

# Ambedkar Times

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#### **Invited Editorial Article**

### Shaheed Bhagat Singh: A Great Revolutionary and an Erudite Philosopher

Shaheed Bhagat Singh occupies central place in the Indian freedom movement. His name reached every nook and corner of the country after he and his associates, all young revolutionaries of the Hindustan Socialist Revolutionary Association (HSRA), avenged the death of Lala Lajpat Rai by murdering JP Saunders, ASP Lahore, on December 17, 1928. This dare devil act of killing an IP British officer of the rank of ASP, threw a daunting challenge before them. The spontaneously emerged circumstances forced them to choose between two possible options: to turn underground or oppose the British administration in a direct and open revolt. After deep thoughts, HSRA decided to adopt the latter. The strategy was prepared to give actual shape to direct and open fight by making use of British jails, police stations and courts as revolutionary platforms to widely disseminate the message of peace, freedom, and egalitarian social and political order, chiselled during long discussion among the members of the HRSA. And for this herculean task, it was decided though with initial reservations on the part of Chandra Shekhar Azad and of course with heavy heart - that Bhagat Singh, one of the most intelligent young revolutionaries of HSRA, will lead the fight.

The decision to launch an open and direct front could partly be due to the thoughts related with the long self-exile of Sardar Ajit Singh for his involvement in 1907 'Pagri Sambhal Jatta' movement and partly for the longer ramifications of the adoption of violent methods for building an egalitarian social set-up and democratic governing order. Bhagat Singh and his associates might have decided to opt for the open fight after their action on December 17, 1928, to further shun violence on the one hand, and to minimize the implied losses of the struggle to keep oneself away from one's own people during the underground period or in exile as was in the case of his revolutionary uncle Sardar Ajit Singh. It was well thought-out strategy which speaks volumes of the political maturity of the young revolutionaries, their deep intellect and love for non-violent democratic means. It was in this context that Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev in their martyrdom defeated the so-called British administration that used to boast of its passion for liberal values and natural justice.

The direct fight began on April 8, 1928. The beginning was madeby dropping of two mild bombs in the Central Legislative Assembly Hall at Delhi 'to make the deaf hear' of the staggered sufferings of the subjugated. It was well-planned and deeply thought about non-violent action of its kind under the British rule in India. After the blast, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt did not leave the hall as decided beforehand. They kept on raising slogans: 'Inquilab Zindabad' and 'Down with Imperialism'. These two slogans, as cogently argued by Chaman Lal, represented the immanent change in the Indian revolutionary thought appeared as 'a sign of the growth of consciousness to a higher level in revolutionary movement of the country ("Revolutionary Legacy of Bhagat Singh, Economic & Political Weekly, September 15, 2017, 3712). He continued, 'the catalyst of this change was none

age of under 15; and the period of about four months from December 17, 1928 (murder of JP Saunders) to April 8, 1929 (dropping of bombs at Central Legislative Assembly) constitutes the most fertile phase in hisrevolutionary voyage. He also wrote extensively during this period under pseudonym Vidrohi in *Kirti* and Balwant in *Pratap* published from Kanpur. 'Achhut da Sawal', ' Mazhab atey Sadi Azadi de Jang', 'Dharm-Var Fassad atey Uhhna de Ellajh', 'Anarchism ke hai' and 'History of Anarchism ' are among his various thought provoking articles carried in Kirti. These seminal articles clearly establish him not only as an accomplished scholar of great insights but

thought provoking articles carried in Kirti. These seminal articles clearly establish him not only as an accomplished scholar of great insights but also an erudite philosopher who cap-

other than Bhagat Singh, who by now, through his experience of the revolutionary movement and from a systematic study of the world revolutionary movement the world over, particularly from his study of the Soviet experience, had reached the conclusion that it is not just enough to 'free the mother India from the chains of foreign slavery', it was much more important to understand the whole system of enslaving and exploiting other nations, i.e., the system of imperialism and then to understand the mechanismof smashing it." (Lal 2017: 3712).

Bhagat Singh started reading and critically analysing national and international unfolding of economic and political events at the very young tured the complex nature of British imperialism and the insidious role played by the entrenched social and religious structures of communalism and untouchability at grassroots of Indian society.

The city of Kanpurplayed a major role in shaping the revolutionary as well as intellectual life of Bhagat Singh. It was there, hecame in contact with Batukeshwar Dutt, Ajay Ghosh, Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Shiv Verma and Jaidev Kapoor. He was introducedin Kanpur to the then emerging centre of revolutionaries within whose intellectual company and passion for the liberation of Bharat Mata, Bhagat Singh took refuge to save himself from the filial responsibility towards his family and to prepare for

"Ambedkar Times" and "Desh Doaba" forum pay its floral tribute on the martyrdom day of our great revolutionaries – Shaheed-E-Azam Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev - who sacrificed their precious lives for the liberation of our mother land on March 23, 1931. Let us come together to follow their philosophy of nonviolence, egalitarianism and communal brotherhood in letter and spirit.

Prem Kumar Chumber Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba

the large responsibility of liberating India from the clutches of the British Empire well as to establish people's democracy where women, Dalits, workers and peasant would have



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equal rights. He was introduced to the Kanpur circle by his teacher. Jai Chander Vidyalankar of National College of Lahore. It was at Kanpur that he also joined the underground revolutionary organisation, Hindustan Republican Association founded by Sachinder Nath Sanyal who he earlier met at Lahore. Lahore, like Calcutta and Kanpur, was also an equally wellknown known centre of political thinking and revolutionary activities. Bhagat Singh home at Lahore was frequently visited by the revolutionaries of the Ghadar movement. Before the annexation of Punjab in 1849, Lahore was the capital of Sikh Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. And before that it remained a seat of various vassals/subedars of the Delhi Sultanate and Moghul Darbar for a long time. It also provided fertile socio-political space to sow the seeds of Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj. During his early years of life, Bhagat Singh came under the influence of religious practices of Arya Samaj as were observed in his family. It was at Lahore that Giani Ditt Singh of Singh Sabha used to engage Swami Dayanad Saraswati, founder of the Arya Samaj movement, in scriptural debates about complex issuesof spiritual philosophy. Bhagat Singh developed companionship with Sukhdev and Bhagwati Charan Vohra at Lahore. Bhagwati Charan Vohra sacrificed his life on the banks of Ravi in Lahore while preparing bombs for the release of Bhagat Singh and his associates from the jail. Thus Lahore and Kanpur contain vital clues to understand Bhagat Singh, his revolutionary activities and intellectual growth.

Yet another equally significant, rather more strenuous, phase during which Shaheed Bhagat Singhestablished himself as an incisive philosopher and became a house-hold name falls between April 8, 1929 and March 23, 1931. After the pronouncement of life imprisonment in the Delhi bomb case, which began on May 7, 1929 and ended on June 12, (Contd. on page 2)

### Shaheed Bhagat Singh: A Great Revolutionary and an Erudite Philosopher

(Continue from page 1)

1929, Bhagat Singh and Rajguru were shifted to Lahore and Mianwali jails respectively for the trial of Lahore conspiracy case. During his incarceration in Lahore, Bhagat Singh, along with his other jailed revolutionary associates, underwent long hunger strikes for almost five months one after the other. It was also during this slightly less than two years of period of incarceration, Bhagat Singh wrote many letters to his family, friends, and officials of the jail and courts. 'Why I am an Atheist', 'Jail Notebook', 'Letter in the name of Young Activists' were among the few brilliant texts penned by him in the jail at Lahorewhere he finally embraced martyrdom along with his revolutionaries co-prisoner Rajguru and Sukhdev.

Bhagat Singh, as mentioned above, had already become a house-hold name throughout the country for his leading roles in the Lahore Conspiracy case and later the Central Legislative Assembly Bomb case, and his extraordinary brilliant writings. His popularity can be gauged from two editorial

dedicated to his martyrdom by two leading contemporary thinkers: Periyar E.V. Ramasami in his Tamil Weekly Kudi Arasu on March 29, 1931 and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his Janata newspaper on April 13, 1931, entitled "Three Victims". In Punjab the news of the hanging of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev spread like a wild fire. Despite all the efforts of the British administration, thousands of people, mesmerised by his egalitarian vision for the independent India and the rare courage with which he confronted ruthless oppression during his incarcerations, reached the banks of Sutlei during the night of March 23, 1931 and performed the last ritesof the remains of their beloved heroes with soulful gratitude and unspeak-

After his martyrdom, people of Punjab in general and rest of the country in India made Bhagat Singh an integral part of their folk. A large number of prose, poetry, novels and academic research articles and books highlighting varied dimensions of his life, mission and philosophy are a living testimony to his being a great revolutionary and

an erudite philosopher. Among the latest international peer reviewed published research papers mentioned can be made of: Kama Maclean, "The History of a Legend: Accounting for Popular Histories of Revolutionary Nationalism in India," Modern Asian Studies, published online by Cambridge University Press, 16 February 2012; and Neeti Nair, "Bhagat Singh as 'Satyagrahi': The Limits to Non-violence in Late Colonial India," Modern Asian Studies, published online by Cambridge University Press, 01 May 2009. Chris Moffat's India's Revolutionary Inheritance: Politics and the Promise of Bhagat Singh, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019 is one of the recently seminal books on Bhagat Singh and his philosophy

In 2018, Delhi Government established a Bhagat Singh Archives and Resource Centre. With its rich collection of books, rare documents, journals, and archival material, including the socialist revolutionary jail records, this centre has evolved into the first of its kind Bhagat Singh Archives and Resource Centre in the

country. The sole spirit behind this great endeavour is Chaman Lal, a retired academic from Jawaharlal Nehru University and former member of Senate and Dean (Languages Faculty) of Panjab University, Chandigarh.

He has been continuously researching on the life, struggle and writings of Shaheed Bhagat Singh for the last many decades, and has collected from India, Pakistan and many other countries lots of literature and rare references in that regard. Currently, an advisor at the centre, Chaman Lal is said to have donated 2000 books on Bhagat Singh in various Indian languages (Mohammad Ibrar, "Know All About Bhagat Singh Struggle in His Very Own Corner," Times of India, "March 23, 2021). Such efforts will certainly help us to understand the context and the contributions of our great revolutionaries who scarified their precious lives for the freedom of the mother land and left behind a rich treasure of their experiences and meticulously articulated philosophical narratives.

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## **Bhagat Singh: The Execution and Rewards**

Even nine decades after he was hanged, Bhagat Singh remains the most iconic - and beloved - martyr in the collective consciousness of India. What has, however, remained camouflaged all these years, is the exact sequence of events and the identity of officials involved in the defining execution in Lahore central jail on March 23, 1931. The British government had somewhat kept its officers' names under wraps fearing retribution. There had been two assassination bids - on the then Punjab governor SIR Geoffrey Montmorency I.C.S (1899 batch) on 23rd December, 1930 and superintendent of police Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Aziz, the investigating officer against Bhagat Singh, in the month before the hanging.

There was a meeting to discuss the law-and-order situation in Punjab and it was held at noon on March 16, 1931 at the Governor's House in Lahore. It was presided over by the Punjab Governor SIR Geoffrey Montmorency I.C.S.(1899 batch) still in pain from the bullet wounds he suffered after being shot by freedom fighter Hari Kishan Talwar at the convocation of Punjab University in Lahore on 23rd December 1930.Apart from the governor, the then chief secretary of Punjab DJ Boyd, home secretary CMG Ogilvie, inspector general of police Charies Stead, inspector general of prisons Lt.Col FA Barker, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore AA Lane Roberts and senior superintendent of police GTH Hamilton Hardinge I.P.(1915) were among those who attended the meeting. The meeting, however, digressed into preparations for the impending proposed executions of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev fixed for the morning of March 24. The governor reviewed the arrangements and expressed satisfaction at the law-and-order situation in the state along with a decision to hang them on 23rd March 1931. The Home Secretary Punjab CMG Ogilvie informed Home Secretary of the Government of India Herbert William Emerson through a secret telegram on 17th March 1931

Bhagat Singh was Defiant till the end. The weather was tempestuous and dust storms swept Lahore on the night of March 22,1931 Justice MV Bhide, ICS,(1904) of the Lahore High Court, had earlier rejected the petitions challenging the powers of a special tribunal to issue the death warrants. Thus, the executions became inevitable.By the time dawn broke on March 23, the storm had settled. Jail officials in the central jail spoke in hushed tones in the room of jail superintendent Major PD Chopra. The Punjab government allowed the last meeting with Bhagat Singh at 10am. PranNath Mehta, his lawyer, met him. The moment Mehta left, after receiving four handwritten bunches of papers surreptitiously from Bhagat Singh, a team of officers led by Stead, Barker, Roberts, Hardinge and Chopra met Bhagat Singh. Their unsolicited advice to seek a pardon from the British government was contemptuously rejected by Bhagat Singh. The executions had been advanced by a day and were to take place in the evening of March 23.

The information to Bhagat

Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev was conveyed by senior jail warden Chhattar Singh. A disturbed and grief-stricken Chhattar Singh suggested to Bhagat Singh that he recite the name of god. But Bhagat Singh was busy reading a book on Russian revolutionary Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.Infact Bhagat Singh had asked a Muslim sweeper, Bebe, to bring food for him in the evening before his execution. Bebe readily accepted the request and promised to home-cooked food for him. But because of the security clampdown, Bebe was unable to enter the jail that evening. There was a flurry of activity inside the Lahore jail and outside because authorities feared unrest. As noon passed and the clock inched towards evening, the district civil and police officers camped outside the jail. They were led by Sheikh Abdul Hamid, additional district magistrate, Lahore; Rai Sahib Lala Nathu Ram, city magistrate; Sudarshan Singh, Deputy Superintendent of police, Kasur; Amar Singh, Deputy Superintendent of police (city), Lahore; JW Morris, Deputy Superintendent of Police, headquarters, Lahore; and hundreds of armed policemen. With the shooting of the governor fresh in their minds, the officers and policemen were anxious about their own security. The investigating officer in the case Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Aziz, SP, special investigation, had been shot and injured a few weeks earlier but had survived. Stead, Barker, Roberts, Hardinge, Chopra and Deputy Jail Superintendent Khan Sahib Mohammad Akbar were present inside the jail. The hangman, called Massih from Shahadara, near Lahore, was also ready. The moment the three revolutionaries were taken out of their cells, they shouted inquilabzindabad (long live the revolution). Pindi Dass Sodhi, secretary, district Congress, Lahore lived near the central jail. The slogans were clearly heard at his house. After hearing the shouts of the three men walking to their deaths, the other prisoners joined them in the sloganeering. The Deputy commissioner AA Lane Roberts was a loquacious officer of the 1909 batch of ICS. When the three young men reached the hanging site, he spoke to Bhagat Singh. Singh confidently said that people would soon see and remember how Indian freedom fighters bravely kiss death. They refused to wear masks over their necks. In fact, Bhagat Singh threw the mask at the district magistrate. Singh and his companions hugged each other for the last time, and shouted "down with the British empire". Massih pulled the lever. Bhagat Singh was the first to hang. He was followed by Rajguru and Sukhdev.

Lt Col JJ Harper Nelson, principal of King Edward's Medical College, Lahore and Lt Col NS Sodhi, civil surgeon, Lahore, were inside the jail

at the time of the executions but did not witness the hangings. After the hangings, the three were confirmed dead by the civil surgeon.A huge crowd had gathered outside the jail, but two vehicles led by Deputy superintendent of police Kasur Sudarshan Singh, Deputy superintendent of police (city) Amar Singh and Deputy Superintendent of Police J.W.Morris accompanied by three trucks of soldiers of 'Black watch' regiment took the bodies and left for the cremation at 10 pm. Sudarshan picked up a granthiNatha Singh and a priest named Jagdish Acharaj from Kasur and set the bodies on fire outside Ganda Singh Wala village in the night. The bodies were still burning when people from different areas, including Ferozepur, reached there and a ruckus followed. The bodies were later thrown in river Satluj.

After the execution, the British government honoured several persons. Hans Raj Vohra, Jai Gopal, PhonindraNath Ghosh and Manmohan Bannerji had all become government approvers and gave statements against them in the case. They were among the 457 witnesses produced by the Punjab Police in this case. After the executions, all four were rewarded. Vohra refused to take monetary benefits. But he was sponsored by the Punjab government to study in the prestigious London School of Economics. After a Masters in political science, Vohra got a degree in journalism from London University and was the correspondent of the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore till 1948. He later shifted to Washington and in the 1950s and 1960s was the Washington correspondent of a leading Indian daily. He died in July 1995, in Washington. Jai Gopal got an award of Rs 20,000. PhonindraNath Ghosh and Manmohan Bannerji got 50 acres of land each in Champaran district of Bihar (their home district) in lieu of their services and loyalty to the British government. The then jail superintendent, Major PD Chopra, was promoted as DIG, prisons, Punjab, two days after the hangings. The Deputy Jail Superintendent, Khan Sahib Mohammad Akbar Khan, who had started weeping after the execution of Bhagat Singh and his two companions, was suspended but later taken back as Assistant Jail Superintendent. His title of Khan Sahib was, however, withdrawn on March 7, 1931. The IG, Prisons, Punjab, Lt Col FA Barker, was honoured with the Knighthood of Sir and sanctioned ex-India leave before retirement.

The DIG Prisons Punjab, Lt. Col. NR Puri, was promoted as IG Prisons Punjab after a few days of the execution. The Investigating Officer of the Lahore conspiracy case, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Aziz, SP, was given an out-of-turn promotion as selection grade SP, leading to his promotion as DIG three years later. His was the only example in 200 years of British rule in India, where a person who had joined as Head Constable retired as DIG (in July, 1937). Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz's eldest son, Masood Aziz, was appointed as

Deputy Superintendent of Police by nomination in November. 1931 in the Punjab Police. Khan Ваhadur was also given 50 acres of land in



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Lyallpur. Sudarshan Singh, DSP, who disposed of the bodies of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, was promoted as Additional Superintendent of Police, Kasur. He later retired as SP of Punjab Police in September, 1942.

Rai Sahib Pandit Sri Krishan, PCS, a Kashmiri from Lahore was the SDM, Kasur, at the time of the executions. He was a trial magistrate in this case earlier. He was given an "appreciation letter" by the Governor and later promoted as ADM, out of turn. Batala-born Sheikh Abdul Hamid, PCS, Additional District Magistrate of Lahore and Attock-born Rai Sahib Lala Nathu Ram, PCS, City Magistrate, Lahore were also given appreciation in person by the Governor of Punjab, FW DeMont'morency ICS (1899 batch). GT Hamilton Hardinge, SSP Lahore; Amar Singh, DSP; and JW Morris, DSP were given the King's Police Medal. DSPs Amar Singh and Morris had accompanied DSP Sudharshan Singh of Kasur for the cremation of the three martyrs. Appreciation letters were given to all constables and head constables, who accompanied the Police Officers by IG C Stead.

The four articles written by Bhagat Singh, smuggled out of jail on the day of his execution by advocate PranNath Mehta, were later handed over to Bhagat Singh's companion Bijoy Kumar Sinha, who was sentenced to transportation for life and had concealed these papers at a friend's house in Jalandhar. The friend expected a police raid during the Quit India Movement days in July 1942 and burnt all of them in panic. So, four bunches of papers, written by Bhagat Singh and handed over secretly on the last day of his life, and read by PranNath Mehta and Bijoy Kumar Sinha, were lost forever. Bijoy died in Patna on July 16, 1992. He disclosed in a seminar in the late 1980s that Bhagat Singh on the last day of his life had predicted that the Britishers would leave India in 14-15 years and India would get its own exploiters. Prophetic words indeed!

The executioner Kala Masih's son Tara Masih hanged Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on April 4, 1979. During the British period, jail superintendents and senior officers in the Jail Department used to be from the Indian Medical Services and had to serve in the Indian Army before their posting in the Jail Department.

THE NATION REMEMBER'S THEIR SACRIFICE

# 94 Years after Martyrdom-Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev- Reliving in Farmers Movement!

23rd March 2025 marks the completion of 94 years of execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, who by now have got the status of supreme martyrs of Indian freedom struggle and every shade of political opinion, even when not sharing their vision of India, eulogies them for advancing their political interests, as they have, by now, become supreme symbol of nationalism and patriotism! The agitating farmers on Delhi borders and the powers suppressing them, both are marking the event in a big way, though one-the farmers are marking the day with the spirit and vision of the supreme martyrs and the other -the ruling powers incentre, trying to suppress the farmers, are marking the day with big posters, advertisements and somewhat fake photographs and mythical narrations spending money from state treasure of people's paid taxes!

Ambedkar Times

By now, Bhagat Singh has also got the status of one of country's

foremost political thinkers, as his writings in last few years have been published in many Indian languages. Out of his 130 writings in total, found so far, many languages-English, Hindi, Marathi, Punjabi and Urdu have the credit of publishing complete writings, while many more like Tamil, Bengali, Telugu, Malayalam, Guajarati, Sindhi, Odia and Assamese have published selected writings, all others languages have at least few writings in print. Why I am an Atheist, his classic political essay has been published even in French! There are more than six hundred books published on Bhagat Singh alone, in at least twenty Indian and foreign languages, some of them from the world renowned prestigious publishers. Out of all freedom fighters, the maximum numbers of books proscribed during

British colonial period, in many Indian languages were on Bhagat Singh, as per National archives of India and British records!

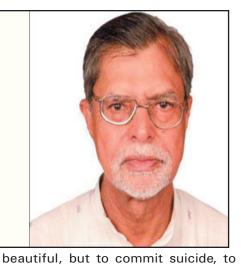
So Bhagat Singh does not need much elaboration on such occasions, however Rajguru and Sukhdev find less mention, which needs to be paid attention. Sukhdev, born on 15th May 1907, as per family records and on 18thFebruary 1907, as per his school certificate mentioned date, in Naughara family house in now crowded area of Ludhiana. Although family was living in Lyallpur, where Bhagat Singh family also lived. Since Sukhdev's father died early, he was brought up by his uncle Achint Ram Thapar, a nationalist in his own right of Lyallpur. Two biographies of Sukhdev are authentic-both by his brothers-JaidevThapar, which is not available and another by his other brother-Mathura Das Thapar-Mere BhaiSukhdev in Hindi language, which has got many reprints and continue to be in circulation. Mathura Das Thapar biography of his brother is well documented and carries few writings

of Sukhdev as well. The copy of Lahore conspiracy trial with Sukhdev's notes on sidelines is part of National Archives of India, gifted by Sukhdev family. Sukhdev, along with Bejoy Kumar Sinha and BhagwatiCharan-Vohra was ideological comrade of Bhagat Singh and Mathura Das Thapar in his memoirs of Sukhdev, had mentioned the titles of books which both Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev had read and discussed for hours, sometimes for whole of the nights! In their political organization-Hindustan Socialist Republican Association/Army (HSRA), while Bhagat Singh was coordinator of all states, Sukhdev was convenor of Punjab state. Both Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev were college mates in National College Lahore. Sukhdev's name figures nowhere in Saunders assassination case, known as second Lahore Conspiracy case, the first one being GhadarParty case, in which Kartar Singh Sarabha and six others were executed. Sukhdev being

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and realist in perception about love. He tells Sukhdev in his letter that Love is a feeling which can give a great strength to revolutionaries, by giving an example of Italian revolutionary Mazzini-In the context of discussing someone's character, one thing that is worth thinking about is if love has ever proved to be helpful to any person. Let me answer this



put an end to one's life, to escape

some suffering - that is cowardice. I

wish to tell you that it is hardship that make a person complete. Rajguru born on 24th August 1908 in village Khed, now renamed as Rajguru Nagar near Pune, was jolly fellow and wanted to be ahead of Bhagat Singh in everything. He was angry at not being sent to Central Assembly for throwing bomb. He walked from his village to Benaras where he got

admission in Sanskrit school and joined HRA. Bhagat Singh was supposed to shoot Scott

in front of SSP office in Lahore, while Jai Gopal was to give signal of SSP coming out of the office. While Jai Gopal made mistake in identifying Scott and gave signal to Saunders as Scott, who was Deputy SP, Rajguru impulsively shot Saunders, while Bhagat Singh could recognise that it was not Scott and shouted to Chandershekhar Azad that-the person was not Scott, but before he could even complete the sentence, Rajguru had shot Saunders, which compelled Bhagat Singh also to shoot further. At the gallows also it was Rajguru, who first of all himself got the rope put into his neck to be hanged. With such tales of bravery the three martyrs have got such status of supreme martyrs and a permanent source of inspiration for the genera-

tions to come and presently to the Indian farmers movement, who have got such strength from their sacrifice that they are continuing their movement for their rights even after sacrificing 250+ farmer lives and four months of continuing dharna, with no end in sight in near future. Perhaps Govt. should realise what Bhagat Singh had said-Individuals can be crushed but not the ideas, which have longer life than individuals. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev had been crushed as individuals by British colonialists, but their ideas find fragrance every now and then, presently in Indianfarmer's movement. Whether present Govt. proves stronger than even British colonial Govt. in crushing Bhagat Singh ideas too, that will be known with the fate of farmer's movement. Meanwhile country pays salute to the three supreme martyrs on 95st year of their sacrifice!



trapped in usual police lies based investigation of always saying that other accused have already told the whole story, had made a statement, but still being careful by not mentioning the party shelters. He was neither part of assassination, in which Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Jai Gopal had taken part and Chandershekhar Azad had overseen the whole operation. Yet he owned every part of assassination plan and preferred to die with his comrades rather than saving his life. The farcical and sham part of trial and colonial justice was death sentence for Sukhdev, which could not have been given in any judicial system, as A G Noorani in his classic book-The Trial of Bhagat Singh had underlined. There are two letters written by Bhagat Singh to Sukhdev, both are published,

but Sukhdev letters to Bhagat Singh have not been found. Both letters deal with philosophical themes of Love and Suicide. While Sukhdev's ideas or perception of Love was somewhat traditional and conservative, Bhagat Singh was more liberal

today – yes, it did – for Mazzini. You must surely have read that he was not able to endure the first unsuccessful rebellion, the grief of a heartwrenching failure, and the memory of martyred comrades. He could have either gone mad or committed suicide, but with a letter from his beloved, he became not only as strong as the others, but stronger than everybody else.5th April 1929 letter to Sukhdev. Both friends had changed their opinions in jail times. Sukhdev who despised the idea of Suicide outside, not tolerating sufferings of jail, became votary of suicide in jail, while Bhagat Singh outside jail was more sympathetic to a man who committed suicide due to sufferings in life. In September 1930 letter, few days before the death sentence to all three was announced, inside jail itself, Bhagat Singh rebuked Sukhdev on thinking about suicide-

those of us who are certain to get the death sentence should wait patiently for the day when this sentence would be pronounced, after which they will be hanged. Even that death will be