uplift dates back from 1925, and since then we have claimed to be separated with the result that in the 1931 census more than four lacs were recorded AdiDharmis in opposition to Hindus and Sikhs. You know the atrocities committed on us by the Hindus and Sikhs for having insisted on our recording ourselves Adi-Dharmis. But for t
hese atrocities our number must have
been recorded in the census of 1921 much more than it has been done. This being the case we insist that we must be given separate representation on the population basis. At the time of the preparation of the electoral roll every member of our community must be asked whether he would like to vote with the Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs or with the Depressed Classes. It is only then that our real voting strength will be realized. We want separate representation, because if this is not given, the Hindus will monopolise our seats as they have always done. A number of depressed classes must vote for a member of the Depressed Classes as a Hindu for a Hindu, a Muslim for a Muslim, and so on. We want adult franchise because a very few members of our class have any property qualifications in both urban and rural areas. We do not believe in the group system, because in the first place in our class there will be very few secondary voters who will have property qualification. Secondly, a secondary voter will virtually mean that the primary voter has no vote. The right of voting will thus be usurped by the secondary voter who would be under the thumb of the capitalist and the Hindus.

The question of forming Depressed Classes constituency will rest with the Government. The Government cannot shirk its responsibility to the loyal depressed classes by saying that it is difficult to form special constituencies for the Depressed Classes when it can form constituencies for the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. There is no reason why the Government cannot form special constituencies for the Depressed Classes. There is no rural urban question among the Depressed Classes; there is no quibble of castes among the Depressed Classes; we
want to be enfranchised as De pressed Classes, nothing else. Among our ranks there might be some who might have adopted Vedic Dharam, or Islam or Christianity or Sikhism. We have no quarrel with this; if such people want to vote with their respective coreligionists, let them please them selves. But those members of the Depressed Classes who have not adopted Vedic Dharam as their religion or who have not adopted Islam or Christianity they must be given special representation and nothing but special representation.

In conclusion, we want to contradict certain observations made by certain Hindu leaders; for instance, Raja Narendra Nath, an out and out exploiter of the Depressed Classes, has said that there was no Depressed Classes problem in Punjab. He is simply fooling the Brahmin people by saying so. The real thing is that Hindus do not want that a substantial portion of their population should separate from them and thus leave them in a hopeless minority in the Punjab. Raja Narendra Nath is blowing hot and cold in same breath at the Round Table Conference. He says that there is no Depressed Classes as such in the Punjab whereas a member of the Punjab Reforms Committee has laid great stress on their special representation. The same is true of the Honourable Dr. Gokul Chand Narang, Minister for Local Self-Government. The Simon Commission have also clearly laid stress on the special representation of the Depressed Classes. It is in special representation that our salvation lies.
Source Courtesy: Indian Franchise
Committee, Volume-V (1932)
Selections from Memoranda and Oral Evidence (Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam, North-West Frontier Province, Delhi and Miscellaneous Memoranda)

# THE PREMIER'S COMMUNAL AWARD 

The Genesis of the Award
The following is a sequence of events leading up to the decision of the British Government to make a Communal Award, and was issued in a Government of India communique:In 1929, largely as a result of representations made by Indian leaders, Lord Irwin announced that before a scheme for a new Indian Constitution was placed before Parliament, a Round Table Conference would be held in London at which full opportunity would be given to Indian representatives for discussing all matters connected with it. The first session of the Conference took place in London in the winter of 1930-31. A SubCommittee known as the Minorities Committee, was formed and its members selected from amongst the responsible leaders of the various communities. Its chief function was to endeavour to find a solution of the problem of communal representation. This Committee met six times but during the proceedings it became increasingly evident that serious and indeed fundamental differences of opinion existed between the members on this particularly important subject. A satisfactory settlement of the question was naturally of vital importance to all, since the more acute the differences between the various communities in a country so large as India are shown to be, the more difficult is it to evolve a scheme of responsible self-government which is likely to work smoothly. Nevertheless, the first session of the Conference terminated without any agreement whatever having been reached on the communal question. The Prime Minister and other British statesmen used their best endeavours to bring the parties together, continually emphasizing the necessity for complete agreement and towards the end of the Conference earnestly appealed to them to compose their differences before the next session.

The second Round Table Conference met in London on September 7, 1931, but as such negotiations for a communal settlement as there had been in India during the interval had proved abortive, the situation remained as difficult as before. The Minorities Committee reassembled with the Prime Minister as Chairman, and he once more appealed to the members to agree amongst themselves on this vital question. The Committee, however, which now included Mr. Gandhi, after long discussions, recorded with deep regret that it had failed to reach any agreed conclusion on the difficult and controversial question which had been the subject of its deliberations. A noticeable feature of these meetings had been an increasing desire on the part of the Indian members that the British Government should settle the dispute on its own authority, but the requests of the various members of the Committee were accompanied by a number of such crucial and conflicting reservations that it proved impossible for the British Government to reach any decision with regard to them. The Prime

Minister, however, as Chairman of the Committee offered to give a temporary decision provided that every member signed an agreement pledging himself in advance to support it. The offer was not accepted.

Subsequently, at the plenary session of the second Conference, the Prime Minister, in outlining the future policy of the British Government, stated that since it was extremely undesirable that the introduction of constitutional reforms should be indefinitely blocked by the failure of
the Viceroy. It first met in February 1932, but it quickly became evident that it could not carry out more than a portion of the functions allotted to it so long as the communal problem remained unsolved. In the meantime the Round Table Conference delegates, including those who had been members of the Minorities Committee, had returned to India with the exhortations of the Prime Minister fresh in their minds. They failed, however, to make any serious concerted efforts to arrive at a settlement. The dead-

## $\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Issued } \\ \text { from 1919 }\end{array}\right] \quad$ THEINDIAN $\quad\left[\begin{array}{c}\text { 15th Year } \\ \text { of lseue }\end{array}\right.$ ANNUAL REGISTER

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the communities to reach an agreement, the British Government might be compelled to apply a provisional scheme. He, however, again pointed out the disadvantages of this course, from the point of view of the Indians themselves, as well as that of the British Government and urged the delegates once more to meet together and endeavour to present the British Government with an agreement. It is thus perfectly obvious, and cannot too strongly emphasized, that the British Government had, by suggestion and sympathy, done everything in its power to persuade the leaders to arrive at a settlement of their own problems.

In order to provide for continuance of the work on the reforms after the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference, the Prime Minister appointed a small representative Consultative Committee. It was provided that this Committee, which was to work in India, should maintain effective touch with the Prime Minister through His Excellency
lock remained, and the deliberations of the Consultative Committee were thus to a large degree ineffective. The members of the Committee, recognising that not only the progress of their own work, but also the introduction of the reforms themselves, would be jeopardized by the absence of some solution of the communal problem thereupon unanimously agreed to appeal to the British Government to devise a settlement.

The British Government had repeatedly and emphatically indicated their reluctance to interfere in a matter which is entirely the concern of Indians themselves, and had urged that the prospects of the new constitution working smoothly would be greatly increased if an agreed settlement of the communal problem could be devised by the parties concerned, instead of being imposed from outside. Nevertheless, when thus appealed to by the Consultative Committee, they undertook to discharge the difficult and embarrassing function required to them, despite the
fact that no such pledges as had previously been asked for had been given. It should be emphasized that since the Emil $+91-99683-69972$ British Govern- Email: neerajpaul@hotmail.com ment were reluctant to devise a settlement, and since the Indians appealed to them to do so, the latter have no moral justification whatever for commenting unfavourably on the provisions contained in it. It was solely owing to their sincere desire that the introduction of the reforms should not be unduly delayed that the British Government undertook to perform so distasteful a task at all. The fact should be brought out in the clearest possible manner that it is impossible for any settlement of the communal question to satisfy in full the claims put forward by the various communities. In so far as each party to the dispute has put forward demands for greater representation than the others could agree to, it is inevitable that the terms of the settlement should fall short of what they require. Indeed, the more equitable the settlement is, the more likely is it to prove disappointing to all concerned in it. But since the British Government is entirely disinterested, and in making the award is doing its utmost to solve a most difficult problem in the best interests of all, it is hoped that Indians will accept it in the spirit it is made, and will honestly try to make it work. Finally, it may be mentioned that the Secretary of State has promised that if, before the new Government of India Act is passed, the various Indian communities can reach a general settlement of their own which differs from his, he will willingly accept it.

## Premier's Explanatory Statement

On the publication of the award, the Prime Minister issued the following explanatory statement:-
"Not only as the Prime Minister but as a friend of India who has for the last two years taken a special interest in the questions of minorities, I feel that I ought to add a word or two of explanation to the extremely important decision on communal representation that the Government are announcing today.
"We never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India. We made that abundantly clear during both the sessions of the Round Table conference when we strove hard to get Indians to settle this matter between themselves. We have realised from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticised by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, but we believe that in the end considerations of Indian needs will prevail and all commu
(Contd. on next page)
(Continue from page 3) nities will see that their duty is to cooperate in working the new Constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations.
SETTLEMENT SUBJECT TO REVISION BY AGREEMENT
Our duty was plain. As the failure of the communities to agree amongst themselves has placed an almost insurmountable obstacle in the way of any constitutional development, it was incumbant upon Government to take action. In accordance, therefore, with the pledges that I gave on behalf of the Government at the Round Table Conference in response to repeated appeals from representative Indians and in accordance with the statement to British Parliament and approved by it, Government are today publishing a scheme of representation in Provincial Assemblies that they intend in due course to lay before Parliament unless in the meanwhile the communities themselves agree upon a better plan. We should be only too glad if, at any stage before the proposed Bill becomes law, the communities can reach an agreement amongst themselves. But guided by the past experience, Government are convinced that no further negotiations will be of any advantage and they can be no party to them. They will however be ready and willing to substitute for their scheme any scheme whether in respect of any one or more of Governor's provinces or in respect of the whole of British India that is generally agreed and accepted by all the parties
affected.
THE CASE FOR SEPARATE ELECTORATES
In order to appreciate the Government's decision, it is necessary to remember that actual conditions in which it is being given. For many years past, separate electorates, namely, the grouping of particular categories of voters in territorial constituencies by themselves have been regarded by minority communities as an essential protection for their rights. In each of the recent stages of constitutional development, separate electorates have consequentially found a place. However much Government may have preferred a uniform system of joint electorates, they found it impossible to abolish the safeguards to which minorities still attach vital importance. It would serve no purpose to examine the cause which in the past have led to this state of affairs. I am rather thinking of the future. I want to see the greater and the smaller communities working together in peace and amity so that there will be no further need for a special form of protection. In the meantime, however, Government have to face facts as they are and must maintain this exceptional form of representation.

## THE POSITION OF

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES
There are two features of the decision to which I must allude. One has to do with the Depressed Classes and the other with the representation of women. Government would be quite unable to justify a scheme
which omitted to provide what is really requisite for either. Our main object in the case of the Depressed Classes has been, while securing to them the spokesmen of their own choice in the legislatures of the province where they are found in large numbers, at the same time to avoid electoral arrangements which would perpetuate their segregation. Consequentially, Depressed Class voters will vote in general Hindu constituencies and an elected member in such a constituency will be influenced by his responsibility to this section of the electorate, but for the next 20 years there will also be a number of special seats filled from special Depressed Class electorates in the areas where these voters chiefly prevail. The anomaly of giving certain members of the Depressed Classes two votes is abundantly justified by the urgent need for securing that their claims should be effectively expressed and the prospects of improving their actual condition promoted.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS
As regards women voters, it has been widely recognised in recent years that the women's movement in India holds one of the keys of progress. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated and influential citizens. There are undoubtedly serious objections to extending to the representation of women the communal method, but if seats are to be reserved for women
as such and women members are to be fairly distributed among the communities, there is, in the existing circumstances, no alternative.

With this explanation, I commend the scheme to Indian communities as a fair and honest attempt to hold the balance between the conflicting claims in relation to the existing position in India. Let them take it, though it may not for the moment satisfy the full claims of any of them as a workable plan for dealing with the question of representation in the next period of India's constitutional development. Let them remember, when examining the scheme, that they themselves failed when presented again and again to produce to us some plan which would give general satisfaction.

COMMUNAL CO-OPERATION
A CONDITION OF PROGRESS
In the end, only Indians themselves can settle this question. The most that Government can hope for is that their decision will remove an obstacle from the path of constitutional advance and will thus enable Indians to concentrate their attention upon solving the many issues that still remain to be decided in the field of constitutional advance. Let leaders of all Indian communities' show, at this critical moment in India's constitutional development, their appreciation of the fact that communal co-operation is a condition of progress and that it is their special duty to put upon themselves the responsibility of making the new constitution work.


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SPECIAL BIT INSPECTION AND DOT AUDIT COMPLIANCE:

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NOTORY PUBLIC SERVICES.
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AUTHORIZED IRS E- FILE PROVIDER. WE HAVE COMPLETE SOLUTIONS
FOR OUT OF SERVICE DOT.
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The following is the text of the fore the new Government of India Act Communal Award which was published simultaneously in London and Simla on the 16th August 1932:(1) In the statement made by the Prime Minister on the 1 st December last, on behalf of his Majesty's Government at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference, which was immediately afterwards endorsed by both the Houses of Parliament, it was made plain that if the communities of India were unable to reach a settlement acceptable to all parties on the communal questions which the Conference had failed to solve, His Majesty's Government were determined that India's constitutional advance should not, on that account, be frustrated, and they would remove this obstacle by devising and applying themselves a provisional scheme.
(2) On the 19th March last, His Majesty's Government having been informed that the continued failure of the communities to reach an agreement was blocking the progress of the plans for the framing of the new Constitution, stated that they were engaged upon a careful re-examination of the difficult and controversial questions which arose. They are now satisfied that without a decision on at least some aspects of the problems connected with the position of the minorities under the new Constitution, no further progress can be made with the framing of the Constitution.
(3) His Majesty's Government have, accordingly, decided that they will include provisions to give effect to the scheme set out below in the proposals relating to the Indian Constitution to be laid in due course before Parliament. The scope of this scheme is purposely confined to the arrangements to be made for the representation of the British Indian communities in the provincial legislatures, consideration of representation in the legislature at the Centre being deferred for the reason given in paragraph 20 below. The decision to limit the scope of the scheme implies in no way failure to realise that the framing of the Constitution will necessitate decision on a number of other problems of great importance to the minorities, but has been taken in the hope that once a pronouncement has been made upon the basic questions of the method and proportions of representation, the communities themselves may find it possible to arrive at a modus vivendi on the other communal problems, which have not as yet received the examination they require. (4) His Majesty's Government wish it to be most clearly understood that they themselves can be no parties to negotiations which may be initiated with a view to the revision of their decision, and will not be prepared to give consideration to any representation aimed at securing a modification of it, which is not supported by all the parties affected. But they are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement should such happily be forthcoming. If, therefore, be-
has passed into law, they are satisfied that the communities who are concerned are mutually agreed upon a practicable alternative scheme either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's provinces, or in respect of the whole of British India, they will be prepared to recommend to Parliament that the alternative should be substituted for the provisions now outlined.

## general features OF THE SCHEME

(5) Seats in the Legislative Councils in the Governor's Provinces or in the Lower House, if there is an upper chamber, will be allocated as shown in paragraph 24 below:-
(6) Election to the seats allotted to Mahomedan, European and Sikh constituencies will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates covering between them the whole area of the province (apart from any portions which may in special cases be excluded from the electoral area as "backward").

Provision will be made in the constitution itself to empower revision of this electoral arrangement (and other similar arrangements mentioned below) after ten years with the assent of the communities affected, for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised.
(7) All qualified electors who are not voters either in a Mahomedan, Sikh, Indian Christian (see para 10), Anglo Indian (see para 11) or European constituency, will be entitled to vote in a general constituency.
(8) Seven seats will be reserved for Maharattas in certain selected plural-member general constituencies in Bombay.
(9) Members of the "depressed classes" qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that, for a considerable period, these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in para 24 below. These seats will be filled by election from the special constituencies in which only the members of the "depressed classes", electorally qualified, will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the "depressed classes" are most numerous and that except in Madras they should not cover the whole area of the province.

In Bengal, it seems possible that in some general constituencies, the majority of the voters will belong to the Depressed Classes. Accordingly, pending further investigation, no number has been fixed for members to be returned from the Special Depressed Class constituencies in that Province. It is intended to secure that the Depressed Classes should obtain not less than ten seats in the Bengal Legislature.

The precise definition, in each province of those who (if electorally qualfified) will be entitled to vote in the special Depressed Class constituencies, has not yet been finally determined. It will be based, as a rule, on the general principles advocated in the Franchise Committee's report. Modification may, however, be found necessary in some provinces in Northern India, where the application of the general criteria of untouchability might result in a definition unsuitable, in some respects, to the special conditions of the province.

His Majesty's Government do not consider that these special Depressed Classes constituencies will be required for more than a limited time. They intend that the Constitution shall provide that they shall come to an end after twenty years if they have not previously been abolished under the general powers of electoral revision referred to in para 6.
(10) Election to the seats allowed to Indian Christians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It seems almost certain that the formation of Indian Christian constituencies covering the whole area of a province is impracticable and that accordingly, special Indian Christian constituencies will have to be formed only in one or two selected areas in a province. Indian Christian voters outside these areas will not vote in a general constituency. Indian Christian voters outside these areas will vote in a general constituency. Special arrangements may be needed in Bihar and Orissa where a considerable proportion of the Indian Christian community belong to aboriginal tribes.
(11) Election to the seats allotted to Anglo-Indians will be by voters voting in separate communal electorates. It is at present intended, subject to the investigation of any practical difficulties that may arise that the Anglo-Indian constituencies shall cover the whole area of each province, postal ballot being employed: but no final decision has yet been reached.
(12) The method of filling the seats assigned for representatives from the Backward Areas is still under investigation, and the number of seats so assigned should be regarded as provisional, pending final decision as to the constitutional arrangements to be made in relation to such areas.
(13) His Majesty's Government attach great importance to securing that the new legislature should contain at least a small number of women members. They feel, at the outset, this object could not be achieved without creating a certain number of seats specially allotted to women. They also feel it is essential that women members should not be drawn disproportionately from one community. They have been unable to find any system which would avoid this risk and would be consistent with the rest of the scheme for representation which they have found it necessary to adopt, except that of
limiting the electorate for each special women's seat to voters from one community, subject to the exception explained in para 24 below. Special women's seats have accordingly been specifically divided as explained in para 24 below between the various communities. The precise electoral machinery to be employed in these special constituencies is still under consideration.
(14) Seats allotted to "Labour" will be filled from non-communal constituencies. Electoral arrangements have still to be determined, but it is likely that in most provinces Labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise Committee.
(15) Special seats allotted to Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting will be filled by election through Chambers of Commerce and various associations. Details of the electoral arrangements for these seats must await further investigation.
(16) Special seats allotted to Land-holders will be filled by election by special Landholders' constituencies.
(17) The method to be employed for election to University seats is still under consideration.
(18) His Majesty's Government have found it impossible in determining these questions of representation in the provincial legislatures, to avoid entering into a considerable detail. There remains, nevertheless, the determination of the constituencies. They intend that this task should be undertaken in India as early as possible.

It is possible in some instances that delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved by a slight variation from the number of seats now given. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to make such slight variations for such a purpose, provided they would not materially affect the essential balance between the communities. No such variations will, however, be made in the case of Bengal and the Punjab.
(19) The question of the composition of Second Chambers in the provinces has so far received comparatively little attention in the constitutional discussions, and requires further consideration before a decision is reached as to which provinces shall have a Second Chamber or a scheme is drawn up for their composition.

His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of a Upper House in a province should be such as not to disturb, in any essential, the balance between the communities resulting from the composition of the Lower House.
(20) His Majesty's Government do not propose, at present, to enter into the question of the size and composition of the Legislature at the Centre, since this involves, among other questions, that of
(Contd. on next page)

# TEXT OF THE COMMUNAL AWARD 

(Continue from page 5) representation of the Indian States which still needs further discussion. They will, of course, when considering the composition, pay full regard to the claims of all the communities for adequate representation therein.
(21) His Majesty's Government have already accepted that Sind should be constituted a separate province if satisfactory means of financing it can be found. As the financial problems involved still have to be reviewed in connection with other problems of Federal Finance, His Majesty's Government have thought it preferable to include at this stage figures for a Legislature for the existing province of Bombay, in addition to the schemes for separate Legislatures for the Bombay Presidency proper and Sind.
(22) The figures given for Bihar and Orissa relate to the existing province. The question of constituting a separate province of Orissa is still under investigation.
(23) The inclusion in para 24 below of figures relating to the Legislature for the Central Provinces including Berar does not imply that any decision has yet been reached regarding the future constitutional position of Berar.

## ALLOCATION OF SEATS

## IN PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES

(24) The following will be the allocation of seats in Provincial Legislatures (Lower House only):-

## MADRAS:

General Seats: 134 (including six women);
Depressed Classes: 18;
Representative from backward areas: 1;
Muhammadans: 29 (including one woman);
Indian Christians: 9 (including one women);
Anglo-Indians: 2;
Europeans: 3;
Commerce and Industry, Mining and Planting: 6;
Landholders: 6;
University: 1;
Labour: 6;
Total: 215
BOMBAY (INCLUDING SIND):
General Seats: 97 (including five women);
Backward Areas: 1;

Mahomedans: 63 (including 1 woman); Indian Christians: 3 ;
Anglo-Indians: 2;
Europeans: 4;
Commerce etc.: 8;
Landholders: 3;
University: 1;
Labour: 8;
Depressed Classes: 10;
Total: 200
BENGAL
General Seats: 80 (including 2 women); Depressed Classes: Blank;
Mahomedans: 119 (including 2 women); Indian Christians: 2;
Ango-Indians: 4 (including 1 woman); Europeans: 11;
Commerce etc.: 19 ;
Landholders: 5;
University: 2;
Labour: 8;
Total: 250
UNITED PROVINCES:
General Seats: 132 (including 4 women); Depressed Classes: 12;
Mahomedans: 66 (including 2 women); Indian Christians: 2;
Anglo-Indians: 1;
Europeans: 2
Commerce etc.: 3 ;
Landholders: 6;
University: 1;
Labour: 3;
Total: 228
PUNJAB:
General Seats: 43 (including one woman);
Sikh: 32 (including one woman);
Mahomedans: 86 (including
women);
Indian Christians: 2;
Anglo-Indians: 1;
Europeans: 1;
Commerce etc: 1
Landholders: 5;
University: 1;
Labour: 3;
Total: 173
BIHAR AND ORISSA:
General Seats: 99 (including three women);
Depressed Classes: 7
Representatives from backward areas: 8 ; Mahomedans: 42 (including 1 woman); Indian Christians: 2;
Anglo-Indian: 1;
Europeans: 2;
Commerce etc.: 4;

Landholders: 6;
University: 1;
Labour: 4;
Total: 175
CENTRAL PROVINCES (including Berar):
General seats: 77 (including three women);
Depressed Classes: 10;
Representatives from backward areas: 1;
Mahomedans: 14;
Anglo-Indians: 1;
Europeans: 1;
Commerce etc.: 2;
Landholders: 3;
University: 1;
Labour: 2;
Total: 112
ASSAM
General Seats: 44 (including one woman);
Depressed Classes: 4;
Representatives from backward areas: 9; Muhammadans: 34;
Indian Christians: 1 ;
Europeans: 1;
Commerce etc.: 11;
Labour: 4;
Total: 208

## NORTH WEST-FRONTIER PROVINCE:

General Seats: 9;
Sikhs: 3;
Muhammdans: 86;
Landholders: 2;
Total: 50;
Seats are also allocated for Bombay without Sind and for Sind as fol-lows:-
BOMBAY WITHOUT SIND:
General Seats: 109 (including 5 women); Depressed Classes: 10;
Representative from backward areas: 1;
Muhammadans: 30 (including one woman)
Indian Christians: 3
Anglo-Indians: 2;
Europeans: 3;
Commerce etc.: 7;
Landholders: 2;
University: 1 ;
Labour: 7;
Total: 175
SIND
General Seats: 19 (including one woman);
Muhammadans: 34 (including one woman);
Europeans: 2;

Commerce etc.: 2;
Landholders: 2;
Labour: 1;
Total: 60
As regards seats for commerce and industry, mining and planting, it is stated that "composition of bodies through which election of these seats will be conducted though in most cases either predominantly European or predominantly Indian will not be statutorily fixed. It is accordingly not possible in each province to state certainly how many Europeans and Indians respectively will be returned. It is, however, expected that initially the numbers will be approximately as follows:-
Madras, 4 Europeans and 2 Indians;
Bombay (including Sind), 5 Europeans and three Indians;
Bengal, 14 Europeans and five Indians;
United Provinces, 2 Europeans and one Indian;
Punjab, one Indian;
Bihar and Orissa, 2 Europeans and 2 Indians;
Central Provinces (including Berar), one European and one Indian;
Assam, 8 Europeans and three Indians;
Bombay (without Sind), 4 Europeans and three Indians;
Sind, one European and one Indian."
As regards general seats allocated to Bombay whether inclusive or exclusive of Sind it is stated seven of them will be reserved for Maharattas.

As regards allocation of seats for Depressed Classes in Bengal this number which will not exceed ten has not yet been fixed. The number of general seats will be 80 , less the number of special depressed classes seats.

As regards Landholders' seats in the Punjab, it is stated one of these will be a Zamindars seat. Four landholders seats will be filled from special constituencies with Joint Electorates. It is probable from distribution of the electorate that members returned will be one Hindu, one Sikh and two Mahomedans.

As regards allocation of one woman's seat among the general seats in Assam, it is stated this will be filled from a non-communal constituency at Shillong.

Source Courtesy: The Indian Annual
Register, Vol. II, July-Dec. 1932

Note: In Point No. 24, for Punjab, it was calculated on adding the numbers, that the total comes to 175. However, in the text source of information, the figure is given as 173 . For Bihar and Orissa, the total calculated comes at 176, however figure is shown as 175 in the text source of information. For Assam, the total calculated comes at 108, however figure is shown as 208 in the text source of information. For North West Frontier Province, the total calculated comes at 100, however figure is shown as 50 in the text source of information.

Neeraj Paul

## Stolen books by Newton, Galilei found under house in Romania

The books have value of more than 2.5 million pounds ( $\$ 3.2$ million) Police in Romania have uncovered a trove of "irreplaceable" books, including first editions of works by Galileo Galilei and Isaac Newton that were stolen in a sophisticated 2017 heist from a warehouse in London, police and the European Union\&\#39;s judicial cooperation agency said Friday.

The stash of some 200 rare and valuable books was discovered Wednesday hidden in a concealed space under a house in rural Romania. London\&\#39;s Met Police said in a statement that the recovered books
have a combined value of more than 2.5 million pounds ( $\$ 3.2$ million). "These books are extremely valuable, but more importantly they are irreplaceable and are of great importance to international cultural heritage, \& quot; Detective Inspector Andy Durham said in a statement.

The books were

the roof and abseiled down into the building to avoid motion detectors, loaded the books into 16 large bags and clambered back up the ropes to make their getaway through the roof, police said. A joint investigation involving police from London, Romania and the Carabinieri in Italy, supported by EU agenstolen in a raid on a warehouse in cies Europol and Eurojust in The west London. Burglars cut holes in Hague, identified 11 similar burglaries
across Britain, that netted some 2 million pounds worth of stolen property. The Met Police said a Romanian organised crime gang was responsible. The probe led to a series of raids in the three countries in June 2019 and the arrest of 13 suspects who were charged in the UK with involvement in the burglaries. The Met said that 12 suspects have pleaded guilty and will face sentencing hearings starting later this month. The 13th suspect is scheduled to go on trial in March.

Source Courtesy: The Tribune,
Posted: September 19, 2020

Gandhiji's correspondence with Sir Samuel Hoare, Indian Secretary of State, and Mr. J. Ramsey Macdonald, Prime Minister of England

## GANDHIJI'S DECISION

## TO FAST UNTO DEATH

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Sir Samuel Hoare dated Yeravada Central Prison, March 11, 1932.

Dear Sir Samuel, - You will perhaps recollect that at the end of my speech at the Round Table Conference when the minorities' claim was presented I had said that I should resist with my life the grant of separate electorate to the depressed classes. This was not said in the heat of the moment nor by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement. In pursuance of that statement I had hoped on my return to India to mobilize public opinion against separate electorates, at any rate for the depressed classes. But it was not to be.

From the newspapers I am permitted to read I observe that any moment his Majesty's Government may declare their decision. At first I had thought that if the decision was found to create separate electorates for the depressed classes I should take such steps as I might then consider necessary to give effect to my vow. But I feel that it would be unfair to the British Government for me to act without giving previous notice. Naturally they would not attach the significance I give to my statement. I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the creation of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I feel as if I was one of them. Their case stands on a wholly different footing from that of others. I am not against their representation in the legislatures. I should favour every one of their adults - male and female being registered as a voter irrespective of education or property qualifications even though the franchise test may be stricter for others. But I hold that separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism whatever it may be from a purely political standpoint. To appreciate the harm that separate electorates would do them one has to know how they are distributed amongst the so-called caste Hindus and how dependent they are on the latter. So far as Hinduism is concerned separate electorate would simply vivisect and disrupt it. For me the question of these classes is predominantly moral and religious. The political aspect, important though it is, dwindles into insignificance compared to the moral and religious issues. You will have to appreciate my feelings in this matter by remembering that I have been interested in the condition of these classes from my boyhood and have more than once staked my all for their sake. I say this not to pride myself in any way. For I feel that no penance caste Hindus may do can in any way compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the depressed classes for centuries. But I know that separate electorate is neither a penance nor any remedy for
the crushing degradation they have groaned under.

I, therefore, respectfully inform his Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the depressed classes I must fast unto death.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step while I am a prisoner must cause grave embarrassment to his Majesty's Government and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical, if not much worse. All I can urge in defence is that for me the contemplated step is not a method, it is a part of my being. It is a call of the conscience which I dare not disobey even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess.

So far as I can see now my discharge from imprisonment would not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative.

I am hoping, however, that all my fears are wholly unjustified and the British Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the depressed classes. It is perhaps as well for me to refer to another matter that is agitating me and may also enforce a similar fast. It is the way the repression is going. I have no notion when I may receive a shock that would compel the sacrifice. Repression appears to me to be crossing what might be called legitimate. A Governmental terrorism is spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials are being brutalized. The latter, high and low are becoming demoralised by reason of the Government rewarding as meritorious disloyalty to the people and inhuman conduct towards their own kith and kin. The latter are being cowed down. Free speech has been stifled. Gondaism is being practised in the name of law and order. Women who have come out for public service stand in fear of their honour being insulted.

And all this, as it seems to me, is being done in order to crush the spirit of freedom which the Congress represents. Repression is not confined to punishing civil breaches of the common law. It goads people to break the newly made orders of autocracy designed for the most part to humiliate them.

In all these doings as I read them I see no spirit of democracy. Indeed, my recent visit to England has confirmed my opinion that your democracy is a superficial, circumscribed thing. In the weightiest matters decisions are taken by individuals or groups without any reference to Parliament and these have been ratified by members having but a vague notion of what they were doing. Such was the case with Egypt, and the war of 1914 and such is the case with India. My whole being rebels against the idea that in a system called democratic one man should have the unfettered power of affecting the destiny of an ancient people number-
ing over three hundred millions and that his decisions can be enforced by mobilising the most terrible forces of destruction. To me this is a negation of democracy.

And this repression cannot be prolonged without further embittering the already bitter relations between the two peoples. In so far as I am responsible and can help it how am I to arrest the process? Not by stopping civil disobedience. For me it is an article of faith. I regard myself by nature a democrat. The democracy of my conception is wholly inconsistent with the use of physical force for enforcing its will. Civil resistance, therefore, has been conceived to be a proper substitute for physical force to be used wherever generally the latter is held necessary or justifiable. It is a process of self-suffering and a part of the plan is that in given circumstances a civil resister must sacrifice himself even by fasting to a finish. That moment has not yet arrived for me. I have no undeniable call from within for such a step. But the events happening outside are alarming enough to agitate my fundamental being. Therefore, in writing to you about the possibility of a fast regarding the depressed classes 1 felt I would be untrue to you, if I did not tell you also that there was another possibility, not remote, of such a fast.

Needless to say from my side absolute secrecy has been maintained about all correspondence l have carried on with you. Of course Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahadev Desai who have just been sent to join us know all about it. But you will no doubt make whatever use you wish of this letter.
Yours sincerely, (Sd.) M. K. GANDHI
To Sir Samuel Hoare, Whitehall, London

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S REPLY
Letter dated April 13, 1932, from Sir Samuel Hoare to Mahatma Gandhi: Dear Mr. Gandhi, - I write in answer to your letter of the 11 th March and I say at once that I realise fully the strength of your feeling upon the question of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I can only say that we intend to give any decision that may be necessary solely upon the merits of the case. As you are aware Lord Lothian's Committee has not yet completed its tour and it must be some weeks before we can receive any conclusions at which it may have arrived. When we can receive the report we shall have to give the most careful consideration to its recommendations and we shall not give any decision until we have taken into account in addition to the views expressed by the committee the views that you and those who think with you have so forcibly expressed. I feel sure if you were in our position you would be taking exactly the same action we intend to take. You would await the Committee's report, you would then give it your fullest consideration and before arriving at the final decision you would take into account the views that have been expressed
on both sides of the controversy. More than this I cannot say. Indeed I do not imagine you would expect me to say more.

As to the ordinances I can only repeat what I have already said publicly and privately. I am convinced that it was essential to impose them in the face of the deliberate attack upon the very foundations of ordered Government. I am also convinced that both the Government of India and local Governments are not abusing their extensive powers and are doing everything possible to prevent excessive or vindictive action. We shall not keep the emergency measures in force any longer than we are obliged to for the purpose of maintaining the essentials of law and order and protecting our officials and other classes of community against terrorist outrages.

Yours truly, (Sd.) SAMUEL HOARE To M. K. Gandhi Esq.

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi dated Yeravada Central Prison, August 18, 1932, to the Prime Minister:

Dear Friend, There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel Hoare has showed you and the Cabinet my letter to him of the 11th March on the question of representation of the 'depressed' classes.
That letter should be treated as part of this letter and be read together with this.

I have read the British Government's decision on the representation of minorities and have slept over it. In pursuance of my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare and my declaration at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference on the 13th November, 1931 at St. James Palace I have to resist your decision with my life. The only way I can do so is by declaring perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda. This fast will cease if during its progress the British Government of its own motion or under pressure of public opinion revise their decision and withdraw their scheme of communal electorates for the depressed classes whose representatives should be elected by the general electorate under common franchise no matter how wide it is.

The proposed fast will come into operation in the ordinary course from the noon of the 20th September next unless the said decision is in the meanwhile revised in the manner suggested above.

I am asking the authorities here to cable the text of this letter to you so as to give you ample notice. But in any case I am leaving sufficient time for this letter to reach you in time by the slowest route.

I also ask that this letter and my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare already referred to be published at the earliest possible moment. On my part I have scrupulously observed the rule of the jail and have communicated my desire or the contents of the two letters to no one save the two companions
(Contd. on next page)
(Continue from page 7)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sjt. Mahadev Desai. But I want, if you make it possible, the public opinion to be affected by my letters. Hence my request for their early publication.

I regret the decision I have taken. But, as a man of religion that I hold myself to be, I have no other course left open to me. As I have said in my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, even if his Majesty's Government decided to release me in order to save themselves for embarrassment my fast will have to continue. For, I cannot now hope to resist the decision by any other means. And I have no desire whatsoever to compass my release by any means other than honourable. It may be that my judgment is warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding separate electorates for 'depressed' classes as harmful to them or to Hinduism. If so I am not likely to be in the right with reference to other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from off those numberless men and women who have childlike faith in my wisdom. Whereas, if my judgment is right, as I have little doubt it is, the contemplated step is but a due fulfilment of the scheme of life which I have tried for more than a quarter of a century, apparently not without considerable success.

## I remain Your faithful friend,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI
To The Rt. Hon.
J. Ramsay MacDonald

Prime Minister, London
Letter from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, 10 Downing Street,
September 8, 1932.
Dear Mr. Gandhi, I have received your letter with much surprise and, let me add, with very sincere regret. Moreover, I cannot help thinking you have written it under a misunderstanding as to what the decision of his Majesty's Government as regards the depressed classes really implies. We have always understood you were irrevocably opposed to permanent segregation of depressed classes from the Hindu community. You made your position very clear on the Minority Committee of the Round Table Conference and you expressed it again in the letter you wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare on March 11. We also knew your view was shared by a great body of Hindu opinion and we, therefore, took it into the most careful account when we were considering the question of representation of depressed classes. Whilst in view of the numerous appeals we have received from depressed class organisations and the generally admitted social disabilities under which they labour and which you have often recognised we felt it our duty to safeguard what we believed to be the right of the depressed classes to a fair proportion of representation in the legislatures, we were equally careful to do nothing that would split off their community from the Hindu world. You yourself
stated in your letter of March 11 that you were not against their representation in the legislatures. Under the Government's scheme the depressed class will remain a part of the Hindu community and will vote with the Hindu electorate on an equal footing, but for the first 20 years, while still remaining electorally part of the Hindu community, will receive through a limited number of special constituencies means of safeguarding their rights and interests that we are convinced is necessary under the present conditions. Where these constituencies are created members of the depressed classes will not be deprived of their votes in the general Hindu constituencies but will have two votes in order that their membership of the Hindu community should remain unimpaired. We deliberately decided against the creation of what you describe as a communal electorate for the depressed classes and included all depressed class voters in the general or Hindu constituencies so that the higher caste candidates should have to solicit their votes or the depressed class candidates should have to solicit the votes of higher castes at elections. Thus in every way was unity of the Hindu society preserved. We felt, however, that during the early period of responsible government when power in the provinces would pass to whoever possessed a majority in the legislatures it was essential that the depressed classes whom you have yourself described in your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare as having been consigned by caste Hindus to calculated degradation for centuries, should return a certain number of members of their own choosing to the legislatures of seven of the nine provinces to voice their grievances and their ideals and prevent decisions going against them without the legislature and the Government listening to their case in a word to place them in a position to speak for themselves which every fair-minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider that the method of electing special representatives by reservation of seats in the joint electorates would secure to the depressed classes in the existing conditions under any system of franchise which is practicable, members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible to them because in practically all cases such members would be elected by a majority consisting of the higher caste Hindus.
The special advantage given under our scheme to the depressed classes by means of a limited number of special constituencies in addition to their normal electoral rights in general Hindu constituencies is wholly different in conception and effect from the method of representation adopted for a minority such as the Muslims by means of separate communal electorates, for example, a Muslim cannot vote or be a candidate in a general constituency whereas any electorally qualified member of the depressed classes can vote in and stand for a general constituency. The number of
territorial seats allotted to the Mus fact that it is impossible for them to gain any further territorial seats and in most provinces they enjoy a weightage in excess of their population ratio; the number of special seats to be filled from special depressed class constituencies will be seen to be small and has been fixed not to provide a quota numerically appropriate for the total representation of the depressed class population but solely to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the depressed classes in the legislature who are chosen exclusively by the depressed classes. The proportion of their special seats is everywhere much below the population percentage of the depressed classes.

As I understand your attitude you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that is already provided, nor to maintain unity of Hindus which is also provided but solely to prevent the depressed classes who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities today from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future. In the light of these very fair and cautious proposals I am quite unable to understand the reason of the decision you have taken and can only think you have made it under a misapprehension of the actual facts.

In response to the very general request from Indians after they had failed to produce a settlement themselves the Government against its will undertook to give a decision on the minorities' question. They have now given it and they cannot be expected to alter it except on the conditions they have stated. I am afraid, therefore, that my answer to you must be that the Government's decision stands and that only an agreement of the communities themselves can substitute other electoral arrangements for those that Government have devised in a sincere endeavour to weigh the conflicting claims on their just merits.

You ask this correspondence including your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare of March 11 should be published. As it would seem to me unfair if your present internment were to deprive you of the opportunity of explaining to the public the reasons why you intend to fast, I readily agree to the request if on a reconsideration you repeat it. Let me, however, once again urge you to consider the actual details of the Government's decision and ask yourself seriously the question whether it really justifies you in taking action you contemplate.

## am, Yours very truly,

(Sd.) J. RAMSAY MACDONALD
Letter from Mahatma Gandhi dated Yeravada Central Prison, September 9, 1932, to Mr. Ramsay Mac-

Donald:
Dear Friend, I have to thank you for your frank and full letter telegraphed and received this day. I am sorry, however, that you put upon the contemplated step an interpretation that never crossed my mind. I have claimed to speak on behalf of the very class to sacrifice whose interests you impute to me a desire to fast myself to death. I had hoped that the extreme step itself would effectively prevent any such selfish interpretation. Without urging I affirm that for me this matter is one of pure religion. The mere fact of the 'depressed' classes having double votes does not protect them or the Hindu society in general from being disrupted. In the establishment of separate electorates at all for the 'depressed' classes I sense the injection of poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever to the 'depressed' classes. You will please permit me to say no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned. I should not be against even over-representation of the 'depressed' classes. What I am against is their statutory separation even in a limited form from the Hindu fold so long as they choose to belong to it. Do you realise that if your decision stands and the constitution comes into being you arrest the marvellous growth of the work of Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life.

I have, therefore, been compelled reluctantly to adhere to the decision conveyed to you.

As your letter may give rise to a misunderstanding I wish to state that the fact of my having isolated for special treatment of the 'depressed' classes question from other parts of your decision does not in any way mean that I approve of or am reconciled to other parts of the decision. In my opinion many other parts are open to very grave objections. I do not consider them to be any warrant for calling from me such self-immolation as my conscience has prompted me to in the matter of the 'depressed' classes.

## I remain, Your faithful friend

 (Sd.) M. K. GANDHI The following is the state ment that Mahatma Gandhi had sent to the Bombay Government on the 15 th on his decision to fast in connection with the 'depressed classes' problem:-The fast which I am approaching was resolved upon in the name of God for His work and, as I believe, in all humility, at His call. Friends have urged me to postpone the date for the sake of giving the public a chance to organise itself. I am sorry it is not open to me to change even the hour except for the reason stated in my letter to the Prime Minister. The impending fast is against those who have faith in me
(Contd. on next page)
ELECTORATE FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES

## (Continue from page 8)

whether Indians or foreigners, and for those who have it not. Therefore it is not against the English official world, but it is against those Englishmen and women who in spite of the contrary teaching of the official world believe in me and the justice of the cause I represent. Nor is it against those of my countrymen who have no faith in me whether they be Hindus or others, but it is against those countless Indians (no matter to what persuasion they belong) who believe that I represent a just cause. Above all it is intended to sting the Hindu conscience into right religious action. The contemplated fast is no appeal to mere emotion. By fast I want to throw the whole of my weight (such as it is) in the scales of justice, pure and simple. Therefore, there need be no undue haste in feverish anxiety to save my life. I implicitly believe in the truth of the saying that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. He will save it if he needs it for further service in this body. None can save it against His will. Humanly speaking I believe it will stand the strain for some time. Separate electorate is merely the last straw. No patched up agreement between the caste Hindu leaders and rival 'depressed' class leaders will answer the purpose. The agreement to be valid has to be real. If Hindu massmind is not yet prepared to banish untouchability, root and branch, it must sacrifice me without the slightest hesitation. There should be no coercion of those who are opposed to joint electorate. I have no difficulty in understanding their bitter opposition. They have every right to distrust me. Do I not belong to that Hindu section, mis-called superior class or caste Hindus, who have remained nevertheless
in the Hindu fold? But whilst I can justify this opposition I believe that they are in error. They will, if they can, separate the 'depressed' classes entirely from the Hindu society and form them into separate class - a standing and living reproach in Hinduism. I should not mind if thereby their interest could be really served. But an intimate acquaintance with every shade of untouchability convinces me that their lives such as they are are so intimately mixed with those of the caste Hindus in whose midst and for whom they live that it is impossible to separate them. They are part of an individual family. Their revolt against Hindus with whom they live and their apostasy from Hinduism, I should understand, but this, so far as I can see, they will not do. There is a subtle something - quite indefinable - in Hinduism which keeps them in it even in spite of themselves. And this fact makes it imperative for a man like me with a living experience of it to resist the contemplated separation even though the effort should cost my life itself.

> The implications of this resist- ance are tremendous. No compromise which does not ensure the fullest freedom for the depressed classes inside the Hindu fold can be an adequate substitute for the contemplated separation. Any betrayal of trust can merely postpone the day of immolation for me and henceforth for those who think with me. The problem before responsible Hindus is to consider whether in the event of social, civic or political prosecution of the depressed classes they are prepared to face satyagraha in the shape of perpetual fast not of one reformer like me but an increasing army of reformers who I believe to exist today in

India and who will count their lives of no cost to achieve the liberation of these classes and there thorough Hinduism of an age-long superstition. Let fellow reformers who have worked with me also appreciate the implications of the fast. It is either a hallucination of mind or an illumination - if it is the former I must be allowed to do my penance in peace. It will be lifting of a dead weight on Hinduism if it is illumination. May my agony purify Hinduism and even melt the hearts of those who are at present disposed to disturb me.

Since there appears to be a misunderstanding as to the application of my fast, I may repeat that it is aimed at statutory separate electorate in any shape or form, for the depressed classes. Immediately that threat is removed once for all my fast will end. I hold strong views about reservation of seats, as also about the most proper method of dealing with the whole question. But I consider myself unfit as a prisoner to set forth my proposals. I should, however, abide by any agreement on the basis of joint electorates that may be arrived at between responsible leaders of caste Hindus and the depressed classes and which has been accepted by mass meetings of all Hindus. One thing I must make clear. A satisfactory ending of the depressed classes question, if it is to come, should in no way be construed that I would be committed to the acceptance of His Majesty's Government decision on other parts of the communal question. I am personally opposed to many parts of it which to my mind make the working of any free democratic constitution well nigh impossible. Nor would a satisfactory solution
to accept the constitution that may be framed. These are political questions for the National Congress to consider and determine. They are utterly outside my province in my individual capacity. Nor may I as a prisoner air my individual views on these questions. My fast has a narrow application. The depressed classes' question being predominantly a religious matter, I regard it as specially my own by reason of the life-long concentration on it. It is a sacred personal trust which I may not shirk. Fasting for light and penance is a hoary institution. I have observed it in Christianity and Islam. Hinduism is replete with instances of fasting for purification and penance. But if it is a privilege: it is also a duty. Moreover to the best of my light I have reduced it to a science. As an expert, therefore, I would warn friends and sympathisers against copying blindly or out of false or hysterical sympathy. Let all such qualify themselves by hard work and selfless service of the untouchables and they would have independent light, if their time for fasting has come. Lastly in so far as I know myself this fast is being undertaken with the purest of motives and without malice or anger against any single soul. For me it is an expression of and the last seal on, non-violence. Those, therefore, who would use violence in this controversy against those whom they may consider to be inimical to me or the cause I represent will simply hasten my end. Perfect courtesy and consideration towards opponents is an absolute essential of success in this cause at least if not in all causes.
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI
[Source Courtesy: The Indian National Congress, 1930-34]

## Lost World War II submarine is found in Southeast Asia

The USS Grenadier was scuttled in April 1943 after being attacked by Japanese bombers. Surviving crew members were tortured at a prison camp for more than two years, according to accounts. In the murky waters of the Strait of Malacca, about 90 miles south of Phuket, Thailand, four divers discovered a World War II submarine that was scuttled 77 years ago, now teeming with marine life.

The wreckage, believed to be the USS Grenadier, was located last October by divers Jean Luc Rivoire, Lance Horowitz, Benoit Laborie and Ben Reymenants, the team announced this month. Over the subsequent six months, the men - one of whom, Reymenants, assisted in the 2018 rescue of the boys soccer team that was trapped in a cave in northern Thailand - completed six carefully planned dives to study and identify the submarine, Horowitz, 36, sai d Friday from Phuket.

After taking measurements of several parts of the submarine, including the hatches and capstans, and comparing them with technical drawings from the National Archives and Records Administration, the men felt confident that they had located the Grenadier, he said.
"It was as good as we were hoping for, really," Horowitz said of the team's $\$ 110,000$ expedition. "I think a lot of people dream of finding, or discovering, or stumbling upon something that has some historical importance to it. It was a very powerful feeling; it was wonderful." The Grenadier, named after a deep-sea fish with a long body and a short, pointed tail, is more than 300 feet long and

History and Heritage Command, which is re-


Japanese plane. As the ship submerged for safety, it was shaken by bombs, the Navy recounted, forcing the submarine to plummet to 267 feet below the surface. While the face. While the hull and hatches
were badly leaking, a fire had also broken out, causing more chaos, t. Cmdr. Chaos Lt. Cmdr. John A.
Fitzgerald and five verified by the naval history command. The data associated with each discovery - videos, photographs and measurements - is assessed against archival and historical records according to Robert Neyland, head of the command's underwater archaeology branch. The process to verify this submarine would most likely take a few months, he added. "Confirming the identity of any potential discovery, as in the case of USS Grenadier, is a process that is given much weight by the U.S. Navy, as it not only affords legal protections to the site through the Sunken Military Craft Act, but the act can also provide closure to the families of those sailors lost in the line of duty," Neyland said in an email.

Before the Grenadier met its demise, it sank six ships, according to the Navy. On April 20, 1943, the submarine spotted two merchantmen and approached for an attack. The next day, while on the surface, the
other men later recounted.
In the early morning hours of April 22, two Japanese ships were spotted in the distance. Robert W. Palmer, one of the sailors aboard the Grenadier when it was struck wrote in "The Silent Service in World War II" that the men then used several types of firearms - including 20 mm guns, rifles, pistols and Tommy guns - to fire at another plane, which ultimately dropped a bomb nearby. Before scuttling the submarine, the men destroyed a coding machine with hammers, Palmer said, adding that the torpedo data computer and radio gear were all intentionally damaged by the crew. Documents, he said, were thrown overboard with weighted bags. All 76 crew members survived the attack, but they faced an uncertain future. After the skipper ordered all men into the water, they were picked up by a Japanese armed merchant ship, Palmer said. They were taken
to a commandeered Catholic school in
Penang, Malaysia, where they were tortured. "Beating, burning, breaking fingers with bamboo or pencils between them were perpetrated on the men by Japanese soldiers who sneered and joked," Palmer wrote.

The captives were forced to sit or stand in silence in an attention position, he said; "any divergence resulted in a gun butt, kick, slug in the face or a bayonet prick." The Japanese captors also used tactics like pushing the blade of a pen knife under the fingernails to get the men to talk about their submarine, he wrote.
"This was the beginning of 28 and a half months of similar treatment for most all of the crew and officers alike," he said. Four Grenadier crew members died in Japanese captivity.
"It's amazing how the families of survivors have reached out to us since they've found out it's been discovered," Horowitz said Friday. "And it's really brought them a lot of closure, and almost comfort.

What will happen to the Grenadier isn't exactly known. The submarine is still the property of the U.S. government, Horowitz said. "Whether they want to preserve it as a heritage site or whether they want to try to salvage it or do more penetration of the sub to recover artifacts, that will ultimately be up to them," he said. "We would just like it to be known for the historical value, the emotional value."

By Derrick Bryson Taylor, c. 2020<br>The New York Times Company<br>Source Courtesy: MoneyControl<br>Posted: September 20, 2020

## The Leaders' Conference

Behind closed doors, in the boardroom of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay Hindu leaders from all over India met under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the 19th September 1932, to seek a solution of the impasse presented by Mahatma Gandhi's decision to fast. The Conference was a representative one, as all schools of thought from almost all the Provinces were represented. In the words of one of the prominent leaders attending the Conference, it was a meeting "in a spirit of accommodation and optimism". Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had a long talk with Mr. M.R. Jayakar and Pandit Malaviya before the Conference commenced. Prominent among those who were present at the Conference were Pandit Malaviya, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mr. M.C. Raja, Dr. B.S. Moonje, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. M.R. Baloo, Mr. T. Prakasam, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Solanky, Mr. G.K. Natarajan, Mr. M.S. Aney, Mr. G.K. Devadhar, Mr. A.V. Thakkar, Sir Govind Madgavkar, Dr. Choithram, Mr. Gidwani, Swami Satyananda, Mr. D.P. Khaitan, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Anusuya Bai Gokhale, Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Mr. B.J. Deorukhar, Mr. Raja Rao, Mrs. Kamala Nehru and Pandit Hrydyanath Kunzru. Over 100 delegates from all parts of the country, representing both Caste-Hindus and Depressed Classes, were present. Pandit Malaviya was voted to the chair.

Telegrams from various individuals and associations wishing success to the Conference were read by Dr. Choithram.

Pt. Malaviya then explained the purpose of the Conference, emphasising the gravity of the situation and the absolute necessity of a speedy settlement.

A general discussion followed wherein several persons including Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Rajagopalachari and some Depressed Class representatives took part. The unanimous feeling was that Mahatma Gandhi's life must be saved.

Dr. Ambedkar pressed that Mahatma Gandhi's proposals must be obtained first before he and his friends could discuss the matter.

Mr. Rajah asked the CasteHindu leaders, particularly Pt. Malaviya, to give them an assurance that they would strive their utmost to remove the various disabilities imposed upon the Depressed Classes, particularly those regarding public temples, roads, wells and schools, and suggested that a resolution to that effect be adopted by the Conference.

Pt. Malaviya, in endorsing the idea whole-heartedly, said that he himself had been actively propagating for years the removal of such restrictions, and announced, amidst applause, that almost all the important temples in Allahabad, including the humble one in his own house, had been thrown open to "untouchables". It was decided to take up the resolution suggested by Mr. Rajah on the
adjourned.

2nd Day - Bombay,

## 20th September 1932

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Kelkar and four Hindu deputationists were present at today's meeting of the Conference.

At the outset, the Deputationists were requested to state what happened at the interview with Mr . Gandhi and the views of Mr. Gandhi regarding the question.

Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, on behalf of the deputation, stated that they had two hours' interview with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was definitely opposed to separate electorates and did not approve of joint electorates with reservation of seats, but however he left it to the Conference to draw up a formula regarding settlement and if the Conference was in favour of reservation of seats, he had no objection to accept them. In fact, he left it to the Conference now to draw up a pact or a formula and he would be bound by the same.

Dr. Ambedkar observed that it was not possible for him to arrive at a quick decision on this important question, without consulting his other colleagues. He therefore suggested that the Conference should pass a resolution requesting Mr . Gandhi to postpone his fast by atleast ten or twelve days, in order to enable the Conference to come to an agreed and unanimous decision.

The deputationists however explained that it was impossible for Mr. Gandhi to suspend his fast and that he was positively beginning it from today. It would therefore be merely a waste of time for the Conference to suggest postponement of the fast.

The feeling was at this stage expressed that the Conference should come to a decision, as soon as possible, as any delay involved the question of the life and death of Mr. Gandhi. It was then suggested that a small committee should be appointed to go into the whole question thoroughly, and draw up a scheme which should be placed before the Conference the next day.

## Dr. Ambedkar's Proposals

The following are the draft proposals submitted by Dr. Ambedkar to the Leader's Conference on the 20th September 1932:-

## PART-I

(1) The Depressed Classes shall have the following number of seats in the Provincial Legislatures:
Madras: 30 out of 215 . Bombay: 16 out of 200. Bengal: 50 out of 250. Punjab: 10 out of 125. United Provinces: 40 out of 228 . Bihar and Orissa: 20 out of 175. Central Provinces and Berar: 20 out of 112. Assam: 11 out of 108.
(2) The method of election to these seats shall be by joint electorates with reserved seats, provided that for the first ten years in 18 single constituencies in Madras, 10 in Bombay, 10 in Central Provinces, 10 in Bengal, 4 in Assam, 7 in Bihar and Orissa, 5 in the Punjab and 12 in U.P. (all in sin-
gle constituencies) there shall be held before the general election a primary election of voters of the Depressed Classes for electing two persons to constitute a panel, who, thereafter, shall contest on behalf of the Depressed Classes in the joint electorates.
(3) After the first ten years the system of primary election shall cease, and the seats continue to be filled by direct election in the system of joint electorates with reserved seats.
(4) The right of the Depressed Classes to special representation through joint electorates and reserved seats shall continue for a further period of 15 years. After that the matter will be settled on the basis of a referendum of the Depressed Classes.
(5) The right of the Depressed Classes to special representation in both Houses of the Central Legislature shall be recognised on a population ratio on the same terms and in the same manner as provided in the case of Provincial Legislature.
(6) There shall be adult suffrage at least for the Depressed Classes. The franchise of the Depressed Classes shall be the same for the Provincial and Central Legislature. PART-II

1. The Depressed Classes shall be allowed representation in all Provincial Municipalities, Local Boards, Village Unions, School Boards, and Panchayats and any other local bodies now existing or to be constituted in future on a population basis.
2. In all public services, central and local, the Depressed Classes shall be guaranteed appointments according to the population ratio as a minimum subject to such qualification as may be laid down for the same. Provision shall be made for relaxing statutory rules that may be in existence in matters other than educational qualifications.
3. In every province out of the educational grant a sum equal to the population ratio of the Depressed Classes shall be earmarked as a minimum for providing educational qualifications.
4. There shall be provision in the Constitution for allowing the Depressed Classes the right to appeal to the Governor or the Viceroy for any neglect of their interest in matters of education, recruitment to public services, sanitation etc. on the same terms in the same manner as provided for in the Constitution of Canada.

3rd Day - Yervada Jail,

## 21st September 1932

As a result of conversations held among the members of the Leaders' Conference at Bombay on the 20th September in the evening, a delegation, consisting of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M.R. Jayakar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. G.D. Birla, proceeded to Poona for placing the new scheme before Mahatma Gandhi for his approval. The new scheme was based on joint electorates with adequate
safeguards for the protection of the interests of the Depressed Classes.
The deputation had a long interview with Mahatma Gandhi on the 21 st September in the morning, when they explained to him the scheme. The interview proved hopeful, but Mahatmaji reserved his final opinion until he had consulted friends including Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. M.C. Raja.

The Conference which was to meet at Bombay today was adjourned till the 23rd, to enable the conversations at Yervada to be concluded.

## 4th Day - Yervada Jail,

22nd September 1932
The Conference in Yervada jail began at 5.30 p.m. today and lasted for full two hours. Mr. Rajagopalachari, Sir T.B. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. G.D. Birla, Mr. Shankarlal Banker, Mr. Sivaraj, Dr. Solanki and three from Dr. Ambedkar's group attended. The members had a heart to heart and satisfactory talk after which the conference adjourned.

Leaders' Conference at Bombay Emergent Meeting
An emergent meeting of the Leader's Conference was held in the hall of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay in the evening to consider whether any steps should be taken, in view of the delay on the negotiations that were then going on in Poona and in view of the deterioration in Mahatma Gandhi's health, as reported by Pandit Malaviya in his statement to the press. Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdass presided.

After two hours' discussion, the meeting resolved to depute Sir Chunilal Mehta to proceed to Poona, with a draft telegram proposed to be sent to the Premier, to be despatched to him in the form approved of by Pandit Malaviya and other members of the Conference, who were then in Poona.

## 5th Day - Poona,

23rd September 1932
After nine hours' informal discussion today at Poona, the leaders of the Conference dramatically broke up and all the leaders jumped into waiting motor-cars and dashed off to Yervada jail. Pressmen who were waiting outside had hardly the time to ascertain the reason for the sudden departure. Hurried enquiries elicited that two reasons contributed to the sudden termination of the talks, namely that a report was just then received from Yervada stating that Mahatma Gandhi was not keeping up his strength and that a feeling of nausea was stealing over him and his voice was weaker. It was also stated he had difficult in keeping his eyes open and he had to stretch himself on his bed for a short while. The second, and according to certain leaders, the more important reason for the hurried journey was that a point of dispute had arisen between Dr. Ambedkar and his party on one side and the other Hindu leaders on the question
(Contd. on next page)

# The Leaders' Conference 

## (Continue from page 10)

of referendum. Dr. Ambedkar in pursuance of his demands wanted that after a fixed period a referendum of the depressed classes be taken in regard to the continuation of reservation of seats, while the Hindu leaders were understood to have claimed that the reservation of seats should automatically cease after the fixed period. As the two parties could not agree on the point, they thought it best to refer the point in dispute to Mahatma Gandhi. Ten leaders including Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Solanki had a brief interview with Mahatma Gandhi lasting for nearly 20 minutes. On coming out Dr. Sapru made the following statement to the press: "As we could not agree on one point we wanted to consult Mahatma Gandhi. We placed the point of dispute before him and he gave his opinion on the matter. We are going back to resume our discussions and hope to see Mahatma Gandhi tomorrow morning." They declined to throw any light on the nature of Mahatma Gandhi's opinion given on the matter in dispute, but Dr. Ambedkar was heard to remark that it was in his favour. Returning to Pandit Malaviya's residence the leaders continued the deliberations for nearly half an hour more and then dispersed to meet again the next morning.

## 6th Day - Poona,

## 24th September 1932

After two hours' conference this morning, only two minor points were left over for settlement. The first related to the period which must intervene before a referendum is taken, Dr. Ambedkar holding out for ten years.

Mr. Rajagopalachari proposed that it might be taken at the end of the fifth year. A tussle ensued. There was a difference of opinion among the Depressed Class members present.

Dr. Ambedkar himself was prepared to accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposal. So were his colleagues who were with him from the 22nd, but fresh arrivals on this morning took up an uncompromising attitude. For one moment it looked as if negotiations would break at this stage. The situation was saved by Mr. Rajagopalachari suggesting that Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Srinivasan and two Caste-Hindus should refer the point to Mahatmaji for arbitration. Mr. Birla, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Srinivasan jumped into a car and rushed to Yervada. Mahatmaji made a fervent appeal to Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Srinivasan to give him a chance to remove their disabilities by working for them. The referendum was a good idea, but he was strongly in favour of taking it next year. When pressed to give his decision on the dispute, he preferred the lesser evil The four deputationists returned and Dr. Ambedkar and his friends discussed Gandhiji's award. It was two o'clock in the afternoon by now. Mr. Rajagopalachari suggested that there need to be no reference at all to a ref-
erendum and the question of continuing the reservations may be determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement.

Dr. Ambedkar went to his friends who were waiting for him in the next room and ascertained their opinion on Mr. Rajagopalachari's suggestion. A little persuasion from Dr. Ambedkar, and his friends agreed to it. The Conference applauded the Depressed Class leaders' decision and accepted it.

Mr. Rajagopalachari left the meeting immediately and dashed in a car to Yervada to inform Mahatmaji of the settlement on the referendum question. Gandhiji was pleased with the results of the Conference and sent a message of congratulation.

By the time Mr. Rajagopalachari returned, Mr. Jayakar, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Thakkar had sat together and settled within 15 minutes the only unfinished question of representation in the provincial legislatures.

## THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT SIGNED

At 3 p.m., leaders of Caste Hindus and Depressed Classes signed the historic agreement on the hexagonal table round which the members had deliberated.

Pandit Malaviya as President and leader of the Caste Hindus affixed his signature first. Dr. Ambedkar signed next. Then followed Sir Tej Bahadur, Mr. R. Srinivasan, Mr. Jayakar and other members present.

Sir Tej Bahadur then drafted a cable, embodying the Conference's decision and urging the Premier to withdraw separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. The Conference approved of the text. Mr. Rajagopalachari left with the copy of the cable. He motored to Mr. M.C. Raja and his friends to obtain their signature. The cable was finally ready at four o'clock and Pandit Govind Kant Malaviya, on behalf of his father, as President of the meeting and sender of the cable, filed it.

Soon after the agreement was signed by all the leaders present, Pandit Malaviya, President of the Conference, Dr. Ambedkar, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Chunilal Mehta directly drove to the Government House, and handed over the document personally and thence returned to Yervada, where all the other leaders had proceeded, meanwhile to finally inform Mahatma Gandhi that the Agreement had been signed by all. Mahatma Gandhi, although he was weak and his voice was feeble, was reported to have asked each one of the contending parties: "Are you satisfied with the agreement?" And the respective parties were stated to have signified their satisfaction.

Leaders' Cable To The Premier
The following is the text of the cable sent to the Premier by the Conference:
"Pursuant to the wishes of the All India Conference, consisting of Caste

Hindus and Depressed Classes held in Bombay, we have come to a mutual settlement regarding the representation of the Depressed Classes in the legislatures and are furnishing a full copy to the Bombay Government for transmission to the Government of India and yourself.
"We have seen Mahatma Gandhi in jail during the last four days. Today is the fifth day of his fast. His condition is steadily getting worse, and vitality ebbing. Doctors advise us that the danger point may be reached in about forty-eight hours. We are most anxious to prevent the disaster not merely for his sake, but in national interest, and we would urge upon you to withdraw your decision providing separate electorates for the Depressed Classes to enable him to break his fast. Delay would be dangerous to his life and affect the public mind greatly.
"We briefly summarise the terms of the mutual agreement. Seats for representatives of the Depressed Classes in the Provincial Legislatures have been specifically fixed regarding each province - the total number of seats in all the provinces agreed upon being 148 out of the general electorates, in substitution of 71 given by your decision. In the Central Legislature, eighteen percent of the seats in the general electorates in British India will be reserved for them. Election to all these reserved seats shall be by joint electorates, subject to the following procedure.

All the members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electorates roll will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates for each reserved seat by the method of the single vote. The four persons getting the highest number of such votes in the primary election shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate. Reservation of seats shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in the settlement. The system of the special method of primary election shall automatically cease on the expiry of ten years if not earlier along with the system of reservation. "There shall be no disabilities as regards election to local bodies or appointments to the Public Services. Endeavours are to be made to secure their fair representation consistently with their educational qualifications. In every province, out of the educational grant, an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities for them.
"India shall now anxiously await your immediate action."

## DEPRESSED CLASS LEADERS'

 CABLEDr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan sent the following cable to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State and also to H.E. the Viceroy:-
"We are glad to inform you that an agreement has been reached between the Depressed Classes and the Caste-Hindus in regard to questions
involved in the Communal Award, the substance whereof has been already cabled to you. This settlement has the support of all Depressed Classes including those from Madras. We request Mahatma Gandhi break his fast."
Rao Bahadur M.C. Rajah also cabled to the Premier, the Secretary of State, Lord Sankey and Lord Irwin, informing them that he himself and his party accepted the agreement and urging immediate action to enable Mr. Gandhi to break his fast.

## TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT

The following is the text of the agreement:-
(1) There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the general electorate seats in the Provincial Legislatures as follows:
Madras 30; Bombay with Sind 15; Punjab 8; Bihar and Orissa 18; Central Provinces 20; Assam 7; Bengal 30; United Provinces 20; Total 148 These figures are based on the total strength of the Provincial Councils, announced in the Prime Minister's decision.
(2) Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates' subject, however, to the following procedure:
All the members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll in a constituency will form an electoral college, which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats, by the method of the single vote; the four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election, shall be candidates for election by the general electorate.
(3) Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principal of joint electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in Clause two above, for their representation in the Provincial Legislatures.
(4) In the Central Legislature, eighteen per cent of the seats alloted to the general electorate for British India in the said Legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.
(5) The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, as hereinbefore mentioned shall come to an end after the first ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of Clause six below.
(6) The system of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in Clauses 1 and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in the settlement.
(7) Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee Report.
(8) There shall be no disabilities attaching to any one on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed
(Contd. on next page)

## The Leaders' Conference

## (Continue from page 11)

Classes in regard to any elections to ocal bodies or appointment to the Public Services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects, subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to the Public Services. (9) In every province out of the educational grant, an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of the Depressed Classes.

All the leaders present in
including Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Poona, including Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Srinivasan, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Rao Bahadur M.C. Raja, Mr. P.Ballo, Mr. Rajbhoj and Mr. Sivraj signed the agreement.

## LEADERS' FINAL CONFERENCE

The Hindu Leaders' Conference reassembled in Bombay on the 25th September in the afternoon under the presidentship of Pandit Malaviya and unanimously ratified the Poona agreement. Among those present were Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Solanki, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Shri Chunilal Mehta, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Mr. G.K. Deodhar, Pandit Kunzru, Mr. T. Prakasam and Mr. M.C. Rajah. The Conference further resolved to appoint an influential committee the personnel whereof was left to selection by the president of the conference, to raise Rs.25,00,000 for the purpose of carrying out countrywide propaganda for the eradication of the evil of untouchability in all shape and form in the country. The following is the full text of the resolutions:-
(1) This conference confirms the Poona Agreement arrived at between the leaders of Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes on September 24 and trusts the British Government will withdraw its decision creating separate electorates within the Hindu community and accept the agreement in full. The conference urges that immediate action be taken by the Government so as to enable Mahatma Gandhi to break his fast within the terms of his vow and before it becomes too late. The conference appeals to all leaders of the communities concerned to realise the implication of the agreement and of this resolution and make the earliest endeavour to fulfil them. (2) This conference resolves that henceforth no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth and that those who have been so regarded hitherto will have the same rights as other Hindus in regard to use of public wells, roads, schools and other public institutions. These rights shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity and shall be one of the earliest acts of the Swaraj parliament if it shall not have received recognition before that time.

## DR. AMBEDKAR'S SPEECH

Addressing the conference in support of the first resolution, Dr. Ambedkar in the first public utte
after the Poona agreement said:

A few days back no man was placed in a greater dilemma than I. I had to make choice between two difficult alternatives. There was the life of the greatest man in India to be saved; there was also before me the problem to try to safeguard the interests of my community. I am happy to be able to say that it has become possible through the co-operation of all to find a solution so as to save the life of the Mahatma and at the same time
oo protect the interests of the depressed classes in future. I think that in all these negotiations a large part of the credit must go to Mahatma Gandhi himself. I must confess I was surprised very immensely - surprised when I met him to find that there was so much in common between the Mahatma and myself. (Cheers) In fact any disputes whenever they were carried to him - and Sir Tej Bahadur has told you the disputes that were carried to him were of a crucial character - I was surprised to see that the man who held such divergent views from me at the Round Table Conference came immediately to my rescue and not to rescue the other side. I am very grateful to the Mahatma for having extricated me from a very difficult situation. My only regret is, why did not the Mahatma take up this attitude at the Round Table Conference? If he had shown the same consideration to my point of view, it would not have been necessary for him to go through this ordeal. However these are things of the past. I am glad I am here now to support this resolution.

Since the question has been raised in newspapers whether this agreement will have the support of the whole depressed classes community, should like to make it clear that so far as I am concerned and so far as the party which stands with me is concerned (and I am sure I am speaking for other friends who are present here, we will stand by the agreement. Let there be no doubt about this. Our only concern is this: whether the Hindu community will abide by it. (Voices of: Oh yes, we will.) We feel the Hindu community unfortunately is not an integral whole, but if I may say so, a federation of small communities. I hope and trust the Hindus on their side will look upon this document as sacrosanct and work it in an honourable spirit.
am very much obliged to all friends who took part in the negotiations but I should like to make particular mention of Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. Without Sir Tej Bahadur probably it would have been difficult to carry through many of the points. I must confess as a result of my experience of him during the last two years at the Round Table Conference that if there is any man in India who is above all communal prejudices it is Sir Tej Bahadur. His sense of fairness and justice always is a relief to all minorities who are seeking some safeguards in the new constitution. I must also mention Mr. Rajagopalachari. He came to our rescue when we were almost at the breaking point and had it not been for his ingenuity probably the agreement would not have come into being. I must also thank Pandit Malaviya for the courtesy and forbearance which he showed in hot exchanges of words and acrimonious debates that went on during all these negotiations.

The change that has been brought about in the Communal Award has been brought about by the insistence of the view that separate electorates are injurious to national interests. I must confess I remain unconvinced by that argument though I can quite understand that for majority representation separate electorates are harmful. I do not believe that joint electorates are going to be the final solution for the problem of absorbing the depressed classes into the Hindu community. An electoral arrangement I believe cannot be the solution of the larger social problem. It requires more than the political arrangement that we
are making today and l hope that it yond this political arrangement and devise ways and means whereby it would be possible for the depressed classes not only to be part and parcel of the Hindu community but also to occupy an honourable position of equality and of status in the community. For a long time the depressed classes were an ignorant lot not imbued with a sense of self-respect. It was possible for them to accept the social status that was given to them by the Hindu community but as they get education they will begin to smart under these social laws, and there is a great danger of their seceding from the Hindu society. I beg you to bear it in mind and hope you will do the needful in the matter.

## RESOLUTIONS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY

The resolutions were passed unanimously while the conference authorized Pandit Malaviya, as president of the conference, to decide the personnel of the sub-committee to be appointed for raising funds as proposed by Pandit Malaviya for doing countrywide propaganda against untouchabilty. The conference then terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the president.

## Premier Accepts

The Agreement - Govt. Statement On the 26th September Mr. Haig, the Home Member announced in the Assembly and Sir Frank Noyce in the Council of State, amidst loud cheers, the acceptance by the British Government of the Poona settlement to the extent it affected the Communal Award while other matters would receive due consideration at the proper time. Mr. Haig made the followAng ann
"His Majesty's Government have learnt with great satisfaction that an agreement has been reached between the leaders of the depressed classes and of the rest Hindu community regarding the representation of the depressed classes in the new legislatures and certain other matters affecting their welfare in place of the system of general constituencies combined with special depressed class constituencies contained in the Government's Communal Award of the 4th August last. The agreement provides for general constituencies within which seats are reserved for the depressed classes subject to important conditions as to the manner in which the reserved seats are filled. The Government in their award which was given in the absence of an agreement between the communities were solely concerned in relation to the depressed classes to provide adequate securities that the interests of these classes should be observed by the new legislatures. As representatives of the depressed classes and other Hindus acting together believe that the scheme now forwarded by them to His Majesty's Government is adequate for the purpose, the Government in accordance with the procedure which they laid down in para 4 of their award, will recommend to Parliament, in due course, the adoption of the agreement dealing with representation in the provincial legislatures in place of the provisions in para 9 of the award. (Aplause)
"It will be understood that the total number of general seats including those reserved for the depressed classes under the agreement will in
each province remain the same of as the number of general seats plus the number of special depressed classes seats provided for in His Majesty's Government's decision.
"His Majesty's Government note that the agreement deals also with certain questions outside the scope of their award of Aug.4. Clauses 8 and 9 deal with general points, the realisation of which will be likely to depend in the main on the actual working of the constitution, but his Majesty's Government take note of these clauses as a definite pledge of the intentions of the caste Hindus towards the depressed classes. There are two other points outside the scope of the award.
(1) The agreement contemplates that the franchise of the depressed classes should be that recommended by the Franchise Committee (Lord Lothian's Committee). It is obvious that the level of the franchise for the depressed classes (and indeed the Hindus generally) must be determined at the same time as that for other communities is being settled and the whole subject is under consideration by His Majesty's Government.
(2) The agreement also provides for a particular method of electing depressed class representatives for the legislature at the centre. This again is a subject outside the terms of this award which is under investigation as part of the whole scheme for elections for the legislature at the centre and no piecemeal conclusion can be reached

What has been said on these two points should not be regarded as implying that His Majesty's Govern ment are against what is proposed in the agreement, but that these questions are still under consideration. To prevent misunderstanding, it may be explained that the Government regard the figure 18 percent for the percent age of British India general seats at the centre to be reserved for the depressed classes as a matter for settlement between them and other Hindus.

Mahatma Breaks Fast
A copy of the Premier's acceptance of the agreement was handed over to Mahatma Gandhi at about 4-15 p.m. on the 26th September. He read through it lying on the cot, thought about it for some time, then without a word handed it to friends who read it and discussed it among themselves, Mahatma Gandh taking little part. He then asked them to explain the meaning of the statement and they all unanimously opined that it was thoroughly satisfactory and there was no reason for continu ing the fast. Mahatma Gandhi listened to them and asked that everything might be got ready for breaking his fast.

Poet Tagore sang a song from his Gitanjali in a low thrilling voice that spread a deep sense of peace. One of the ' C ' class prisoners, who was present also sang. The whole gathering then joined singing Mahatma Gandhi's favourite song descriptive of a true Vaishnav. Fruits were then distributed to children. Mrs. Kamala Nehru crushed two sweet lime fruits into a glass which Mrs. Gandhi handed to the Mahatma. With a slightly unsteady hand Mahatma Gandhi slowly sipped it sitting on the cot supported by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Mahadeo Desai. The fast which was entered on with only two intimate associates was broken at what amounted to a family reunion surrounded by nearly 100 near relatives and friends.

The traditional history of India tells of ancient struggles between light and dark races for dominance many years before the Christian Era. Physical distinctions of color are not, however, prominent today in the caste divisions of that land. Caste groups are ethnic in character and have to do with differences in religious status and ritual, and with occupational prescriptions. There are in India two major divisions of the population, the Muhammadans and the Hindus. The former constitute a vigorous minority of 92 millions who count themselves as outside the system of caste which regulates the lives of the 255 million Hindus proper.

In 1931 there were within the Hindu community 15 million Brahmans, 171 million respectable caste members, and 50 million members of exterior or untouchable castes. In addition to these groups there were over 8 million primitive tribesmen living in rough hill and forest country entirely outside of Hinduism or Muhammadanism. The 186 million Brahmans and respectable caste members were living under the caste system proper. Under this system, a hierarchy of hereditary and ritualistic occupations is imposed on all men with the Brahmans at the top monopolizing the desirable ecclesiastical and vocational pursuits, and the Sudras or serf castes at the bottom performing the less desirable functions. Since all Hindu life was regulated by caste law and custom prior to the advent of Europeans in the 17 th century, a person excluded from caste experience complete loss of property rights and social standing.

The Caste Disabilities Removal Act XXI was passed in 1850 by the British East India authorities to remove the property disabilities imposed on outcasted persons in British India. This act provided that expulsion from caste or the equivalent, the Hindu religion, would not make a person unable to bequeath or inherit property. This law could not undertake to restore a person to the privileges of caste already lost, but it did set in a practical way to remove the most effective of the disabilities imposed by the Brahmanical Hindu law on an outcaste. At that time this was helpful from the European point of view, since a person could be outcasted for many seemingly trivial offenses or even for travelling abroad. The untouchables constituted another phase of the same problem. These were persons below the limits of respectability in Hindu Society who, in spite of the fact that they were placed beyond the pale of decency, still seemed to regard themselves as Hindus of a sort. The Untouchables pursued certain religiously unclean occupations, such as leather work and shoemaking, field labor, laundering, watching the crops, manufacturing alcohol, weaving and textile manufacturing, pottery making, fishing, street and latrine cleaning, garbage removing, and butchering. Also classified in this group were the many Gypsy and criminal tribes who engaged in activities such as those of minstrels, snake charmers, fortune tellers, dancers, pickpockets, thugs, and the like. Untouchables were regarded as differing upper castes, and were themselves divided into castes of varying status. The social disabilities imposed upon the Untouchables were and still are very extensive. They were forbidden entry to most temples, were required to live in segregated villages outside of regular settlements, and had to have their own wells or water taps and other necessary facilities. Barred from schools and public buildings, they were forbidden also to use main public highways or public conveyances, and were prohibited from using common wells, bazaars, or markets. They were barred from all political rights, and were limited to certain simple types of dress without ornaments, such as the merest loincloth or similar covering. They could not agitate for higher wages nor change their lot by any self-initiated action. In some extreme cases, Untouchable castes were required to carry a spittoon or bamboo tube about the neck so as not to desecrate the ground with their spittle, to drag thorns with them and eradicate their footprints, or were forbidden to appear in the day time at all lest they pollute the higher castes by being seen. In some parts of Southern India the very air was deemed polluted by these unfortunates at distances of over sixty feet. The segregated localities in which the Untouchables lived were often extremely unhealthy, and the miserable hovels beside the rice fields were little more than animal dons. In the cities they were barred from all homes, beauty parlors, dining rooms of hotels or restaurants, coffee shops, bathing beaches, and parks. Brahmans and Barbers would not generally serve them and the ministrations of the Hindu religion were denied them. In sum, their condition was one of extreme illiteracy and poverty.

Beginning with the abolition of slavery in British India in 1843 by Act of the East India Company (slavery was common only in Malabar, Assam and certain native states), the restrictions on the Untouchables have been gradually relaxed by action of the various local, state and provincial governments in India. In addition, the Central Government has taken a prominent part in this movement. AIthough as many as 440 distinct castes were included among the Untouchables, there has been a remarkable unit of effort on the part of the various and somewhat discordant groups to ameliorate their common restrictions. The governments of the states, provinces etc., have tried to abolish the restrictions on the Untouchables by both education and administrative or legislative decree. The great stress which has been laid on education is explained as due to the greater need to change traditions and habits of thought more than merely to alter the laws. Since the First World War in particular, the native states of Kashmir, Travancore, Cochin and Mysore have made great strides along these lines.

In Kashmir in North India the Government specifically decreed the right of the depressed classes to the use of public wells, schools and state temples. Special scholarships were sanctioned for students from the depressed classes and their admission

## declared unrestricted

In South India the Government of Travancore has assigned them land for their own use, established schools, and provided representation for them in the public services and in political bodies. As far back as 1815 special taxes imposed on the Untouchables were abolished by a government proclamation. Later proclamations removed restrictions on clothing and ornaments which they might wear, and threw open the public bazaars and markets to them. In 1895 the Travancore Educational Code provided that funds be granted by the Government for establishing schools for backward classes by grants-in-aid to local communities, and within a four-year period 150 schools were opened for them with special scholarships made available. Free primary education was later granted to all regardless of caste or outcaste position. In 1926 land assignments to Untouchables began and grants were also instituted to assist cooperatives within this group. In 1921 representation of depressed classes in the Council and Popular Assembly of Travancore was also established.
n Cochin, where Untouchables polluted the atmosphere at distances of 48 to 300 feet, segregation in unhealthy, poverty-stricken, miserable hovels at a distance from the villages proper had reached its height in the 19th century. Since the dawn of the 20th century, free access to public roads, hospitals and bazaars have been granted to this group, and special facilities have been developed for them in the way of tanks and wells. An officer called the Protector of Depressed Classes was appointed to supervise agricultural colonies established for the depressed groups. He administers a program of supplying these people with agricultural materials such as seeds, implements, and other necessaries.

In Mysore State, also in Southern India, provision for the use of common wells and free school entry was made for the Untouchables in the 1920s, and at the same time provision was made for their representation in the State Assembly. In the public services special facilities have been offered for their appointment and other things being equal, even preferred appointment was given members of this group. As in Cochin and Travancore cooperatives have been encouraged by the financial assistance of the Government.

The Provincial Governments of British India have also been active in the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes. In Madras, the Commissioner of Labor was entrusted with the task of encouraging the education of dependent classes and of looking after their economic interests. Grants-in-aid are withheld from any privately managed school which does not admit exterior castes. Schools are located in areas accessible to untouchables, and provision is made for special schools, scholarships, hostels and teacher training facilities for them. Fees are often remitted for scholars of this class. Economic measures have been undertaken, such as the provision of land for house sites to relieve congestion and
have been sponsored by the Provin cial Government. New wells were constructed and old ones repaired while burial grounds and sanitary facilities were provided. The Government also reserves and freely assigns lands for cultivation to members of depressed classes with payment provided for on easy installments. Agricultural loans, flood relief, and rural credit have also been stimulated by Government action. Collective bargaining was encouraged among Untouchable laborers. Reduction of the restrictions on the free use of public ferries and water taps was also undertaken by a campaign of education. In Bombay, a committee was appointed by the Governor to inquire into the condition of the depressed groups in 1928. An officer was subsequently appointed in 1931 to watch over the resultant program for the amelioration of conditions and to uphold the rights of the backward classes generally. Recruitment of members of the police force from the backward class was recommended and undertaken. Polite treatment of backward groups by officials of the Government is provided in the Government Servants Conduct Rules.

The Central Government of British India took special pains at the Census of 1931 to collect statistical information on the condition of the backward and depressed classes and on the problems involved in their present and prospective welfare. Data were collected on the castes which were considered depressed in each province in order to provide for their special representation in legislative assemblies and to identify them for prospective social programs of social betterment.

As a result of the data gleaned from the 1931 Census, the new Indian Constitution drawn up in the Government of India Act of 1935 recognized a category of "scheduled castes" or castes for whom seats were reserved in future legislative assemblies in each province. This plan was based on the Communal Award of 1932 which divided the Indian electorate into the main recognized communities and interests such as Hindus, Muhammadans, Untouchables, etc., as subsequently modified by the Poona Pact or agreement between the British Government and the Hindus themselves. The provisions of the agreement allowed for a number of seats to be reserved for the depressed classes. All of the registered members of the depressed castes elect a panel of four candidates belonging to their own body for each of the reserved seats, and the four persons who receive the highest number of votes in this primary election are the only candidates for the reserved or scheduled seats. The candidate who is finally elected to the reserved seat is elected by the general electorate i.e., by the caste Hindus and the depressed classes together, though their choice is confined to these four candidates. Thus the unity of Hindu Society is preserved while special recognition is granted to the depressed groups.

## Source Courtesy: Racial Discrimina <br> tions and Governmental Policy <br> in Foreign Countries <br> (Washington, 1945)

VISCOUNT WOLMER: I am much obliged to my hon. Friend the Under-
Secretary for falling in with our view that this was the proper time to discuss the Poona Pact. I think that is so because this Amendment, although comparatively unimportant in itself, is, I understand, necessary in order to provide machinery which would not be required if it had not been for the Poona Pact. Therefore, this is the first occasion on which the Bill really deals with the Poona Pact. That is a matter on which I and those with whom I am associated in this subject 1088feel very strongly. We feel it necessary to protest with the utmost vigour that we can command against the course the Government have followed in regard to this matter. This is a matter of history, and in order to make our position clear we must go back to the time when at the Round Table Conference it was found absolutely impossible to arrive at any agreement among Indians themselves on the communal question. As the Committee know, the Prime Minister did everything in his power to induce the people who had been summoned to the Round Table Conference as the accredited representatives of the Indians themselves to come to some agreement in regard to the communal question.
SIR H. CROFT: May I interrupt my Noble Friend to ask whether it is not a fact that the Prime Minister communicated to this House that unless a communal settlement was arrived at, we should not go forward with the reforms?
VISCOUNT WOLMER: My hon. Friend is perfectly right. To carry history a little further back, the Prime Minister had absolutely pledged himself that he would not go forward with the question at all unless there was agreement on the subject, and of course in taking up that attitude he was absolutely right. I was just going to say that the failure of the Indians to come to any agreement on this question is really complete proof of their incapacity for self-government. If a body of men cannot come to a compromise on elementary necessities of this sort, how can they possibly be expected to compromise and to work amicably together on the thousand and one more intricate, more debatable, more disputable questions which necessarily arise in the course of representative government? Therefore, the Prime Minister was perfectly right when he made it a condition that the Indians should arrive at some agreement together. But, as the Committee know, they failed to arrive at an agreement and then the Prime Minister-not for the first time, or, I think, for the last timewent back on his word, went back on his intention, climbed down from the position which he boldly occupied, and went back on the whole of the very sound constitutional doctrine which he had previously preached. When the negotiations finally broke down, he then said that he would im-
pose a communal award on India, and that he proceeded to do. He published the communal award, which, like, I think, everything else emanating from this country, was met by a howl of execration from all parts of India. But the Prime Minister added when he imposed the communal award that if general agreement could be found to any amendment of it, he would accept that amendment. The award, of course, was not the personal award of the Prime Minister. It was the award, I have no doubt, of the India Office, and it was worked out, with the utmost care and represented, in the opinion of the great experts of that Department who have dealt with India all their lives, the fairest system on which a settlement could be arrived at. But the award, as the Committee know, accepted the system of communal representation, and it provided among other things for separate representation of the outcasts, the untouchables. Then the Government, not for the first time or for the last time, came up against Mr . Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi, who has far more political acumen than the majority of his fellow-countrymen, has long been aware of the fact that the whole position of the outcasts in India has been perhaps the greatest bar to the advancement of the movement that he represents in the eyes of the civilised world. I should like to pay this tribute to Mr. Gandhi, that I believe no Hindu has done more to try to mitigate in certain respects the disabilities under which the outcasts labour.

Now it is necessary that eve should cast one glance at the position of the outcasts. Their position is a scandal to any nation, a scandal to any community, a scandal to the British Empire. It has not been within the power of the British Raj to lift the inhuman disabilities from which they suffer from off their shoulders. It is inherent in Hinduism. When we are engaged in forcing representative government and the system of Parliamentary voting on the Indian people, the position of these untouchables at once clamours for special consideration. A man whose children are not allowed inside the village school for fear their presence should contaminate other children, but who have to learn their lessons sitting outside and listening through the windows, a man who must not approach within so many 1090yards of one of his fellowcountrymen, a man who must not touch one of his fellow-countrymen's food, a man who is treated worse than an animal, simply cannot be treated as capable of being able to exercise fully those paper privileges which you are offering him.

Therefore, the Government, quite rightly in my opinion in their communal award, provided that the untouchables should elect their own representatives. But Mr. Gandhi saw that the existence of this feature in the Indian constitution would show the world outside the incompatability
of Hinduism with democracy, and he set himself to break down this provision which that Government wisely made, and to get embodied in the Constitution the figment-it is a fig-ment-that all Hindus are members of the same community, the figment that all Hindus can be treated as one unit.

That is one of his principal tenets. In order to bring the untouchables and the class Hindus together he announced that he would, unless they made an agreement which would nullify this particular provision of the Government's award, fast to death. That is a threat which had a great deal more effect in India than it would have in some other places. In India it had a miraculous effect. No member of the Committee who is aware of the facts would deny that the Poona Pact was arrived at under coercion. It was not a free pact. If the Pact had been innocuous in itself we might have washed our hands of the matter, even though the decision had been arrived at by coercion. But it is because of these two facts, first that the decision was arrived at under coercion, and, secondly, because the decision itself is unjust, that I think we ought to interfere.

The decision is unjust because it deprives the untouchables of that special representation which the Government's award provided for them. I urge in support of that the following considerations: In the first place the Prime Minister, acting on the advice of the India Office, deliberately thought it necessary that the untouchables should have separate representation, and, secondly, the Joint Select Committee itself has put on record, if hon. Members will turn to paragraph 120 of their report, that in their opinion the Prime Minister's award 1091 would be to give better representation to the untouchables and would be more equitable to them. SIR H. CROFT: Is it not a fact that the Prime Minister actually described it as the birthright of the untouchables?
VISCOUNT WOLMER: My hon. and gallant Friend is again perfectly right. I am not quite such a close student of the Prime Minister as my hon. and gallant Friend. I do not know whether it was their birthright or not, but it appears to me to be a matter of the greatest importance to them. How can a man who finds himself in their social position expect to be able to get fair representation unless he has special representation? The arrangement of the Poona Pact was a very elaborate one. It was that the untouchables should themselves elect four candidates and that those candidates should be elected by the general Hindu community. It was a feature of the Poona Pact that the total representation of the untouchables in this matter was increased. It had this fundamental difference from the Prime Minister's award, that the untouchables would only be able to get into the Legislatures by this method representatives who were ac-

## ceptable to the c

Here you are dealing with a body of men, 40,000,000 of them or more, who for centuries have been treated worse than animals, who have been denied the elementary rights of humanity, whose religion teaches them that they are worse than dirt, who have not been able to look a caste Hindu in the face man to man within the memory of their race, and you are asking these unfortunate people to select candidates and submit them to the approval of their oppressors. I see the Leader of the Opposition sitting there. I ask him: How would he approve a system of election under which the Labour party would in the first place select their Parliamentary candidates, who would not be returned to this House until they had been approved by the Carlton Club? That is the Poona Pact. Would he regard them as real representatives of the Labour movement? MR. LANSBURY: Certainly not. I have got such a bad opinion of the Carlton Club.
VISCOUNT WOLMER: Has he a fair opinion of the caste Hindus?
MR. LANSBURY: I have no opinion on caste at all.
VISCOUNT WOLMER: And yet the right hon. Gentleman is going to support this caste arrangement, because a caste arrangement it is. If I am doing him an injustice I withdraw, but I venture to prophesy that on this occasion as on so many others he is going into the Government Lobby. MR. LANSBURY: You do not know. VISCOUNT WOLMER: It is a wrong and a wicked thing that we are lending ourselves to this arrangement under which these untouchables are to be deprived of the special representation which the Prime Minister thought was necessary for them, and the Joint Select Committee itself says gives them better representation than the Bill itself, and we are going to put into the Bill this sham representation, which will not send to the Legislatures the stalwart champions of the untouchables, who above all people are needed in the new movement of India. If this democratic system is going to work without undue injustice it is above all things necessary that you should have fearless leaders of the untouchables. It is most difficult to find leaders in a race of men who have been treated for centuries in this way and who have been browbeaten from generation to generation. The natural leaders are very few. This system is going to be so worked as to exclude these very men. It will tend to send to the Legislatures mugwumps, compromisers, people who are prepared to sell the birthright of the unfortunate outcasts whom they represent. For that reason we feel that it is necessary to raise this issue. I think that the Government have done wrong in accepting the Poona Pact.

XXX
(Contd. on next page)
(Continue from page 14)
SIR R. CRADDOCK: My Noble Friend the Member for Aldershot (Viscount Wolmer) has given an account of some of the circumstances surrounding and leading up to the Poona Pact. I think that I can give the Committee some supplementary information, as to how the Poona Agreement, as it was called, came to be made. I have information, which reached me from time to time from the part of the country where the subject was first mooted by people whom I have known for many years. The point was this: At the Second Round Table Conference, when Mr. Gandhi and the Mohammedans could not come to any agreement, the minorities met and arrived at what was called the Minorities Pact. The parties to the Minorities Pact were the Mohammedans, the Europeans, the AngloIndians, the representatives of the depressed classes and the Indian Christians. All of these made a pact, and they were particularly desirous that they should all have their special communal electorates, that those communal electorates should last for 10 years, and that they should not be modified except by the agreement of a large majority of their members after the 10 years. Dr. Ambedkar, who is the most educated representative of the scheduled classes, insisted on a special minute being attached to the report in the Minorities Pact, that in the case of the scheduled castes the agreement to have separate electorates should not be modified for 20 years, and that at the end of that time they should only be altered or given up if by that time adult suffrage had been extended to India. He is the leader of one of the principal castes among the scheduled castes-a caste numbering about $6,000,000$ with
which I am specially well acquainted. I would direct the special attention of the Committee to the fact that this Minorities Pact caused much alarm to the Hindus, for the reason that they thought that the depressed classes, with their separate seats, would come under the thumb of the Mohammedans, as the Mohammedans were a party to the Minorities Pact. Consequently, in anticipation of the Prime Minister's award, they set about a movement among the Mahars of the Nagpur district, headed by a member of the Hindu Mahasabha and a representative of the depressed classes, who was not a local man but a Madras representative; and together they undermined the opinion of some of the supporters of Dr. Ambedkar, persuading them that they would look after their interests. They said to them, "You are Hindus, and all Hindus must stand together. If you give up your communal electorate, we shall get you more seats," and so on. Having undermined the loyalty of this particular section, who are an important section, they got together the Hindus of their own body and brought about the Gandhi Fast unto Death. This is what Gandhi himself said in his paper called the "Harijan." That is a name which Gandhi has invented for the scheduled castes, and they do not like the name at all, because, although Gandhi may say that it has a high spiritual meaning the actual literal meaning of the words is "God's creatures." They do not like the name themselves; I ascertained that from their own representatives. This is what Gandhi said in his own paper, the "Harijan": I do admit that the Fast of September last did unfortunately coerce some people into an action which they would
admit also that my Fast coerced the Government into releasing me. I admit, too, that such coercion can and does sometimes lead to insincere conduct. Gandhi's threat to fast unto death unless these people agreed was an offence under the Indian Penal Code, and it is numbered among the offences relating to intimidation and obtaining anything by undue pressure. It had to be made an offence under the Penal Code because it is a method of intimidating and extorting by appealing to the religious beliefs and superstitions of the people whom you try to coerce. This well-known practice is called "sitting down." It literally means that you sit on a man's doorstep, and if he will not give you what you ask you sit there till you die; and your death is on his head and he suffers both in this life and the next.

It was quite impossible for the representatives of the depressed classes to refuse to agree to the new scheme when Gandhi said that he would complete his fast unto death unless they agreed. Dr. Ambedkar and the other representatives of the depressed classes, I am informed, were brought down at the expense of a Bombay millionaire; and so, in these circumstances, with the atmosphere of threat over them, the Poona Pact was effected-with Gandhi threatening that if they did not agree he would fast unto death. In these circumstances the Poona Pact came to be hurriedly accepted, hurriedly signed, and hurriedly endorsed by His Majesty's Government. The Government had to decide whether this was an agreement which should be accepted as an agreement to modify the Prime Minister's award, and they had to do so within, say, 48 hours - and they did so in this great hurry. There was no op-

## portunity for th

opinion at all.
It was in this great hurry and under the threat of this fast, which is an offence under the criminal law in India that the arrangement was come to. The offence is to induce people to agree to something by playing on their religious and superstitious fears. It is called "sitting dharna," or forcing a man to agree by threats of fasting unto death. I should like the Committee to know that an Amendment for the cancellation of that Pact was moved in the Joint Select Committee by Lord Zetland, who has been Governor of Bengal, supported, among others, by Lord Lytton, the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord Rankeillour, Lord Hardinge and Lord Derby. This Amendment moved by Lord Zetland was lost by 14 to 9 -that is to say, the Conservative Members on the Committee were equally divided, nine to nine, and Lord Zetland's Amendment was lost by the vote of the Liberal and Labour Members of the Committee. It does just show that whatever they may say about us-and they are pleased to speak with contempt of us as diehards[HON. MEMBERS: "No, no!"] [An HON. MEMBER: "It is a compliment."] Very well, I accept that. It does show that it is not confined to Members of the ordinary Conservative minority. Those are the circumstances under which these people were really deprived of their seats, because undoubtedly the whole object was to meet the fear that the untouchables would come into alliance with the Mohammedans and be lost to the Hindu cause. I wanted to put the information before the Committee in its absolute accuracy.

## COMMONS SITTING, 10TH MAY 1935 FIRST SCHEDULE - (Composition of Provincial Legislatures.) <br> that the Government probably gave more <br> ally, as I think I can show in a moment,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR HENRY CROFT: I had just commenced on Wednesday night, the last occasion on which the Committee met, to call attention to the Poona. Pact and to the story of its birth, and I think the Committee will agree that this is a question to which it is necessary for us to give very grave attention, because it is on this subject that I think there was a bigger changeover of votes on the Joint Select Committee than on any other Occasion. Everybody will therefore appreciate that our decision on this subject is one of very far-reaching importance. I think the Committee will all agree that the Constitution is being built upon the volcanic soil of communal strife in India. That is generally admitted to be the one great problem which makes this Constitution-building so different from anything which has ever been considered in any similar proposals in the history of the world. I think we all further agree that it is absolutely vital that when this scheme emerges we must be as fair as we can to minorities. We were led to understand that the Constitutional reforms as a whole would only be possible if there could be an agreed settlement upon this communal question, but the settlement was found to be impossible. The Prime Minister, representing His Majesty's Government, then decided to impose a settlement upon India, and I presume that I do not exaggerate if I say
attention to this Communal Award than to any other part of the Bill. It is, indeed, an essential fact, without which the Measure itself, if it is ever passed into law, cannot possibly work. It was explained in the Debate when last we met that many of us felt that the democratic form of government which we are hoping to see evolved out of these proposals is really incompatible with a communal division of electors and legislators, and that is why we feel that the scheme almost inevitably will break down and have to be replaced some day by some other.

Neither has the Communal Award given any sort of satisfaction to anyone in India, with the exception perhaps of certain large bodies of Moslems. In fact, at the present moment there is a big movement in India, as Members of the Committee will be aware, called the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference, which was held on 23rd February, and there they declared against the whole award by an overwhelming majority. That does not alter the fact that the Government with immense care went into this whole question, and I should like to say at once that if you have to have this form of communal representation, I consider that the Government's original decision was probably the fairest which could be arrived at.

Mr. Gandhi, who is as well
saint, saw certain results in the Communal Award which he feared very much indeed. First, it, seemed to him that the depressed classes, who were, I think we may say, pleased with the Communal Award at the beginning, might ally themselves politically with Moslems and with the other minorities, and that was stated in some public documents which we have had before us; secondly, the establishment of the separate electorates might detach these unfortunate people from their Hindu co-religionists, which would release them from the domination of Hindu political power; and thirdly -and this is the point on which Mr. Gandhi laid the greatest stress-it would emphasise in the eyes of the world the fearful debasement of the untouchables by their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists in India at the present time by always allowing the world to see that the depressed classes had their special political representatives; and, fourthly, he undoubtedly wanted the representatives of the depressed classes to vote and to work with Congress rather than against that body. He, therefore, with very great ingenuity, devised with some of the Hindu leaders the Poona Pact.

I hope the Committee will realise that ostensibly the idea was that the Poona Pact gave the depressed classes very much greater representation. Actu-
the effect must be to bring their representatives under the permanent bondage of Congress leadership. Under the Communal Award, the Committee will remember, the depressed classes were allotted 71 seats in the various provincial councils. They were to be actual representatives of depressed classes, elected purely by electors drawn from those classes, but under Mr. Gandhi's Poona Pact some gentlemen styling themselves representatives of 128,000,000 orthodox Hindus, and Dr. Ambedkar, claiming to represent $48,000,000$ of the depressed classes in India, agreed to an increase from 71 to 148 seats for the depressed classes, largely apparently to be at the expense of Hindu seats. That looked a very fine and encouraging gesture on the part of the Hindu leaders, but what is the real effect?

As we see in the Bill, there is to be a primary election of depressed class electors, who will elect a panel of four members. The four so elected will then stand, and the electorate will be increased to include all caste Hindus in that constituency, who, in almost every case, will be in a very large majority. Congress knows very well that out of this panel of four in any constituency they are practically certain to get one of the four holding their views and pledged to support
(Contd. on page 16)

## 2 Ampdelarines FIRST SCHEDULE - (Composition of Provincial Legislatures.)

(Continue from page 15)
their programme. When, therefore, the general electorate elect one to be on the panel of four, the general electorate, which will be almost inevitably Congress-controlled, will, of course, elect the Congress candidates. who has made any study of the political machinery in India, The Congress thus hopes to secure almost the whole of the 148 socalled depressed class representatives instead of the very few, and possibly none, of the 71 under the Communal Award. That briefly, I think, is a description of the effect of the Poona Pact. How was it secured? The Joint Select Commithee, as the Under-Secretary told us on Wednesday, said: Under the pressure of Mr. Gandhi's fast these propos-
als were precipitately modified. I want to apologise to the Under-Secretary for quoting him on the last occasion as using the word "threat". I misquoted him. The word I should "pressure" is a different word from "threat" Mr. Gandhi declared that unless this proposal were accepted he would fast unto death. He gave no time for his threat to be carried out, for it immediately forced everybody to come into line. Dr. Ambedkar, who is declared to be the head of $6,000,000$ untouchables, surrendered the cause of the depressed classes on account of $48,000,000$. I think that is the number of the whole of the depressed classes which we are considering, but it is difficult to get the exact figure. Who was he, the leader of the saint? Of course he had to give way. His position would have been impossible if the saintly Mahatma had passed from this unhappy world. The Congress Hindu Leaders under Pandit Malaviya agreed, as well they might, to the same proposal, and His
Majesty's Government, also under the pressure of Mr. Gandhi's fast, precipitately decided to modify the proposals. They fell like rabbits into the snare.

Thus once again we find that we not realising the reactions-surrendered to those in India who are utterly opposed to any form of partnership between Britain and India, who are completely opposed to the
Bill, and who have, in fact, in the newlyelected Legislative Assembly declared emphatically that they do not want the Bill at all. The Under-Secretary, in answering my Noble Friend the Member for Aldershot (Viscount Wolmer), might have persuaded the Committee, so honeyed were his words, that Dr. Ambedkar is glowing with satisfaction at the whole concern. As a matter of fact, the Under-Secretary said: "The Committee will
be right to be guided by the leaders of the
Untouchables and to accept their view in preference to any other view." I wonder whether he means that, and if he really accepts the view of the worthy doctor. May 1 remind him that, according to the "Times", a very friendly witness, on 17th January this year, Dr. Ambedkar, who was giving lip service to the Poona Award, said: "The interests of the depressed classes have been flagrantly neglected. Therefore it will not be possible for them to give their support to the present scheme." Do not let us lay unction to ourselves that this surrender to Congress is, in fact, going to give any joy or felicity to the depressed classes. Like everyone in turned against the doctor's mandate with regard to India. I express my sympathy with His Majesty's Government, because I think the depressed classes were the last straw to which they were clinging, and they were the only so-called organised section of the In dian people who had not repudiated the Government's Measure.

I think I have said enough to convince the Committee that it would be wiser to revert from the Poona Pact, which I believe no one in this country really wanted or had ever heard of until Mr. Gandhi's ingenious manœuvre, back again to the Commu-
nal Award, which was the result of so much care on the part of His Majesty Government, and which, I think I am right in saying, the Joint Select Committee itself thought was preferable to the Poona Pact. The Prime Minister stated-and let me be fair about this; I am not using the exact words-after the Communal Award was decided, "Of course, if there is agreement in India, we will be ready to accept such an agreement between parties". It may, therefore, be in the minds of certain Members that we are forced to accept the Poona Pact. That is not so. The Joint Select Committee itself divided on the principle of the Poona Pact, as far as it referred to one province, on Lord Zetland's amendment. I would particularly ask the Committee to realise that Lord Zetland was supported on that occasion, not only by Lord Salisbury and those who voted with him, but by Lord Hardinge, an ex-Viceroy, Lord Lytton another ex-Governor-General, and Lord Derby. In fact, he would have carried his proposal but for the Liberal and Socialist votes, which were on the other side. I am not using that for party dialectics, but just to show what an immense swing over there was on that subject.

Therefore, if it was legitimate for the Joint Select Committee to discuss this question, to hear witnesses on this subject, and actually to go to a division on the mat-
mittee also to discuss it and to refuse to yield to the threat of death, which was made even before this Bill was brought in, against our better judgment. If we are going to adopt this practice of yielding to threats of this description, even before the flag has dropped and the race for democratic spoils has started, it seems to me that it puts a premium upon coercion and a brake upon the liberty of action and freedom of conscience of which we in this House claim to be the special champions. In a few days' time we may have the leader of Congress or the Indian trade unions, if there be any; we may even have the women's leader who is now to be nominated to the Council of State, engaging in this new pastime of threatening to starve. The famine which we have eliminated from the great country of India, thanks to the marvellous administration of the British Government-a most romantic story - will become rife in Provincial Councils, which may become mortuaries instead of legislatures. It seems to me that it is sheer madness to allow Mr. Gandhi or anyone else to thwart your intentions and your wise decisions, and force you to go back on such decisions on pain of his death. I think the Committee will realise also that it really upsets the whole balance of our scheme if the Hindu controlled Congress is able under the Poona Pact completely to control the decisions of the so-called representatives of the depressed classes.

More important than either of those matters is the fact that under the Poona Pact, in my honest belief, the depressed classes will be deprived of that very freedom which we were hoping to give them. This has nothing to do with the question of whether it is wise to have this reform or not The question we have to ask ourselves today in settling the fate of these
$48,000,000-$ or, some say, possibly $60,000,000-$ or, some say, possibly whether they are going to have a square deal, to have that freedom which we promised to give them, or whether we are by a piece of trickery, as I honestly believe it was going to put them for all time under the domination of Congress and therefore, to deprive them of what we promised them. I know that His Majesty's Government are make to strengthen this Bill, but this one does not interfere with the main principles of the Bill. The more we study the question, the more we must realise that when the British Raj has gone from India the position of the depressed classes, unless we give them some rights and some big standing in the future in these assemblies, is going to be

## deplorable. On that account I most earnestly

 ask the Government to reconsider the position and to go back to the Communal Award of the Prime Minister, which had the support of the whole Government before they wereforced, under duress, to adopt this more recent scheme.
LIEUT.-COLONEL APPLIN: I should like to point out the unreality of the Poona Pact. It was not a pact or a bargain as we understand such things. It is what is known in India as a hukum. It came from Gandhi, who had the cloak of holiness over him and spoke as a prophet. Not only that, but he spoke with the voice of the British Government behind him. Had he not driven up the Mall in Simla in a ticka ghari and taken tea with His Excellency the Viceroy, the King's representative? Had he not gone in the face of a Government Order and made salt against the law and was not prosecuted? He had behind him not only the whole power of Hinduism, but the whole authority of the British Raj behind him. That was why when he went to Poona and accepted the Pact, that the Untouchables did so instantly. They could do nothing else. It was a hukum. It was a command, an order. They felt that if they did not accept the Pact they would get nothing at all. They have got nothing at all. We who know the Hindus and India know perfectly well that under this Pact, apart from the fact that there will be two elections, the only men who will be elected to represent the depressed classes will be those who have got from the Brahmins and the other castes a licence to come forward and be elected. They will be selected. Anybody who is not se lected will find it absolutely impossible to be elected.

For that reason, and because we do want this Bill to work, I pray the Under-Secretary to remember that we are responsible for these depressed classes. There are something like 60,000,000 of them in India. Unless we give them real representation in the new Parliament we shall leave out representation of the very 1289 people for whom we are most responsible, the very people whom we have protected for a century. Are we going to abandon them now at the moment when they are expecting to get some form of representation? They are the workers, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, and I am certain that in speaking for them I shall have with me right hon. and hon. Members of the Labour party. These people at least should have a vote which they can exercise freely and without
[Some extracts from debate in UK
Parliament on the issue of Poona Pact]

## Chandra Bhan Prasad utilised his glamour and name to advance the Dalit cause

Chandra Bhan Prasad was the first Dalit in inde-
pendent India to have a dedicated column space in
the English press. He fronted attacks and counter-
punched detractors for berating Dalits, taking on
anyone trying to pull them down
Dalitality will be incomplete if it doesn't honour my
predecessor, Chandra Bhan Prasad, a shining thought
leader and India's leading public intellectual. At a
time when Dalits were barely noticed, CBP was our
eyes and ears. He was our man, dressed in a soigné
suit, sharp black tie and handsomely combed hair.
Sitting in the studios or penning his philosophy, CBP
gave us reasons to be proud and assured.
CBP is known to the world for his stellar
work as a columnist in The Pioneer. He was the first
Dalit in independent India to have a dedicated col-
umn space in the English press. His popular column,
Dalit Diary, came at a time when newer interventions
in India's changing geography were desperately
needed.
Born in 1958 in Bhadwan village in Aza-
mgarh, Uttar Pradesh, CBP began writing as the last
decade of the 2Oth century dawned. His life at Jawa-
harlal Nehru University was shaped by the radical up-
tightness of Dalit exploitation. He found a pathway
to articulate the simmering anger through the CPI
(M-L) outpost. After paying closer attention to this
politics, and the politics of the liberal and progres-
sive, CBP chose to expose their hypocrisies through
honesty. He took upon the liberals and progressives

finding avenues at the centres
of liberal structures. He was a of liberal structures. He was a
pragmatic uncle who advised pragmatic uncle who advised
Dalit movements to "seek Dalit movements to
share in globalisation share in globalisation" instead
of "wasting resources of "wasting resources, time
and talent in trying to stop the and talent in
unstoppable". unstoppable".
His reasoning for
capitalist solution was his ac capitalist solution was his ac-
tive position against the twicetive position against the twice-
born Left and Sangh. Both these cronies are united in
keeping the position of Dalits permanent subordinate. He were given adequate space in
China after the 1949 revolution till 1956.

The much-hyped Bhopal Declaration
ught together Dalit academics, thinkers which brought together Dalit academics, thinkers and babus to frame a policy of diversity had token success. It created a buzz but the results are still to to articulate that idea and bring about new the credit tives can be attributed to CBP. He is the father of India's diversity movement who argued for an increase in colours to the "

CBP utilised his glamour and name to adDalit cause. He toyed with new ventures and this is what brought him to propose Dalit Capi-

Although his Dalit Capitalism is an ad-
mirable concept, it needs detailed scrutiny and much mirable concept, it needs de
more critical understanding. Cal understanding. and showed literary command deeply sociological power of the English language, which allowed him power of the English language, which allowed him a nity. He remains a strong advocate of the Dalit Eng lish language movement.

## CBP held up no filters forimand of the twice-borns,

 Dalit movement's singular focus on Brahmins as enemy No. 1 was wrongly placed, especially when, since Independence, the upper Shudras had claimed dominance in India. Thus, the "principal contradiction of our times" was between "Dalits and upper Shudras".CBP fronted attacks and counter-punched detractors for berating Dalits, taking on anyone trying to pull them down. His new ventures "Dalit Food" and "Dalit Entrepreneurship" are thought-provoking and inspiring. Needless to say, also entertaining.

This article first appeared in the print edition on September 20, 2020 under the title 'The im portance of Chandra Bhan Prasad'. Suraj Yengde,
author of Caste Matters, curates the fortnightly 'Dalauthor of Caste
itality' column

Source Courtesy: The Indian Express,

# 6. Ambedkar Times www.ambedkartimes.com vOl-12 <br> Zameen Prapti Sangharsh Commitee led Movement in Punjab A turning point in Revolutionary history of Punjab and India <br> \section*{The Zameen Prapt Sangharsh Commi-} 

tee has played the most defining role ever in determining the destination of the upsurge or emancipation of the dalit community of Punjab from enslavement. The movement it has inaugurated in 2014 has virtually written a new chapter or defined a new epoch in the history of struggle of Dalit agricultural labour. With detailed or incisive analysis and painstaking preparations it led many a struggle for re-distribution of panchayat land promised to dalits, for cancellation of debts and against grossly unfair prices o obtain land during auctioning. The efforts of the ZPSC have instilled a sense of confidence or self-respect in the Dalit Community as it never has previously in Punjab .Never before have dalit community members spoken so boldly against the opression perpetrated on them. It is notable how it has consolidated after each juncture of struggle. A welcome break was enshrined from the tradition in the Communist Movement that literally dumped the caste question in the dustbin. Without doubt a stepping stone towards creating base for agrarian revolution and a model for the rest of the country.

In the course of history the dalit Community has been denied fundamental rights and marginalized leaving no stone unturned. In 1961, the state passed the Punjab Village Common Lands (Regulation) Act, reserving 33\% of agricultural village common land for Scheduled castes, who could get an annual lease through bidding. Rules under the statute were framed in 1964. The implementation, however, was indifferent. The 1961 land regulation act carved out $1 / 3$ rd panchayat land rights for al dalit families. Their rights have existed only on paper with ruling parties patronizing all steps of ruling castes to deny the dalits their promised rights.31.9 \% of Punjab comprise dalits,more than any state in India. Over 170 families occupy a mere 25 acres of land. Caste confrontation was propelled to its very zenith with upper caste landlords unleashing merciless attacks on dalits with the patronage of the ruling party. On countless occasions dalit women are molested and upper caste landlords forcibly seize land. times children are made to go hungry. The sarpanches with all their might supressed democratic assertion of dalits and sponsored attacks on them by goons of upper castes to thwart their rights. In 201443 activists of ZPSC were arrested and within a few years the figure of those imprisoned rose to 170 . ZPSC took it's birth in Malwa and then spread like wildfire igniting the spark of combat to engulf other regions of Punjab. It's first spark shimmered after the ruthless attack unleashed by upper caste Jat landlords on dalits in Badli Kalan.

Zameen Prapti Sangharsh Commmitee mainly focussed on the issue of the Dalit Community winning
it's share of $1 / 3$ rd share of promised Panchayat land .It advocated a $33 y e a r$ land lease for the dalit Community to replace annual auctioning where dalits were manipulated. The ZPSC made a meticulous survey of the socioeconomic conditions in terms of land relations, wages paid to dalit workers, condition of women and employment.

The ZPSC also seriously raised issue of the 1970 land ceilings act which prevented anyone from owning more than 17 acres of land. In the course of the struggle many important ZPSC leaders were tar-
tiala with Caste and class consciousvengeance written on the faces of dalits at the intensity of a tornado. It is remarkable that even from the deepest depths of despair it it has spectacularly risen .Mastery of an architect has been blended with the courage of a soldier in galvanising mass mobilizations against the enemy forces. The intensity of struggles enabled the Dalit community to gain deep insight into the nefarious games played to trick them by the ruling castes or classes. I was most impressed with the death defying

geted either being arrested or had their houses raided. Another significant issue is the confronting the debts induced by micro finance corporations. With full fury the dalits have risen up against the attempts of micro-finance companies to enslave them. An issue was also raised confronting the building of an industrial park encroaching dalit land. The organization has also in the deepest pitch raised its voice against Hindutva fascism.

I have had the privilege to attend 2 of its most impactful protests in 2016 and it's maha panchayat in 2018. Memories will be permanently embedded in my mind of the intensity and anguish expressed in the protest at the grain market in Sangrur mobilising around 8000 people and DC Headquarters and later in Jaloor in protest organized by Jaloor Jabar Virodhi Sangharsh Commitee attended by 5000 persons..In all the memorial conferences for martyr Gurdev Kaur annually in December around 2000 persons attended. Many impactful gheraos were staged in Patiala outside the place of minister Singla reminiscent of an army thronging and converging in, literally painting the venue of protest red.A few days ago another gherao was launched with around 1500 persons besieging palatial house of minster Vijay Singh Singla.

It was most inspiring to witness the capture of land plots themselves by Dalits through planting of red flags. Applying diligent methodology a network was built in Khaneri,Badli Kalan,Kheri,Garacho etc.and other surrounding areas in Sangrur.A red spark or resistance engulfed many a village in Sangrur-Pa-
courage the ZPSC revealed to confront state repression after over 60 of its cadre were arrested.

Co-operative farming is now practiced by the Dalit community which is remarkable. Crops are grown and cattle grazed collectively, with all share produced. An 11 member strong village commitee was elected to run the cooperatives. In Jhaneri 60 familes were knitted into a single unit. 6000 Bighas of land have been distributed by the ZPSC and the land auctioning rate reduced from Rs 440000 to 22000 . The interviews of dalit women activists testify the spectacular gains achieved in the last 6 years. They highlight the success of cooperative farming which enables them to earn Rupees 30000 a year. No longer will dalit labourer be forced into begging wheat from upper castes as a result, becoming self-sufficient or reliant.

What is heartening is that a second stage has been reached with a decree awarded by the administration for being awarded 33 year lease of land.In Tolewal region the declaration of lease was first made.

It is also significant that the organization now has a general body with regular office bearers.

The biggest hurdle confronting the struggle is the ambivolence of the landed jat peasantry who are basically reluctant to treat the dalit community on equal terms. The ZPSC has opposed a mechanical tendency to only concentrate on class and neglect caste struggle.

Other groups spearheading the dalit agricultural labour movement are the Krantikari Pendu Mazdoor Union and the Punjab Khet Mazdoor Union. The KPMU totally supports the

## line of ZPSC in terms of incorporating

 caste struggles. In village Namol it undertook a major land re-distribution campaign as well as Dhuri.At a smaller scale than ZPSC its struggles spared like wildfire. One of its most important achievements was preventing auctioning of land at most unfair prices. The Punjab Khet Mazdoor Union has been very active in initiating protests for plots, employment 10 marlas of land etc.but deferred confronting Jat peasantry at ground level. It has mobilized gathering seven for demands of housing and electricity. In it's view even if caste factor has so seriously be taken into consideration it cannot replace class struggle or politics. The PMKU firmly feels that until a genuine movement is built up by the landed peasantry and unity forged with landless labour such land capture movements will be of no qualitative avail. I had the privilege of being present in a panchayat of KPMU in 2017 and 2018 and a rally of PMKU in Bathinda in 2018.A series of assaults were also carried out on activists of the KPMU.In recent months KPMU has confronted cheating dalits in land auction sin over 100 villages. It has also undertaken very commendable work in confronting goondaism.It is remarkable that even from the deepest depths of despair it it has spectacularly risen.What is very positive is the unity of so many revolutionary forces in offering solidarity against repression on the movement of ZPSC with outstanding commemoration programmes carried out on day of murder of Gurdev Kaur.

One weakness of the movement is the ZPSC calling for NOTA in elections and not properly projecting the revolutionary alternative. The KPMU staunchly adheres to path and slogan of 'Boycott' of parliamentary elections. Both do not comply to the slogan of Active political campaign propagated by the Punjab Khet Mazdoor Union and BKU(Ugrahan).

Another significant defect prevailing is the absence of a revolutionary movement of the landed peasantry to give a cutting edge to the upsurge of agricultural labour. Thus in term of united front a glaring gap is faced to launch a sustained agrarian movement..Tendencies exist of caste identity politics favouring Ambedkarism. The ZPSC must beware of not falling into the trap of legalism which would nullify the movement.

A more accurate analysis also must be made of the impact of capitalist development and imperialism on semi-feudal economy.

The movement has greater goals to achieve, said Gurmukh Singh of Zameen Prapti Sangharsh Committee. "The possession of common land has instilled confidence among Dalits but it can't be their main source of livelihood," he said. "The real change will come with proper implementation of land ceiling law and redistribution of private land. Only then the landless
(Contd. on next page)

# Zameen Prapti Sangharsh Commitee led Movement in Punjab A turning point in Revolutionary history of Punjab and India <br> \title{ (Continue from page 17) 

 <br> tivists.}
will gain equal status.
Nevertheless it is noteworthy that the ZPSC has created shivers in the spine of the ruling classes and upper caste landlords and forced them to counter retaliate. Thus the enemy has been hit at its hardest point. It should be the precursor of a genuine revolutionary organization of peasantry uniting the landed and landless peasantry.

Inspite of the turbulence caused by the clampdown Covid 19 Pandemic the spark of dalit struggle still ignites vociferously.in Punjab. In the last month a major resurgence has risen of the struggles of the Za meen Prapti Sangharsh Committee of Sangrur-Patiala, which has encompassed different areas. Positive that the lockdown did not dissipate the spirit of the dalit landless labourers. In a most methodical manner they revived their democratic movement. A spate of protests erupted on the burning issues facing the dalit community. Regions like Gharachon and Singla shimmered the spirit of resistance at its crescendo. Issues revolved around issue of distribution of panchayat land reserved, scrapping of loan re-payments and opposition to attacks of mafia elements on dalit ac-
dit Un June 8th one thousand dalit villagers swarmed in Sangrur like an army and besieged the hose of minister Vijay Singh Singla, demanding reserved panchayat land promised to them.

In Gharachon village of Sangrur as majority of Dalit families sat in a prolonged dharna to protest the auction of the reserved land. The protesting Dalit community members alleged that the Panchayat authorities allotted the land to "dummy bidders" planted by the members of the upper caste. This protracted struggle was of great significance to the dalit agrarian movement.
"There are two groups of Dalits in Gharachon. On one side there are 174 families, while on other side there are only five families. But Panchayat officials on May 27 allotted the reserved land of 48 acres to the representatives of these five families, who are working as dummy candidates for upper castes. Since then we have been demanding cancellation of the auction," said Mukesh Malaud, zonal president of the Zameen Prapati Sangharash Committee (ZPSC).
The merits of its achievements are testified in the articles written in blogs like Caravan or Wire. They illus-
trate the sheer relentlessness spirit of the ZPSC in bringing the opressive ruling classes an castes to the ground.

Quoting Mukesh Maloud, the president of the zonal committee of the ZPSC, "Our movement has so far been successful in 55 villages now, in Sangrur and Patiala district, where the Dalits get their share in land through genuine auctions," Mukesh said. He said that there were 55 such villages, "each is a success story of the class struggle-Bharo, Bhattiwala, Gharancho, Tolewal, Mudowal, Dhandiwal, Rangia, Badrukha, Kalara, Ghawda, Harigarh, Khori Kalan, Kheri Baba Dalersingh Wala, Wadera, Baura and Deh Kalan."

Paramjit Kaur Longowal, the secretary of the ZPSC, stated that in Badrukha village around forty Dalit families began cultivating eight acres last year, after they won the rights to the land in an auction. Longowal said that their "democratic struggle" lasted five years but now the families were self-reliant. "We can say that the landless Dalit families in eight to ten villages are totally self-reliant to an extent that they were capable of sharing their stores with a few poor migratory families from other states during the lockdown," she said.

## These villages included Jhaneri, Balad

 Kalan, Balad Khurd, Gharancho Badrukha and Mander Khurd.Paramjeet Kaur, a middle-aged widow with two children. stated, "It is the fruit of a five-year-long struggle in which our women bore the lath blows of policemen several times during the agitations." She added, "Today, we grow vegetables and fodder for the cattle, besides the wheat as our main crop."

Paramjeet's husband Avtar said that before the movement of 2014, "several families here in this village were starving, dependent on, and at the mercy of the landlords who exploited the situation." He added, "Our women also faced sexual harassment during their pursuance to cut fodder from their fields or even from the roadsides." But now, he said, he felt pride in being a part of his historically landless peasantry class that is self-reliant in terms of foodgrains for survival. "Foodgrains are essential to survive, and we have enough now," he said.

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Email:thakor.harsh5@gmail.com Source Courtesy: COUNTERCURRENTS.ORG | September 20, 2020

## We do not want on our register and on our census Untouchables classified as a separate class. - M.K. GANDHI

I can understand
the claims advanced by other minorities, but the claims advanced on behalf of the Untouchables, that to me is the "unkindest cut of all". It means the perpetual bar-sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the Untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself in my own person to represent the vast mass of the Untouchables. Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress, but I speak on my own behalf, and I claim
that I would get, if there was a referendum of the Untouchables, their vote, and that I would top the poll. And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the Untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservation is not the way to remove this bar-sinister, which is the shame, and not of them, but of orthodox Hinduism.

Let this Committee and let the whole world know that today

gain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility, and I say that it is not a proper claim which is registered by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole of the Untouchables of India. It will create a division in Hinduism which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever. I do not mind the Untouchables, if they so desire, being converted to Islam and Christianity. I should tolerate that, but cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are two divisions set forth in the villages. Those who speak of the political rights of Untouchables do not know their India, do not know how Indian society is today constructed, and
there is a body of Hindu reformers Ambedkar, and for his desire to see who are pledged to remove this blot of untouchability. We do not want on our register and on our census Untouchables classified as a separate class. Sikhs may remain as such in perpetuity, so may Muhammadans, so may Europeans. Will Untouchables remain Untouchables in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived. Therefore, with all my regard for Dr.
the Untouchables uplifted, with all my regard for his ability, I must say in all humility that here the great wrong under which he has laboured and perhaps the bitter experiences that he has undergone have for the moment warped his judgement. It hurts me to have to say this, but I would be untrue to the cause of the Untouchables, which is as dear to me as life itself, if I did not say it. I will not bar-
therefore I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing I would resist it with my life. Mr. M.K. Gandhi

Source Courtesy: Indian Round Table Conference (Second Session) 7th September, 1931
1st December, 1931
Proceedings of Federal Structure
Committee and Minorities Committee

I have written about Poona Pact of 1932 signed between Mahatma Gandhi and Babasaheb Ambedkar a couple of times before and gave my views. The anniversary of the Pact falls on September 24. Editor Prem Kumar Chumber of the "Ambedkar Times" Weekly Newspaper Sacramento (California, USA) invited me to write a piece on the subject for the esteemed paper. I was a bit lethargic as much has been said and written on the subject and moreover now, it has no practical relevance and it has gone to the realm of history. My immediate provocation to say something again on Poona Pact is the video message of a staunch
the similar provisions for Muslims, Christians, Sikhs etc granted in the Communal Award of PM Ramsey MacDonald was the result of Ambedkar's untiring efforts and assertions at the Round Table Conferences much against the agenda and wishes of Mahatma Gandhi who wanted Dalits to remain in the fold of Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi tried his best to convince the British rulers in Delhi and London to undo the Separate Electorates offered to Dalits in the Communal Award but failed. He flouted his usual weapon of "fast" to exploit and compel the British rulers on one hand and also the recognized leader of depressed classes, Babasa-
main stream of the society. There were threats to his life. Balley Sahib in his message which I mentioned before narrated a historical fact of an editorial written by Mahasha Krishan in the Urdu paper The Partap published from Lahore where he threatened that Ambedkar must be careful and considerate in taking the decision as dictated by the Hindu leaders led by Mahatma Gandhi otherwise before the final rites of the Mahatma, if he died in his "fast unto death, the funeral of Ambedkar would be held before that. One can easily gauge the gravity of the situation. Ambedkar was not only a consummate intellectual politician who
ligned concept of 'Reservation" was b or $n$ which finally found enumeration in the Constitution
India
wh i ch Babasaheb himself
 was the architect and pilot. The opponents of "Reservation" for Dalits are ill-informed and half educated


Ambedkarite and an intellectual living legend Lahori Ram Balley which I heard on Facebook a little while ago. I am not inclined to go to the facts and figures in this regard and would limit myself to a running commentary on the importance of Poona Pact and how it contributed in bringing the depressed classes on the political map and agenda of India in the subsequent landmark events of India Act, 1935 and finally the Constitution of India. In fact, in other words, it turns out to be a tribute to the sagacity and integrity of the one of the greatest sons of India, Babasaheb Ambedkar on one hand and the suspect attitude of Mahatma Gandhi in blackmailing Ambedkar to watch and protect the interests of the Hindu society at large at the cost of Dalits on one hand and the treachery of the ruling elite after independence on the other by not faithfully implementing the special provisions made for the Scheduled Castes to give practical shape to the understandings stipulated in the Poona Pact in all sincerity and solemnity. I think, that is why, later Ambedkar himself termed the Pact a "mean deal" as it could not deliver as promised and visualized both by the society and also by the polity.

The Separate Electorates to the depressed Classes in line with
heb Ambedkar on the other. Gandhi started his "fast unto death" in the Yervada jail in Poona where he was detained. It was one of the cunning tactics of caste Hindus led by Gandhi to stop a separate identity of Dalits and to defeat Ambedkar. The whole country was made to stand and oppose separate electorates to the depressed classes. The atmosphere was so vitiated with hatred that Babasaheb was condemned as antinational and anti- Hindu. He was threatened to be killed before something untoward happened to Gandhi. The wife of Gandhi, Kasturba made appeals of mercy to Babasaheb to save the life of her husband. Hindu fundamentalists like Babu Rajinder Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari, Madan Mohan Malvia among others appealed and requested Babasaheb Ambedkar to save the life of Gandhi by rejecting the separate electorates to Dalits and remaining in the Hindu fold. It was a very difficult and critical preposition before the sole leader of the depressed classes. On one side, he was to abandon and forego voluntarily the gains and advantage he himself achieved at the Round Table Conferences and otherwise for the benefit of the depressed classes and on the other to prove his credentials as a nationalist and a caring leader for the overall good of the

# Elacknal Duy 24 September : 80t: Roriversy The Poona Pact 

 And What Went Before ItTHE MABKTMVS ACT WLL RESUUT IN NORHENG BUT TERAORISM BY JuS OLOWESS AGMNST DEPRESSED CUSSES ALL ONER THE COUNTEY: - DR AMBEDKNR

हलणनल टिवस 24 तितबर $80 व ा$ साल पूना पैक्ट और उससे पहले



not only knew the universally accepted dictum 'politics is an art of the possible' but also subscribed to the lofty ideals of compassion and morality of the Buddha. As a true nationalist and recognizing the value of Mahatma Gandhi's role as a leading light of the freedom movement and also his preference to bring about cohesiveness in the society at large instead of ushering the country into communal divide and hatred decided to cooperate and agreed to the submissions of Mahatma Gandhi and other Hindu leaders which resulted in the famous Poona Pact of 1932. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a negotiator par excellence. He tried his best and convinced the Hindu leaders to see the situation of the depressed classes in the Hindu fold and do something concrete to ameliorate their sufferings in the Manuwadi set up. There was no option with the Gandhi camp.

In the Poona Pact, Ambedkar got more facilities and enabling provisions for the depressed classes than offered in the Communal Award by the British rulers. Not only the reserved seats in the legislature but also special provisions in education and socio-economic aspects with a view to integrate Dalits with the main stream of the society as equal partners. With this the much ma-
that nobody offered the special provisions of reservation etc. on the platter out of magnanimity and compassion but were achieved with ardent and consistent efforts and sacrifices by Dr. Ambedkar and his associates and the suffering masses. The spirit of Poona Pact will remain alive under the overall impact and implementation of the Constitution of India.

The only negation which comes to my mind is that by foregoing the separate electorates, Dalits lost an edge in electing their true representatives in the parliament, legislatures and municipal bodies. Perhaps this is the reason by Manyawar Kanshi Ram called them "Chamchas" and some of the Dalit activists opposed the Poona Pact. Let us leave it to historians to judge and give their verdict.

All said and done, I have no hesitation in saying that whatever Ambedkar Sahib did and accomplished in signing the Poona Pact was a master-stroke in the given times and circumstances under difficult and trying conditions.

Babasaheb proved himself as a great and visionary leader. With this, I remember Poona Pact of 1932 the harbinger of political and social space for Dalits in the map of India. Salutes to Babasaheb Ambedkar.

## BJP SAD and Congress is responsible for economic displacementio o Puniab fammes, labovers and students-: SSP Puniab



Bahujan Samaj Party Punjab President Jasveer Singh Garhi expressed concern over the economic plight of workers, farmers, students and small shopkeepers and blamed the on SAD BJP and Congress.

He said that under their governments Punjab has become a sluggish state and it has become one of the worst performing states for the second consecutive year. He said that the state has been ranked 19th in the Business Reform Action Plan 2019 rankings.

Himachal Pradesh jumped from 16th to 7th position while Haryana got 16th position. Referring to the labor crisis, he said that the recent figures released by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) for the year 2019 paint a grim picture of the rising trend of suicides among day la-
borers working in sectors other than farm labor

These figures predate the situation caused by the corona. During the first two months of the Corona lockout, images of millions of workers walking hundreds of miles from different cities to their homes are etched in people's minds. Many died along the way. Neither the government nor the society came forward to grab his arm. He feared that the suicide rate among migrant workers could increase during and after the Corona period. According to the Bureau's report, 1,39,123 people committed suicide in 2019, of which 32,563 were day laborers.

Citing the agrarian crisis, Garhi said that agriculture has given some support to the economy in such a difficult time. The sector alone
grew by 3.4 per cent. Despite this, the agriculture sector continues to be ignored and the BJP government at the Center is preparing to sell land and farmers to the capitalists through agriculture ordinances.

Garhi said that first the farmers were not getting the right price for their produce. Second, crop costs are not declining. The third is heavy debt pressure and the fourth is lack of storage facilities. The same problems persist today. Even today, the average income of farmers in the country is only Rs 18,059.

Even rank four employees do not get paid more than Rs 25,000. Garhi said that the future of Punjab was not in the present capitalist model. Thus, from farm laborers to farmers, they should unite and take steps towards political initiative on
the basis of health and education fa cilities, cooperative agriculture, com munity solidarity. He said that Post Matric Scholarship Scheme should have been implemented in the inter est of the youth of Punjab but the scholarship scheme has been crushed in the Congress state through scams. BSP Punjab will hold massive protests against the policies of the government on September 18 in Hoshiarpur September 24 in Amritsar, September 28 in Bathinda, September 29 in Pa tiala and October 3 in Sangrur. Mr. Bhagwan Singh Chouhan, Advocate Ranjit Kumar, Daljit Rai, Mr. Mahinder Singh Sandharan, Mr. Maninder Sherpuri, Mr. Sukhdev Bitta, Mr. Mandeep Kalsi, Mr. Yash Bhatti, Mr. Dinesh Pappu, Mr. Sohan Singh Sunni, Advocate Mr. Palwinder Mana etc. were present on the occasion

# Meet Rickshaw Puller-turned-writer Manoranjan Byapari Who Was Made Chairman of Bengal's Dalit Sahitya Academy 

On September 14, West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee announced the setting up of the 'Dalit Sahitya Academy' and appointed Manoranjan Byapari as its chairman.

The year was 1981 when a lady, blessed with a calm and serene voice, asked a rickshaw puller, "Bhai Jabe? (Brother can you ferry me?)." It was a hot and humid day and the rickshaw puller, while wiping sweat from his forehead, responded quickly and said, "Didi Jabo. (Yes sister, I will go)."

The lady sat on the rickshaw in South Kolkata and asked the puller to drop her at Jadavpur University.

Though it was a brief journey, t came as a big surprise for the lady as well as the rickshaw puller when he asked the meaning of a Bangla word 'Jijibisha'. The lady was stunned and questioned from where he learnt that word 'Jijibisha'. Taken aback by his knowledge of Bangla literature, the lady asked his name.

The rickshaw puller, while struggling to hold his breath amid the pedalling, responded politely, "Didi amar naam Manoranjan Byapari (Sister my name of Manoranjan Byapari).

Impressed with his command over the language, the lady answered, "The meaning of 'Jijibisha' is a 'desire for living'." Byapari was very happy to learn its meaning and as he was dropping her at the Jadavpur University, the lady introduced herself as Mahasweta Devi (late Indian writer and activist).

Thanking him for the ride, she

## asked Byapari to write about his life

 and struggle and she promised to get it published.That was the moment which Byapari still remembers as one of the best days of his life when he luckily got a chance to meet an acclaimed writer and his life changed thereafter. Presently, Byapari has been appointed as the chairman of the first 'Tribal Sahitya Academy' in Bengal by Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee. Speaking to News18, Byapari, while sharing about his life and struggle, said, "Yes, it was a wonderful day when I luckily ferried Mahasweta Devi. I was restless to know the meaning of 'Jijibisha' and simply asked her without knowing about her academic background. She responded quickly and was very impressed with me. Among many memories of my struggle, that was one of the best days of my life."

Manoranjan Byapari was born in 1950 in East Pakistan in a 'Namasudra' family, which migrated to West Bengal when he was three years old. Those days were difficult to survive for the refugees as they took shelter in a camp at Kotulpur in Bankura. Later, they shifted to another refugee camp

Byapari had left his home when he was a teenager to work as a daily wage labourer across various cities in India

Later, he was associated with Naxalbari movement, on which he wrote the book 'There's Gunpowder in the Air', and was jailed and kept at Alipore Correctional Centre in Kolkata. During his jail term, he indulged himself in reading books but after his release, he had to struggle a lot to make ends meet and he became a rickshaw puller in Kolkata.
He actively worked for the cause of Dalit welfare and their literature and is the probably among very few convict-turned-rickshaw pullers, without any formal education, who wrote several novels and short stories. He always raised his voice against the oppression of the weaker sections of the society.

## While sharing more about

'Tribal Sahitya Academy', he said,
"The whole idea behind this is to promote learning sessions on tribal literature, setting up of a library and to address issues related to the tribal
ime such initiative is being taken in Bengal."

He said, "We will try to bring all, who worked extensively on Dalit literature and their welfare, under one umbrella. I am planning to have one such institution in all the districts of Bengal with a model learning centre in Kolkata."

Byapari said he is planning to establish a library with two rooms and set up a publication of Dalit Sahitya Academy and a Dalit Marketing Centre Operation at 'Boi Para' at College Street.

Also, he has suggested to organise monthly literary programme where Dalit poets and writers will meet and share their thoughts and researches, and also participate in debates. "Besides, I have also suggested to start 'literature award' to encourage Dalit writers and poets on behalf of the academy," he said.

On September 14, the chief minister of West Bengal announced to set up a 'Dalit Sahitya Academy' and appointed Byapari as its chairman.
"Dalit literature is an important chapter and its inclusion in the Bengali literature will enrich the later. Therefore, in today's cabinet meeting, we have decided to set up a 'Tribal Sahitya Akademi' in Bengal. We already have a Tribal Board but 'Tribal Sahitya Academy' is something new," she had said.

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# From farm Bills to Banking Regulation amendment: All legislations passed in Parliament's Monsoon Session so far 

Here are the Bill passed by both Houses of Parliament till September 22.
Despite protest by Opposition parties over the contentious farm Bills and other issues, Parliament passed several legislations in the first nine days of the monsoon session.

The session, which began on August 14 with several precautions considering the COVID-19 pandemic, passed 11 Bills so far, including the farm Bills that have triggered protests. Several other Bills are lined up before both the Houses in the coming days. Here are the Bill passed by both the Houses of the Parliament till September 22:
Bills passed in Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha The Taxation and Other Laws (Relaxation and Amendment of Certain Provisions) Bill, 2020

The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 18
and was passed by Lok Sabha on September 19 and by Rajya Sabha on September 22. The Bill will replace the Taxation and other Laws (Relaxation of Certain Provisions) Ordinance, 2020, issued in March.

It seeks to provide various reliefs in terms of compliance requirements for taxpayers amid the coronavirus pandemic. The reliefs include extending deadlines for filing returns and for linking PAN and Aadhaar.

Among others, the Bill seeks to give tax exemption for contributions made to PM-CARES Fund, which was set up in March amid the coronavirus pandemic.

## The Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (Second Amendment) Bill, 2020

The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 15 and was passed by the Rajya Sabha on September 19 and Lok Sabha on September 21. The legislation seeks to temporarily suspend initiation of the corporate insolvency resolution process, CIRP under the Code. It replaces the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020 initiated in June this year.

The Bill provides that for defaults arising during the six months from March 25 this year, CIRP can never be promulgated by either the company or its creditors. The central
government may extend this period to one year through notification. The Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020
The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 17 and Rajya Sabha on September 20. It allows intra-state and
posed on agricultural produce only if there is a steep price rise.

The Banking Regulation
(Amendment) Bill, 2020
The Bill was introduced in Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 16 and Rajya Sabha on September 22. It amends the Banking Regulation Act, 1949 and seeks to
ber 21 and Rajya Sabha on September 18. The Bill amends the Homoeopathy Central Council Act, 1973.

It sets up the Central Council of Homoeopathy, which regulates homoeopathic education and practice. The bill replaces the Homoeopathy Central Council (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020 which was promulgated in April this The Indian Medicine Central Council (Amendment) Bill, 2020
The Bill was introduced in Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 21 and Rajya Sabha on September 18. It amends the Indian Medicine Central Council Act, 1970. The Act provides for the constitution of a Central Council which regulates the education and practice of the Indian medicine system including Ayurveda, Yoga and
inter-state trade of farmers' produce beyond the physical premises of APMC markets. State governments are prohibited from levying any market fee, cess or levy outside APMC areas.

## The Farmers' (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement of Price

 Assurance and Farm Services Bill, 2020The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 17 and Rajya Sabha on September 20. It provides a framework for farmers to enter into contract farming - that is signing a written contract with a company to produce what the company wants in return of a healthy remuneration.

The Essential Commodities
(Amendment) Bill, 2020
The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 15 and Rajya Sabha on September 20. It proposes to allow economic agents to stock food articles freely without the fear of being prosecuted for hoarding, and says the central government may regulate the supply of certain food items including cereals, pulses, potato, onions, edible oilseeds, and oils, only under extraordinary circumstances, such as war and famine. Stock limits may be im-
bring cooperative banks under the supervision of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI). It replaces an ordinance the Union Cabinet had approved in June. The Salaries and Allowances of Ministers (Amendment) Bill, 2020

The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 20 and Rajya Sabha on September 18. The Bill proposes to reduce the salaries and allowances of ministers by 30 per cent for a year to augment financial resources required to fight the COVID-19 pandemic.

## The Epidemic Diseases

(Amendment) Bill, 2020
The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on September 21 and Rajya Sabha on September 19. The Bill seeks to punish those who attack health workers or doctors fighting the coronavirus or during any situation similar to the current pandemic. The legislation provides for up to five years in jail for those who attack doctors and health care personnel. It amends the Epidemic Diseases Act, 1897 in order to provide protection to health care service personnel.
The Homoeopathy Central Council
(Amendment) Bill, 2020
The Bill was introduced in the Parliament on September 14 and was passed by the Lok Sabha on Septem-

Naturopathy.
The bill replaces the Indian Medicine Central Council (Amendment) Ordinance, 2020 which was promulgated in April this year. It provides that the Central Council will stand superseded from April this year and the council will be reconstituted within one year from the date of its supersession.

## Bills passed by Lok Sabha On Tuesday, the Lok Sabha on Tuesday passed three labour codes.

The Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions Code, 2020, seeks to consolidate and amend the laws regulating the occupational safety, health and working conditions of persons employed in an establishment and related matters.

The Industrial Relations Code, 2020, seeks to consolidate and amend the laws relating to trade unions, conditions of employment in industrial establishments or undertaking, investigation and settlement of industrial disputes.

The Code on Social Security, 2020, will amend and consolidate laws relating to social security with the goal to extend social security to all employees and workers either in the organised sector or the unorganised sector.

Source Courtesy: Indian Express
September 23, 2020

## needed here is the work of Kanshiramism rather than Periyarism



Jeevan Kumar Malla 91-94426-08416

Thanthai yar's birthday is being celebrated every year as an opportunity to propagate his ideology and is more relevant to the current scenario. when superstition historical 'imaginative fake narrations' and caste basedoppression increase day by day... naturally every rationalist is pushed to the point where they have to celebrate the doctrine of Periyarism.

As long as caste is alive, in-

Nagammai, was only age of 13 . His first wife, Nagammai, died in 1933. E.V. Ramasamy was married for the second time in July 1948. His second wife isManiammai,

Periyarhad attended school for five years.

At a young age, he began to question the contradictions in the stories of Hindu mythology. As Periyar grew, he felt that people use religion as a mask to deceive innocent people and therefore he decided that one task he would definitely do in life would be to warn people against superstition and Brahmin priests.

Periyar started his political career as a Congress worker in his hometown Erode. He quarrelled with

Periyar's Struggle. During this time, Periyar's fame spread beyond the Tamil region during the Vaikom Satyagraha, a mass movement to demand that ower caste persons be given the right to use a public path in front of the famous Vaikom temple.Periyar took part in the agitation with his wife, and was arrested twice. He would later be referred to as VaikomVeerar (Hero of Vaikom). Vaikom is not a part of Tamilnadu. It is a part ofKerela.

Periyarprotests against Brahminism/Hinduism by breaking the Brahminical idol of Ganesha - "Elephant Headed god" on Buddha Purnima, 1953
vidians. Periyar said Ramayana should be burnt.Rama not to be worshiped and Ravana's Effigy not to be burnt.In 1974, a year after Periyar's death Tamil Nadu witnessed its first Ravana Leela.

He argued that caste was imported to the Tamil region by Aryan Brahmins, who spoke Sanskrit and came from Northern India.

In the 1930s, when the Congress Ministry imposed Hindi, he drew a parallel with the Aryanisation process, and claimed it was an attack on Tamil identity and self-respect. Under his leadership, the Dravidian Movement became a struggle against caste and an assertion of Tamil national identity.

equalitywill also be alive in Hinduism. So, as long as there is caste, Periyarism will continue to do its work. Given the current situation, Periyar's revolutionary thinking and his philosophy need to be taken to every nook and corner of India.

Periyar is the biggest threat to the Brahmins and Brahmin's stooges. That's why Mr. Kanshiram ji took Periyar to North India and conducted a very big Periyar Mela in the year 1995. And at the same time, he attributed to Periyar, the Bahujan Mahapursh identity. But Mayawati has listened to the Brahmins words and has expelled ThanthaiPeriyar from the Bahujan Movement. i was the first person, who raised the voice against Mayawati for her removal of Periyar icon from the Bahujan Movement in the year 2011. But Mayawati gowndas attacked me, when i raised my voice to demand the implementation of Periyar's thoughts and his actions in the Bahujan Movement. That is also one of the reasons why i have been propagating Periyar' thoughts in North India. i have been receiving lot of acknowledgement from the Bahujan DravidaSamaj form north India. Today, this forum, is one such proof. Yes, the people from Uttarpradesh have organised this zoom meeting..And what else could be a better proof!!

You have to know about his socio-political and economic background of Periyar.

Erode Venkata Ramasamy was born on 17th September 1879 at the Erode, which is part of the Coimbatore district inthe yester years' Madras Presidency.

He later became known as "Periyar" which means "one respected"in Tamil. . E.V. Ramasamy's father arranged for a wedding when he was nineteen years old. His bride,

Gandhi over the question of separate dining for Brahmin and non-Brahmin students at Gurukkulam, a Congresssponsored school owned by nationalist leader $V$ V $S$ lyer in Cheranmahadevi near Tirunelveli Gandhi proposed a compromise, arguing that while it may not be a sin for a person not to dine with another, he would rather respect their principles.

During this time Justice Party was also emerged. In 1917, in a manifesto released by Justice Party, it has been mentioned that out of 171 persons who had been selected for Madras provincial civil service, 100 were brahmins.

In the same way, out of 273 persons who had been selected for Madras members of subordinate service, 165 were brahmins. In jail department, the persons selected were 277 out of which 190 were brahmins.

In the education department, the total persons selected were 515, out of which 365 were Brahmins.

In 1920, 16 persons had been selected in a competitive examination for civil service out of which 15 were brahmins.

Five High Court judges were appointed and all of them were brahmins.

Out of the 128 district munsifs appointed, 93 were brahmins.

The congress failed to addressed these issues in their party. So Periyar resigned from the party in 1925, and associated himself with the Justice Party and the Self Respect Movement, which opposed the dominance of Brahmins in social life, especially the bureaucracy.

The Justice Party had a decade earlier advocated reservation for non-Brahmins in the bureaucracy and, after coming to power in the Madras Presidency, issued an order to implement it.

Women played an unprecedented role in the Vaikom Satyagraha, with the large-scale participation of women being witnessed for the first time during the Satyagraha, marking the passage of women into the sociopolitical consciousness of the country.

Periyaradvised the women of Tamil Nadu to cut their long hair, make it Bob Cut and women should stop wearing Sarees ie Dress up like a man(unisex dress code) and consistently argued for the equal rights of women in marriage, the inheritance of property and civic life in general.

He fought for women's rights and self-respect in marriage. He said the concept of marriage was introduced in ancient times to make a woman slave to a man. If marriage had to take place, he called for it to be simple, ideally a registered wedding.

In 1926 when the resolution was passed that all the Untouchables should convert to Islam. The people became frightened so Periyar asked them since they were hesitant to convert to Islam atleast they should call themselves Non Hindu

When some one asked Dr. Ambedkar why you don't come to Tamilnadu that much... ? Ambedkar replied saying, "Periyar is doing my work...what lam doing in north india...he is doing the same in South India."

In 1970 under pressure from Periyar, CM Karunanidhi passed an act in the TN assembly. The act said that any person from any caste can become temple archaka. Even those temples which head hereditary priests were abollshed. SC cancelled this act. Periyar was pained by the verdict

In 1943 debate on KambaRamayana, Anna said Ramayana is the story of victory of Brahmins on Dra-

In the 1940s, Periyar launched DravidarKazhagam, which espoused an independent Dravida Nadu comprising of Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, and Kannada speakers. The Dravidian linguistic family was the foundation on which he based his idea of a DravidaNational Identity. Here the questions arise as to who are Dravidas...?
For this question we have take answer from the Anthropologist and socialist Dr Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar has clearly given the answer
NONETHELESS, THESE ARE HIS-
TORICAL TRUTHS. NAGAS AND DRAVIDIANS ARE ONE AND THE SAME PEOPLE.
The word 'Dravida' is not an original word. It is the Sanskritized form of the word 'Tamil'. The original word 'Tamil' when imported into Sanskrit became 'Damilla' and later on Damita' became Dravida. The word Dravida is the name of the language of the people and does not denote the race of the people.

The Nagas in North India gave up Tamil which was their mother tongue and adopted Sanskrit in its place. The Nagas in South India retained Tamil as their mother tongue and did not adopt Sanskrit the language of the Aryans.

To remember is that Tamil or Dravida was not merely the language of South India but before the Aryans came it was the language of the whole of India and was spoken from Kashmir to Cape Comerin. In fact, it was the language of the Nagas throughout India according toDr. Ambedkar's findings.

Why was the Self Respect Movement founded by Periyar? He had given his answer in his news paperKudiArasu..
"The Policy of Self-Respect
(Contd. on next page)

## US spaceccraft named after late Indian-American astronaut Kalpana Chawla <br> space," it said. <br> days later. For the NG-14 mission, the <br> Ames Research Center in California.

An American commercial cargo space-
craft bound for the International Space Station has been named after fallen NASA astronaut Kalpana Chawla, the first India-born woman to enter space, for her key contributions to human spaceflight.

Northrop Grumman, an American global aerospace and defence technology company, announced that its next Cygnus capsule will be named the "SS. Kalpana Chawla", in memory of the mission specialist who died with her six crewmates aboard the space shuttle Columbia in 2003. "Today we honour Kalpana Chawla, who made history at @NASA as the first female astronaut of Indian descent. Her contributions to human spaceflight have had a lasting impact," the company tweeted on Wednesday. "Northrop Grumman is proud to name the NG-14 Cygnus spacecraft after former astronaut Kalpana Chawla. It is the company's tradition to name each Cygnus after an individual who has played a pivotal role in human spaceflight," the company said on its website.
"Chawla was selected in honour of her prominent place in history as the first woman of Indian descent to go to
"While Chawla made the ultimate sacrifice in service to the space programme, her legacy lives on through her fellow astronauts
and those she has inspired to follow in her footsteps," it said.
"Her final re search conducted onboard Columbia helped us understand astronaut health and safety during spaceflight. Northrop Grumman is proud to celebrate the life of Kalpana Chawla and her dream of flying through the air and in space," it said.

The
Kalpana Chawla capsule is scheduled to launch on the NG-14
 Cygnus spacecraft will deliver approximately $3,629 \mathrm{~kg}$ of cargo to the space station. Chawla was born in Karnal, Haryana on March 17, 1962. She received a Bachelor of Science degree in aeronautical engineering from Punjab Engineering College in India in 1982.

Chawla then moved to the United States to pursue her graduate education; in 1984 she received a Master's degree in aerospace engineering from the University of Texas, and a Ph.D. in aerospace engineering from the University of Colorado in 1988.

She held commission atop a Northrop Grumman Antares rocket from the Mid-Atlantic Regional Spaceport (MARS) at NASA's Wallops Flight Facility in Virginia on September 29. The spacecraft will arrive at and be attached to the space station two

Her work concentrated on the simulation of complex air flows encountered by aircraft flying in "ground-effect." In 1993, Chawla joined Overset Methods Inc. as vice president and a researcher in aerodynamics.

After becoming a naturalised US citizen in April 1991, Chawla applied for the NASA astronauts corps. She was selected in December 1994 and reported to the Johnson Space Center in Houston in 1995 as an astronaut candidate in Group 15. In November 1996, Chawla was assigned as a mission specialist on STS-87 aboard the Space Shuttle Columbia, becoming the first woman of Indian descent to fly in space.

Chawla's second spaceflight experience came in 2001 when she was selected for the crew of STS-107. The flight was dedicated to science and research, with approximately 80 experiments completed. Chawla lost her life during the STS-107 mission when the Space Shuttle Columbia disintegrated upon reentering the Earth's atmosphere. PTI
Source Courtesy: The Tribune, Posted: September 10, 2020

## ....needed here is the work of Kanshiramism rather than Periyarism

(Continue from page 22) Movement has been widely accepted in the world. Its significance, objective and implication have also received world-wide consent.

Man seeks the source of every concept. He looks for the reason and logical basis for everything. He even probesnature. Unable to understand the concept of his own life, he leads a life of slavery.

Self-Respect Movement expects man to see the rationale behind everything and reject it as unreasonable if it has no logical basis. Our sensible approach would tell us if our action is right or wrong. One has to weigh the pros and cons and respect the final decision it leads him to. This is the characteristic of Self-Respect Movement. It is against accepting anything blindly.

When a man finds his thoughts, actions and decisions are right, he respects it. That is true freedom. There is no difference between freedom and Self-Respect. They are synonymous.

The Self-Respect Movement encouraged inter-caste marriages, replacing arranged marriages by love marriages that are not constrained by caste.

What is Periyar'sThought..?
For an average Tamilian, Periyar today is an ideology. He stands for a politics that foregrounded social equality, self-respect, and linguistic pride.

As a social reformer, he focused on social, cultural and gender inequalities and his reform agenda questioned matters of faith, gender and tradition.

He asked people to be rational in their life choices. He argued that women needed to be independent, not mere child-bearers, and insisted that they be allowed an equal share in employment.

The Self Respect Movement that he led promoted weddings without rituals, and sanctioned property
as well as divorce rights for women.

He appealed to people to give up the caste suffix in their names, and to not mention caste. He instituted inter-dining with food cooked by Dalits in public conferences in the 1930s.

Over the years, Periyar has transcended the political divide as well as the faultlines of religion and caste, and come to be revered as ThanthaiPeriyar, the father figure of modern Tamil Nadu.

When you read the thoughts of Periyar,you will know how his thoughts resemblethe enlightened one...the Buddha, like Santa Kabir Das, like Osho.

Buddhism teaches us of the importance of living in the present. His thought about Buddha is when Periyar participated in a function to celebrate the 2501 st birth anniversary of the Buddha at Maha Bodhi Sangham at Egmore. Chennai on 15th may 1957

When Periyar talks about rishis, he actually opposed the rishis and that is why he celebrated Buddha Purinima and acknowledged Buddha's work. When Periyar talks about Buddha's teachings and principles he refers to them as things of tremendous value to us for our revolutionary purposes. Buddha is ordinarily taken to refer to a person. Buddha means buddhi or intelligence. Anyone who uses his intelligence is a Buddha. All people are endowed with intelligence but only those who use it intelligently can be Buddhas. The word siddha conveys a similar meaning. Siddha is one who controls his sense. God Vishnu is the centre for vaishnavism, but for Buddhism buddhi or intellect is the centre. Here we have to look at Periyar as a Buddha, not a Siddha.

When he talks about Indian historyhe asserts that there is no evidence of Hindutva identity... all the identity of the governing ancestors in India is related to Buddhism, in Periyar's view.

The Buddhist symbol of the Dharma Chakra has found an honored place in our national flag. The Asoka Pillar at Saranat consisting of the four lions has been adopted as our national, architectural symbol and this has become the emblem adorns the shoulders of all our military officers, the bonnets of all our ministers' state cars and the post cards of every day use in the remotest villages. Since independence, Buddha's birth anniversary has been declared a public holiday.

What does all thismean..? it means that the government of free India has accepted the Buddha and his teachings. It has not been possible for the government to adopt any Hindu symbol as the national symbol.This also means that Hindu symbols are unfit for all - India National purposes.

If all of us can adopt the thoughts of Periyar, then we have to make sure that caste oppression is cremated. Yes, the struggle against economic oppression and the struggle against caste oppression should be happen simultaneously....How...? ManyawarKanshiram is the only answer to this question. That answer is - We need to become the ruling class if we want to form a casteless society. Then only we can see socio equity in our land. But in Tamilnadu, where Periyar led an uncompromising struggle against casteism, where his followers ruled the state for the last more than 40 years since 1967, the bitter truth is that casteism has still not been rooted out. Why ? - because the so-called-Periyarists are not ready to work for social transformation. Still they wanted to sustain their movement on the basis of no-result-giving 'social justice'.

In the name of Periyar... the followers of the so called caste Hindus are sharpening their caste and sub-caste clashes among the sc/st/obc people. The cruelty of untouchability exists in the state and
even certain followers of Periyar are supporting the brutality of caste system. This so called Periyar party workersscream bout social justice in public forums, TV programmes, Twitter pages and YouTube videos but when they come to power they always stand by the dominant caste and make things worse.

If we ask the present youth about Dravida party, their answer is that there is no big difference between Periyar party activists and Hindutva party activists. Why do you think the youngsters have started feeling like this? - because the Periyarists do not practise the ideological action of Periyarism. That'swhy the present generations are moving towards Hindutva parties. Now, this is a very huge danger to the Bahujan DravidaSamaj. We must put an end to this dangerous mindsetat the earliest. The sooner, the better.

The biggest question before us now is ...What should we do?... .what is the correct collective action that we should take ?

For the last half an hour l have talked about Periyar...his thoughts and his actions during his life time...Now, what should we do ?

According to my understanding... What is needed here is the work of Kanshiramism rather than Periyarism. Periyar's movement is the Movement for social justice, Whereas, Kanshiram's movement is the movement for social transformation.

If the oppressed people are to live freely with equality and brotherhood, we must continue to carry on work of ManyawarKashiramji's works of social transformation and economic emancipation. The struggle for social justice will not be needed if social change takes place. So, BE THE CAUSE OF THAT SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND JOIN HANDS IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR CREATING A SOCIALLY JUST SOCIETY.
Jai bhim... Jai Bharat... Jai Periyar..
Jai Kanshiram...!!!

## The Ad Dharm Movement and Dr. Ambedkar

 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
nationalists led by Lala Hardayal. By 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 Singa pore 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-
deas, 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



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## 


 गातुथां दल मभठघत रीउा विभा चै। व्रिटट 亏 मिभा－ मउतार घटे ठदत्रंड मिस्य
 मुइ मगताठ न गाटे गत।甘ेठीपाइडी घूल्लां स्रिलाढ़ टहिटटन＇डे विमाठां दा मम्प रेट सा भैलाठ वठत 亏ँ घ पभर मॅन मिय ते केंजि－ उमठ＇ $\begin{aligned} \\ \text { थैमटठ चिधा वे } \\ \text { से }\end{aligned}$ घिल्या सा दिठय रीउा। मिय के छिठुां से मभगघवां हे








 गग्मटतथडी ठाल्ल भल्लवड रीडी साट्टेठी। फनिय भंतिभा ता विग चै वि टिम मुलावण्ड नग्गी दिचयी यागटी ठम्मटनयठी रर्टिंस ऊ भैगा वठ मवसे गठ वि
 रेट। टिम 亏 चडिलां भैगालटान 우 गालग्भ ठघी भान्तान्ट के टँमिभा वि हित्रुं रे गम्मटतथठी ठाभ ठँघ


 रा टेट।

 हढ，ठृ डे पंध－मंमर＇च भाथटी विट्डी से भायाग＇डे घैठर＇च निमा लेटटो। गत्त मका＇उ बूल 25 घिल थेम़ रीडे गाटे। घिम＇च 甘ेडीषाइ़ी ठाल


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 लॅध उ द्य भभवीवीभां से भठ साट हिथठ यठिली दाठ टियटी वठटिभां उम्मटनथडी छंटल्लड टंत्य हे विग नै वि टेतीभां भैउां Јंटीभां म्नठभठरू चै। छिठां टेठी
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## DHAN DHAN SRI GURU RAVIDASS JI

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 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

## 



 वठे गठ। हिमे वइीउणिड ढवित्तं हे लागाले
 मगउउा (फॉर मगँउा) ही मिल्भा मवूल घैठउटेठीभा 2 लटी टॅॅमटी सी छॅट लइ उठे गत। बटिइ 19 टे चैलटटिभां चिदले टिटी मिलमा दिधे भायहे टढउत दिचठिठठां विट्डी से भायटे मथैंटटां हाल भीरिंग रीडी भडे भीठीटे क़तीपे
 वठत टी भमील वीउी। छिगठां विग वि मब्ल







 गं। हिगठंविण वि भै चटटठी वरूघ सा मम्यवा यूयंत दी विग गं भडे छचें उं गी भमी
 भा ठठे गें। छिगठा टॅमिभा वि छिठ उवठीघट
 मी, टिसेभाल्टे ढविन्नह टेठीटे 亏 मबूलिका रीडी 'डे हुम मभें मेठे तुइा Јॅधिभा गِटा मी







 चिद्टमम्टीउ (ইैलीढठठीभां) ठीटा भग्दीव/ व्रल़्ड पम्लीभां लाम-टेतलम टे केइले मीविठ


विद्यमाप्टीइतिद्मी घल्मीउ fिस् मियूभडे घल 우 चिदले चिती Вिम दबउ कानी मसभां यड़ंचिभा तटे छिठठां टी 17 मएल सी रिभागी घॅची भम भीड वँठमिय घे घेटवउ टिम ढाठी ड़तीभां त्रे मटाँ लटी भलट्ति भाध वाटी। मद. भमनగीउ घंमवटघाल्ल टी चुगी धिडाठत मी $\boldsymbol{\text { बे है }}$ मरा मुथठा मीवि

छु भमगीवा टी विमेंमेमतल टीभ लट्टी घेछे भडे भमगीवर ढैस टिस्त उतडी Јॅटे। लावउ'िित से चैलटिभां ठोभां घंट मर, मव్టल घंटमर। घिमे संगत हिमटे बच टी भैं न नाटी, घंडी टेठ घाभट के टी यउती ही भवग्ल उलाटा वठ गाटी। टिव भTभली मरल टे टैमट दिँच.ढेल Ј गाट्टी। भाइी विमभउ घूम उ乙वैंमन के थेठ लटी, भाडे वु₹ टित घंडी ढ़ुॅ
 गाटी। उयतैंमूत घडीकेइी पिभग्गी नै।
 उगिट उां Вिगठां हाल ฮॉल वठ। उयवैंम्रत घग्ड मग्ठीभां रीभडी तारां धा विग नै। घ̆ष्मिभांत्र टिम उ

 टिँच ठिट्म घद़समे।

## 




 नुर्ञरिभां चिएले fिरी भाथटी मैमग्वर जाउता





 माल दी छैभिन हिँ भायटे भडे थविदान से छैंसले उट्दिधसी भाम राल्ल 1992 दिँ भमनीवर भाष्टिभ मी, फडे टिघे वैलीढठठीफा टे घेटेवीषे टिंच टैवमी चलम्छिटी



 दिँच गीविग।1996 दिँच नठात्र मिंय टेगल टा दिभाण घोघी


 च वाटी भडे मिठ 2001 टिचि भिठटीवा बैलीढेठतीभा दिँ घड़ मैंटन खठ ध्रठीटिए के पडी ज़ुमी कें मान हालघेपेवीटे से गेदगउ









किभातर घिभग्री हे मानेग uेठ लिभा कि छि मटा ल्टीफलद्रिता
 लूँाड̆ग मरीटा उवटटन गमभउत्ल मठटीवा दिँच न̈ध नि टिलान्त रीउा fिभा निसे छउय्टटी
 पिँБले Јढडे ढेढझึभ दिँ ठृबम थे नाट डे ज़. मी. नैठढबगिमने
 रेर्लेगास टिँच मटीभठ टिंतढेवमत गेट वठरे लंठाज़ टठंमयलांट रठठ रा थठमीजत चैल विग मी, थठ टिम ऊ यविल्ल






 हा घैल घध्तमट।

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 ढंड टिबॅउत रीउा विभा। निम मभें टिलावे सीभा

 ती भाष्टिभा वणिट ठाल रीडी।

नस वि ढैं टेत्तर से भुष पूस्घयरां टिँच


 धेडी-घाइी मैघंयी टिचाग रगटे गेटे मभगघत टेट टी

Еछतघ̆यडा थूठाटाप्टी। टिमे उठं घ्वा्वी घ्रलानिभां टिच मतटीय मिंय, गठर्सिटन निल्ल, ठघी यम्लीटाल, हैंतटीय
 टिछाठ टी मांख याप्टी। तर वि भायहे भुष काम्नर टिच

 ट्टिमे उठं टिमीभीवाेमत से भमले घाठे ही मभॅमिभाटां ’डे







 यूघंय रीउा विभा मी।

## 


 हगमिंगटर (ग्रत लइभ घं घंगा)-दृप्टीट गह्छिम दॅल क्लग्ती मुल से भमनीवी दिमाल = मैस भानित हैं ढैइगेमत
 (भेढ टे टे) टा टँษट हेमीभा लटी धेंगी यूडीरिय तिज्सरउ वठत सा फैलात रीडा वे। हिव चैपट हेमीभा दिध भुमीरी मिदल भेहीटेमुत लटी चैटी टा भयिवग्ठी गटेगा। दाप्टीट गठ्ठिम दॅल्ल नागी घिभाण



 हिछ दी 4 माल बें वीउा।

##   

 विटडी $3,03,42,881$ च वाटी नै सर वि $9,50,450$ मैउां च चैवीभाभं गठ।












इचवलत 'ैं

## P.J. Parmar, MD

Dr. Parmar focuses on process
efficiencies in underserved
primary care medicine.
 छ से टिव युलिम भयिवग्ठी గ్ర काठठी मुल से टिर भमगीरी उारटन छिथच घंट्रव उा्टत से

 रे टॅमिभा वि यूल्फिम भढमठ समटित गैंडठमत 유 मुभॅउली से मभे टी उत甘ण्ठ रण्गी सिलेगी। छिम
 ही माभिल गटा यदेठा। हित wटता घगउ उठणिड गैटी मी। उवटत थी से यठभाठ दॅल ठग


क्टी नटँ गठठ भाविभा विभा उां गॉमे टि भिभ्टे

 विण। उ'बटन सा वणिट्ट ने वि ठोंे युलिम भयिवग्ठी के ठमल वग्गत मेठे ठाल घ घडरभीज़ी रीडी चै।

 दरील छेटिद लेत हे विग नै वि हिच थल्किम
 भराल्लड दि चट पटीमत टाटित वठ ठठे गत।

## 

वैलीढठठीभा (ग्रमत ह亏भभा घंगा)निठीभाथेलिम मिटी नंमल के मवघमंभडी ठाल हिम उतदीत्त र्ठ यूटाठ रठ लिभा वै निम उगिउ मिगि टी टिर मइव सा ठां नागत्त ढलापिइ उधिभा ताद्देवा किम टी टिम माल 25 भटी र्०
 टी मेंट टघण्ठिट रागत भैड च गाटी मी।
 गेघित ग्छमत के विग नै वि टिठ ढैमला सागत

ढलापिz గ్ㅇ मतभाए टेट लटी रीउा विभा वै।
 ठाल टिम मइव हैथठ थैंटे wठां से थडिभां दित ॠटी हगर रणी यदेगा। टिग मइव 38 ही मटठीट से के मिरागं भैटतिछि से भंट्टठरी निमे दिध भाठुंटी ने। टिषे टठट्रजेता नै वि सागत्त




 బैलीढठठीभा (ग्रमत इझॅभा घंठा)वैलीढठठीभा से से ठघाल्लता काठठी भुल से m $\mu$ ठ 7 व 7
fefentr fिटिभान सी भा टिमिए गॉटिल त 2020 मिटे-
 निन्डिभा

 दिसिभागमीभां टी छुभन 15 माल्ल डै। भिबमत ढाठ



 8 उ 16 मए्लां टे ठघम्लमां टी चै रीडी सांटी नै।
 टा 87 माल सी छिमन है टेगंड
हाम्मिठाटर (ग्मत लइभा घंगा) - लिग
 नॅत ग्रघ घेइठ विठसघठगा हा 87 माल्ल टी हुभठ हिच टेगंड च विभा। छुठ ह्यमटी भँवड वै सिम रे टेम्न सी मठप छिच भरात्लड दि चुत्न
टीभां मेदाद्धां


तिउग्टीभां गरा


 भुमडैटी ठाल बंभ वठती ठगेगी छट्टे ऊँ हिं अटाल्तु दिध घटी ठठेगी।


 सिल गठे गठ टितां वैमिभां वठरे घितां मैर थेताम्दी


## 




 गणिटे माभिल गठ।
लुटेने हुटेने यिढला रठटाग्ञार वटरे घागठ हिवल गापे। साटवग्ठी टिसिभां ठीटा निछिक्यत से भालू टिरटगतीउ मियद ते मभातिब बंभां च विमा दी लेंटे गठ हे टॅमिभा वि गठ ठत्र दांग छिठ बंस तिपेइ वि wठ गाटे मर डे नटे हिव मदेठे ह्= से टित बँ डे भाप्टे उां टिड










 यडी گठालइ टंच సॅले लाप्टी यम्घंटी रागत कागउ दिच गे गे चे गत डे भमनीवा भाठिट लट्टी स्तिग्नत रेट टी भंग वठ गठे गठ। टिम मदर्घयी पटीम्नत भटाठती घ्वाठउले परीभम ते हैसत यांइा डे 168 Јँठ काठडीभां दॅल̈
 वउसे मत थठ दॅध दॅध वाठठां वाठत

 भमगीवा रणी भा मसटे। टिपे टठटतजेगा रठ टिउा मी।

 मके ठियेभठ ऊं टिलाहा वानां से येंट द्टा रीम उमॅल्कीघधम्न रीड तांध्रा है। अुव'टीभ्भां वग्बं धภीटट म्भके ट-टनॅव सा धग्म अूर्घीय है।

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 तिमष्ण यूठटाछिंटे Јे विर्ग मी-

 भयठाठिंसिभां मांशीटल्लडा सा मवल्य यूगटाटिभा। छिठ थंइडां, संगीभां, मुढ़ीभां, कठाउां भडे गठ दिचानयाग से लरां त्र निले,



 मी। छुठुां ठाल भालदउा हट्लां मल్





 विठडी मभात्त '甘ं मी। टियें ऊॅर वि छिठ भािते भारिहग्मी लवरं



 "नाड्डी सीभां घमडीभां हिँ उठिट टी टिकाऩतन रठीं मी। घप्पे के
 गण टॅमिभा। गण ठातर सीभां चा छिसमीभां पा्ठे घड़ा बु लिसिभा विभा ने।

टिठुं छिटमीभां टिँ्ज Bिव टिम टेम से गठ टॅमे टिँ





 छियग्ला मी वि टिर यग्मे यावथटत (अलडात) ता वे छिच मेध
 ट्ने यम्मे थ्वृघी घंगाल टे 21 हीं मटी टे मिउ जैरेट से छै बलें हैंतां से वु्श मघट लिख लिभाप्टे। भायटी भगंगग्नटन ही छिटमी





 भायटी छुणी घां Јॅषट टाला थैक्गी, भुलां भायटे मुभागयां टी
 टी में त्र हैटा घटा टिंटा ने।



 विदें मगग्टी ने मरहा नै- थंइिड याइ र थग्षटी घटे भाल



 टंगे च ठठे हे। लँइ टिम गाल टी चै वि गुण ठातर मागिघ से


-थूल क्रम्ठ छ्रृघठ








##  दृनाते डे हृताण घंती




 हिटागठट-मचा मण





 तंइटे गठ। प्टिरुं 'च वटी Bियना'डीभां के वघ्वीले गठ।

## 












 मग्ठीभां ब్उीभां से चुडीभां चडुदा टेटीभां। यीभां-कैटां मक सीभां मांश्रीभां दाल्ली

 वुभागी उां री घलवि टिभागी-दठी यी टा दी थेवे wत भा के वेषी गठ-मिंगाग



 घाठे हिधाठं मर।















 गठी टा ठाभ मूम्मट चै, हिठ गठी माठे नीदां टी यम्लटा वठरा नै, उे छिच मैगटा


















 डे छिम टी मि.ढडि-मम्लग्ण टे बठभ टी बमम्टी रीउी テै।।

ग्ठठ सी विठथा ठाल तिम भह్ॅॅध से





























 डा नाथ वठ। हैं वे थठमाउभा टी मठत सा यहि, गुण्टी मठत ता यहि, भायटे











 वंगा दिध छिम टी थूीक घटी ठरि़्टी चै।या ने काप्टी! महा वम्टिभ चणिट दाल्ले गठी

























 मिॅध हेवडा एगिठ मैटतल बैलीढठठीभा से
 काप्टी wठुँटीभा ती fिम़क मेटा मुमाप्टिटी

 ममाटिटी से प्वा्ती मेटा मिभठत डे तिभगउा से थैत्त काप्टी wठुॅटीभा मिंय मागिघ नी सा 316 दां भलुभ यॅटी टिदम





ठाल रीगउत डे वसा मभग्गाभ वउटाष्टिभा विभा। टिम मभागाभ दिँछ गुठ wठ से रीगउतीटे बाप्टी गठउतत निंय रे रीगउत गगीं मिगउां 울 तिग्ल रीउा। फडे काप्टी
 काप्टी wतुप्टीभा मिये मागिघ नी टे तीटत के मलुभ थॅटी टिदम से टिडिग्म डे चंतट यन्छिंटिभां टमिभा वि काप्टी खठुॅटीभा fिैur ती ंे संग से भैटात टिँ घितां केस-काट्ट सुम्मभटां त्ठ या्टी यिलगट्टिभा। मिँधां के पंत मू




 ठाल ढिठ ऊं लइत लॉठ येंसे गठ।
 नी हे बाप्टी यतुँपीभा मिंय सी 우 युढिभा वि ड़मीं ड़ममटां त्रि याट्टी रिलग्टिभ जै पंत मी गुण गोषिस निस्य मगठग्न सी ते काप्टी wतट्टीभा fिस्य सी ें नहाप्व टिसे Јें विण वि गाण मगिव्य ती में विमे ट्रममट हैं याट्टी ठगीं थिलगष्टिभा, गुण्य मगिघ ती भाय ती टा गुर मभंझ वे गी माविभां त्रे याँटी यिलमिभा चै ती येत मी गुण


दिँ के लिभा डे भम़ीठटाप्त से वे मलुभ सी इॅपी के थॅटी

 चै डे गठेव तीट हिँच हमरा चै।

 रे घिते वठ विग वि भाय नी के सैग से मैटात दिँ हिठ



 वठिभा वठ। ठां बटी हैठी रुणीं घिठाएठा टे टिम मियांड

 बमेटी मिघ्वठ गत्त़व मत।

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யठगटिभां सीभां ठीउीभां भनिटीभां ठीउीभां Јठ तिठु
 मभइसे घुयीतीटीभां 으 ही हेडी रीडिभां मभए रणों थैंटी। घणुउ मग्ठे ठग्तरेडा दी टिम ममए यॅधें मॅधटे गठ। षेडीपाइी हटी याम तदें वर्ठ्रितां ध़्लिए थथक्षाप्व

 यठिली யटता वै वि थेताप्व भडे उठिभाट्ता से ले थगिली
 मइवां＇डे भाए्टे गठ। उन्नठीउर यागटीभां क़े ही भायटे पिँदे लॉगट के भयटी ठीउी च वुट्टी मैं लेट लटी


 डगविभां 亏ें दॅय विग चै भडे ग्टह टिग चठभ मीभा ने

 घेगए वठ टिॅडा नै।

 ठहीभां घैउलां हिँ या वे थेम्न रीडी।यवाले रानथैगेट

 टी सां ले कलाप्टी दाल्ल भवस टिविभाग्तीभां टी लँइ चै।
 Вिगठां के वान्येंटेट से तालघे के ममझणिट लसी तीछ








 नाट्रा ऊॅर कणों ने वि निंडा हा दिम्ना चै। कागउ सी

 वठता गेंसा नै भडे लेरां हे निBिटा गेस्टा नै，टिम लटी

 उमउा यहातट ही लंड वै वि विगडा भाउल माठे लटी मगी चै？भॅम．भैल．दिगटी भुउाघव भमीं हैचं गी घलटे गं सर्टं माइे छैथठ भमीघउ थैंटी चै Bिगठां विग वि




 कातउ हिँच टिमसे भमत टिमटे भाते प्वा गत। ठर्टिटठ
 टे हिँ ले के साटी तनठी चै।

टिम दैघ्वीठाठ हैँ्ठ उा：वाठचठत मिँय
 हरिटत म्नाभा फैन．यी．जवे，उा：गठर्तिरत दाल्लीभा，

 मुठीढ，घंमे टेदी，भैउदेट भैम．भैल．दिगटी，उा：


 विॉल，विभाठ मिंय भेठा，गुठटीय घंठाइ जके，टिटट－
 सतर यलग्गी，यठगाट fिंख् नंयम्टा，सगाटीय मिंथ
 यटिभाल्गा，भठटीय fिँच，ठटी भडे गेठ दैप्घीठाठ＇च
 मह।

## 

रहीं चिली－छिउत कावउ से मूपे थँताप्व＇च वाये，జँ亏े，धैषठां सी विट्डी＇च कागी वभी भाप्टी चै। थम्ब
 थँताप्व＇च टिगकां नात्रां सी भाप्वप्ती घणुउ उेत्ती राल्ल ऊॅट वगी चै，न नि fिंडा टा द्रित्रा गे। 20टीं थम थालट भवरभमझभनी 2019 टी निथैगट




यँनिभां टी निट्डी＇ 48.83 ढीमसी उँव बमी भाप्टी जै। हिमे उठ़ं धैचठं टी गिटडी दी 68.83 ढीमसी उॅव ऑॅट गाट्टी ने। नाहवग्ठी मुउप्पर यिढले मएलां＇उ दागठां टी विट्डी दि क्चि ट्या गटिभा वै，तिम राठत टिगठां नाठदठं टी हठडें रठीं वगी। दिमे वग्ठत टिगतां त् याल्लट दाल्ले ही ऑॅट च वाटे गत। ठग्समघां＇उ ठायिभां टी भाप्वग्टी मक ऊं हॅय 32000 नै।




## ＇टेश्न स्टभम्धा＇

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ढठाहुइ्रा－थिड यलग्ठी दिसे भॅन विमातां दलें विमए
 टे えझे जउतां धिलान पठरा टिउा विभा। विममां हे उा：
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 टिल्डी हैँ वीउग विभा मी।


 विग मीवि मठवग्ठ डे वापत्ता वठर भक्तहुं हा टीठ बेटा छग्गीटा वै
 भॅत टे टित वी भाठ भिघेइवर ती ट्भाग ठांयी
 भंपेउवठ ती के विग वि गांपी हे भवर हृउ ठँчट हा प्टिवग्टा त्वागठ
 गांपी हे टेम्न टी भ भात्तग्टी लप्री प्टिव वरा चुँविभा

 वीउग, उां टेम्न हिच मेंे पिलग्ड व'्ही गठठाभ्म वीउा

 - विम्नद्ड रा हम्लष टिँउ' विभा।



तैउ (घिधिठ)- थंत्ञाप्व से मभुण मंड मभात्त सी आवादाप्टी गेठ मूी ठाठ



 2. 2 , टेरउा, काप्टीचा्ठे भडे
 चलंहिट लटी मगिजग
 2013-14 亏ं लवान्डग्न गठीष्व हिटिभागमीभां से हस्तीढे Шटाले मघ्घयी विग वि भरुम्हचिड ताउी से घॅठिभाँ हैं वटिँध मनित्र उगिड धठम्व रीउा ता विग चै। हत्तीढा मरीभ ঋटाला वठत हाल्रा चग्टे वसी

 मभाग्त गाठीप हिटिभागपीभां से कदिध ठाल धिलटाइ मगिट रगीं वठेठा। टिम मभें मंड मभान्त रे मडिगुण ठद्टिए हैलढेभठ भावठोठाम्टीनेम्रत टिटितहैम्रल (ठनि.) सा पंतहाप्ट रीउा, निगठां रे भॅत से यूँवठभ सा यूष्षय बीउा। टिम मभें तिब्ठ ठग तरावाल, मडीम ब्रभग्ठ लाल, उमत ब्रमग भाठ, मुठील बुभग, घलटिटत भवे हैलें
 रीडी सांट्टी नै। स्टिम मभें मूी घीठ चीस मुठीला, छु यूरम्न उट्टा,
 मडिगुण मिंय मैकेतठ, बा्टी चंगिउ ब्रभाठ ही गम्तन मत।

घीडे टिठीं जाटटाग्ठी ग्ल सलंयठ द्धिधे वही थम्म़ टी जा्ट दिच वही रठघ्व वठटाटिभा विभा, निम दिच मुठत्रीउ
 लिधी ठत्ञाभ थेम्न बीडी।

ठत्ञाभ घंल्टी वै वि
 उठव भडे उवणग टे ठाल भमीं हिछाठे बॅट तठीं मरसे वसी टिछान, टिचाठ टे ठएल माइी ठॉल च चाटी चै गन्डीं टिर बग्डल से ठाल से भमीं डेठी ठॉल ठगीं ${ }^{\circ} ट ट$ मरसे डेठ गाल उां वॅट मवसे गं।

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 टिसिभान्मीभां के ठठाइत सा बैन रीउा विभा। घ घमथा मुप्रा यूपाठ के ट्टिं ही टॅमिभा नै वि 2007 亏ँ लैरे 2020 डॅव टी दसीढा मरीभ टा विरागड फमी हैव रीडा जै वि विम उतां कान्तथा मिनुमटी भवग्ली टल डे

## भूपे डे वर्लव गठ। <br> म．गाड़ी रे बेंटठ सी कान्तथा घाव्ठे विण वि

 टिठ कठाहायागी ठीडी से उठिउ कागउ सा भुमलिभ，मिधध，

उठं भमी चिद्घले चिती टिड लइाप्टी से उगिउ थैमट
 uिम्भा मी डे खंगाठम 잉 गगाइत सा बंभ वीउा मी हिम लड़ी दिध गी 24मडंप्र भंभिउमठ पर्ठिउग， यटिभाल्ला， आवड्यव मृठाग्ठ， 9 भवड्ड्यन याट्टिल द्धि

 गीगल，थठभनीउ मूल，टलतीउ ठम्टे，मठटीय वलमी，
 छंवग्ठ ₹ंभउ，टितेन थॅॅ్
 भेइदूरेट यलदिसेत भाठा，भलवीड मिवठी，यदत

 गक्तित मत।－लי्ल fिंひ मुलग्टी

तन ऊुंत 甘ेडी घूल कान्तथा के लिभांटे Bिगठां
 रीउा ने। घमया मिठठमटी भवग्ली रल सी बेंटठी भैउठी



 गट्ठीडी घट्रे मइवां छियठ मेँसीरका्तया से युल लैरे


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 मेंगं धावे मतराठ घटारे गुठाभां ठाल पूँ रीडा नै।
 मिंय यठभमेउ हे रीउा चै यठ वंगागम हे गेवग्टी मुकां
 दिधे तगिठीली मठाप्व ठंल 136 मैउां，टेड भाहीभा，








Вिगतां से Јॅर टी टिम लड़ाप्टी हिच वंगागम यागटी छिगठां से ठाल उट वे ४इी चै।

Bिगतां विण वि कातउ दि हि टिम मभें ट्रीभा

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 भदागडी टीचठ भडे घी थी दी 6 भगिस्थुठ－ 2 से भग्टे डे उाटिताउ मुप्ण चग घंगा से घेदवडी चलाटे के भांत





 वीडा छेपे टिसिभव，पेउां，मभनिव भडे भयिभायत से

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 रूठात्ल धिउग्रीभां से से मिनिभा मग्मउवीभां हा दिहेइा भमठि चै। थि̃．．ठभ यूपम्न कागर्ट्टात्त भडे घंगा टी ऐेट टी निंती म्रलया रीडी साट्टे Bिठ घंडुी चै।ब्ल fिए ॠँभी भंडे ठग्त थुठम भैंमीटेम्रत दलें उा यवभनीड मिंय वलमी के विण वि

－मृयांसली थेम्न वठटिभां दिसे
 उस्थदीठ वल्ला，थ్．घलटीव रँं ठीगल，यू ने घी मेधें， उलहित्रत निंय गीन， वरलॉटिसठ वँठ ग्लग्री，मउदीव

 भागटिमट के विण वि तदीं यठीवी त्रे छिगठां से तीटत

मंधगम ऊ थू प्रता लेटी चागीटी नै। मिंख，तमदीठ मिंख，मुधमत मिंख，थंभी धम्नग्लूटरी， उा मभमेंठ मॅंगे，मरत दीठ，उा．मांटल यभी，उा，


 यठमथू ब्भाग，गठटीठ भएक，पलघ्षीठ मिंथ，तरिसत ब्रमग，
 भानि के ही गम्नाठी लठाहग्टी। मब सा यंतहाप्त घीघी ब्लडीय वेँ घेंम दलें रीउा विभाभ।

 टिर गत्नमी हैंटेरी टॅमटे ढठाहाइए वांगागम हे भॅत
 टित यविल्यां गी डिरे घा्रल भीठीभा के लाप्टीद गे भागठीतेंमां से गॅर दि दै वैमीटे पइ ठठे मत mडे वंगाठम ह


 डे टिर के लेव मबा दिध दिनेय टा उनम्भा रीउा। ढठाहाइा भग्गरीट समेटी से छेभठभैर तठेन्न

 गुण्तीउ याल हाल्लीभा，माप्वरा २ँमंलठ सर्डिसठ
 गयुा，मैनीद कटागा，गत्नर मतना，गालमतर मठभा लॅरी



से ठाल वै भडे भाठठीकेंम से दिठँय दिच गठ उां कान्तथा ठग्ल वाठघंयत उँ डे विमातां से वॅर दिस भैटात दिच





डा मम् सेटा छगीटा गै वंगतमी हेउादां ें ग्लरा मंमस


 मांमर घटे तां ढिन वुठमी ठाल छैप्र亏 के थंक्षाप्व से विमाएां ठाल पटें वठ ठठे गठ मैन यठरम्प बैंघ
 टेट वि भवांग ऊ किमाएां बल देट लेट रणी साट्टो गाठनीउ हालीभा，ताडिसठ दठभांती के विग वि थंजाप्व

 मए़ विण मी वि थंताप्व ही बंगागम सा टिॅ टिर



 नुनगिठ रीउा।

 कान्तथा दा विमाह दिठयी टेस्ञंडा नानी विग उां मभस लेट वि भितठीटे सा नगम्तु इूपट गी दाला वै विमांती से घिटां टितमग्री किसिसगी，बँटी मवरान，बस्टी भग्रा


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घंठा（（ेम्नभे वठठाह्टी）－टैवरीवल मठहिमिऩ ज़ुठीभर（ठति：49）थंक्षाप्व नग्त घितली घौठइ मठरल



 लेर मका हिँच थेम्न रीडे गठ，छिमसे दितुप थंत्वाप्व हिँच






रीडे ताट भडे घ्वितली मैय घूल 2020 दाथिम लिभा साट्टे। भाठाभां के विण वि टिव भागठीतैंम तितीवठत

 चण्ग्रीटी चै।
 यागटीभां टिगठां भागठीठैंमां सा दरडी दिनेय वर वगीभां गत थठ तिनीवठत टी तीडी त० भॅगो द्याठिट







भाठामाभं के विग वि टिम से ठाल गी घित्तली
 वठठा चग्गंसी चै，टिम घूल से थाम गंट ठाल विमाएां－
 으 fिलटी बतँम मघमिठी रे पउम ग्टा चे।

थंताप्व टिँच थगिलां गी मगवग्ठी घठभल घंस रठत सा भभमल उलाटिभा ता विग नै，पर्ठिइ घठमल घंट वउवे Вिमटी तभीक टेछिट लट्टी घंली दी च चॅरी चै，
 उिभानी नै। यूा्टीदेट घठनलां उु भfिगो काभ घितली

षठीट के हिमटा कात थंत्ताप्व से लवां मित याटिभा ता विग ने। घिटां घितली पठीटिभां बठंइां बथटे मवराण


टिमटे ठाल्ल गी भाग्रभां के विग वि बेंटन


 टेवडा हॅॅल टिँे ता गठे मुषा थॅयठी यठतिभां टिच टैवरीवल मटहिमित्त ज़तीभ उतटी मुभलीभड रीडी ताद्देगी भडे मघ उदीज़त
 गोट वैलीभां बीडीभां साटवीभां।

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मैवठग्भैंट，वैलीढठठीभा（ग्रमत ल亏भभा घंगा）－काप्टी गठतर्भ मिंय

 रूंठ धालमा रे गागिठे ट्रॅध हा यूवटाटा रीउा नै हितां विण वि काप्टी गठठाभ मिंय ती के भायहा माठ सीटर गुणघाट्टी ठाल सुइ पठीउ रीउा। भातिटी मधमीभिड सा ताटा मिँध थंघ लटी घणुउ याटे टाल्ली वॉल ने। घीपी घलत्तीउ ₹ँठ धालमा रे किण वि यूमिँय रीठउतीटे का्टी गठतभ मिंय मू तुाठ हाल्गिभां टा माठे रीवउतीटे बाम्टीधा्ठे टिँ घेटॅस माडिवग्न मी। दठठटजेगा ने वि काप्टी
 सतु 4 टमंघृ （म̊वाठ्ठठ）दिधे वेंमिभ मी भडे छिठ








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 लटी हमऩ्तर वीउग विभा नै। सॅनां हे घ्टिट घैहेटी से ठाद्ल＇स दैरीमिंग गएढ़ डे वृठाल वेठत निठां सी टिम माल भवामउ दिच मैंड च बाटी मी，टी वग्टीभां ही च्मुउर＇ टिठ भाप्टी वैउ ट्रिंगात्ञ’ 이 ही ठम्मृती थठमराठ लपी हभन्तर रीउा ने। टिम उ टिलाहा मगणुउ， आतटाप，माप्टिवी मसंयी
 रीउा निभा चै। 6
 थमउवां दी छांटी गेटेगी


 हिजानव टिध ठगिंीी चै।

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ह्ममिटाटत（ग्रमत लइभा घंटा）－
 घ्वाप्टीइेत के विग नै वि गम्मटनथडी छताल

 संधा दि या विग ने। छिठां विग वि मम्वरा ठीभल टिमटेट रान्वप्वा टंर्य टिव घगु
 गिउां ก़्र मटरोंलिभां रठटा चै। भैठटीदर，




यठट्ग रुण्गी चै से हैम से मभवघत सी घ्वतिभाप्ट


 चैलीभां कु यिभात ठाल्ल देधे। टरंひ सृत वैली दिध

 घितां भग्मर से ले मुर्भिल गुँसे गठ तितां लटी
 टर्वय रं ले लां टी वरत ठरी चै। टिम लटी घ̆से ठा घटे। प्टिठ गण टिवउठढढा चै।＂

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भॅवलैंड（गठस्तिटन सिथ प्रमिभा्ला）－

 ऊॅव मीभउ वठ टिउँ नै Өिघे टुतीभा से टिव बंते
 Вिडीभां Јट्टीभां गठ，इियाग्तठ भडे भाग्ठीभाटल गोट हुडे ठा ₹टी हैइट ता विग नै $भ$ हे ठा गी ₹सी विमी कें लेट सा विग ने，चठी उतुं मताटा

रे थैमे बमएठिट लटी टिर तही मरीभ बॅही चै। भंडतठम्नटनी गट्नाप्टी Вिइाट से लटी दठडिभा ताट टाल्रा टॅइा नगत्न 7 थंटे लटी भावम्न टे दि छिठेगा भडे भामटठेलीभा सी यठडी से सगम्त


 फँछे घंट वठत लटी भत्तম वर वर टिउा मी। फॅत

 च गाटे गठ। टिठिन्तीलेंइ से टिडिग्म दिध भतिव यठिली दान Јट्टिभा चै।

ग्भेमां गी चँटवां कठे ठणिट टाले

हासिभा Јटिभा नै। थठ टिमसे छिलट वठठरा से

 चठउट लूठीभां गत। मघातर टेभठ लाप्टीतां ममडे
 से दि लॅठी Јॅटी चै।

7 थंटे टी ढलाम्टीट नाल्टा विडे ठरी： भवाले भठीरे भामटगेलीभा टी ट्टिर सेभवलाप्टीत

वगग्टेवा। मीतर ढलाम्टीट सा टिम रं तंभ टिएँ विभा वै। हिठ ढलाप्टीट भाम्मटठेलीभा से निम भॅठे 亏ै चैलेगी छिमे ठी हाथिम भा ताग्टेगी। टिवटां दी भैగीभा ममडीभां ऊरी थठ ढित ही 10 भिटां से दिच टिम सगग्तन सीभां मग्ठीभां टिबटां दिव गाटीभां तन वि गह ऊॅर सा टेभठ लाप्टीत सा विवग्ठ जै। टिठ ढलाम्टीट 10 भवड्डघठ 등 छिठेगी।

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 दिँ वसे fिम्नठी अलटे के वसे ढिन्ता मुठ－मुधान्टी लॅठाटी नै। भनिते मिठीउ

 गठ ही मुटीली लॅठासी नै। मिगउभீस मिगीउ
 भआयहे गी मवं टिँच भमउ मधथाल सगमतर सटँ मिगीउ घुट्टै उां गठ वष्टी रीलिभा ताट्ट मकादिर जै। हिने Вिम से मीवीउ टी मि．ढड चै। छुम ता मैगीउ सात्ट्टी हैंग चैधसे ने गठ Bुभठ टठठा గृ ट्रेघटै।










 वणिट्र छग्गंगी
केभ उग्ल टा निमठी ひँ．ल
मु－मुटीले रीडे डिठे घूल


## घीवग्टेत：धर्णी भैँ नॅधल＇डे चहिड टी ठौली भान वे ठॅडिभा

 टिर टलिड टिभवडी टी पडुी भुँ्ब वग्ठर वॅडिभा वठ टिडी वाटी नै। भैगालड्ता मग्न

 2 राप्वाल्लता ही गत। Bिगटां ’डे हैम्न नै वि Bिगठां रे टलिठ हिभवडी से मिठ＇च ठोली भाठ टिउी। सांच भयिवग्टी रे टॅमिभा वि भेखटाल काप्टीचाठे ठाल्ल मर्घय






 दठगां से लूरं दॅलें 2017， 2018 भडे 2019 ひैंग्र रीडीभां वासीभां सुटरुमीभां से मृवडे तागी रीडे गठ।
 घगुउ सूघठरमउ मुरेगे निलटे गठ। विमे दी टिभवडी



 मी．भाग．घी．भत्माठ 2019 रैंग्त भुलर दिज



 （23．4 ढीमट）घट्टा ने। 2014 ऊं यठिली दान भुलू दि रीडीभां वाटीभां धुरतमीभां टे भिवइिभां दिज

 वठते मुण्ड वीडे गाटे गठ।

कागउ दिच टिगइीटाठ मऩस्त्वं दैलें 2014
 12 ढीमर मी। छिम माल्ल ऊें घाभर टिठ ढीमर भंवडा
 17．8， 2016 टैंगठ 19．2， 2017 टैंगठ 22．1， 2018 टैंग्र 22.4 मडे 2019 टैगा 23.4 ढीमर घटहा जै।






 निंसगी टे गठेर टी थॅध उं तिठम्म ने वे भrचटे यठ／
 मभひउ वर लिभा भडे नितुां सीभां लम्मां सा लाटागम



 टी ढीमसी 12 ऊं लगान्रा द्यसी गट्टी 23.4 काल

 ढीमस भॅगठां मर।

 भडे छैठुां टी विट्डी विछिं द्य गटी चै। फैठ．मी．भाग．




 दिध छिसजँचां भडे मेदाटां से पेउठां हिध टिग्री－टॅथा



 त्रे भिलट दाल्ले ग्नताग्ठ घा्ठे ही भातिम्नचिउडा घटी ठठि－ ही नै


 82 ढीमर लू भायटी चंत्ती－चटी लटी 甘ेठीघाइी 甘ेउत
 टी भायटी ंन्जी－चंटी लट्री 甘ेडीषाइी 甘ेउत छैचन





 ठीडीभां टे धेडीपाइडी 甘ेउत से दिर्णुय घटाप्टे ताट्ट रग्गत

गटिभा। टिम ऊँस ही ठाहागी कागउ दित दयसीभां भाठघिव भमभगठउग्टां सीभां भँवमढैस फडे Јँठ ॠमंडठी भुडे भुलर सीभां विथैठटां गठ से फॅड से भभीव
 दय गठे भानघिर याडे ते फाप्टे माल मग्म्मटे



 घितां उतधाग ऊें हैटी लेटी थैंसी चै उां किसिटी से गठ






 घेठे आवमठ भिलटे गठ। मितुां वग्ठठां ऊं घितां सतउर


 भक्सत्यवं टी द्यटी गिट्डी से वागठ गठ।

 भागघिर，मभगतिव，मठिभान्ठवर，उग्नमी भडे घंयिर
 भागघिव हिरम्म रीउा नै। 1991 हंगत भुलर हिध भयहम्टीभां वाष्टीभां छिचाठीवठत，तिनीरठत फडे टीभां＇तटीभां भागपिर ठीठीभां＇，से मठभाप्टेट्व／


 टठठिभा भुडे ट्रीभा सी भग－भागघिव मबडी घटर से टाभदे वठठे ही मुण्ड वठ सिँे। टिम उठुं टी भागघिव


 हठउभाठ भडे कहिँध सीभां थीड़ीभां से विउां सी




 विमे ही भुलू टिध दॅध हैँ हुवां से
 सीभां भानपिर गल्लां स्भाग यूकाद्डि गेँटे गत।



 मिठट लटी $भ \overrightarrow{3}$ ठा गी छुठुां टी विमे दी उवुं टी भरत







 टी ठीठी दूल पूर्विभा जै।

 जरीटी घटहिट लटी दटटां ठाल़ हिम उगुं टे हाभसे



 ऊं घाभस उग्नमी यागटीभां के हाभसे उां री यूटे वठते






 घुपीतीदी Bिठ ले गुसे गठ से भान ले लां टीभां





 घटाहिट दिध भायटी मभवॅषा ऊें दी दॅय सेंठ लगाहींटे सेषे तांट्टे गठ। टितुां फर्घंडी घुपीतीहीभां सा टिव






 याग लगाहिंटी नै। ढठंम से टिर भग्त fिंड मिमभंडी，तिम सीभां लिधडां 18 दीं मटी से भान्ती़ी भुे 19दीं मटी टे मुठ्ट दिध निल्टीभां गठ，भठ्रमान भुलर







 भडे भमिव Јटटो। कातउ हि भाठषिव दिवम्म भाइल







 वठते घट्टे गठ।

## 

लुपिभाट्ट－वेंसठी षेडीषाइी मैउठी ठरिसत सिथय
 विमां भुे 甘ेठीपाइी सी कलग्टी लटी चुविभा विभा वसभ टॅमिभा चै। छिगतां टिठ ही विंग वि टिट षेडीपाइी भागठीरैंम मभें टी लेइ मरा गठ टिर

 भायटी निट्म सा मुल भाय उठि वठत सा गॅर मिलेगा। नेवठ विमे दॅठे दथागी ठाल विमाए सा गेका गेसा नै उां भैम．इी．भेभ． 30 टिठां हि उॅल वगटा रेदेठा।

 त्रूमाठ तरीं गदेगा विछिंवि हिंग हिम मभें घटिभा मी
 चै। वेंटठी धेडीघाइी भंउटी दॅलें वटीभां गाटीभां टिड ॉॉलां द्चि विंती मछा्टी नै，टिम मघ्घयी भागिठ हैधठी मैठ चैधसे गत।

 उT．विभात fिंभ के टॅमिभा वि मभें टी लेड़
 रे वट्र टी दान्ही रीडी भडे घड़उ गी डेत्नी

 लहाप्टी लटी मक्सर्टां टी वभी टा ही इठ मी
 ษेडी भागठीरैंम नानी वठरे यटे। सेवठ मठवग्ठ

 उठि Јंटगीभां，भैठी मग्ठीभां मभॅमिभाद्टां टा Јॅल भायहे－भाय वठ लैंटी नै। टिडिग्म गाहाण नै वि टिड द्व ट्रा हेल गंटिभा। 1930 टी मगंभंटी टिम से
 भंडी मटी गॅल रठों चै।
री लాत्तमी दमड्ड रिजन＇ठ हिल टी लंड मी？
उ＇．विभाए fिंय के विण वि लान्ताभी दमड़्ड


तिजन 1957 हिध दिल वठठ लटी माण्ठु यविलां
 चिभान्त भडे भाल्बु सीभां रीमडां द्य ठठीभां गत। टिग प्वारी धथउरण्वां लटी उां भुम्नित्ल थैरा वठेठा गी विमाठ लटी ही वटेगा। विछिंवि

 मग्ठी ढमल दे चिंसे गठ भडे लं भुउापव धठीटसे उगिसे गठ। थठ टिम भागठीतैंम बठवे कहिँध हित विमातां 이 भயयटा गी भठत्त मरिगो काभ सठीटटा


 टी मभवॅषा दी ठठीं नै। नेवठ भमीं छिगठां लूरां सी

 वटेवाँ उां कर्दिध टिछ भर्गिंगे भूल देचेठा।

री विमण्त भायटी ढमल टा

## भूल भ円य उैभ वठेगा？

 विछिंवि टिर थामे दॅइा ट्थागी गंदेगा भडे स्ते यामे

 ट्यागीभां के भयटी वॉल ऊैं छॅतटा ही सत्डठ ने। टिम
 ठी．भैभ．टी इिछिटी लाप्टी वै टिमरा गॅल वठर लटी।



हिगठां विग वि भैंडी घेठइ घिलवेल तगी
 ษेडी भागठीतैंमां भुउप्घव मेंडी घेटइ हा तठीं मठों

 निलेठा। विछिंकि ने टैवम मतबग्ठी भिडीभां च नितम रठों भाट्देगी उां भंडी घंगइ हा घ्रतिभा्टी छांचा हिभुग ने।（पीतहग्र मठिड नॅठा घा्टी）

1．भममल＇ $\begin{aligned} \\ \text { महाल，वांयी नी से भठठ नीहठ हा गी ठठीं }\end{aligned}$ मी मठों उт：मगिघ सी किसिटवी भैंड सा दी मी। भवाण प्वाप्वा मगिघ भायटी मिथगम्न राल यृथउ रीठी भिठा के
 ही ठाहाग ठा वठटे।
－हैट गागमतर टाम，रहां मागिठ


 गमउा तिरल मरहा नै। टिम यूटाली ऊं बाद् टिग चै वि भंठ लछ टिर लॅ甘 दटठं लटी टिर भैभ भैल से
 Еंट थैंटे गठ，टिम उठुं छिम थागटी टे सम भैंघठ भमैंघली दिच सठिठ लटे ताट।




 ढैउठेमतर भडे भाशि－यठम लडिठ से भागठ，वंगाठम

 मी वि टेटां टठ－प－टठ ऊॅमे ढिठरे।


5．उारटन भंघेटरन，टिर वम्पले－उग्ठीढ लीइठ भहे मेंेे－भगट ग्मठी मत थठ टिम वॉल सा इग्हा
 थैवट डे एमउधउ रीडे। यु टा थैवट ठाल भुमीं घेदूम च चे ठठि गाटे।
－वही भैठा उग ती，घग्गे हाल（घंगा）


 गेंसीभां मत। वनिठिठल भैदागड देले घां घां सुमी दित






－लव वही ठाठटग्म उग्भ भाल्लभ
 टिटिभाग्वीभां मग्णनटे कामतट टिंसिभां गांयी ती रे
 दिर्व̆य गं वि छिगठां दिसराठ याइा गंठ दयेगा भडे




 लटी मैँध सा माग रठीं मठों भुमीघउ सा वग्रत घटेगी।＂

 ही भारहे ठठिप्रठ से ठाल टिव मूँठ च वे घन्ड़े च सा मघ्ठउ सिंटे उां
गांयी ती，ठा उां वसे मठत दठउ ठॅषह सा हैमला वठसे
 बट्टी दिल लिभrটिंटे।
－चठत टाम किपइव
8．यठा थैवट，थंत्ञाप्व थांड लपी दिमेम बगवे लागेहीस


रीडे गाटे मत।
उपलिकि भिठ ब్రघेठ
5．थुता थैवट प्वा्ठे निलिभा नुलिभा थुडीवठम Јँटिभा।

 दाल्लीभां हैंगं यिठं हे ठा－थमिं रीउा। टिड उां तिदें वांपी सी सीभां काद्हराटां हा मडिराठ वठत चिउ रीउा विभा मी। टिम ऊँ टिर वॉल उां मथम्नट चे वाटी वि गांयी


－उా．टे भैम गत्तग्मेधइीभा
6．थ्रा थैवट ठाल वांयी नी सी सात घच गाटी। ममझँ亏े टिसले दाभसे भर्तमाठ वांपी नी हे टलिउां से वलिभाट लटी भंटलत मुठ्ट वीउा। हुउ－ढन्ड से
 मग्गमटे भान्टीभां।

यठ टिम हिت्च Јॅडी कठ ही मॅर रठीं वि टिव
 भंघेटरण सी पुलुटिली $भ$ हु छिगठां से टिठमाठी नत्राघिभां ठाल्ल छंउयूँउ टिल टिभगा सा यूडीवठभ मी।
－मू मेग्ट लיल माम्मउती
7．युठा थैवट घाग्महटाग्ती माक्तिम्न सा मिटा मी।


 मुचटी उघटील रठ लैट，यठ भढमैम，भतिग चँटिभा कटीं।
－शिरठי्रंट म्रम्मउठी

 दी मीट भलाट ठगीं मी। भातिग धाम वठवे भागीभा मभात्तीभां，तियां रा माइे भायहे व₹ लूरां के दी माप्ष


 लटी फॅठ मीटां भलगट रीठीभां। टिम उठुं थंत्ञाप्व से भढ्बउां के मूँध सा माठ लिभा।
－भा्टी ही पहाग，चैठीवाइु

## टिटह्टां टीभां टियटीभां

 सीभां टियेटीभां，हिवरां सुभाग लिधउ विउग्षां दिजें पंतहा्ट मगिउ से ठठे गा：－
 च विभा，ट्मिमरे हिव द्वी ढिन माप्वउ वठ टिउा वि तिम भंघे टलिउां सा ठठिरुभा कठीं भैठटे मत，भमल दिछ टेम़ से मग्ठे रतिडां दा छिठ गी टिर मिंतिभा यूभितिभा उगिघठ Jै।
－पर्ठंते रीठ


4．थूठा थैवट यूठी उा：भंघेटरठ टी टिपटी मी，


 सीभां दृटां डे तिठउठ ठगिट्ट यैंरा।

22－7－1946 टी टाम्टीभत्त भाढ हिइीभा



 तां भिंडिस रठीं ग्रहा।＇

22 मर्उप्त 1953 त्रे गत्त मबा दिच भंघेसवठ रे भितिभा वि छिगठां थुठा चैवट के समउधउ
 वठठा मैकद गी ठगीं मी। छुगठां भरुमग，थुठा थैवट हे
 वठझी मॅट भागी।

युठा थैवट त्ठे टिम उतुं टा वठ टिँउा विभा वि टिए

 वि यूटा थैबट टिच टिम उठुं ठा रीठे नाट टे हाभसे
 टिरॅले मत यठ हैंते यामे टेम से माठे हेउा भडे हिथनं

 ठगीं रीउा।
－दिसे ब्रभग्ठ थ्त्तग्ठी
 गांयी नी टलिउां लटी विमे ही उठुं टी वित्तनटद्मतर से



मथमतट ने वि गांयी ती，भंघेटरठ ऊं भाउ धा
 भातठा टेटी गी यटी।
－टीद्ठ च̃स भागीठ
10．गांयी ती，भंघेटवठ ठग्ल पविम भुघंग्मिए वठत ऊं

 सांट्टे मठ।
－उा：उग्नेंटठ मेगठ उटतावा
（थ్ర थैवट टी ठग्तरीडी मेगट मर्न्तल से पंतहाग्ट मगिउ）

## 

यूठा थैकेट सा थंक्षाप्दी त्रु गेठ लिषे भरुमाठ वै ：
1）भाभ चट गलविभां दिचें थहडीभां मेटीभां（मढ्ढउां）टामते यूटेमर दियात मकादां हिच
 भरगग्म－ 30 ，
घंघट्टी डे मिंय－ 15
थंत्ताप्व－ 8
घिगग्न ने हिइीमा－ 18
रेंटठी मुष्टे（मैंटठ थूंदिमेम）－ 20
भमभ－ 7
घंगाए्ल－ 30
ज़ठा＇्टीटइ यूॅहिमेम－ 20
बَّ－ 148

 बैल विटडी से भायाठ Bिडे सिडे गाटे गत।

2）प्रिठुां मीटां दम्मडे छटां ठिभत लिधड


विमे चंट गलवे से दंटव मुती दिध रगत्त


टी मैउली छृटतठो। टिं चठ हिभवडी तं यूसम
 हम्मडे छिभीरहाग च मवट्गो।

3）वेंटठी $भ$ ये पूंडर दियात मबाहां हामडे

 मकाटां हामडे टॅमिभा विभा चै，चुटे ताटनो।

4）रेंटठी दियार मका दिच घूउातदी
 टिचैं भढ्बउां टामडे 18 ！ीमटी मीटां उप्धदीभां गेटगीभां।

5）वेंटठी के यूंडर टियाठ मकाहां लटी चैट
 छंट यूटाली，तिदें वि टिम हिध यगिलां रीउग विभा नै， यगिल्ले टम माल्लां ऊं घाभर，से गेठां सिडे ठाटे धंड 6 से यूप्ययात भयीत भाथमी मगि्मडी ठाल टिम ऊं थगिला मभथंड ठा बीडी ठाटी Јँदे，मभअउ च ताट्टेगी।

6）निदें वि धुड 1 भडे 4 हित्छ यूाट्टया
 मीटां－उगधहीभां रठ वे यहडीभां－मे़्टी लट्टी यूठितियउा यूटल्ली，से मभईंडे ठाल्ल मिंद्ययड

मभुटाष्टिभां टिछाले भाथमी मग्भिडी ताल्ल हि－छउ ठा रीडी ठाटी चटे，उां नागी ठठिट्टीभां।
7） भढ्डां लटी बेंटठी भडे यूंडर दियात मकाटां हृग्मडे हैट हे भयिवग्ठ लेमीभंत रमेटी टी निथेगट भरुमान गटलो।
8）मघात्तर मिमघा्टां（लवल घाडी\}) लटी औट तां
 टिभवडी टा यढडीभां－मेंटीभां（मढ्ठउां）ठाल मैंघयउ गट्ट ₹टी भजनाउा ठगीं गेटेगी। मतबग्री मेहाहां दि तिजबडी लटी सां हितयागउ दिसिभिर जैगाउाद्यां से उणिड टितुां से मंघ्वय दिच रलिड हगगां－Өिचिड यूडितियउा टेट हा गठ मिबह जउत रीउा तालेगा।
 यढडीभां मेंटीभां（मढ्बुउां）से भैंघटां～मिसिभा मग्लडां टिडे साट लटी वा्ठी भग्डठ हिच गसम ठग्मी त्रिमचउ रीडी साट्टेगी।

भरठग्म मभेउ माग्ठीभां यढइीभां－मेंटीभां टा मभवषत यूभ्यु चै। भमीं घेतडी वठरे गां वि टिम ममझँडे－ड़वंड हाठा रीडे साट लटी भंत लिभा साट्टे निम राल गांयी ती हाँ भठत－दटउ उंइिभा सा मवे।

Вियनवड मुचता 24 मऊंष्षत， 1932 ～टिंगिलेंड दिध fि－ そँमउात हामते भंडठी लग्ठ
 भडे ठैभमे भैवउंतलइ केती ठाटी मी। 25 मर्डष्वठ， 1932 －थंइिड भटर भंगठ भग्लटीभा भंडे डे स
 प्रग्टठ मयठ，भิभ．भाग．सैवठ
 भंघेइवठ भडे छुठुां से मापीभां भैभ．मी．उत्ता，भैभ．
 टमउधड रीडे।

26 मउंघठ 1932 （मॅभट्ठ）－रूमल टी घेठव टिछ गे भैंघठ，fिंट मटरा्ठ，मठ भैठ．नी．गैग टी यूपातठी टिछ मगिभुी हाल्ले मभझंडे यड्रिभा विभा भडे छिम सा मभवघत रीडा विभा।

टिछिं टित यूता थैवेट कर्दूध से कान्त सा समउा्टे मवर्नी भगतडा यूटात छड़ विभा भडे गोंरिट भा！टिडीभा भिवट भाढ 1935 लट्टी णग ひॅयठ Ј विभा मी।

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कानउ से टिडिगम्म टिँछ थुठा थैवट टिर भािगी wटता च निमते ट्टिर उँघम्टी भाप्वा्टी टी उवटीठ हा ढैमला

 विभा। यमिभां डे वैठिभां ठाल ही घसउठ जितिगी घडीउ


 मैंबडे मालां घ्वभट घगएल वगहाष्टिभा विभा। युठा चैवट टतिड मभात्त सी सिसटी सा पिर भणिभ भंड चै। टिम मभईंडे ठाल घ प्वा मगगि उा भंघेटवठ रलिउां से भमीग घटवे हिमिद गाठात टिध चभरे।

प्राप्वा मागिष्व हलॅ रीडे गाट्टे लगाग्राठ मंख्यम्न भडे छुठुां सीभां दिसहडा इतथ्यु，टतर कितुभां ，तंगटे
 मगवग्ठ हे सलिडां टी उठमजठा ग्लुड ही मगी साट्टा यूप्य वठत लट्टी मा्टीमत वभिमित ठिज़बड रीउा । कानी


 उावटठ भंघेटरठ भडे मू किट्ममत గ़ मॅसा थॅउत केते गाटे। से टिर टिडिग्मर तिउ मी। गांयी मैंड वंथठी



 घ पाप्वा मगठिप रे टिम भौने＇डे घलसिभां किण मी नि



 भायगिड टिसदडा इत्यठ टिछनां ठाल रीले गाटे। यठ
 घट साट，टीमम्टी घट साट बसी यूटाण री्गी थठ टिगतां
 साए सी घ्वा्नी ला वे वतांगा।＂टिर यामे ॅॅर मॅछ डे टितमा़ सा हैंटची के सलिउां सा भमीग उावटठ कीभ


 गुलभी लभिभिण्छिट लपी खंगतम से मभठ्ट हसे तर्ण
 विभा वि छिगठां हा ढैमला भंडन ग्टेठा यठ प्रम्वा मगिप रे समउक्षउ रा वीडे विछिंवि छिठ टलिडां सी उवसीठ



 टिलाट्हा Јँ तिभान्टा मीटां सरठल्ल चंट गलूविभां 亏ँ ही उट लइत सा भयिरा से टैँ वा विभा। गांयी ती विमे गल्लउ टिँच ही भह्ञउां टी भात्ता से गफ्भी ठठी मत।


 घिभात टिउ ：
＂भैं टिम उगुं टीभां उत्समी घेग्सटीभभां सी यूट्ड तठी
 वस्टी ट्टिधलावी संठा ठरीं मठँ तिठी गत्तमी घेग्डसगी चै।
 घठाद्टटी भॅंड भठतठो।＂
＂गांयी ती सी ताठ घच्ठिट कट्टी मिं विमे ही
 गिनां से टितूय क्तांत्रा गे
 ＂वमिठिठल भहागइ＂亏 भॅवठ वे गांयी रे घॅव वे चॅटिभ।＂हाभहा सिल्ठा＂गांयी सी लट्टी भभुल्ली गॉल
 भฉभग्तड च ठठे वठइञां लवां लप्टी fिंउउ मर। छिगठां

 माइे ठाल भायटिभां हगठी मभातडा सा हगउण्ठ रठी वठ मवसे उां ड़गण्र्ण बप्टी भयिवग्ठ हठी वि ड़मी माछे
 गठिट लट्टी भक्तघ कीउा साग्टे।＂

यठ गांयी ती ठगी छांड्टे मठ वि मसीभां ऊँ fignt
雨



 उדल
 विटडी हसँ देप वे चिउड मर । टिम fिउा सा टिक़ुग्ण
 भायटी विउाप्व＂ठिदाइि टिंडीभा＂दिच थंत्ञाप्व से

 रीउा गै：－

## Source Courtesy：India Divided， Authored by Dr．Rajendra Prasad First Published in 1946

This book by Dr．Rajendra Prasad has information about the Ad－Dharmis．

Before analysing the figures given in the above table it is worth noting that under｀others｀are included Adidharmis， Jains，Parsis，Jews and those who returned no specified religion or community．Of these the most numerous are the Adidharmis， who according to the Census Commissioner though included in scheduled castes do not claim to be Hindus and are hence recorded separately not only from the Hindus but also from the scheduled castes．They number $3,43,685$ or 1.21 per cent of the total pop－ ulation of the Punjab．They are concen－ trated very largely in the Jullundur Division where their number is $2,50,267$ or 4.60 per cent of the population of that Division［ Their next largest concentrations are in the Mul－ tan Division and Lahore Division where they number 68,641 or 20,488 respectively［


Their number is negligible in the Ambala and Rawalpindi Divisions being only 2，795 and 1，534 respectively．As has been pointed out in the Census Report of 1931：‘The most notable feature of the present（1931） census from the stand－point of returns of religion has been the adoption of the term Adi Dharmi by numerous Chamars and Chuhras and other Untouchables［ At previ－ ous censuses Chuhras unless they returned some recognized religion were always in－ cluded among Hindus．The 1941 Census Re－ port also notes that all those who are recorded as Adi dharmis belong to the scheduled castes but have not claimed to be Hindus．The last two census days have thus succeeded in reducing the number of Hin－ dus in the Province by excluding the Adid－ harmis from amongst them．

टेप्रल 11 दि निँें भिवझिभां टा दिस्मलेमट
 भार्टि－यठभी，सैठ，याठमी，जग्टी भडे Bिव लव माभल




 टिठुां टी गिट्डी थंक्षाप्व सी बूल भाप्वा्टी से चिमम्व ठाल 3 ，
 इदीज़त दिच रेंट्रिड गठ निमे हिटां टी भाम्वा्टी टी $2,50,267$ सां 4.60 यूडीमउ चै．हुठृं टी माली मक 亏
 निषे हैठुणं टी विट्डी वूभदाठ 68641 मडे 20488 चै．



तिदें वि 1931 टी मठरभम्भभाठी विभैंगट दित






 टिठ दी हैट वीउा विभा चै वि हैं माठे सिगडे भाशि－






छिठ टिठ भगिम्मिन वठटे मत दॅधठे चँट यवर्घंय के भांटि यवनीभां＂दठगा दधठ यठस＂भासि

 ट्टिम वठवे माठ fिंग्र तठाउ वांयी सी थिठ पिॅहे घडुा च विभा। टिम टैग्र टलिउां से भमीग उा：भंघेइबठ

 वूँ दयेगे ही भूल उागता यदेवा सा यभरी इठथ्यु लेध लिध के घल्टी डेल या टिउग। ने वांयी नी टी नंत चली गाटी उां वठउता भह्ढउां टीभां बूलीभां माइत डे वउलेभाभ वठत टीभां ठाटां ठीटीभां वाहीभां। टिर थामे
 उठगिभां रा घक्षाठ गाठम मी ट्रेते थामे गांयी सी तात
 ठुभहििटे छुटे नांटे गठ
 रठ मरे। लिभसे गठ वि－－ वठटे गेटो？＂

 रीडी गाटी।
 लटी विइगिाइस्टिभा। थेउड मटत मेगत भालटीभा रे घृव्णमट गंट से घाट्स्तर दी गाल्ल＇च थॅला यावे गांयी से

 मगिघ，गांयी दॅल भाय केती चिंट ठाल्ल थमीन वाटे। ＂उवरटत भंघेटरन，भेटी fिसगी घच
 टा घीत्न ठग्न वर टिभांगे।＂

घाप्या मगगिष के भागही वसठां－वीभउां से भायग्र＇डे गांयी टी तात घचिहट लटी 24 मरंघट 1932 ठे चु ये टी जगटरा सेल्ट दिच घंट वांपी नी सी
 निम ठाल्ल＂वनिBितल मदाउउ＂रा छंठा उां थैं विभा थठ


 टलिठां सी भान्तन्टी हा थंय गेठ लंभेवा वं विभा।

वभिछितल भदागड ठाल ढैमला टिग Јँटिभा मी वि भर्तमुणिड साड्डीभां सर नाडीभां से ले मांअे
 से भायग्त＇डे मघे सीभां दियात मकादां के याठलीभैंट
 सीभां मीटां उप्धीभां Јट्गीभां। टिम ठाल भर्टमिउ
 मभ＞राव，टिभाठटाव，हैठुां से ट्रॅध मूध से का्टीहाल छिगठां से Јॅरां सी मटी उठत्ञभार्ठी वउत दाल्ले हिभवडी
 71 मटी ठुमशिटिसे चुटे नाट्टे मत कादें वि यूटा थैवट दिध टिम से मूराघले 148 मीटां छिथलूपय च गाट्टीभां।


 जंता युडीटियडा रा भयिवग्ठ निल विभा थठ टिग मैक
 वोलू गुलाभ，चभचे，गं＇च गं fिलम्ठिट दाले ॠंली चॅट के





＂थठ गांयी काउां दॅल घंती घेम्नठभी ठाल्ल







रम्म！माइे टलिउ दीव टिम मधाम्टी ऊ नाह्ट Ј



थरा थैवट बडलां，भागयाइ डे माइढ्वर टीभां यभवीभां，निभरडी दिममेम सी ताए घधमी लटी fिंठउां， उगले भडे भवऩसी वाट डे घेट्टीभात्री दाल्ले मगंल दिँ रीउा विभा हिव






 चिंडे। घ्वाप्वा मगिण्य ट्टिम मर्षय हैँच मथॅमट लिधसे उठ वि ：－

टबउ रे गांयी टी नाठ घच्ठिट लटी मभ̆मिभा लिभा ษड्री बीडी। छिम सा तीटत हिव उठुं घठ मरहा
 हैमला गांयी नी टी भाउमा के हो घड़ चुकरा मी। यूयात



 टिभूरी दी हिम देले टिती टृष्विया टिच तर्गी चिभा



 भर्तमण वभिहितल भहागइ घटला वे गांयी सी तात घठाप्टी।

गांयी ती से मठत दठउ टुभाठ घल थुवपर

 दिच पिवगविभा－－



 भथटांट्टिभा विभा। किमे लग्बाठ के घेघम लूरां से दिलाढ

 नाउदाग्टी fिस्टभां से ठगिमे－वठण के ठगिट लटी मगिभड वठद्टष्टिभा विभा ।＂

ट्टिम बठवे 1982 हिच सटँ ग्रवमठाठ खंगतम


 उगी मी उा हिम दबड रस्रिउां से भमीव माविष्य मी रंम्मी

 के टिम सी टान्नपीभउ छुंडे मदाल्लीभा टिमात हा टिउा
 ढिरा था टिँडा

1932 टिँ मैयठेट टिलेरेगेट（दँधठी चॅट यठताल्ली）के 1942 दिच मैयतेट मैटलभेंट（दॅधठे दमेघे） सा यलात यठे पठप्टे ठठि वाटे भडे रलिउां नैम्नां सी ग्लड घट ऊ घटउठ च गाटी।




टिम मभें थेत्ताप्व सा मिधिभा दिकाठा，थंत्वाप्व से मतरग्ठी








 2009＂उठिउ 6 亏ें 14 मएल उॅव से घूठिभां लटी काठउ

 लॉग्गे रीउा विभा वै $भ$ डे मठप मिधिभा भानिभात उठिउ मिँचिभा＇च मुयाठ लपी＇यइ थंजाएव＇निगीभां मरीभां
 यूघंयरी टम़ा ठीव ठा Јट भडे मुद्यियावां सी wाट वाठत घट्टे टीठे थिठे रठीं रीडे सा मरे। 2009 भिबट टिए


 भाइल मब్लां＇च टिसिभ्भागमीभां सी घग्उन्ड ने।


 भयीत जुपी दिँ माठे मगवग्ठी रठभच्ठीभां，


 ही मिनिभिए टे हीदें थॅयन थूडी fिउा टगम＇छिंसिभां टिड



 बस्टी यिभाए टिएँ।

री वरिग्टी चे थेंड्ड थूएट्टिमठी मिनिभा घग्ठे तीडी भीजेता निथेगट：
कागउ से टीउी भाज्जन से मममिछ हिवरंभिवम








 ठाल मघंयड भुज ひॅट भाभटर हाएले भारिभां से घूचे गी मिधिभा लैंटे गठ। माल्ल 2016 ＇च थेम्न टिठ विभेगट टॅमटी चै वि थेंड्ड मक्हलां टी यड़ाप्टी ही मघिडी घगु कैइी चै। घ̆षे मयागत महाल्लां टे तहाप्व ठरीं टे मरे। fिंदी，भंगठेत्सी ऊां छिठठा यडुती री नै，आयटी
 मगवग्ठी भयिवग्ठीभां，वठमचग्वीभां तिगठा＇＇ भाप्टी．टे．भैम．，वल्लवर，मेटाटाठ उॅध माभल गठ भायहे



 मब్ल केतटे गठ।

टिम निथैंगट＇ $\begin{aligned} & \text { टिग टी गैठग्ही यूगट रीडी }\end{aligned}$ गाटी मी वि द्यीभा उता़्नग्णं केट टाला，भॅ्बीभां
 तिठाठठी दाएले भ．ढमठ टी टेध－ठेध＇च बंभ वठ विग मिधिभा मटाढ डे मबूल यूष्येयत，यूप्टीदेट मबूलां से भुवाप्यले（निसे चंगो भयिभायवरं टी दी रमी गुँची नै）


 वरता थैंटा चै डे उतक्षण हैय निलसी नै। विरेगट＇

 उठॅरी मिलसी ठर्गि्टी चै। विथैठट＇च टीचठां ऊं लटे सा ठठे गोठ－भयिभायत बें लेट छिडे fिंडा यूगट रीडी चै। टिम निथेगट＇च fिंडा थूगट रीडी गाटें मी वि सेख
 बठवे थेंड्ड यूग्टिमटी मिसिभा से ठठे उां थैक्षाप्व यड्डुभा लिधिभां डा भारुर्ड मुषा पटिभा टिमेगा।


 मिसिभा छिडे टिमटी भाठ दॅइी ने। टिम भाठ टिचं मबूल

 टेट सा घटल्ल दिकाठा टलं चुटिभा विभा नै। टिम भTসले 응 हैंन－में ठाल यूचाठिभा दी ता विग चै। यठ भमल टिँ सुभीठी गरीवडां री गठ？मगवा्ठी मक्लखां से विंते
 भायटे हैटे घ̆चिभां टीभां भात－लम्टीत वलग्मं




 निपे वियने रंभ निल्टा नु，हियत कॅते ऊॅमे ढिगटे गत।
 भरवइिभां टी ધेउ：
भमल टिच उां थंताप्व सा मिसिभा दिकाता दॅ亏े भंवडे दिधावे थेक्षाप＇ठ मिसिभिए से मुयाठ सीभां टागठं
 री च विग चै？री मर్ल


 यच्चे गठ，ते गठ उां वी छिगठा सी माढ़－मढाँ्टी लपी


 भयटे मुषिभां＇च चल्ले तांट्टे गठ उां दी छिगठा टी गफ्नती
 लठाप्टी तांटी चर्गेंटी ने।

मखूल्यां＇च टिमियैवटठी उग्त：
मवडिभां सी यूथडी ग्मल वठत लसी भात्रलाप्टीत मिधिभा से ठाभ छुंडे वठमचग्ठीभां टे Јॅवं


 हिगतर टी वेटी तिती किसिटी गी ठठीं ठठि गाटी। भिउटा 힝 टैमट，घेलेडीभां भडे घेटबडीभां भीर्टिगां，वणिट त्र

 ता विग चै। भयिभथवां क्र 100 ढीमसी ठठीसे टेट लटी

 वठरे श्रठा उटटा केत गठे गठ। भागलाम्टीत उटटा दी पिर

 टा भंटान्ता टिम गॉलें लगटिभा ता मवसा नै वि 2018
 चैडीवाडु प्रक्रा वे वठहाप्टीभां नांट्टीभां टवेर्तियां टा विमे
 सूघंयत सी ग्लड टिउती यउली नै वि विउम्घां ही हयाप्टी



 समा।







 गाट्टी वै टिग साट्टर्टभां दी वि घूछ भायटी भां－घूली टिँ गी मटी मिसिभा यूआउ रठ मरहा नै। विमे भयिवग्ठी
 टा घॅتिभां छिडे वी भमत पदेठा？

## बौठ शत्रों बा्ठ：









 ट्टिर मएल गी घहहा चै। यठ विमे सी वेटी मुट्टाप्टी ठगीं テ ठगी। वट्टी भयिभाय नॅमेर्घटीभां मंखगतन से गग

 गठे गठ।

## घ̆ঠिभां त्＝हगटीभां टेट लटी मिबढ 600 बुथटे यूडी घैचा：


 टिड चांड़भा तांटा नै वि टिम ठाल येंट，वमीज़त，घुट，
 वे टिउा साट्दे। री माठे मिधिभा माम्मउठीभां，छुँ
 600 गुपट्टे टिँ टिंठीभां चीक्ञां विदें धठीटीभां ता
 से थगिठट से ४ठठे टिथ निते विटें चे मसटे गठ ？वट्टी

 गठ। लँइ देले घ्वितली से प्विल टिंसिभां उत भडे थीटीटे
 उतक्षण छिडे कठडी वउटीभां गत उां वि घॅनिभां सी
 रभी वम्ठर ठा गेे।

## मव్ळली 氏ेठां：



 ही ठवH ठठीं गुंटी। वटी हाठी उां टित्ति गुसा नै वि


 लेंटे गठ। यठ नसें छिगी घूषे पलाव थॅयन हुंडे गेंट दाले


 मेउलां टी थूथडी सी भाम वॅधटा विसें उैर समित्रत वै？ भमल मघिडी
 वि मगवग्ठी टिटमपा रे फयिभयवां 일 भयिभायव ऊॅट भडे वल्वर そॅय घटा Јॅपिभा गै। मदेठ टी ग्न्नटी लछ्छिंस्थिएं गी विमे＇भ⿸尸－सठ्डी भीटिगा＇सा मुरेग मिल नांत्ता ने। घलेव

गाँभीड अलागी<br>91－98158－02070

घँठइ छैंडे लिघट लटी छार छैविभा गी गुटा चै वि बस्टी भातिग मतराती

 वि मठवग्ठी इिष्टिटी मभें मेम्रल भीडीभा टी दठडें ठठीं

 मंगी मी，ड्रमीं टिरॅले गी चठि वाटे च।
 चैरीटाठ，गमैष्टीभा，मढाप्टी मेदव，वलतव，चैट






 गी वठरा यैंटा गै। गठ भगीरे दिँच से टाठी उां थधारे माँढ वठत हटी भानिग जुय लम्ठिटा यैंसा नै वि देधट
 डा＇भुष भरिभायव＇जै।

छिठ ठठे महाल्ल：


 ठगीं रीडे ता ठटे？

थंत्ञाप्व से मतरग्ठी मूूलां＇च थगिली ऊं घ प्गठटीं उँव दिसिस्भागमीभां टी निँचिभा सा भायिभभ थंत्ञाप्पी चै। मठवग्ठ दलें 14700 मब़खां टिंच भंगठेनी

 घण्ड ऊँट टिसिभाग्रीभां के भयाटी यड़ाप्टी लट्टी

 भरुमाठ नेवठ घ̆ठे भायटी भां－घँली थंत्तापी＇च भचटटी


 विछिं रीठा ना विग बै？
 टी बभी युठी वठत लटी भडे मब్టलां से घ्वतिभान्टी हांचे，










 उुल रठों विटिभा ताप्टेगा？री टिव मिसिभा टे ति－ तीवठत भडे ट्यागीवठत दॅल दृयहा मिधिभा दिउग्वा हा भवाला वस्स उां ठगीं？

## 

 घीडे टिरी 70 मांल से घ घत्रवठा टी लम्न भिली मी，तिम टा वि वउल रीउा विभा मी। टिम भீंते वडल टी गِّघी भैम भाप्टी भैঅ घात्ट भाढमत नाग्वरट भंडे चुल्किम यागटी

 घेटा गी हैंम हा वएडल किरतिभा। वउल हा वग्गत थैमिभां सा हैट टेट टॅमिभा ता विग जै।

टिम मर्वेयी मॅन हीभैभभी माग्वरेट



 हाठिम घट विभा मी। डिंते घेटिभां से भाल्ल्युठ＇च


 उठि विण मी सट वि यठिलां डिता घेटिभां बल टाठी－ हानी ठरिटा मी। लर्गिघन मिंथ ते छेठे डे $8-10$ मॅएं

 10 गाट्दां ॅॅधिभा मठ भठे लेरां से wवां＇च ट्रूय दी यहिंटा मी।



 रे भायहे चिउा गठर्घम मिंय से ठाभ 亏 घेंर हिँचु लिभिट
 उ छिव थैमे हार्थिम भंगा विग मी। யटता टाले टित रिभाग सिंय हे मलमीभां मठग्व से ठेवे ऊँ फॅयीभां मठग्व सा लिभा भडे वठीघ 9 दने पेउां＇च पटे इेठे के उला विभा।





 निम डे टिभाग मिंय के वगी ठाल Bिम टे मित डे वट्टी हाठ रीडे भंडे गठर्घम मिंय सी सां डे गी मॅं च वाटी।

Bुठुं टैमिभा वि सिभाठ मिंथ टी टिमातटेगी
 वठ लूपे ठाटे गठ। सिभाठ मिंय सिलाह भाम्टी थी सी याठ 302 भयीत टगत्र बेम＇ठ 201 टा दाया बीउा नाग्टेठा। ढिलूग्ल यिभाठ भिंय 3 टितां थुल्रिम निभांइ ＇डे चै।



 वग्दी सट विभा। टिमता बूल घेउठढल 1475.70 दठठा विलेभीटठ चै। टिम क्ञिले टिँच टिव ले मका सी मीट

 बैंमलां गठ। ढठीटरंट दिधे घाप्वा ढठीट ज़ुरीदठमिटी
 से वेगम वठटाप्टे तांटे गठ। मिसिभा से षेडत ひॅधें
 मिँध निभाग्मड सी भमीव टिठग्मउ से टिडिग्म घग्ठे साट्टे गं।

12 दीं मटी से भग्र म़.ढी मंड घ्वप्वा मेष
 दिगम्मउ 이 मांकी घैठी ढठीटरेट टी मिँध विभाग्मउ



 सा ठगे ढठीसरेट Јॅधिभा। ढठीसरेट 16 हीं मटी ऊँव
 हैम्न हा वघन्ता च विभा। वए़ी मभां घठाइ तैयटीभां हा टिलारे 'ेे वघता विग। हुठीभां बठ हिँच भयती
 रविभा से टॅघट टाल्ले वंडे ’डे मघरिं रीडी गाटी मी

 टे गत्ता यग्ञा मिंय हा रघ्ता ं निभा। 1849 टिज
 हत्रीठ मिंय (1849-1874) टिम ठिभाग्मउ से उग्ता




 घितली लटी 25 गत्ञाठ चुपटे घठठ रीडे। घिवठभ मिंय
 (1898-1906) ढठीचरँट से मबडीमाल्ली मम्मर हसें
 हिँ बैंमल भाढ़ ठीसेमी हा रघता विग। 1916 टिँ








 घ्विटिम मनवग्ठ रे मरभात दनें Вिमर्ठ్ मेत्तठ वैंव ही हुथायी से सिडी। थठंड्ड छिठ घगुरा ममां गत्त काण रणीं वठ मवे भडे 1918 हैँ Вिगठां टा टेगांड च विभा। महर 1918-1934 ऊॅа ढठीटरंट विभाग्मउ दिँ रूंमल भाएढ भิउमतिमटवेम्रत टा
 विगा। घठन दूम से भाधठी गरिसत मिंय हे 17
 ढठीटरेट विभाग्म

टे उग्ने हनें वग्तत कावा मिकालिभा। छिगठां के भायटे मभें




 घ्विरठभ वम्लत् भाढ़ बНगम, सेठीषाइी वर्लत, भागट

 मभेउ मिंगउ रेंटठां सा तिठभाट वउटास्टिमा। ढ़ीटरेट

 यूमियी टिद्टाप्टी। ग्लांकि मभां घीउट ठाल पगुउ मग्ठीभां
 मवॅउठेउ, दिवटंगीभा टादठ, लाल्त रंठी, भठग्न யठ, भमउप्वल, ग'त भगिल, मीऩ भगिल, भैडी भगिल, माग्गी विला, मुग्डी मभयां भाटि टिभागडां भॅन्त दी टेधीभां ता मवसीभां गठ। ढठीटरेट विभामउ सीभां ज्ञघम्बत


 यम्घंटी लाप्टी गैटी मी भडे सेम से घटटा्वे मभें छिमते भापटी विभामउ टिछ टिर दी टंगा ढमा्ट, हूँट-धेठ


 प्राठे टिव द्मीभु रीडी मी, तिम टिँच छिम के ढ़ठीरूँट विभाम्मउ टीभां दिठग्मडी सिभग्गउां, चत्ञारा, नाम्टित्ट भाटि मिका्लट एटी भगंगट्दल पेटा ती टवॅमट सी मघयता रीडी। काठउ मवराठ रे 15 सुलग्टी 1948 웅 ढठीरवेट विभाम्म त्रें पडभ वठरे टिप्ये लूडंडठ मगवग टा गाठत वठ टिँउा मी। घाभर टिँ थंज्ञाप्व मवराठ रे ढनीटरेट विभाग्मड टा हॅइग निम्म समप्टिस्त $x \vec{~}$ टिभग्ठां त्रि भायहे रघते दिँ हे लिभा। मग्गत्ता
ढठीटरेट विभामउ से भाधठी ठत्ता मत भडे छुगठां सा
 डित घेटीभां $भ$ हे टिव घेटा मत।

टितुं से Ч్ॅॅठ थिम ग्रभैगिसत मिंय सा टेगंड 1981 हिँच गें च विभा मी। ढढीटरेट विभाम्मड







 बट" टिडिग्म भने टिडिग्मर टिभागठां प्वाे विउाप्व

 किउम्व ही.यी.यी ठग्गों ही यूयु रीडी ता मवसी चै। टिम विउग्व से हयट ठाल ढठीसरेट हिँच यटे मिँध विभामउ से भमीव दिगमे ते ताटत हा टरीभां के भैवा

 भिमाल थेम्न वठटे गत। टिम मुगिठ दिँच घंप्वा ढढीस ती टी ढेठी के टिमटी दिठग्मउ त्र ट्रठीभां कठ टिंच भवघ्टल


जम्ट टिँ घटे टिल़ु घंप्वा ढठीट दिधे ट्रीभभां कठ ऊं प्राप्व ढ़ीर नी से म्रवयाल्ट्र
 Bिगठां टी जम्ट दिँच गठ मएल 19 亏ें 23 मरंप्वत ऊॅव थंत्न ठत्ञा भाग्वाभर चुवप मठाष्टिभा सांत्टा नै। टिम छिउमद हे दी ढगीटरँट टी ममीव दिठग्मउ ह्ठ ट्रठीभां से ठु-घ-ठु रीउा नै। थंक्षाप्र



यूनेट पीठ सैठ
91-98550-31081
 मेले टा टठत्रा टे टिँडा चै।

दिग्मडी चुधां टी घली:- उम्भभीस

 डा गत्त काता मी, हिँमं ऊँव ढठीटरेट से उग्ते लॅलें
 ढठीटरंट विभामत टिच யविभाट्ट भडे मिँधांटाले हा

 ठठि गाटे गठ।

छम्नभटीटां टी त्रघण्ती:- घ्थिटिम मतरग्ठ







 फने भवांग द्य मम्मर मत।

माग्गी मभग्पं:- ढठीटरंट विभामउ से यठिले ठग्ना यग्डा fिंयु उं ले वे भाधठी ठग्ता गरिसत

 विभा चै।

माग्गी थविद्टाठ टीभां मभायां दाल्ली दिन्मात्ल
 वठटी चै।

भेठी सिलें यूभग्डभा भॅठो हिटी स्थभा चै वि


 यठ रठ नाट।


## 甘ेठी मानठीकैंम

 वउडे चैवे ताभ दे भैघटा च वापीभां गउउालां



यठी－टॅमसे ठ टिमे री वुצ Јॅटा वर्ट्रित யदी उां सांट्टे उाठाहाले ग्टह टेधी ता मउ युलिम दाल्ले ढडी संप्टे निउ माठे टी ฮॉल रा बीडी थै विभा वॉल दिध ढंटा टेठ वे यठे न्मीीक भायटी वठीटे वेटी बंस यंटा।
 जॅटटा दी टॅम री दे मेंटटिभा सांट्टा ठा बुः दॅटिभा दिगले घेठ वर्ट्रित उां यइटे लיछींटे माठे गी मॅटां घटिभा वी वर्ठ्रुत धेडी लटी टॅमी टे
 निटम घठीट विडे दे सिछ गठ घां नॅट लड़े भठटा री ठा वठता नॅटा चॅव लिभा गुट ₹ंडा दे ते वे पठे स़भीक भायां ही वठीटे

 उग्डीिं＇रेद ऊँलीटे＇टाल्ले टा भठ च विभा मी जॅटा घटिभा वी वर्ठुर धेठी लटी भेठ्ठ टॅमी टे नॅटा

 ढिठ का लैंटे Јॅघवइीभां के पइवग्टे थुलिम टी इँइा हेष वे यठे स्मभीत भायां ही वठीटे वेटी वैभ पंटा।


## 

थंताप्व से कदिँध दिच भr्हिट दाल्ले गल्लान्डां घाठे



 टितुां ฮॉलां గ्ठे ठीकीठडा ठगल रती लिभा सेवठ यिढले



 ठम्निभां टी केंट चडा वे मரविभा विभा घंड़ी घJ्डे


 उ＇्तठीडिव मिमटभ वग्गत Јट्थिा ग्टह भवाली भाठ थंताप्व सा भिठटाउा तं माठे ऐेम हृं भहात्त चिलाहिंता मी छुठ दी वाठीघी सी भाठ भडे t⿴囗十टर्नीभां से दॅम

 दी धुं लुटे गठ टिम ऊ ऊंगो मग्ठीभां गत्तठीउर यागटीभां विमाएां टी टिल्ल मसत वठत सी घक्षाप्टे हिठुां हैंडे भायटी ठग्तठीठी वठ गगीभां गत विमे




घगुउ मग्ठीभां विमाठ ज़तीभत भडे विमाए भदाभ


 वगीभां गठ । टिम ऊ टिलग्टा थंत्वप्व से टिँ टिंत
 ण विग वै माठे 甘ेइ दिंग घंस च वाटे गठ 氏िउग्रीभां लटी भगि


 भटाविभां टिँच टिँ थटिलां गी धेइां टी वगट्टी ษउभ ठ चैवी नै मूंमटी वभेटी के ધेउां तां मिसिभा टी उां गॉल गी री वठठी भां छुठ उां भायटे गी मिँच
 ऑये धेउठ से मिमटभ दिध षठग्पी गदे उां विमे मुझभ टी दी वॉल वठीपे थठ टिसे उां माठा भाट्टा गी छिडिभा ढिगरा नै।

सिँमे वटे विमे मभें धालममे सा उग्न गेसा मी संभु वम्मी० हठठो मटेट से हिँ ही वेंटठ
 वठ टिडा विभा वै भडे थंत्ञाप्व टिँच दी भां घूली
 वै । ठमिभां टी रल रल चिंटे मभैव रे थैक्षाप्व सी


टा Јॅर भंठा ठठे माठे घितय माथिभां भडे तॅंबठीभां भिव चठे हैनटाहां के मवराठ उंगां ढेठ ठटी वै मभए रणी $n$ ग ठगी चै वि थंत्वाप्व वैयठ 울 ता विग चै हिपे थंज्ञाप सा कटिँध टिँच री घटेगा टिव उां यठा रुी यठ थंत्वाप्वीछ ड़मी निठिटा


सगात्य मिभ्य सठधइ 98143－00722 वै वि भगता उगठे गॅष टिध चै？


 यठ्छिंटे नं से उां 2022 टिँच टिम उतथाल से ठाल
 थंक्षाप्व से चैंगो कटिध्ध टी वए भाम टी विठत रहिभां टिँच टिम मवसी चै विछिंदि युगल्टे भवग्ली वंगगमीभां के उां ढिठ ही भाठिट टाले मभें टिँच यगिलां टाल्ले गी वडी யलटी नै टिग गृट दूउ गी
 तां ढिठ ग्तरीडिर यागटीभां घवरी ने भॅत से ग्लग्ड गत छिंपे थंत्ञाप्व सा वॅघ वी ठाधा ！

## 












 दिनय रीउा मी भडे वठभतीउ मिँच विॅल 으 यमवीभां ही टिउीभां मी।

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गांपी सी से，भतघ्वृत वठर दाल्ले，भठर दठउ से रघाभां

 टी निद्दमघा सा भयिवगठ，नं घठउातही，यूपाठ भंउठी स्भभाग भरत्नठ वीउा विभा मी，हॉउटा रिभा। महतर



हैम देले से यूचॅलड ग्लडां हा दटतट，घाप्वा
 मघृां टिछ गेठ लिषे भर्तमण रीउा



 भेठ वठउॅट मी ने वि भाठदडा＇डे भायाठिड मी वि





 ढैमले क्ठ，ट्टिम उठुं घटल लिभा साट्टे，तिम ठाल गांयी
 भाधसे गठ ：－

## थ्डरा वग्ठ टी गुथ－ठेधा

 मिषिभां टीभां दियात मबाहां टिछु，टिम यूवण्त मीटां उंधदीभां गैटनीभां ：－
यूटेम्न हा ठां मीटां टी विट्डी
भटठग्म
30
15
घूघट्वी fिंय मभेड 15
थंज्ञाप 08
घिग्ण भने हैइीमा 18
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { वेंटटी मुप्ते } & 20 \\ \text { भमान } & 07\end{array}$
घंगाए
मीजबड थूंड 20
व్ल विट्डी 148
टिग भिवझे पूटेमां टीभां म०भडीभां（वँमलां） टिँच या्टी साट हाल्ली भघान्टी टी वुल मंधिभा के भाय－
 ढैमले भहुमग Jत।
（2）टिटुणं मीटां ’亏े चटां गेठ लिषे हैंग राल मंज़रउ－ भउतात दिद्यमा गगीं गेठ लिषे भर्ममान गट्ठीभां। टॅघे－व్छले दठगां ठाल मिघ्घयिड मग्ठे मिंघट，गठ चैट－गलरे टिँ भायहा ठां चैट मुची टिँ रगत

 गगीं，गठ गुधदीं मीट लटी छाठ छिभीटटाठ छृटतरो। टिच निगी，भुॅढली चट टिँच，मब 亏ें हॅय देटां ग्मल वठर दाल्ले चाठ टिभवडी गी भाभ चटां टिँच，चटां लटी हिभीटहान गेटो।
（3）वेंटठी दियाठ मकादां लटी दी，टॅघे－व్्छले दठवां
 हली चट यूटाली ठग्गों ठपधदें（मघातां）मीटां के चँट निदें वि छिथठवड धंड（2）टिँ सूंडां सीभां दियाए मबाहां लप्टी रठमएप्थभा विभा जै，चटेटी।
（4）वेंटठी दियात मकाद्यां टिच कागउ द्मडे，भान चँट
 13 यूडीमउ मीटां ठशधहीभां गेटगीभां।
（5）वेंटवी भडे मिष्विभां सी दियात मकादां से हैभीटटावां


 गेठ लिधे धंड（6）भत्रमग，भआयमी ममझंडे ठाल， यठिएां ही ज़्रुभ रीडी सा मवसी चै।
（6）मुघिभां भडे ेेंटठी दियात मकाट्यां टिचु，गमधहीभां




 मबाटां लट्री，दँट भायिर्ठ लघीभर बमेटी टी निथैठट
 दिभवडी ．．



 मैंघंयिड तेंवठीभां टामडे लेंींटी जठाउा सा यिभात चॅษसे गैटे，उतडी रठत से थे जउत रीडे साटगे।







 मंटियाए मका टिछ थेम़ वीउा，किम के काठउ से कट्दूध टाल्ले मंदियांत सा धठडा डिभाठ वठठा मी। एँघे－वुषले हगठां टी मुवॅषिभा वहचां लटी निउँ ताट टृला भैगा－





 गंट टाल्ली ग्हीभां हा कितिर मी। विछिंदि टिग टिम यमउर ठाल घगु नित्रिभ्ता मंर्षयिउ जै，तिम हिँच，
 ग्ठ भंघेउरठ से दिचान घिभात रीडे गाटे गत，टिम लटी टिड गेठ लिधे भत्मगठ ह्वघण लिधिभा ता विग गै।
（1）थूठा वठगत，टिम छिटेम भडे टिम टियी

 प्टिग्ना（भरमा）यूवी उठुं ठग्ल भमढल चे विभा，तिदे वि गेठ लिषे भांवझिभां सी माठटी नें देषिभा ता मवहा
 से ठठीतिभां ऊं डिभाठ रीडी वाटी चै।
（2）भंवझिभां सा टठतट चा मूटीभाभा टिँ रीउा विभा वै ：
यठिली मूलेटी ：मटठत नांडी से मढल गिए
 टिँच मढल भैंघठ।






 भर्ठमुणिड तांडी से लटी मीटां उपधदीभां वीडीभां गठ，


 मढल गेटे।

 ठाल तिठीषट रठतठो। हितुां भिवझिभां ऊुं गेठ लिधी मघिडी हा थडा लॅठाहा नै ：
（1）भठुमिधिड नाड्डी सा गठ टि $\alpha$ भैंघठ，नै भिडिभ चटां
 ठाल नितिभा भडे भरूमिचिउ ताड्डी दी देटां ठाल रतीं।


 मढल गठे।（यविली मूट्टी टी उगलिरा त्रे टेधे）





 उां टिठ यठा लॅठाहा नै वि भरुम्बिउ ताडी ही देट मिषिभा टिंती ऑट चै वि टिठ मघिडी वसी का घट्टी， तेरठ भर्ठमिचि सा्डी से ले ठी भर्टमिचिउ ता्डी से
 टिम वॉल सा थॅवा मघ्बुड वे वि भंकिस चट्टां टिँ


（2）Hुँछली चटां टे ठडीने टी，भांडिम छटां टे ठठीने




 मंत लिभा ताट्टे）

 टिठ ढनव，घ्वाल्लठ－भउ－भायिवग ठाल गी प्रउस तठीं








 वे $\boldsymbol{1}$ हैम मभें विछिंवि हिम देले，टिग दिम़द्म
 fिंत्र लव स甘ल－मंटान्नी हों वठतठो，टिम लटी， मदीरग्र रीउा विभा मी।

## थूटा वठग्ठ గ్ㅇ ट्रठवग्ठरा







 टिँच，मैंघ्षयिउ लेधां गगीं，भमल टिँच गठ घट्टे मैने

 （1）＇वांगाठम भुे गांपी के भढ्ढ़ां लटी री रीउा＇ 1947


 चगीभां गठ ：
（1）＂गांयी टुभाठग रीडे गाटे मठत दठउ हिँच बँटी




 मक ऊं யटीभा विमभ सा सघाभ मी，सं छिम के，यूयात




 विदें विण सा मरसा चै？
 1．भलॅठा－भ̆उटत्र यूटा्लो ठाल，भढ्डउां से लटी मीटां टी
 भЕ्बउां हुभाठ वठीभां ताप्टीभां मत।
 भडे ट्रमठी हैट 으 मप्याठठ－भउटात यूटाली दिच टठठिभा साग्टेठा।
 टी विट्डी द्या टिउ़ी वै，यठ हुने यामें ढितब्ह－ढैमले
 चै। मीटां हा द्यास्टिभा ताला वसे ही，टंगठी－दटट से रीडे

 भयिरग्ठ मी। टिव गत्सतीउर उपिभाग से गुथ टिँ टिम टी रीभड घेश्भंड मी，किम सा निमम्घविडाप्व रठों लगाष्टिभा ता मरहा।＂
 गाटीभां मीटां ऊं बु द्येठे मीटां गठा यरंड्व हिम से












＂मंज़रउ－भउटात यूटल्ली टे उगिउ，मउ बु₹ घटल साल्देठा। गणधदीभां मीटां，च्＝रा－वठग से उणिउ，


 मउतार यूटल्ली के यू्वा्टगीत वर टिँउा गै।

 से స్ॅॅी Јँ टा गठ वागट मी।＂
（6）＂मित्रुं टिजाठं सी चममी टिँ，टिग यूडीउ गुँचा वै
 भडे ने fिंस्ट यूठा－वठग नें तढनउ वगटे मी，छिठ
 डे उुले Јेपे गठ।＇

 हिठ भढ्ढ़ा गत्तरीडी के उारा रा भगे वि हित्रां टी
 से कड़्टे／चभचे घटत लटी गिभाग न नाहै।



 रीउा ताल्दे।＂
（9）＂टिम ऊं टिग मभ̆म़ट च नांता चै वि गांयी，


 लटी छिठ đष्टी दी सलील टेट लटी डिभान मी वि छिम रा，भंतिग वठत टा बसी टिगन्टा रठों मी।＂
（घं्री भवाले मढे＇डे）
 संतडा थाठटी के 2022 सीभां थेत्ञाप्व हैँछ चं ठगीभां




 विछिं ढिठ चठे गठ？टिंश लठा विग नै तिदें मिता से
 Јंटिभा देधट्रा नै। टेम़ दिँच गत्त वर णगी वेंटठी

 （बा्तथा）वरे ही भrयटे मरमझघिभां दिँच मढल रतीं Јन मवेगी। ने थंत्जाघ्वी भतिगी गएलड दिच दी ठा मंकले के भाथम टिँच टंटे टँटे गेटे ठगे उां टिग गी Bिठां डे थेताप्व से थउत सा वग्रत घटेगी। हिम लटी थंकाप्वीछ！उुमी



 लवा वे थंत्वाप्व सी धम़गग्ली के उवॅरी रीडे ताह हा झांमा

 ठदां मिॅध चिगठा थेत्र वरवे हिम बलें थंक्षाप्व के थंत्राप्वीभां से वु₹ रें वठटाप्टे साटे， 1984 से टंविभां



 वग्रहाप्टीभां ही वठ टेह। ग्ट विछिंकि छटां हा घ्विगाल दूनिट टाल्रा नै，टितां र्ठ मुभॅप मैटी दी बेडे भा विभा








 घहे मघत घाठा दिधाप्टे गाटे，कि छितां टीभां मॅभमिभाटां
 टिँउा साग्देठा，टेम़ सा दिसेमां टिँछ टिभा वम्ला यंत

 काभ से वे छिटां टी भागघर ग्लड मुयागी ताट्टेठी। यठ


 ग्लड मयागत सी घताप्टे रीउा री＇हेट घंसी＇भान लैर
 लवादा वे मदा में से वठीघ लंब भायहे गी थैमे लेट तां घटलण्ठिट लट्टी गाषे मर । मगवण्ठ टी ठाटी ठीडी सी केट चड़ु ठाटे के भभीठां टे हंटां से पूपिभां दे दूपे wठ
 वठठ टिछ टिमे गत्स वठ ठटी काठडी संतडा थागटी से मिधचां से भागठुभां से ठां हॅसरे ठठे मत। निठां रे

 थँमट भानिमां，टेभठ थैठटां，ठेलटे，घी भैम भैठ भे．ल， घीभा वंधटीभां भानि भरेवां मवरा्टी मंथडीभां त्रे

 गानतन्डी वै टिम से भाल्ले सुभाल्ले दी गुनठन्डीभां सी गेड़ लठी गैटी चै ने वि दिछिथागीभां सी समाड वउवे साट्टे










 रिभा，टिम वनवे टिग घगग्टन ，भॅटधी डे भयमी मांझा

 वठत गालाभी，तात रंग भायटी दाग सेंटे，यठ हैं ठा भंठट विमे सी，घल ताह उंगां भैंदे के हिल्टा वे＂। सि थंत्षाप्व टी पठडी ठात्भां थीवां，थैवेघघवां टी यठडी चै।
 दिव़ॅय लइट टी मिधिभा टिरी，छिघे भाथम टिँच उल मिल वे ठणिट डे मवघमांशीटाल्रडा सा मुरेण दी टिडा

 चै वि＇थंक्ताप्व＇टी टिल．खी से ऊॅчउ हाल ग्मेमां टी टॅवठ ठगी Jै। विछिं वि＂टिली＂लवां डे तलभ हार्गसी ठगी नै

 तिउ ठठीं मविभा，ठा गी टिम से टामीभां के हिम सी टीत भंठी। विछिं वि हिग भrयम टिँ नॅल वे ठगिट से मुटाप्टी गठ। टिमे＇थित्वा＇्व＇


 गटिभा मी। निम रे ठाट्टी मी वि छिठ गंठ माठे यठभां सा छठा या वे टेम दिँच टिर＂भमलिभ＂यठग हा ईंइा इल



 हिठ भंगावेत मत सां ढिठ वंगागम यागटी वी विछिं रणीं


 डे डूटी गेटी नै। कानउ टिँच टिम वटँइ निस्ट मेच से ले माप्टि $10 \%$ ही ठा गेट，यठ टिम मैच ही यागती

 रे＂टिर उम्मटन，टिर यठम，टिर मिदियात के टिर घली＂सा ठागठ टिउा वटिभा ने। छिठां हे री 甘ाहा，वी यठितटा के री यइ्टा वै टिम टा ढैमता मवराठ हे वठरे टेटा नै।निम उगिउ ऑॅट गिटडीभां，भुमलभातां，






 गटगो तिदें घूग्ग्मट यगिलां लवां ठाल वगटे मत छिच




 चग्ड़से गठ। तिम ऊं थविलां हैंग घडी मुस्तल ठाल तितन्त या वे भाप्टे मह। टिमउतीभां डे ひॅटवॉटडीभां तिठां टिछ भुमल उठ，टिठ मउ मिसठ विले ताट्गो। टिगटां ₹ल विमे





 गेठ ग्रंटी मी डे ग्ट बाठडी तैंता थागटी से ठां गेठ सेम

टिँच गत्त रण गटी चै। थंत्ञापीछ टितां से यिद्वले टिडिगम्म ऊं गी मघव ले लठि। विमे मभें थंत्वाप्व दिँच मिधां टी टिर मून्मटी भवम्ली टॅल यागटी गेंटी मी निम सा थिद्धेतु सो टिडिग्म घडा मागतार मी। टिम सी
 नटें ऊं भउलघी भरंल्ली लीइन टिम थागटी से भाठा घटे， Вितां के भrयटा भवम उां धठाप्व वठठा गी मी थठ हुतां
 हिठां（कान्नथा）के टिम यागटी（मूंभटी भवाल्ली रल）ठाल टिंश टी किभाल्ली याप्टी वि Bितं ठाल वसे विम्रुा दॅठे
 विणडे दिमेमूट ला के दाला टमिभा साप्टा मी। यठ गुट
 （काठठी तरडा थागटी）मॅन वल वसे दॅछे कठ के वसे थंत्ञाप्व सीभां भॅये ऊं हैय मीटां लेट लटी टितां भवाल्ली लीउवां कृ फॅघां दिधा ठठे गत।

Bिडठां（मवग्लीभां）के से ससे टिठां से

 सुलम दिगुप लइत दाला मी，हिगठां के ड़गठा टिव दिगमा Вिसें हा भाठ भॅवा टिउा मभझिभा Јँटिभा चै，




 बलं मुभानी स्भा के मू भरम्ल उषउ मागिघ के मिध
 टिठमान्द सी भिग वठसिभां＂मठितमभ，हागिठाठ＂हा

 टी भिठा वठत दाल्ली，विमांां डे wट विट्डीभां दाल्ली



 से गॅव टिछ लडुट हाल्ले गुसे गैटे उुमी उां Јॅस गी वठ
 से हित्रुय बागठी संतडा थागटी दलं थाम रीठे ता ठठे
 स्ञरंगा तठग्ता दी वॅढा लिभा

उुमी भrयटे याठा मिभामउ Јंट टी ट्गाप्टी
 थॅटी घंठाप्टी नॅधी वि छिंग गी यागटी किम सा चटां मभे
 잉 टिउता मिठ के चडुा लिभा वि छुटां के हिमे भवाल्टी थागटी तिम सी घ्वतिभाप्ट थडा तरीं रिंते छुठ ठाल वंग





 （मुभागमी लीइठं）ठार्भ तिमाग किट ताट्टेगा। नरें उर टिं मुभागमी लीइत नीणिंटे ठगिटठो，यठडी डे का
 टिम याग वणिट्ट टाल्ले लीइठ रें विभाम दी तठीं रीउा

 ग्ट ह्थत विग चै，मू मुधटेद मिंय हींइमा के गँठ
 चग्गीटा चै। निगठां हे दी टिम ढिगव्र यागटी राल्ल वॉटीभां लट्टी मांझ नॅधी।



 गॉसीभाँ दूल झावट टी घां के थंत्वाप क्र घ घणिट हैल



गाटी में टिवले उैं के थंत्वाप्व टी हांगाउँ मंकाल मवे। थंक्षाप्व से लवरा टीभां ठतनां टिम मभें मुगिग्र ताटे सांपे भाग्ठभां हधठे घटे भवग्ली टॅल्ल से भागठ मू सुधेद मिंय हींइमा ममेउ मू मुधथाल fिँひ धरिठग，उा यठभदीठ गांयी，मू ठहतैं मिंय मियू，मू मिभठत तीउ


मिंख，मू मेटा मिंख मेधदां，मू घीठ रहिसठ मिंख，मू उठलेचत मिंख（टिली）मू मॅष मिंय हैटेथठ，मृ

 विमाठ समेघंसीभां मभेड धॅघे थॅधी विमाठ तमेघंसीभां टे घगउ मगे भागाभां ऊैं घितां गेठ दी घघेटे fिंउर गत，

 से लवां टलें घेतडी नै ने ड़गठे भठां दिँ गउा निठा दी थंत्राप्व यूडी टिभान जै उां हित भायटीभां मग्ठीभां

 वग्त व＇्दी फंखा कठिभा चे।


 निंग चै डुणने हटी टिर टिर टित टी दॅडी भनिभीभु
 वनवे मठ टिछ पाठ के ने छल यदे वि मक क्ष टिवॅठे वठरा चै उां ढिठ मब वु₹ मंकट ने मरहा नै। हेगी ठा वठ，टेवे सीभां भीटिंवां टा मिलमिला मुण वठे। टिसे
 लेड़ वै वि छिंग बुल्ल वे दी कागठी नंतडा यागटी से

 विषिं वि टिम यागटी से लठा कता मगे भागत＇नोघ्यल से

 उड्री＇। टिम याग्वी से भुस भाग हलें कागउ से

 कागउ से भीठीटे ㅜㅜ＂भैसी भीठीभा＂वणिट लठा fिभा बै। भॅन घगुउ मग्ठे गेठ भीछीटे ठाल मर्षयउ लूरां टी

 ढिठवूभां ते भायहे तुलम सा किराठ घटा वे वडल
 Bिठ ही वंग लिभा गठी चै। थंत्ताप्व के ग्भेमां गी टिल्सी







 विमाठां हा मम्घ टेटा छागीटा नै। टेम टिँच ठत्त रठ वगी कागठी तंतडा थागटी टी मवराठ से सिलाढ लूरां टी स्भभाला बडुव ठठी चै। सेम से ले थंत्ताप्व सी भवाहाप्टी त्र छिठीर ठठे गठ। यठ से 2022 टीभां Єटां हैँ उुमीं

 Вंग ग्लउ घट ताट्टेगी। निगडी मकठग्टां सी लइग्टी ऊं
 रे गुलगभ न विभा मी डे उुमी ही टिरां वटॅड़ निंस दिववभां टे मटा मटा हटी ठालगन च नमितो। टिम लट्टी












##  <br> \section*{}


 भाडा सा ठभन निंडा घाप्टी मी। छिं यानभिर धिभाए्लां सी भंगठ मी। थैठीभु से टिडा सेषट कागउ से टि्मिय



## 


 ठबसे मता थैठीभर กْ लट्टी केत्तिभा विभा। है माल घ वाभर थैठीभव हे मवल


 थिडा बल मिरम्टिं रीउी। भाउा थिडा हे मुयाठ लटी
 दी थैगीभठ टे मउभा टिँ ₹सी उघटीली ठगी भा मरी।








पम्येटी उैं मइवां डे लेथटे उां हिठुां टी Јॅडिभा वठ टिउी नाग्टी। वँपी टितुय ठरी वठरा मी। वठेला गत्न से भढ्कड मदठरा ₹ घणुउ डैंग मह। मदठठा रे भЕ्పउां डा नीछिटा घृप्वा्ट वठ चॅधिभा मी। थैठीभठ


फॉडिभान्ठात दिट̆य टिभाय मेंलू होडिभा सिउा। भाय
 वठर लटी डिसे कग्मह टिँेे। उा वि Bिठुां टी तभीठ साठा Bुठे। 1920 च मढ्बउां डे ひॅहइे दठवा सीभां मेंगां

## 

सर्लंयठ दिधे दिम्नद यू मिय गाप्टिर, गीउराठ फडे
 विलीज़ रीडा विभा। टिम गीउ र्० वलमघँय वीडा जै
 निछ्छित्तिर वृँटी से घैतठ गेंठ विलीत रीउा विभा।



 रे टॅमिभा वि टिड गीउ कातउ टिस भतस्तां टी ग्लड

 द्याप्टी टिंटिभां विण वि टिच तिते मए़ मुसठे गीउ


 । टिम मेंवे के गापिरा घघली दिगटी, गापिर ठग्ता
 तमरिंसठ घूल, मीगीउरण्ठ भभगीव मिंख, भंघेउवठ
 गठीम्न भॅल, गुठचठत गाट, मुर्टिटत fिंसा, एटिम्न भागी,

यठट भागी, कहत ठटीभठ भासि दिमीम़न उँठ डे गদ্গী मत।

टिम भरवे गाएित मलरीउ घघेली ती रे


 दॅय मथैगट वठत लट्टी विण।







 रे थैठीभु डे पिटां йघटां ठाल्ल ग्मला रीउा। थैठीभठ रे मटा ट्ममडे वंगाठम यागटी ढॅइ टिडी। थैवीभु रे
 रे मधड टिँटटीभां रीडीभां।

भाय के घग्तर मभान्त 으 ताग्णाउ रीउा। भाय
 लटी समटिम यागटी सा तिठभाट रीउा। 1944 च नमटिम यागटी हा हाभ घटल वे रगग्दइ वसगाभ

 लटी $70 \%$ वितनटेमत निल ठंी नै से थैठीभठ टी टेट
 रे घग्नत मभ'्त सी भाठमिव गुलाभी ધॅउस वठत लटी घगु जउत रीडे। भाय ते टॅษट काठउ भाउत मतभाए टी भंटलत उलाष्टिभा डे वर्भजाप्व रीउा मंड 1973 ' $\quad$ भाय ती मैंड च वाटी।

तै थैठीभठ, तै ठीभ, नै बानउ
Golden State Truck Sales Inc.



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# अ्रा यैवट हन्टार नां मना्य 

 भॅत्त से यड्ड－लिभे 21 ही मटी से घग्तर मभान्त से


1857 टी．से टिटतंठ ऊँ प्वभभ कागउ दित
 घिटिटिन के मियी बमांइ भायहे Јॅष हिछ ले लटी। घ्विटिन्न
 टिमे भैवट उगिड 1874 टी．रें घंठाएल से घृग्म्मट

 लॅठिभा।

टिमसे ठठीने हनँ， 1885 टी．टिँच，घंगाएल
 मघयता रीडी। घ्रूग्ग्मट घ्रिटिम्न टंइ यूटाली ऊ टिंते उठटे मत वि हिठुां ेे खंगाठम से थगिले भुधी विटापित亏


 से ले रां दिच घिटिमम दित्रूय ठागम्सनी थैटा वठत दिं मढल गैपे। टिम $\boldsymbol{\text { भिउत्रमटी }}$ గ్ㅣ मांड वठत लटी，घ्विटिम मठवग्ठ לे जैतरा घटाप्टी वि विधिं ठा कागउ से लवां 우 मॅउा टिच बॅञ निमेटाठी टिउी नाग्टे। निम दिनि घिटिटम

 टिडा साट्टा चग्गीटा चै $भ \vec{~}$ वर्ट्रत टिच दॅधठे
 वर्ट्रित घटृठ्ठिट हा भंयिवगठ गदेगा।

टिम टे उठिउ，

 भगगग्त सीटउ मत। उा．भंघेउवत भडे कामवरम्ठ
 स्वेवृ्ट भयीत मढ्बउां लटी दियात मठा टिच दॅधवी
 भठगठभां मभेड छ．घी．मी．हटी दॅधठी तुभग्टिसठी टी भंठा वीडी। तिम टा लिधडी मघ्यु भग्ठग्मटट मटवग्ठ स्भाग यू $\alpha$ म्नउ रीउT विभा मी।


 उगंगा，थठ उुगर्टे टि टॅमटा घगु नुग्टी बै वि


 चलग्हिंता मी，हिम उठुं भौने मभें टिचि，नेवठ घिटिम्न



 ते दियी भंउल दिच ता वे री गॅल चलग्ठिटा चै ？

यगिला काग्ती भेबट 1919 दी．हिछ याम
 मिली। टिम टिँच मिठढ ठाभ ही रुर्नेटिंसठी सा भाभला भंतिभा विभा भडे गठ 10 मएल्लां घाभर टिमटी

मभीषिभा वठत सी मग़लउ टिम टिँच उधी ठाटी। निम से ठडीसे हतँ， 1928 दिच，माम्टीभर वभिम्त कातउ



 वठे मठ। हिठुां हा वणिट्ट मी वि हिम हिध वस्टी ही
 टॅमिभा वि वांयी नी माप्टीभत वनिम्तर टिर वर्ठ्रिती भडे
 टिभवडी माभल ठरी गुसा।

 गांयी नी ठाल रीडे टाभसे भर्तमाठ 1930 टि४ टिंगलेंड हिछ ठोल भेत्स वएठढर्गम भाज्जेतड रीडी वाटी मी। यठ कागउ से माठे उत्तठीडिव भठे मभातिर मंगाठतां से




मग्गमटा वरत उँ इठटे गैषे，गांयी नी टी ．ठोगग्ऩती

 से चिलाढ हैमला लिभा ताट्टेगा। गांयी ती ते गोल मेत्ञ

 भुमलभाए घह्टे गठ，उां मैं हुठुां सा दिनय ठरी

 निठाण ठाल टिव गयउ मभझंडा ही वीउा।
 उउग्डीभां मान्ठीभां भिवां भंतट लटी डिभाठ गं ने उसी

 Вिमते गांयी के विण वि भमी घट हिव ऊॅटविट्डी गं， भडे भमी ひँटविट्डी लेरां ही मैंगा सा टित्य विदें वठ मरटे गं？टिमे लटी गांयी हे मिये उैं＇डे स्थिम राह－ ढर्ठम घुला वे विण वि＂से घिटिटम मउबग्ठ उा．भि－ घेउवउ से म्घसां ठाल मगिभउ गुटे उां मैं भायटी किसिती एथभ＇के लवा ऐेदांगा＂। टिठ वठि के，वांयी के वोल भेत्ञ

 सधी मत। हिमते माग्ठीभां मभातिव भडे ठग्तरीडिर यागटीभां टे र्रुणन्टिसिभां గ్ర टॅमिभा कि से विमे गॉल＇亏े मगिभडी रर्गी घट्टी उां हुग भउा थाम वठतगो，टिंगलेंड


 मदीराठरा थट्टेगा। भडे गांयी नी हे मब उँ यविल्यां टिम यूमउग्द डे समउषड रीडे मठ।

यूपत्रभंडठी गभमे मैवउततलइ के गत्ता नग्त्त थंक्ष टी भवाहाप्टी गेठ हाहात्ट भंइल सी तिजरडी रीडी। तिछिं वी गांयी टिंवालेंड उ कागउ
 रठ लिभा विभा।

 लटीभां वाटीभां।
1）ॅॅधठे もट घेडठ।
2）हंगठी दटट डा भायिवग्ठ
3）घ মা्लवा भॅउपयिरग्ठ।
4）रेंटठी भठे गत्त दियात मबाट्टां दितु हुवही हुमश्टिसगी हा भयिवम्ठ


 टिडिभर भडे भंगठां लट्टी ही हिमेम्न भयिवर्ठ मत।

 वॅल वठटा चग्रेंसा मी।

टिग भयिवग्ठ वांयी भैंड वंथती กे चठभाह


 भठत दठउ वॅषिभा मी। गांयी ती रे मैंिभा वि से भैं

 भंघेइरठ उ़डी टी उतुं गटा टिए हैं साहगो।

ट्से यामे उा．भूघेउवठ के वांयी ती से भठत
 दिगाइ वाटी। ढिठ वंगागम हे नास्टित्रा लिभा वि，गांयी ती से भठत दृउउ सा भमत उा：भिघेउवठ डे विछिं ठरी
 लघथम थॅउत लिध वे ताल ऊ भागत ही यभरी निडी। टठर्भंटेमी，उा．भंघेउरठ नाह्टे मत वि टिठ रंगाठम टी नैउग्री षें चै ।

भभीव दिँच，वांगाठम के Bिगरां लवां सीभां घमडीभां माइत टी टिव रही जैक्तर घटाप्टी किमसे लट्टी


रीडे मर। घवप्वा मगिव्व रे यठा मभझंडे से दिचैय टिँच 3 विडापां ही लिधीभिभं। 1）खंगाठम भडे गांयी रे भढ्बउ लूं लटी वी रीउा

2）गत्त भडे ऍॅटविट्डी। ）भिमटठ वांयी भडे भह्ढउां टी भुवडी ।

टिम यूवग्ठ घाप्वा मगिष्य भडे गांयी ती रठनिभात Јंटिभा टिड थाठा ममझंडा वांयी ही मंगिम्न मी，तिम ठाल टिव मानिम्न उठिड मह्ढुउां से
वएत्रुण，घठग्वम $भ \vec{~}$ पटरा से थिइं टि गंटी मी，निपे भ巨्＝ुउां टीभां घमठीभां माइटीभा मुण वठ सिडीभां उ．भंघेटरठ 유 टिम पाते यउा लूतिभा उां

वस्मफ वुमग Вिमते टिम घवठे घिटिट्न

91－97807－78062 चलिम अयिवग्गीभा
 विग वि माइी मुवॅधिभा यूटल्ली मिवढ $\boldsymbol{H}$ मिते मुगिणं दिच नै। भमी थिइ दिध उुग्डी मटस तरी वठ मरटे।



 रंगठी दृट भडे भलूँच Єट
 वाटे मठ। टिम सी घां（Joint Electorate）नें ग्ट


टेम़ टी भाऩतन्ती उन घाभट भान चहां रठट्प्टीभां वाट्टीभां। तिषे ही घाप्षा मगित्व भिघेउरठ
 भंघेउवठ सी यागटी गठ वाट्टी । तिम＇डे प्वप्वा मागिघ्य रे भायटी वर्तसरग्ठठी वभेटी सी भीटिंत रीडी फले टिम दिच मभीधिभा बीडी वि विणडे राठतां रवरे हिठां
 टिड माग्मटे भाष्टिभा वि गांयी हे निगडा यूता थैवट
 सभाग अउु रीडी वाटी मी।

य్లठा मभईंडे ें बउदे，टलालां，चैभचिभां भुडे


ग्ल गी हिँच，कातउ से गम्मृटनी मगटेधट


 यॅविभा विभा Jै।

 विछिकि नेवठ मझे मभ＇्त से लेरां ही मगी रुण्टिसगी
 जुठ लइग्टी लडी सांच्दी।

##  <br> रंगाल मनगिठ सी मघायठा घी घी भैभ घी से काधइा छेभ <br> उ नाटगो विछिंकि गाठीष घूचिभां टे भाथे भायटे घूचिभां <br> 

 छैभ थॅजैवट दिँच ఓंभ वठत दाल्ले वठभणामीभां लप्टी विणम्टिमी भरएत रंगाल टिँ घटाप्टे वापे मठ। टिमे उठं गी रिवाल टिँच वठभच्ठीभां भडे टिलावे से लवां सी मग्लूउ भडे उलाम्टी लपी मबूल，ग्मथउल，भाटि दी
 घी भैभ घी ऊं विटाटितइ वठभचग्रीभां，भाम－याम से
 रठभचानीभां टे घूषे घी घी भैभ घी छी．टे．ही．यघ्षलिर मवल टिँ यకुसे गठ। घिम मवल గ్ర घिलझिठ，घितली
 Bियलష̆य गठ। ग्टट टिम मबूल टलं ढीमां सभुं


 मव్ल भैठेतभैंट वमेटी से चेभठभैठ ग्रमत लएल वृघँत

 मव్्हल टी भिरेतभिंट दल्लें मवूल सीभां ढीमां ची हम्लू लटी ऊटटिस संगी रीडे गाटे गठ त्रिम भर्ममान घी दी भैम घी रठमणनीभां से घूचिभां $भ$ हे प्रावी पूठिभां सीभां ढीमां टिछ दॅउा ढडव चै। छुठुां विण वि टिम माल बॅठता वग्ठत गठ यामे दिँडी मेबट भाष्टिभा

 चैं विग गे। हठठां विग वि मरल भैठेतमैंट वभेटी से







 मैं र亏े टिलावग्टग्मी गग्तठ मत। टिम महंयी मरल रिम्मीयल ग्तरीम मठभा हे टॅमिभा वि टिम मबेल टिँच
 मर्घयिड गठ $भ$ डे ढीम मटवरचठ मबूल भैठेतभैंट
 टंमिभा वि ढीम भूभानी मर्घयी ढैमल घी घी भैभ घी हे



 साभ यगितहिटनो।

वृल्टीय हीट 91－94175－63054

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 तही लिधदे के
भानीं दामी टेम थिताप्व से माइ दिठमा ले दिठगा




भमां र！़ाए याट्टी ऋविभा । ठटीं भुइ दी मैठी गठ भमीं यठेभी भயयटे हेम से । माठ्ठु ठठिउल ठएल से सिभाठ

भमां टीटा मरहा प्रालिभा । भमां देधे मुध से t़्षाप्व



















 त्रे छमें तॉमटां चिभा। डे भवाले सी टिक 21 मर्उपव 1857 र्षे भंगाठेत्र मभठग्त से रभंइठ घटवले के ढैसां टी दॅडी उा्टा्त

 मी। ििम वठरे फंगठेत्ञां के लँवां 이


 गमम đॅट लॉगी－टे－डे 20 मऊंप्रत 1857 राल थिइ वामेनी से हागाल क्ताल से
－मंत्तुण विल भगिभ्स क्षां गठं डे गॅला घल टेउा डे भग्भिस क्षां धठल डे हिमटे मम्पी मित

 नागी मी के लेंदे हा देल़ा ने विभा भिगिभर
 हे गोलीभां सा भींग दठुए टेडा टिम टर्व－ भभाठ हिव ठोली मटी मीटे भट लॉठी के मुगीट गंगो । टिम ऊं घाभस मंगातेत्त़ मगवग्ठ के छिठुां टा मिठ वॅट के ठोठीठ नेल टी रंय डे ता लटवएटिभाडा के लूरं चे मवराठ टा इठ दये के ठाल़ से मम्दी
 मिठ लिभांत्टा पइ ठतल तूंडा हिठुां टी
 भणिभस क्षां टी घग्तठी से विमे यड़े नांटे के। टिगठां मगीटां हा वउत़ टिमी वसे ठठीं टे मवसे।

मलग्न म̣गिटां గ్ర


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घाप्या घ्वटा गग्भ यठभमैउ ती हा तरभ 13




 हाल्ले हिभरडी मठ।

घाप्वा घ्वटा उग यठभमैउ ती भाथटे मभा्त से






 भग्ठ मुध़मीभउां के सरН लिभा वै।

घाप्वा घ्टाटा गभ यठभमैं के भायटे गोभाठ

 मेगाट टी यूषा टा टिंय वरसिभां भायहे वोभाग मभात्त




 घमडीभां टिॅँ मक 亏ु निभिभान्ता यूढ़लिड नै। भुवॅल्ला यठभवट टी अणादाप्टी रठटिभां तिमटा चठव्टा ठत्न豸ुगीभां तां घान्क्नीठाठ घमडी मी，हुठुां रे भुवॅला तिद्ट－ मीभां 율 घठम्घठ स्ञभीत दृउ वे टिडी। न्रमीक दैउट ひैंगत्र Bित्रां के मइवां भडे वा．लीभां सा थ्टा चिभाए उॅधिभा। प्राप्वा घ्डटा गग यठभमैउ नी टी हिं ट्रुण－ट्रिम्नटी गी चै


बसल पगНमँउ जु．मैंम．पे．




 जा्ट वठटे गठ।

## मुगीद डठाउ fिभu दे त्रतम हित लप्टी हिम्नेग्न

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 थिइ षटवइवलां हेडे घंठा निला रहां मुगित तिमटा राभ








 Вमे टित ठिठां टे टिडा विमत मिंय भडे सै चा्ठे भानीड
 दिँच काठा लेट राठत सेल गापे गेटे मत नेल ऊं विगा




 लागठ दिँच राधला हे लिभा। कठाउ मिंय टी महली
 गटी，छिचेठी यडाम्टी लटी हित्रां ें ही से ही गम्टी मरूल
 दिंयी मवताठमीभां टी ठठमटी वरिटे मरा 13 भयूल





 विउम्व 1857 यगिल्या मुंडतडा मीठाठग यड़ी तिमसा



 Bिठुं से रॅल टिँच मारिल ने वाटे। टिम टॅल टॅँच


 कागउ मका सी मषप्रता रीडी। वर्वी रंड टिँ


घंप्व यभावए वठत से そँन्म ही लगाग्टे वाटे। टिम टिँ मानिल ठग्भ यूमग्ट घिमनिल मभेउ 4 ख्रंडीवग्ठीभां के ढांमी भडे 16 रें सेल सीभां मत्ञाप्टां अं Bिठ व्ही

 टिँडा भडे टिव रहां ताभ गिस्मउात नुमलिमट
 ंㅟ भागठा भडे टिली टी से गेठ मैंघठं ठाल घंघ दिमढँट वगवे भडे यठठे मुँटरे भंगाेती उस्भउ से दिव़ूय दिसठंठ सी भहग्त्न घुल्ट्ट रीडी। ढठदठी 1928 टिँ बागउ दिँ यर्णेचे माम्टीभर कभीमूत से दिठय भडे घ्वा्टीवप्ट लप्टी यूटगमत गचे। सिगठां यूटगम्रां हिँच काता कैट टान－ लभां भंगठेत्री मम्नत रे एाठीचग्तन रीउा। टिम गी दिनेय सी भवाहाप्टी वठ गठे वांगठमी भाग्ठा लाल्ला हान्तथउ गम्टे टी भँ亏 च वाट्टी। टिमटे उँम हनें मीीट कठाउ

 वठीप महा छाठ टसे，मवप्ट ही तगा डे，टे．भिम．यी．

 मिंय के 3－4 ठोलीभां भावरे Bित्रे भाठ भवर्टिभा।







ひॅघ टिँच रठीं मी यठ वाग्ठ भागवम से मियांडा अं थुठी



 Bिगठा
 दिँच याम ठा Јट रेट लटी Bिगरां के टेइ इिमथीछिट रेंटठी फमैंघळी टिँच घंघ्व मॅटट टी जक्तरा घटाप्टी। टिम रंभ लटी कठाउ मिंय भले घट्वेम्नट टॅउ सा ठाभ चटिभा विभा। 08 मस्स्ल 1929 त्र नरें टिठ घिल थेम़ चंटे मत वेंटठी फमैंघली टिँ टिगठां そँठां ते टिव भतिटे मसात्र डे घंप्र मॅटिभा निँपे वस्टी मैन्स二 ठठीं मी， टिम ठाल चवा गम्ल पंपे ठाल्ल कठ विभा। छिवठां हतं ते＂सितरलाप्व－

 मुठराप्वम्त＂हा रागठ लवाष्टिभा मडे भाルटे ठाल

 त्रे विद्ढडाठ वठ लिभा विभाए। सेल टिँच कठाउ मिंय वठीष 2 माल्ल चठे।

टिम तैंग्र छिंग लेष लिध के भायटे व्ंड्डीव－

 ही छिगठां से टिधाठं सा यूगटाटा वठरे गठ।

भायहे लेधां दिँच छिगतां के थैतीयडीभां त्रे



टिव लेध भैं ठम्मडिर विछिं गं दी लियिभा। Bिगठां रे
 ड्डने टठगां दल्लं रीडे नांटे ग्मत्किभां भडे मूमट हा दी Вिमे उठं दितँय वीउा तिदें वि भंगातेत्ञां स्भाग्ता रीडे ठापे भॅडिभान्वां हा दिठय रीउा। छिगठां त्रे
 भंगठेग्नी ऊं टिलाद्या प्रंगाला ही भाछींटी मी । Bितुां के मैंड टी मत्रा मुट－


बूल्टीय चंट
91－9417563054 ठिट से घाभर दी ढीठभा लिघट ऊं मान मठुां रठ टिउ मी। छिगठां के भंगारेत्न मवराठ र्̀े टिव चिँठी ही लिधी तिम टिँच विग विभा मी वि छिगठां 으 भंगठेत़्ी मतवग्ण से धिलान
 भडे ढांमी सेट टी घताप्टे ठोली ठाल छिउा टिउा नाद्टे।


 यूट्ट गी डिभाग टिडे। 07 भरड्इघन， 1930 으 टिप्रि－



 मएल भडे थू टॅर ढ़्ठे 03 माल बैट से
 ढांमी टेट लटी 24 भागच 1931 मदेठे 8 द्से सा मभां

 ढांमी से चिडी।








 मुगीटां टा मीटीटी टिद्मभ भठा गठे गं थूंड्रि टितुां
 ही घणुउ वैश्र वठता पावी नै।

## 


fिभग्डी गीठट्टित ：टीक्न निधी ＇भिंे जान बमीते＇ढिल दाली हिता निधी＇रहाप्रनाप्टे＇



 नितीभां ढिलमां निलट उा ढिठ वैठीभन पिव दाउ घहलसीभां डे गेटेवा।

भुँ्ड टा मट्टा－उाटा







भां वॅघ टा तांभ－रर्दिटन टीय ＇मिबेटरा＇＇घटला नॅटी टा＇ढिल्भां रे मगिठशिर के＇टिल सा भभभल＇＇नॅट
 वर्ला के विण वि भाँ गैप हा हांभ ग़सी नै के भमनीरा ठवि कि भां टी जाट गी हैम लही थ्वेठठा चै। रहिसठ टीय वर्या के गृ थी．टी．मी थीनाप्वी के＇मम्लूे टी नैटी＇ढिलु हा तिनमाह रीउा मी।

## मुच मथठा ठावठ टी

 ＇टित टिगे़े ले साटना＇सी गीचटित मयता ठारठ हे विण चै वि Bिठ＇ठठे चइसी रला थंताम्व सी’ हठगीभां ढिलभां वरठठ टे गॅर

 फॅगो तठी द्य मविभा।

## ＇टाप्टीघ＇मतदीव टी


 रठत सा भतदीठ मिंय चठचा＇च चै। मतहीव से टिम गीउ सा मंगीउ ने．भिम．दी टा वै । मवमी टिद्हेठी टिम टी भ్ఞॅษ भाइल वै।

## ＇टृद्यिप＇


 गठा बठभ वैठ के＇टृद्याय＇टी टीभ के ज़ूरिट टी निगतु


## वनणँसी＇डे दिस्तोप्त

## 


 भंग टेद मगिष्व नी हे 1539－1552 टी： 13 मएल उॅर
 यूछणठ सागी ठॅधिभा। छिटतां के गुठभकि से दिरम्म हित


 टा भागाभर 31 भग्ठ 1504 टिच भॅडे सी मवं क्तिल्टु
 （मबतग्टी）से गूरि दिधे गट्टिभा। घाप्वर से ग्मलिभां

## ठीउ



 से ग्टह हगीं थैटा ढिन वस थैटा गाल मवरांां से।

 जैभ उँ घटाम्टीटे घल टिम से लल ने ग्रट तठीं

えंगट，घाले，रढउठ मिभामउ किम्मटे माठे नै। टितमान लेट लटी रस ऊँव ठगिह्ट घहे दिकाठे नै।
 ने ग्रह ठगीं

भँग ठत्रिभां टे दथानी जान्ठी गवस याल गो।
 री ढाग्वीभां घट्टे देधी साह्ट मुथठे गठां टे ने ग्रट रणीं


 से गुट ठवीं थैटा


 टिभाग नठटगी 1520 दि ही घीषी पीटी ती ठाल गट्टिभ। टिर टित मंभिड देले काम्टी तैय मिंय ती यामें，वैप्षी भिभू＿घ घाट्टी मगदट रीडी। घाट्टी से भिभित उम ऊं
 वठउग्त्रुण 氏िت लिभाप्टी। Bिठ रठउाउथ्थ गी टिर गाटे। छुंग हाभ मिभगत के मेदा से गण के उुठ थटे।

## गुण 으 भाय

 मभव्यह वठवे वठझी याल யाली। छिठ मेटा टी fिमाल घट गाटे। ठुण्ड ठाठर रेद नी रे यविल्ली थाठध्रु ठत्नत ठत्ल ठिमचिउ रीउा मी वि गुठठॉसी टी fिंभेदाठी काप्टी लगिट्ट ती के तिब＇हिटी वै। थठ मीवाउां सा दिमहदम्म निॅउट लटी थत甘 भडे मेदा टा मैरा टिॅडा। मॅउ माल 1539 टिछ वाठठॉसी टी घधमिमिन गैसी। छिंगतां क्ष भंगार टेट सा हां fिंलिभा।

 घटाष्टिभा। निसे 1539 टीं ऊँं 1552 उॅव 13 माल सा गाठु वर्ल सा मभां पडीउ ठँटिभा। टिपेपे गी भाय ती सा



 तिभामतिभां सा भामत，किठटिभां टी छभा दठगी

 यूपॅव टिस़िग्त रीउा। भाभ लेवां से ममझट्ट जना
 ममझ मवट，यूचग्ठ रठ मवह। यठ री घाट्टी ठाठ ठातर रेद ती $भ$ ने मभें से काउां टी घाट्टी टिरॅउठ वगरे थँघीभां भडे ग्राटवे डिभाठ वठवे ट्डठ－सठग्त केतह सा

वग्तन भागंकिभा। काप्टी घाल्ला ती ऊं गुण् ठारव रेद मणिय ती सा तीटर
 गैपं गुठनुधी दिच लिधहाष्टिभ। घॅठिभां लट्टी घ्वाल घय डिभान वठटाप्टे। थंताम्वी गुठभुधी लिथी से दिमघग लटी मरूल घेल्ल उां ने मयागत मिगउ ही टिटिभा यूथु वठरे यंगभिब， गग्तरीडिर，मभातिव दिटन－ गिव，भयिभाग्डभव चेउता ठाल भयहा तीटत ひॅयत छिच चैव मरे। तिमें भाय ती के गुठघाव्टी टिूॅउत रीउी，हिपे भार्य नी के घुट ही गुणघाॅ्टी सी उठता
 मंथम्टका टिच भाय ती से 62 मलेव 10 उवां दिध भंविड गठ। भाउभर घ्वितडी भडे



 मिगउभर्ट मत दॅम मरसा डै। छिगतां धेइां，वमडीभां भुे


 टिदृहिट लपी लंगाठ सी यूसा ह उलास्टिए। भाय ती से लेगाठं हिछ सuभाल्ली सेमी fिछ दाल्ली धीठ दठउसी मी।

भन्डा धीदी ती भायहे Јॅपीं लंगाठ टृउाष्टिभा वठटे मह। निम ठाल टिमउतीभां के घठभ यूघ्घय हित भवाहाप्टी से वे भाट घधत्मिभ। गाठ नी के भायटी वमाप्टी
 हबटा，तिमसभ मेटा，वॅप्य सी उत्रा हिच ठगिटा। सिधा्टे

 गेवम्ठ ऊंड वे तिभगउा द्चि ठठि वे यठस भडे टिभां डे उॅलट डा भगिम＇म वठटाट्टिभ।


गाण्र भंगार रेद नी ते यठभ यूछाठ दिध
 रेद मरणिप्व नी दिधठे मह। छिगठां हे गेठ मैंवडे मिँध





 घटाप्टी चै। छिउटां के नैगीभां，मंतिभाम्मीभां ठाल गोमटी


 टिउा। भागठ，28， 1552 तें సैडी तेंड मभाभ गापे।
 घिठग्तभाल रीउग। गाठ भंगार टेद मागिष ती हैलें भान्वे

 हिमटे मतभ్甘 ठठिट्ट छागीरा नै। मिमाठ दिछ छिम ऊं


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## ठाक्तल

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टैवमां टी चैठी वठटे नें के छिच घ्वेठे गी मेठ घट तांटे，


श्रठ घेलट के ने वेटी रठी गुँी मॅठ टी धिच धिचाप्टी








## －उर्घिटठ म्न्भा

919814667682

##  <br> 

 गैटी सर घंइ 6 वृहिमा का यूटी गटी लंइ।






 ठा माइ यठग्ली，वैध चइ विभा यूभां यतथँठ，

 बॅसगउ सी हिग घध्षमिम से ठा ताप्टे नहाप्व।




## Misfits

We are immigrants Misfits． Landed USA． Having no skills． But big dreams． Stars in darkness． Narrow space． Deep inside． A new slow． No friends． Bitter relations． In big homes． Got little space． Looking job， With pale face． Not habitual， With routine． Learn without teach． der S．Parwana． Inspired by birds． They find， New places， In hard seasons． Started job， With low wages． Fired on

ती गं，लेधव भमत सैधलां सुभाग्र लिधी विडाप्व ＂टिठमांतीभड＂गठेव Bिम हिभ्भरी रे घिभाए वउसी
 मभञ्ता वै के टिम दिउग्व हिध मभान्त से ग्टे भैंघट दिच टिठमाही वसगं－रीभडां थैटा वठत सा सत्ञाप्वा
 गठ भुّटे टी टिम विउाप्व दिच मभुल
 उग्री मभान्त గ్ర मगी मेय टेट टाले लेषर घगुड गी




 मभग्त हिछ यूष्टलिड दटिभ कठभ घृठम्टीभां
 च विग ड़ठहिद्यग्र，यीभां ठाल दिउवठा，

 यहिट लटी थेनिभा दी नै। टिम उँ टिलाद्टा
 तिदें टॅर मॅछ टी रम्पी，यठभां గ्रे भह्टेषिभां रठ मउ उँ यविलां भौटे भार्य


 मंठटे गतभडे बेश लेव कठाउ मिंय डे लेठित से दिधाठं




 ठग्मडिर ，पठभ ，ताउ，लि⿵冂卄 से ठत्ञवीटे ठाल रर्गी। टिम
 टितमाहीभउ टी fिमाल बै। टिम लट्टी लेषव भमत नैभलां डे मगिजेगी द्याप्टी से याउठ गठ।
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[^0]:    Source Courtesy: News18, Sujit
    Nath, September 22, 2020

