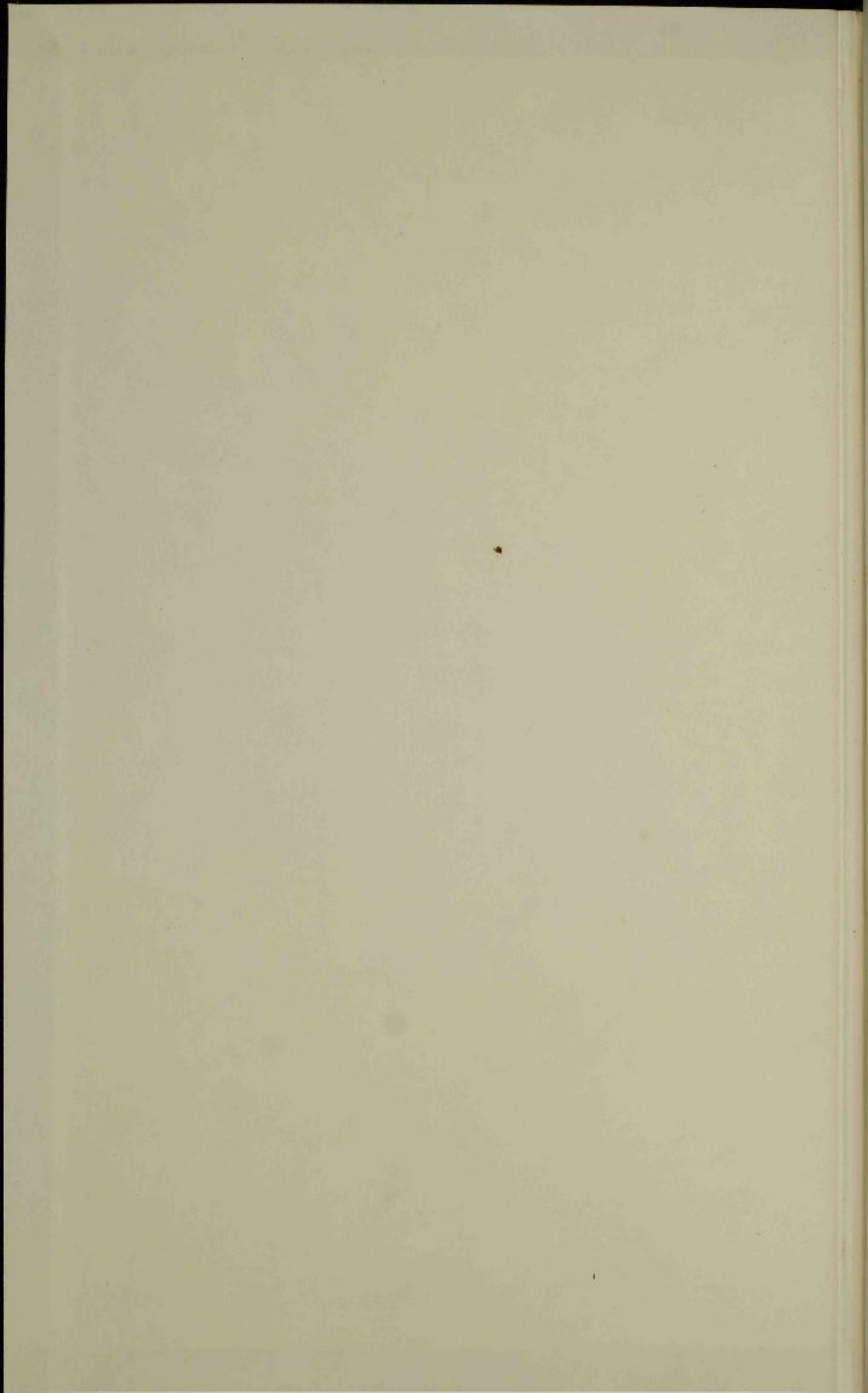


# Struggle *for* Justice

Speeches and Conversations of  
Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa  
Bhindranwale



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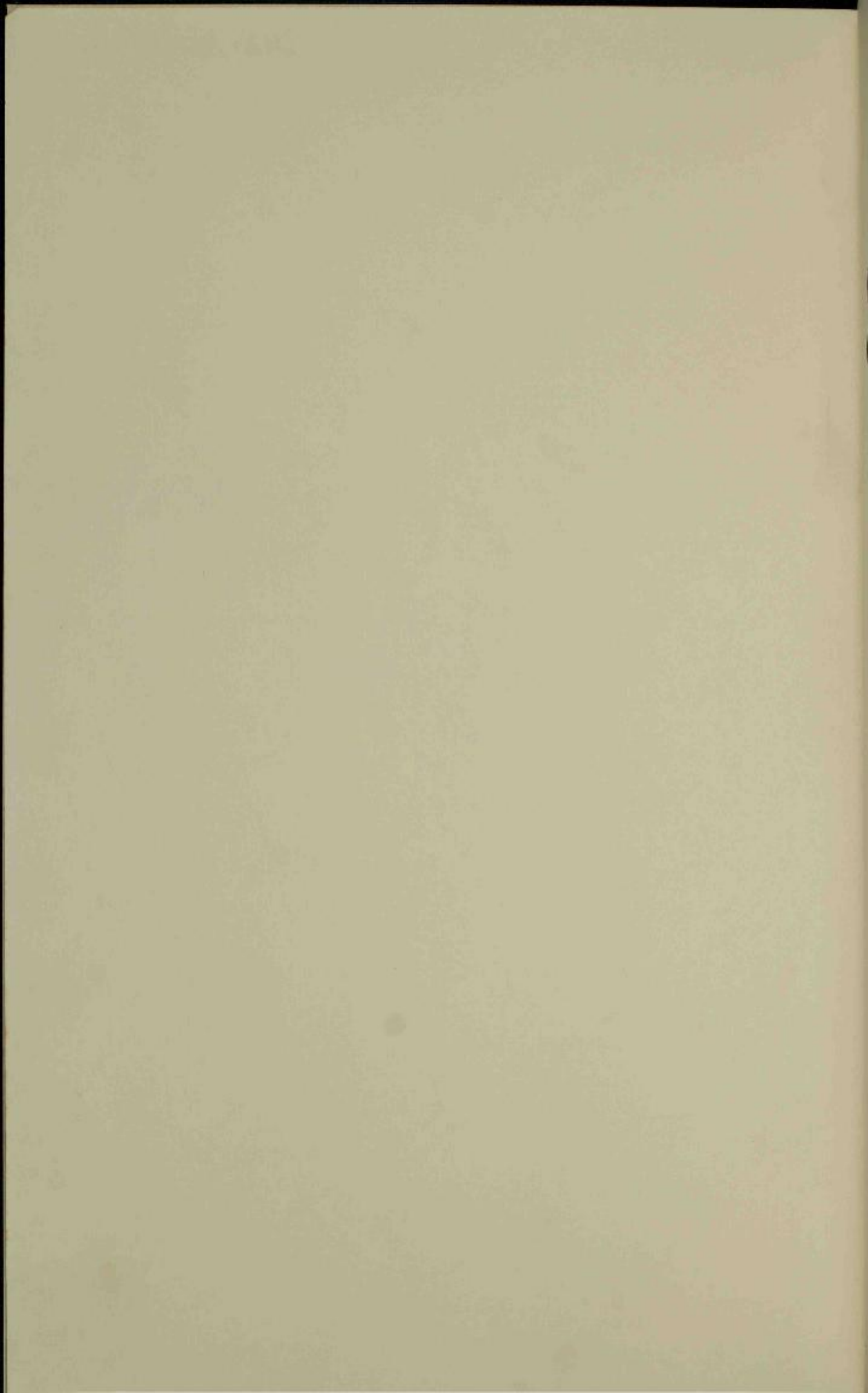
Struggle

for Justice

to Promote the Welfare

of the People

of the World



# Struggle *for* Justice

Speeches and Conversations of  
Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa  
Bhindranwale

*"Those who possess a sense of reality and a love for the true freedom and dignity of individuals and nations ... are thus convinced of the legitimacy of the right to defend oneself against an unjust aggressor."*

*"War and violence originate when one does not recognize the fundamental rights of man."*

*"Violence which destroys homes and buildings is serious, but violence directed against the dignity of the individual is intolerable and unworthy of man. ...if we remain silent, the clamor of violence will stifle the cry of the people, who call for justice and peace."*

Pope John Paul II in Ypress, Belgium  
addressing the meeting to remember those who died in Flanders  
From the report  
"POPE DEFENDS CONCEPT OF A JUST WAR"  
The New York Times, 18 May 1985

# Struggle *for* Justice

Speeches and conversations of  
Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale

Translated from  
Punjabi audio and video recordings

by

Ranbir Singh Sandhu

Sikh Educational & Religious Foundation  
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1999

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Back cover: Siri Akal Takhat Sahib after the Indian Army attack



The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of Sikhism, its origin, its growth, its development, its spread, its influence, its character, its principles, its practices, its institutions, its literature, its art, its music, its dance, its drama, its cinema, its television, its radio, its internet, its social media, its global reach, its impact on the world, its future, its challenges, its opportunities, its role in the 21st century.

Dedicated to the memory

of

**Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale and the other martyrs who  
suffered harassment and religious discrimination, peacefully  
exposed and resisted state oppression; and finally, when attacked in  
their own place of worship by the Indian army, gave their lives in  
defense of faith and freedom.**

## A SAMPLING OF SANT BHINDRANWALE'S VIEWS

**Mission:** "My mission is to administer *amrit*<sup>1</sup>, to explain the meanings of *Gurbani*<sup>2</sup> and to teach *Gurbani* to those around me;....that a Hindu should be a true Hindu, a Muslim should be a true Muslim, and a Sikh should be a true Sikh." Conversation, 22 February 1984.

**Respect for all faiths:** "Who was Jaidev? Wasn't he a Hindu from amongst you? He was a Brahmin. Jaidev is sitting here in Guru Granth Sahib. If a son of a Sikh has made obeisance here he has done so at the feet of Jaidev, the Brahmin." Speech, early 1982.

**Demands:** "Our demands were primarily the release of our *Singhs* and classification of Amritsar as a holy city. That was all. These were the basic demands." Conversation, January 1983.

**Separate state:** "How can a nation which has sacrificed so much for the freedom of the country want it fragmented but I shall definitely say that we are not in favor of Khalistan nor are we against it." Speech, 11 May 1983.

**Police atrocities:** "The police force is set up for protection of the public, but today's police have taken on the form of robbers to loot the public." Speech, 30 July 1983.

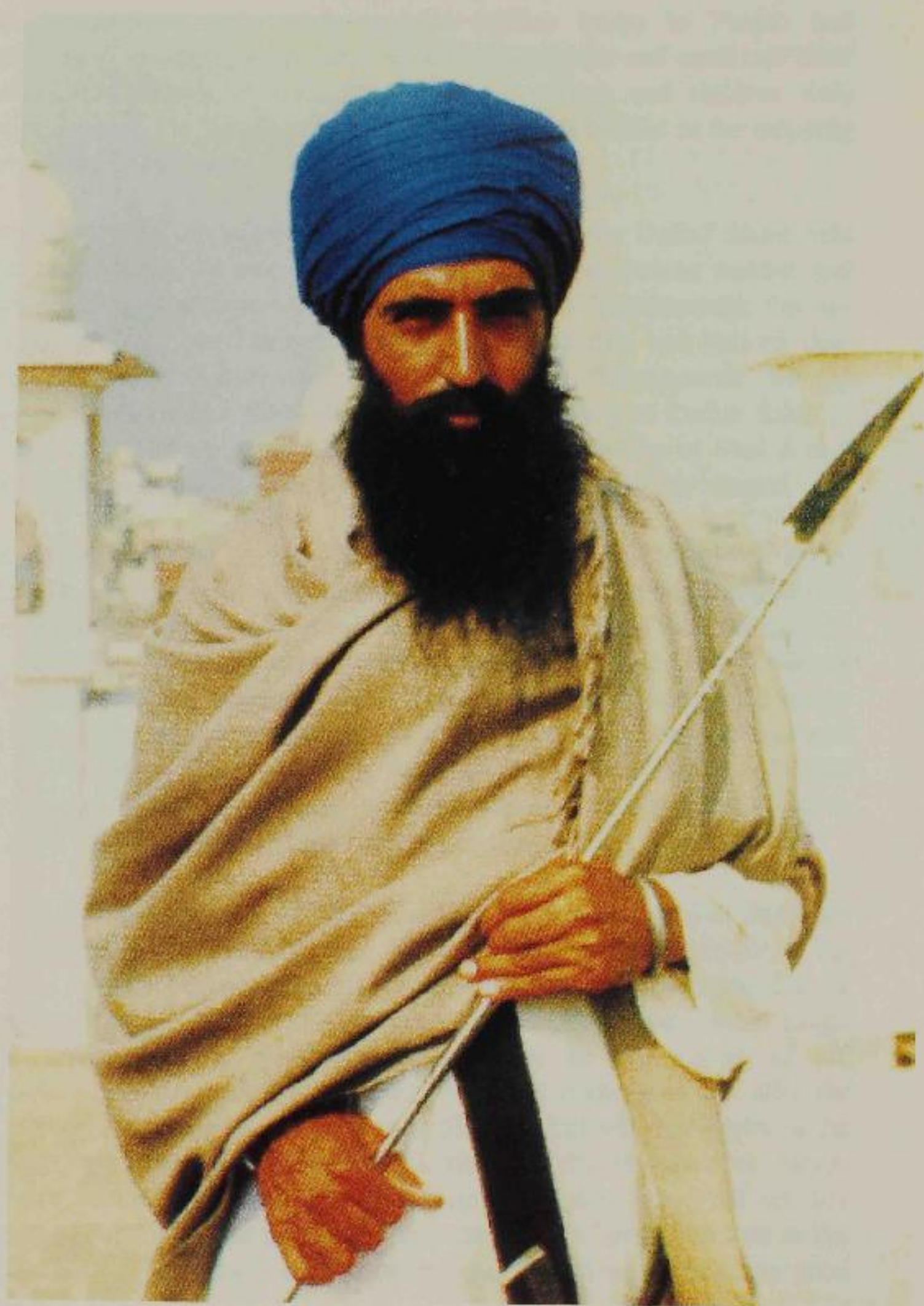
**Possession and use of weapons:** "With reference to weapons I shall only say that you should bear arms. Being armed, there is no greater sin for a Sikh than attacking an unarmed person, killing an innocent person, looting a shop, harming the innocent, or wishing to insult anyone's daughter or sister. Also, being armed, there is no sin greater than not seeking justice." Speech, 20 October 1983.

**On Defending Harmandar Sahib:** "Do not commit any excesses, do not be unfair to anyone but just as for a Muslim there is only wilderness after Mecca, for a Sikh of the Guru, there is nothing but wilderness beyond Harmandar Sahib. We do not go to anyone's home, we do not loot anybody's shop, nor do we lay siege to any place. However, if someone intoxicated by his power as a ruler attacks our home, we are not sitting here wearing bangles that we shall continue to suffer as eunuchs and as lifeless people." Speech, 18 May 1983.

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<sup>1</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>2</sup> *Gurbani*, means Guru's word, i.e., contents of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.



Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The first part of the book is devoted to the early history of the United States, from the discovery of the continent to the establishment of the first colonies.

The second part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the establishment of the first colonies to the beginning of the American Revolution.

The third part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the beginning of the American Revolution to the end of the American Civil War.

The fourth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the end of the American Civil War to the present time.

The fifth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the present time to the future.

The sixth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the future to the present time.

The seventh part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the present time to the future.

The eighth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the future to the present time.

The ninth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the present time to the future.

The tenth part of the book is devoted to the history of the United States from the future to the present time.

## PREFACE

I first heard about Sant<sup>1</sup> Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale during a brief visit to India in December 1981. However, my interest in the happenings in Punjab was minimal until the infamous army action of June 1984 when the Indian Government sent nearly quarter million troops to Punjab and simultaneously invaded Darbar Sahib complex in Amritsar and numerous other gurdwaras. Thousands of innocent Sikh men, women and children were massacred during the attack and tens of thousands were killed in the mopping up operations that followed.

Soon after the invasion, the Sikh community in the United States held several conferences. At one of these, there were some persons making and distributing copies of tape-recorded speeches of Sant Bhindranwale. On our way back to Ohio, we listened to some of the speeches and noticed that, contrary to Indian Government's propaganda, Sant Bhindranwale did not advocate an independent Sikh state. His purpose in going to Darbar Sahib in July 1982 was to obtain, through peaceful protest, the release of Bhai Amrik Singh and other associates who, he believed, had been wrongfully arrested.

In July 1984, the Indian Government issued a 'White Paper' which described Sant Bhindranwale as the leader of "a group of fanatics and terrorists whose instruments for achieving whatsoever they may have in view are murder, arson and loot." Noting this to be at variance with the truth, and with the desire to provide the English-speaking world with information regarding the much-maligned Sant's views, I translated one of his speeches in 1985. It was well received and led to a few more. I have continued this work off and on as I found time from my other duties. Some of the translations have been published in 'The Sikhs - Past and Present' and other magazines.

The forty-four speeches and the three conversations included in this work were transcribed from several sets of audio and videotapes. Some of the speeches, which consisted entirely of religious sermons or discussion of religious texts, have been excluded from this collection. Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale's comments indicate that he was aware of the government agencies recording his speeches. I also understand that after the June 1984 attack by the Indian army most Sikh families who had copies of the audiotapes or videotapes hurriedly got rid of them in order to escape persecution. I have not been able to acquire a complete sequential set. My source has been the few recordings brought out of India and distributed in the USA and Canada by some intrepid persons. The recordings are not very good

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<sup>1</sup> His name was Jarnail Singh and he used the last name Khalsa. 'Sant' is an honorific title often used for distinguished Sikh preachers. 'Bhindranwale' denotes that he was the Sant associated with village Bhindran.

and some words, phrases, and even portions of speeches are unintelligible. Some of the speeches had to be pieced together, having been recorded in portions separated by other material. For thirty-three of the speeches, we have been able to get the complete text except for occasional 'inaudible.' Speeches #37, 38, and 42 do not have the beginning as well as the end portions. Speeches #1, 18, 26, 40, 41, and 44 start at the beginning but do not have the last portion whereas, #16 and #39 do not have the beginning portions. Excerpts from a police interrogation of the Sant in September-October 1981 were included in a book titled "Mahaan Shakhsiyat: Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale", in Punjabi, written by late Tara Singh Hayer. I translated these into English but, unfortunately, Mr. Hayer's family declined permission to include them in the present volume.

The speeches have been arranged in chronological order. Some of them relate to certain anniversaries and in some others, Sant Bhindranwale makes a reference to the date or to some known event. This helped date speeches #3, 4, 7 to 9, 17, 23, 26, 32 to 34, 36 to 38, and 41 to 44. For speeches numbered 5, 6, 10 to 12, 15, 16, 18 to 22, 24, 27 to 31, 35, 39, and 40, the dates have been determined by comparing references in the speeches to newspaper accounts. The daily Tribune published from Chandigarh was the primary source for these crosschecks. For speeches numbered 13 and 14 the exact dates could not be determined. However, the contents of the speeches suggest that they were delivered in May 1983. Speech #35 appears to have been delivered immediately following Indira Gandhi's press conference on 15 October 1983. However, the Sant speaks of the struggle being 16 months old which would place it in November or December 1983 depending upon whether we date the start of the struggle as 19 July 1982 when Sant Bhindranwale first demonstrated against Amrik Singh's arrest or 4 August 1982 when the joint struggle was launched under the Shromani Akali Dal's leadership. Similar discrepancies were also noticed in some other speeches, e. g., in speech #14 the Sant says he has not spoken in public for a month. With the exception of one speech delivered probably in March/April 1982, all the others in this collection belong to the period January 1983 to 24 May 1984.

Each speech has been subdivided into paragraphs and, for convenience of the reader, I have added titles to paragraphs to indicate the subject being discussed. The translation is quite literal. Some Punjabi words, for which single-word equivalents in English are not available or where their replacement by English equivalents might have obscured the intended meaning, have been retained in their original form. An attempt has been made to provide explanation of each Punjabi word or phrase in a footnote at its first occurrence in any speech or conversation. In addition, a glossary of Punjabi words and terms is included as an appendix. Another appendix contains a brief note describing the Sikhs and their religion. Other appendices describe the police hierarchy in Punjab and the geographical location of some of the places

mentioned in the speeches. Maps of India and Punjab have been included for convenient reference. Quotations from Siri Guru Granth Sahib or other texts have been given in original Punjabi along with their English translation. For others I have provided a transliteration along with a translation. At places comments were needed to explain what was happening at the meeting. I have used italics for such insertions. Also, some words, enclosed by brackets, have been added to the text to complete sentences or to explain the meaning of a particular word.

While working on the translations, I wondered what went wrong between the Sikhs and the rest of India and why Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale ended up as the scapegoat. This led to a study of contemporary news accounts and other publications as well as the literature on the position of religious minorities in the pluralistic Indian State which has a dominant Hindu majority. The result is the introductory essay titled: "Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale - Mission and Martyrdom." The purpose of the essay is to highlight the deliberate persecution of religious minorities by an overbearing majority using the powers of the Government and the media.

I thank Dr. J.P. Singh, Dr. Manohar Singh Grewal and Sardar Harcharan Singh for locating and sending me the tape-recorded speeches and conversations which have been translated. I am especially grateful to late Sardarni Ratnagar Kaur who very kindly agreed to carry out the most tedious part of this project - transcription from the audiotapes. We are saddened by the fact that she is not with us to see completion of the work she started. I appreciate the interest shown by Professor Mark Jurgensmeyer of the University of California at Santa Barbara in the project. Mr. Matthew Taylor of the University of Illinois assisted with the editing and several friends helped check the translation. Thanks are due to CBS News for providing the transcript of the material aired on their 60 Minutes program. I am grateful to Sardar Maanik Singh and Mr. Daniel R. O'Dair for designing the cover, to Dr. Awatar Singh and Dr. Bakhshish Singh for providing the photographs of Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale, and to the trustees of the Sikh Educational and Religious Foundation for their assistance in preparation of the material, providing library and computer facilities, and finally agreeing to publish the book. Thanks are also due to Ms. Kathy King of Sheridan Books for her constant cooperation and assistance. I am especially indebted to Sardarni Surinder Kaur, my wife, for her understanding and patience as well as help in checking the transcripts; and to my daughter, Dr. Anahat Kaur Sandhu, for editing the introductory essay as well as suggesting the concept for the cover.

Ranbir Singh Sandhu  
August 1999

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## SOME REPORTS ABOUT SANT BHINDRANWALE

"The Sant's following grew as he successfully regenerated the 'good' life of purity, dedication and hard work by reviving these fundamental values of the Sikh religion's way of life." Vandana Shiva: The Violence of The Green Revolution, Research Foundation for Science and Ecology, Dehra Dun, 1989.

"Bhindranwale's *amrit prachar* was a resounding success. Adults in their thousands took oaths in public to abjure liquor, tobacco and drugs and were baptized. Videocassettes showing blue films and cinema houses lost out to the village gurdwara. Men not only saved money they had earlier squandered in self-indulgence, but now worked longer hours on their lands and raised better crops. They had much to be grateful for to Jarnail Singh who came to be revered by them..." Khushwant Singh: A History of the Sikhs, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991.

"Contrary to the popular belief that he took the offensive, senior police sources in the Punjab admit that the provocation came in fact from a Nirankari official who started harassing Bhindranwale and his men. There were two or three Nirankaris in key positions in the Punjab in those days and they were powerful enough to be able to create quite a lot of trouble." Tavleen Singh: The Punjab Story, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984.

"By early this year, it was apparent to her<sup>1</sup> that Bhindranwale had become so popular he had usurped the Akalis' authority, leaving the party impotent in negotiations and fearful of his violent fanaticism. No matter how long she talked to the Akalis, Mrs. Gandhi concluded, they could never deliver on an agreement that would hold while Bhindranwale was alive." Laura Lopez: India, Diamonds and the Smell of Death, Time, 25 June 1984.

"The army went into Darbar Sahib not to eliminate a political figure or a political movement but to suppress the culture of a people, to attack their heart, to strike a blow at their spirit and self-confidence." Joyce Pettigrew: The Sikhs of Punjab, Zed Publishers, London, 1995.

"The pattern in each village appears to be the same. The Army moves in during the early evening, cordons a village, and announces over loudspeakers that everyone must come out. All males between the ages of 15 and 35 are trussed and blindfolded, then taken away. Thousands have disappeared in the Punjab since the Army operation began. The Government has provided no lists of names; families don't know if sons and husbands are arrested, underground, or dead." Mary Ann Weaver: Christian Science Monitor, 15 October 1984.

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<sup>1</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

SANT JARNAIL SINGH KHALSA BHINDRANWALE  
MISSION AND MARTYRDOM

SANT JARNAIL SINGH KHALSA  
BHINDRANWALE -  
MISSION AND MARTYRDOM

The first thing that I noticed when I stepped out of the plane was the fresh air. It felt like I had been in a cocoon for weeks. The sun was shining brightly, and the birds were chirping. I had never felt so alive before.

As I walked through the airport, I saw people everywhere. Some were rushing, some were waiting. I felt a little lost, but then I saw a sign that said "EXIT". I followed it and found myself outside. The world was so big and so beautiful.

### THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a long and interesting one. It starts with the first people who lived here, and goes on to the present day. There are many important events that have shaped the country, and it is important to know about them.

One of the most important events in the history of the United States was the American Revolution. This was a time when the people of the colonies fought for their freedom from Britain. It was a very important event that led to the creation of the United States.

Another important event was the Civil War. This was a time when the people of the North fought against the people of the South. It was a very important event that led to the abolition of slavery.

The history of the United States is a long and interesting one. It is important to know about the events that have shaped the country, and to understand the people who have lived here. The history of the United States is a story of freedom, of struggle, and of hope.

The history of the United States is a long and interesting one. It is important to know about the events that have shaped the country, and to understand the people who have lived here. The history of the United States is a story of freedom, of struggle, and of hope.

## SANT JARNAIL SINGH KHALSA BHINDRANWALE - MISSION AND MARTYRDOM

### EARLY LIFE AND SUCCESS AS A PREACHER

Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale was born in village Rode located in Faridkot District of Punjab, in 1947. From his childhood, he had a religious bent of mind. Sant Gurbachan Singh Khalsa, head of *Damdami Taksaal*, the premier Sikh religious school, visited the child's village and suggested to Joginder Singh, Jarnail Singh's father, that his son join the *Taksaal* as a student. Coming to the *Taksaal* in 1965, Jarnail Singh received instruction in Sikh theology and history under Sant Gurbachan Singh's tutelage and later under that of Sant Kartar Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale. He was a brilliant student gifted with unusual memory and grew up to be an effective preacher of the Faith. At only thirty years of age, on August 25, 1977, he succeeded Sant Kartar Singh as head of the *Taksaal*.

From July 1977 to July 1982, the Sant extensively toured cities and villages of Punjab to preach the Sikh faith. He also visited other states and cities in India. Wherever he went, he carried Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's message to every home exhorting Sikhs to receive *amrit*<sup>1</sup>, observe the Sikh appearance given by the Guru, and live according to the teachings of Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Tavleen Singh tells us<sup>2</sup>: "His philosophy in six words was *nashey chaddo, amrit chhako, gursikh bano*." (Give up addictions, receive *amrit*, become good Sikhs). He defined his own mission as follows<sup>3</sup>:

"My mission is to administer *amrit*<sup>4</sup>; to explain the meanings of *Gurbani*<sup>5</sup> and to teach *Gurbani* to those around me; .... [to tell people] that a Hindu should be a true Hindu, a Muslim should be a true Muslim, and a Sikh should be a true Sikh."

His preaching was based on love. He said<sup>6</sup>:

"If we speak to someone with hatred and try to assert our superiority, it will create hatred in the minds of everyone. So long as we have the spirit

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<sup>1</sup> Receiving *amrit* means formal initiation into the Sikh faith.

<sup>2</sup> Tavleen Singh: "Terrorists in the Temple," in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, 1984, page 33.

<sup>3</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Interview dated 22 February 1984 with a family visiting from Canada.

<sup>4</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>5</sup> *Gurbani*, means Guru's word, i.e., contents of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>6</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 16 July 1983.

of love, so long as we have the support of Satguru<sup>7</sup> Hargobind Sahib, the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>8</sup>, is there any power on earth that can subdue us?"

He wanted the Sikhs to "come back to Anandpur, their home" by receiving *amrit*, and become his brothers and sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale had a compelling personality and spoke in simple village idiom. Those who listened to him were impressed by his simple living, personal charm, and clear thinking. Joyce Pettigrew, who met him in 1980, writes<sup>9</sup>: "There was a very close association between the Sant and the people, as I myself witnessed on a visit to meet Sant Bhindranwale in Guru Nanak Niwas<sup>10</sup>." According to Shiva,<sup>11</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale

"gained his popularity with the Punjab peasantry by launching an ideological crusade against the cultural corruption of Punjab. The most ardent followers of Bhindranwale in his first phase of rising popularity were children and women, both because they were relatively free of the new culture of degenerative consumption, and they were worst hit by the violence it generated. In the second phase of Bhindranwale's popularity, men also joined his following, replacing vulgar movies with visits to gurdwaras<sup>12</sup>, and reading the '*gurbani*' in place of pornographic literature. The Sant's following grew as he successfully regenerated the 'good' life of purity, dedication and hard work by reviving these fundamental values of the Sikh religion's way of life. The popularity of Bhindranwale in the countryside was based on this positive sense of fundamentalism as revitalizing the basic moral values of life that had been the first casualty of commercial capitalism. During the entire early phase of Bhindranwale's preaching, he made no anti-Government or anti-Hindu statement, but focused on the positive values of the Sikh religion. His role was largely that of a social and religious reformer."

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<sup>7</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>8</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>9</sup> Joyce Pettigrew: *The Sikhs of the Punjab: Unheard Voices of State and Guerrilla Violence*, Zed Books Ltd., London, U.K. 1995, page 35.

<sup>10</sup> Guru Nanak Niwas is one of the hostels in the Darbar Sahib complex where visitors can stay. These hostels are managed by the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, an elected body of Sikhs.

<sup>11</sup> Vandana Shiva: *The Violence of The Green Revolution*, Research Foundation for Science and Ecology, Dehra Dun, 1989, pages 129-130.

<sup>12</sup> Gurdwara, literally, the 'door' of the Guru, is the facility where Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the Scripture is installed and the Sikhs gather for worship.



According to Khushwant Singh<sup>13</sup>:

“Within a short period of becoming head of the *Taksaal*, Jarnail Singh came to be recognized as the most effective instrument of renaissance of Sikh fundamentalism. He toured villages exhorting Sikh youth to return to the spartan ways of the Khalsa started by Guru Gobind Singh: not to clip their beards, to abstain from smoking, drinking and taking drugs. Wherever he went, he baptized<sup>14</sup> young men and women by the hundreds. An integral part of his preaching was that all Sikhs should, as had been required by their warrior Guru Gobind Singh, be *shastradhari* - weapon-bearers.”

Tully and Jacob<sup>15</sup> state that: “In spite of the Government's propaganda, to many people Bhindranwale remained a *sant*, or holy man, not a terrorist.”

The religious revival lead by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale resulted in a large number of Sikhs, especially the youth, receiving initiation into the Sikh faith. According to Khushwant Singh<sup>16</sup>:

“Bhindranwale's *amrit prachar* was a resounding success. Adults in their thousands took oaths in public to abjure liquor, tobacco and drugs and were baptized. Videocassettes showing blue films and cinema houses lost out to the village gurdwara. Men not only saved money they had earlier squandered in self-indulgence, but now worked longer hours on their lands and raised better crops. They had much to be grateful for to Jarnail Singh who came to be revered by them as Baba Sant Jarnail Singhji Khalsa Bhindranwale.”

When Sant Bhindranwale was staying in the Darbar Sahib complex during 1982 and 1983, four to five hundred persons<sup>17</sup> were administered *amrit* each Wednesday and Sunday. On April 13, 1983<sup>18</sup> over ten thousand were initiated and during the month ending on April 13, 1984, forty-five thousand Sikhs

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<sup>13</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 25.

<sup>14</sup> Many writers erroneously use this term to describe the ceremony of receiving *Khande da Pahul* or receiving *Amrit* - formal initiation into the Sikh faith.

<sup>15</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: *Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, pages 205-206.

<sup>16</sup> Khushwant Singh: *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, page 329.

<sup>17</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 24 May 1984.

<sup>18</sup> April 13 is a special holiday for Sikhs. It is the first day of the month of *Vaisaakh* in Bikrami calendar. On this date in 1699, Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib introduced a new ceremony for formal initiation into the Sikh faith. It is called receiving *amrit* or *Khande da Pahul*.

received *amrit*<sup>19</sup>. This revival was extremely significant and Sant Bhindranwale was emerging as the leading figure in the Sikh faith and a role model for the youth. A relative once told me that his two sons had stopped taking tea. I asked him why, and if they had been to see Sant Bhindranwale. The reply was: "No, it is just the way things are in Punjab. The young people love and admire him so much that if they come to know what the Sant does or doesn't do, they like to follow his example." People sought his advice and intercession for personal problems and conflict resolution. Khushwant Singh reports<sup>20</sup>:

"On a later visit to Amritsar I got an inkling into the reasons of Bhindranwale's popularity. I will narrate two incidents to illustrate this. One day a young girl came to see Bhindranwale. .... She clutched his feet and sobbed out her story of how she was maltreated by her husband's family for failing to extract more money from her parents and of her husband's unwillingness to take her side. Bhindranwale asked her name and where she lived. "So you are a daughter of the Hindus," he said. "Are you willing to become the daughter of a Sikh?" She nodded. Bhindranwale sent a couple of his armed guards to fetch the girl's family. An hour later a very frightened trio consisting of the girl's husband and his parents were brought to his presence. "Is this girl a daughter of your household?" he demanded. They admitted she was. "She tells me that you want money from her father. I am her father." He placed a tray full of currency notes before them and told them: "Take whatever you want". The three fell at his feet and craved forgiveness."

Khushwant Singh<sup>21</sup> tells us that he was so respected that, after his election to be head of the *Damdami Taksaal* in preference to Amrik Singh, son of Sant Kartar Singh, "instead of resenting the choice, Amrik Singh became a confidante and collaborator of Jarnail Singh."

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<sup>19</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 13 April 1984.

<sup>20</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 23.

<sup>21</sup> Khushwant Singh: *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, page 328.

## CONFLICT WITH SANT NIRANKARIS

Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale first gained prominence in public life when he organized a protest to stop the Sant Nirankari<sup>22</sup> assembly in Amritsar on 13 April 1978. The Nirankaris were mounting a provocative assembly in the vicinity of Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, on a special Sikh holiday. They had taken out a procession through the city and used insulting language towards the Sikh faith. After Sant Bhindranwale was unsuccessful in persuading the administration to stop the assembly, he proposed a peaceful march to the place where the assembly was being held. A group of one hundred persons, including twenty-five from Sant Bhindranwale's group and seventy-five from the Akhand Kirtani Jatha, participated in this peaceful protest. These unarmed people were fired upon by Nirankari gunmen leaving thirteen dead and seventy-eight wounded. The police, instead of stopping the massacre, inexplicably hurled tear-gas at the protestors<sup>23</sup>. A police officer who was present at the scene told this writer that the Sikh protestors had agreed to stop some distance away from the Nirankari assembly and to wait for the police to negotiate with the Nirankaris to end their public meeting. However, while they were waiting, Nirankari gunmen moved behind a row of busses parked on one side of the road to come to the rear of the protestors and opened fire. The leader of the protestors, even as he tried to persuade the police to intervene and stop the killing, was shot dead by one of the police officials. Every attempt was made to avoid punishing the guilty. Instead of apprehending those who had committed the heinous crime, the local authorities escorted them safely out of the state. Sant Bhindranwale felt especially let down by Parkash Singh Badal, then Chief Minister of Punjab, and by Jiwan Singh Umranangal, a cabinet minister who was present in Amritsar at the time of the massacre. Badal felt constrained by the desires of the Hindu members of his coalition government. These events created extreme bitterness in the minds of the Sikh populace. They felt that the Government was deliberately siding with the murderers and treating Sikhs as second-class citizens whose life had no value. A *Hukamnama*<sup>24</sup> was issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib<sup>25</sup> calling upon all Sikhs to boycott the Nirankaris. Immediately after the massacre, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale personally cared for the dead and the wounded<sup>26</sup>. This endeared

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<sup>22</sup> Sant Nirankari Mandal is a cult with a human Guru. Gurbachan Singh was the Guru at the time of this occurrence.

<sup>23</sup> Kapur Singh: *They Massacre Sikhs*, A White Paper issued by the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, May 1978.

<sup>24</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris.

<sup>25</sup> Siri Akal Takhat Sahib is the seat of temporal authority in the Sikh faith.

<sup>26</sup> Joyce Pettigrew: *The Sikhs of the Punjab: Unheard voices of State and Guerrilla violence*, Zed Books Ltd., London, U.K. 1995, page 33.

him even more to the Sikh masses. After a prolonged campaign by the Sikhs, a case was finally registered against the perpetrators. However the judge, reportedly upon receiving a bribe<sup>27</sup>, acquitted all of them stating that they had acted in self-defense<sup>28</sup>. The newly elected State Government, controlled by Indira Gandhi's party, elected not to appeal this judgment. As Sikhs in various places in India continued to peacefully protest the Nirankari practice of openly denigrating their Faith, each protest was met by gunfire from the police and the Nirankaris and the death toll of Sikhs gradually mounted to twenty-eight.

In April 1980, the Nirankari leader, Baba Gurbachan Singh, was assassinated. His followers named Sant Bhindranwale as a suspect even though he was nowhere near the scene of the crime. Several of the Sant's associates and relatives were arrested. For his part, the Sant continued to openly oppose the Nirankaris and expressed satisfaction that such a wicked person was no longer spreading his venom. He stated that if he ever met Ranjit Singh, the suspected killer, he would weigh him in gold<sup>29</sup>. However, when Singh Sahib Gurdial Singh Ajnoha, *Jathedar*<sup>30</sup>, Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, was considering a rapprochement with the Sant Nirankaris, Sant Bhindranwale declared that he would abide by any decision taken by the Akal Takhat<sup>31</sup>. He did not harbor ill-will towards anyone. All he really wanted was that the Sant Nirankaris stop ridiculing Sikh practices and parodying the Gurus. He also protested their being allowed to retain armed guards after they had fired upon and killed peaceful Sikh protestors. He insisted that if Nirankaris were allowed to keep armed guards, then Sikhs – whose religion required them to be 'saint-soldiers' – must also keep weapons, be allowed to carry them in public, and use them for self-defense if necessary. It was after the April 1978 carnage that, following the practice of the Nirankari leader, Sant Bhindranwale started to maintain armed protection for himself.

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<sup>27</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech in early 1982 in Karnal.

<sup>28</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 9.

<sup>29</sup> Weighing someone against gold means rewarding him/her with his/her weight in gold.

<sup>30</sup> *Jathedar* means the leader of a *Jatha* - an organized group of persons. *Jathedar*, Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, is the highest office in Sikh faith.

<sup>31</sup> "Akal Takht move to patch up with Nirankaris," *Indian Express*, 16 February 1982.

## OPPOSITION TO SANT BHINDRANWALE

### a. Introductory

Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale's phenomenal success in reviving the Sikh faith among the rural masses of Punjab was viewed with concern by the established leadership. The secularists, including various communist and socialist groups, viewed the revival of the faith as a reversal of the ongoing process of weakening religious bonds. Noting how enthusiastically people responded to the Sant's sermons, they feared that under his leadership the Sikh religion might strengthen, spread, and possibly result in the emergence of a cohesive Sikh nation. Even though many Hindus join in Sikh prayers, attend gurdwaras, and regularly participate in Sikh religious ceremonies, the extremists among them have misrepresented the daily Sikh prayer as a call for Sikh domination and Sant Bhindranwale's emphasis upon the distinct identity of the Sikh religion as political separatism. The traditional Sikh leadership was worried that even though Sant Bhindranwale insisted that he had no personal political ambition<sup>32</sup>, he could emerge as a king-maker and jeopardize their hegemony over the Sikh community. The Indian news media, by and large, joined in the witch-hunt along with several well-known 'intellectuals'. Even Khushwant Singh, who had earlier discussed the survival of the Sikhs as a distinct community in a rational manner<sup>33</sup>, described this revival as<sup>34</sup> "Sikh fundamentalism raising its ugly head."

Each of these groups, anxious about defending its territory, policies, and political turf, had a role in promoting misunderstandings about the Sikh religion. All of them, with different perspectives and interests, focused on a common target - Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.

### b. The Indian State and Religious Minorities

India is a land of many different languages, cultures, religions, and nationalities. There are two distinct approaches to dealing with such diversity while, at the same time, forging or maintaining national unity. One is the pluralistic approach that accepts the diversity of the population and attempts to ensure that the minorities can retain their distinct identities without fear of deprivation or discrimination so long as they are loyal to the nation-state. The other is the integrationist or assimilation approach in which the minority is

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<sup>32</sup> For example: Speech in May 1983 and speeches on 16 August 1983, 20 September 1983, 8 March 1984, and the interview on 22 February 1984.

<sup>33</sup> Khushwant Singh: *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2, Oxford University Press, Indian Edition 1977, pages 304-305.

<sup>34</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 13.

coerced to forego its distinct identity presuming that it conflicts with or hinders the development of the nation-state.

India has formally adopted the pluralistic approach. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister for the first seventeen years after freedom from British rule, professed support for autonomy for states and protection for minorities. He wrote<sup>35</sup>:

"It is not difficult, if passions and unreasoning emotions are set aside, to devise such freedom with the largest autonomy for provinces and states and yet a strong central bond. There could be autonomous units within the larger provinces or states, as in Soviet Russia. In addition to this, every conceivable protection and safeguard for minority rights could be inserted into the constitution."

Accordingly, the Indian constitution provides safeguards for minorities and the country has been reorganized into linguistic states to preserve the identity of the larger linguistic groups<sup>36</sup>.

It is to be noted that India's population is predominantly Hindu. Most of the states have Hindu majority and the national leadership also is overwhelmingly Hindu. It is easy for the majority to misinterpret minority aspirations as separatism, a threat to national unity, and disloyalty to the nation-state. The national leadership has been contemptuous of the desire of religious minorities to preserve their identity. Even Jawaharlal Nehru, specifically targeting Sikh and Muslim minorities, wrote<sup>37</sup>:

"I do not fancy beards or mustaches or topknots, but I have no desire to impose my canons of taste on others, though I must confess, in regard to beards, that I inwardly rejoiced when Amanullah<sup>38</sup> began to deal with them in summary fashion in Kabul."

When the rest of India was reorganized into linguistic states, Jawaharlal Nehru adamantly refused to agree to the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state. Apparently, he feared that the creation of such a state would solidify Sikh identity with a 'homeland' and a language with the resulting potential for secession. This attitude amounts to a tyranny of the majority and effectively eliminates the safeguards provided in the Constitution. Speaking before the

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<sup>35</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru: *The Discovery of India*, Meridian Books Ltd., London, Fourth Edition, 1960, page 544.

<sup>36</sup> India's Constitution recognizes fourteen major languages including Punjabi.

<sup>37</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru: *An Autobiography*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1980, page 471.

<sup>38</sup> Amanullah was the king of Afghanistan at that time. Nehru is referring to his forcing devout Muslims to shave off their beards.

United Nations Human Rights Committee, Mr. Ramaswamy, India's Attorney-General, admitted<sup>39</sup> that while it was his personal dream to bring about a uniform civil code in India, the majority of members of Parliament belonged to the majority religion, making it difficult to enact laws affecting religious minorities.

The States Reorganization Commission, set up for reorganization of states, stated in its report<sup>40</sup>: "It has to be realized that the political unity of India is a recent achievement." It also noted<sup>41</sup>: "There are certain aspects of the claim for linguistic units, the implications of which should be carefully analyzed and understood. The most important of these is the doctrine of an area claiming to be the 'homeland' of all the people speaking a particular language. .... This would cut at the very root of the national idea." Earlier, the JVP Committee had reported<sup>42</sup>: "The primary consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged." The comments were specifically directed towards the Sikhs and the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state. Such policy statements have promoted a gradual erosion of minority religions and, with the minorities constantly on the defensive trying to prove their patriotism, encouraged extremist groups in the majority community to practice religious discrimination with impunity.

India's judicial system has followed these general official attitudes. Contents of the Sikh prayer were among the reasons for Justice Gokulakrishnan's judgment approving the banning of the All India Sikh Students' Federation. Wrote the learned Judge<sup>43</sup>:

"*Raj Karega Khalsa*<sup>44</sup> is a slogan of separation - Khalsa shall rule," and, "the Sikhs want to preserve the interests of the Sikhs and Sikhism in an atmosphere which is congenial for such preservation .... As rightly put forth by the learned counsel for the Central Government, such resolutions are forerunners for the demand of Khalistan."

Arbitrary and hostile misinterpretation of the Sikh prayer was one of the devices used to declare this minority faith in India as inherently anti-national and to eliminate those who chose to adhere to its beliefs, principles, and values.

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<sup>39</sup> Aparajita Suri: "U.N. Rights Group Chides India," *India Abroad*, 5 April 1991.

<sup>40</sup> *Report of the States Reorganization Commission*, 1955, page 148.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, page 155.

<sup>42</sup> *Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee*, Congress, pages 4,5,15.

<sup>43</sup> The Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II, Section 3, Sub-section (ii), No. 456, New Delhi, Monday, 17 September 1984

<sup>44</sup> This phrase occurs in a verse that is part of every Sikh prayer. It means: "God's people will triumph", and is similar to the phrase in the Christian prayer that "the meek shall inherit the earth."

Some sections of the Indian press have consistently criticized religious minorities and made highly provocative and derogatory pronouncements about them<sup>45</sup>. There has been no attempt by the Government to check them. In fact, whenever the minorities have tried to protest these actions, they have been physically assaulted, fired upon, falsely imprisoned, tortured, raped, and massacred. The case of the Babri Masjid is typical of the Indian Government's attitude. This centuries old mosque was destroyed by Hindu extremists with the support of the State Government. When Muslims around the country protested, over three thousand were killed. None of the culprits responsible for the destruction of the mosque, or for the subsequent killings, was punished. After Indira Gandhi's assassination in 1984, thousands of Sikhs were burned alive or hacked to death and hundreds of women were gang-raped throughout India. The culprits are still to be punished. In fact many were rewarded with senior appointments in the government.

Educational texts used in schools emphasize Hindu traditions and ignore the minority viewpoint. Texts used in schools often misrepresent the Sikh faith. For example, some of them include pictures and songs depicting Sikh children engaged in idol-worship by placing garlands over so-called likenesses of the Gurus, in direct violation of the tenets of the Sikh faith. The Sikhs have had to struggle to correct the frequent incorrect portrayal of their Faith in textbooks. For example, they had to petition the High Court of Punjab and Haryana to direct<sup>46</sup> the deletion of some material, derogatory towards Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, from a book published by the National Council of Educational Research and Training and used in Indian schools. That Court's jurisdiction covers only two Indian states. Correction of the texts used in other states would necessarily involve further litigation placing an enormous stress on the community. Because the Gurus stood up for the right of the Hindus to freely practice their Faith, they are often described<sup>47</sup> as Hindu reformers, and as nationalist Kshatris fighting Muslim rule in India. This is contrary to the Sikh belief that they were bearers of God's Word and the founders of a new faith, that their message was universal and not circumscribed by geography or race, that it was a message of love, and that at no time did they have hatred or ill-will for anyone.

The attitude of the Indian Government towards the Sikhs has been that any proposal or demand that could possibly be associated with them as a religious community had to be denied despite its obvious merit and any protest by them sternly suppressed. Punjab's agricultural interests were viewed and treated not

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<sup>45</sup> For example: Jai Parkash, Editorial titled "*Raj Karega Khalsa*," The Daily Milap (in Urdu), New Delhi, 7 December 1985.

<sup>46</sup> Des Pardes Weekly, London, U.K., 3 May 1996.

<sup>47</sup> For example: Daulat Rai, Sahib-i-Kamaal Guru Gobind Singh; and Manju Subhash, Rights of Religious Minorities in India, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1988.



as economic problems of a region but as communal and parochial because most farmers in Punjab happened to be Sikh. The purpose was to humiliate the Sikhs, to impress upon them the helplessness of their situation in the national context, and to encourage them to believe that, if they wished to be heard, they would have to join the 'mainstream', i.e., de-emphasize their religious identity.

### c. Arya Samaj Attitude towards Sikhs and Sikh Identity

Historically, Hindus and Sikhs have lived amicably in rural Punjab. Despite the defensive battles the Tenth Guru fought against marauding Hindu rulers of the neighboring hill states and the part played by some Hindus in persecution of Sikhs during the eighteenth century, most Hindus have had profound respect for the Gurus and many continue to participate in Sikh worship. However, the Arya Samaj<sup>48</sup>, which is quite strong in Punjab, has always opposed the Sikh faith. This militant group's opposition to the Sikh religion originated with its founder<sup>49</sup>, Swami Dayanand. Until India's partition in 1947 this opposition was overshadowed by the Hindu-Muslim conflict. However, after 1947, it started afresh with the repudiation of Punjabi by the Punjab Hindus. According to Gupta<sup>50</sup>:

"From the early years of this century a significant section of the Hindu community in Punjab has rallied behind the Arya Samaj to deny Sikhism its separate identity. The gurudwaras too were under Hindu mahants<sup>51</sup> who made every effort to efface them of any special significance to Sikhism. Hindu idols were installed in the gurudwaras to convey the impression that the Sikhs had no special claim to these shrines. The Sikh resentment of this was obvious and understandable."

#### i. Denial Of A Sikh Identity

Many Hindus insist that the Sikh religion is just another Hindu sect, that the Gurus of the Sikhs were just another group of saints of India, that the Sikh martial tradition is a Hindu tradition - that the *Khalsa* were Hindus who became soldiers to defend the rest against oppressive Muslim rulers - and hold that one can call oneself a Sikh without actually following the teachings of the Faith so long as he/she goes through certain rituals at the time of birth,

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<sup>48</sup> Arya Samaj is a Hindu reformist movement started by Swami Dayanand in the second-half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>49</sup> Ganda Singh: "Hindu-Sikh Tension in the Punjab," The Sikh Review, March 1983.

<sup>50</sup> Dipankar Gupta: "The Communalising of Punjab 1980-1985," in Economic and Political Weekly, 13 July 1984 reproduced in Punjab-The Fatal Miscalculation by Patwant Singh and Harji Malik, page 220.

<sup>51</sup> After the British takeover of Punjab in 1849 gurdwaras were placed under Government control and, in some cases, regarded as personal property of the caretakers many of whom were non-Sikh.

marriage, and death, among others. Citing the fact that some ignorant Sikhs follow Brahmanical practices in their worship as proof, they consider the Sikh emphasis against idol worship and the caste system as deviant practices encouraged by the British to foster separatism, completely ignoring the Sikh scriptures and centuries of prior history.

Subhash's view<sup>52</sup> of Sikh identity, typical of most Hindu writers, is that it is an artificial device created by the British "to drive a wedge between *Keshdhari* [who do not cut their hair] Sikhs and the general body of Hindus in a planned and systematic way.... The first step in this direction was a separate enumeration of *Keshdhari* Sikhs in the census of 1911; the second was extension of a separate electorate to Sikhs in the Government of India Act, 1919." According to Subhash<sup>53</sup>:

"Hindus were Sikhs and Sikhs were Hindus. The distinction between them was functional, not fundamental. A Sikh was a Hindu in a particular role. When, under the changed circumstances, he could not play that role, he reverted to his original status."

Subhash is missing the fundamental fact that Sikhism is a separate, divinely revealed Faith. Her comment is like saying "Jews were Christians and Christians were Jews and that a Christian was a Jew in a certain role." The apparent implication is that as Hindus are now free in India, Sikhs ought to 'revert' to Hinduism. Subhash considers "the external marks of the Sikhs" to be an 'accidental difference' from the Hindus. The Sikhs resent this refusal to accept the independence of their Faith and to reduce it to merely a 'functional' format of the Hindus.

Some Hindus make much of a practice, prevalent during British rule in India, among some Hindu families to raise one of their sons as a Sikh. If this were indeed an act of faith, the parents would also become Sikh. However, the practice was often rooted in superstition or self-interest. For example, after the birth of several female children or several miscarriages, a Hindu woman would pray for a male child and promise to raise him as a Sikh. Also, because Sikhs were allowed to possess and carry *kirpaans*<sup>54</sup>, having a Sikh son had practical advantages in border areas that were subject to frequent raids and depredation by some Pathan tribes. In many cases, the motivation was entirely mundane. It was a device to improve job opportunities for the son. During British rule there

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<sup>52</sup> Manju Subhash: Rights of Religious Minorities in India, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1988, page 39.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, page 211.

<sup>54</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is expected to always wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

were quotas, based upon religion, for government jobs. The level of education was much higher among the Hindus who were mainly urban - with access to better educational facilities - than among the Sikhs who were mainly rural. Conversion to the Sikh faith would improve the son's chances of gaining government employment. With India's freedom and absence of this economic incentive, the practice has all but disappeared.

Many Hindus hold the description of the Sikh faith being distinct from Hindu as a mark of hostility. Typical of this attitude is Nayar's comment<sup>55</sup>: "when the Akalis said that the Sikhs were a different nation the Hindus were really hurt." Apparently, he does not recognize the difference in faith between Sikh and Hindu to be a difference in belief but merely a change in appearance.

## ii. Denial Of Punjabi By Punjab Hindus

Language, according to Crystal<sup>56</sup>, "is more than a shared code of symbols for communication. People do not fight and die, as they have done in India, to preserve a set of symbols. They do so because they feel that their identity is at stake - that language preservation is a question of human rights, community status and nationhood." At the time of the 1951 census<sup>57</sup> the Sikh population of Punjab was 6,769,129. Only 8,230,000 persons declared their language to be Punjabi. This meant that a large majority of the 12,930,045 Punjabi Hindus disowned the language they spoke and declared Hindi to be their mother tongue. Puri<sup>58</sup>, discussing the Sikh identity crisis after partition of India in 1947, writes:

"Punjabi Muslims could afford to forget Punjab and live like Pakistanis. After all, they got a sovereign state to rule, offered to them on a platter. The Punjabi Hindus could afford to forget Punjab and live like Indians. What could the Sikhs do? They could not shrug off their language. Their very scriptures are written in it. So the mantle of Punjab fell on the Sikhs. The Sikhs were willing to live like Punjabis, committed to Punjabi language and culture. The Punjabi Hindus were not, and they refused to acknowledge Punjabi as their mother tongue. Thus the seeds of the problem began to bear their bitter fruit. The alienation between Hindu and Sikh began. With the erosion of Punjab, the Sikhs began to be viewed as a community rather than a people belonging to a particular

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<sup>55</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 69.

<sup>56</sup> Crystal, David: "Languages," Civilization, February-March 1997, page 44.

<sup>57</sup> Memorandum presented to the Parliamentary Committee on Punjabi Suba by Sanyukt Punjab Sanrakshan Samiti of Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, New Delhi, page 18.

<sup>58</sup> Rajinder Puri: "What it's all about," in 'Punjab in Indian Politics', edited by Amrik Singh, 1985, page 55.

province. The Sikhs began to view themselves as a nation rather than a minority.”

According to Malik<sup>59</sup>:

“The Sikhs .... found that in spite of being a minority in the new state, they were considered a real threat by the Punjabi Hindus. .... Their insistence on Punjabi and the gurmukhi script was, for them intrinsically linked with the preservation of their separate identity. But the linkage gave hostile elements a convenient handle to dub the demand as communal and anti-secular. Hindu militants countered with a campaign of “Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan” and the Punjabi Hindu press began to reproduce pre-partition Sikh writings written in a period when Sikhs feared they would find themselves in Muslim Pakistan as a helpless minority, as proof that the Sikhs, represented by the Akali Dal, wanted a sovereign Sikh state. The misinformation campaign, which was to continue through the Punjabi Suba agitation when Congress Sikh leaders accused the Akalis of conspiring with Ayub Khan against India and of wanting to set up a Sikh state with Pakistan assistance, up to the 1980s branding of Sikhs as traitors, had begun.”

The stance of the Punjabi Hindus was endorsed by the Punjab Boundary Commission when the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state was finally agreed to. The Commission determined<sup>60</sup> that Jatki or Lahanda was the predominant language of West Punjab before creation of Pakistan<sup>61</sup> and that it was reasonable to assume that some of the Lahanda speaking migrants must have declared their language to be Hindi<sup>62</sup>.

### iii. Opposition To Sikh Institutions And Sikh Traditions

Lala Jagat Narain, an Arya Samajist, was “a strong supporter of the Nirankaris”<sup>63</sup>. He headed a group of newspapers in Punjab and wrote columns slandering Sikh religious leaders. He demanded action against the President of

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<sup>59</sup> Harji Malik: “The Historical Legacy,” in ‘Punjab in Indian Politics’, Edited by Amrik Singh, Ajanta Publications, 1985, page 36.

<sup>60</sup> Punjab Boundary Commission Report, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1966, page 24.

<sup>61</sup> At the time of India’s freedom from British rule in 1947, the Muslim majority area was separated from the rest of India and made into Pakistan, an independent country. Punjab was divided with millions of people migrating from each side of the border to the other.

<sup>62</sup> It is noteworthy that people speaking the Lahanda dialect of Punjabi were geographically located between those speaking Punjabi and Pushto.

<sup>63</sup> G.S. Chawla: “Assassination of Lala Jagat Narain,” Illustrated Weekly of India, 4 October 1981, page 16.

the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee<sup>64</sup> and the Jathedar, Siri Akal Takhat Sahib on the grounds that during their visit to the United States of America, Ganga Singh Dhillon - a private citizen who supported the idea of an independent Sikh state - had met them.

Extremist Hindus misrepresent the Sikh religion and tradition as inherently anti-national. They object to a phrase in the Sikh prayer, in use for nearly three centuries, as a statement of separatism and sedition<sup>65</sup>. An editorial<sup>66</sup> called this an act of treason and went on to advocate that the guilty should be awarded punishment which is ordinarily meted out to traitors and enemies of the nation. It said: "And traitors are customarily made to stand in front of cannon and blown off; their heads are chopped off; no sign of theirs is allowed to remain." It criticized the Government for continuing to allow Sikhs their daily prayer stating: "In India, we have been hearing the vulgar prattle of "*Raj Karega Khalsa*" for years but so far, let alone cut off their heads, even their tongues had not been cut so that they would be totally unable to utter such vulgar words." About the same phrase, Tully and Jacob state<sup>67</sup>: "Sikhs still repeat this cry which, if taken literally, inevitably leads to a conflict of loyalties in a modern secular state like India."

Hindu officials have often taken the view that the contents of Sikh prayers are seditious and evidence of bigotry. Anandram, head of the Special Investigating Team looking into Indira Gandhi's assassination, writes<sup>68</sup>:

"During investigation, it was found that SI<sup>69</sup> Beant Singh was an easy going, fun loving person addicted to several bad habits." .... "There was a marked change in the personality of SI Beant Singh after the 'Blue Star'<sup>70</sup> operation in June 1984. He came to be involved more and more in religious activities, prodded by his *phooph*<sup>71</sup> Kehar Singh."

He states that during a search of Beant Singh's home a sheet of paper was found on which the following quote from Siri Guru Granth Sahib was written:

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<sup>64</sup> Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is an elected body of Sikhs that manages historical gurdwaras.

<sup>65</sup> For example: Arun Shourie, *Indian Express*, 13 May 1982.

<sup>66</sup> Jai Parkash: Editorial titled "*Raj Karega Khalsa*," *The Daily Milap* (in Urdu), New Delhi, 7 December 1985. Please see footnote #44 for an explanation of the phrase.

<sup>67</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: *Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 20. Please see footnote #44 for an explanation of the phrase.

<sup>68</sup> S. Anandram, *Assassination of a Prime Minister: As it happened*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1994.

<sup>69</sup> SI is abbreviation for Sub-Inspector of Police.

<sup>70</sup> 'Blue Star' was the name given to the Indian army's invasion of Sikh places of worship in June 1984.

<sup>71</sup> *Phooph* is the husband of one's father's sister.

ਸਲੋਕ ਮਃ ੩॥ ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵਾ ਤੇ ਸੁਖ ਉਪਜੈ ਫਿਰਿ ਦੁਖ ਨ ਲਾਗੈ ਆਇ ॥  
ਜੋਮਣੁ ਮਰਣਾ ਮਿਟਿ ਗਇਆ ਕਾਲੈ ਕਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਨ ਬਸਾਇ ॥

The verse translates as: "Serving the Guru gives rise to joy; then, no affliction can approach one. The cycle of birth and death is ended and Death holds no fear."<sup>72</sup> It was also noted on the sheet of paper that the quote was the first line read from Siri Guru Granth Sahib on 13 October 1984 at Gurdwara Bangla Sahib. According to Anandram's understanding, the verse "clearly postulated that whatever is done in the name of religion will be in the service of the Guru and one is freed of all pain. It would appear that Beant Singh's interpretation was that he was ordained to commit the assassination of the PM as part of his religious duty." Accordingly, in complete contradiction to the actual meaning of the verse, Anandram concluded<sup>73</sup>:

"It, therefore, became clear that the criminal conspiracy of such magnitude had been inspired by the religious slant that was put out by those responsible for organising the prayers in gurdwaras, taking special care to arouse the sentiments and passions of the congregation and poison their minds against established Government authority personified in the PM<sup>74</sup> of the country."

Some Hindu intellectuals have been belaboring the Sikhs for sticking to their religious practices and their religious identity. For example, Sethi<sup>75</sup> advised the Sikh leaders that "they should have made attempts to delink themselves from the stranglehold of the SGPC<sup>76</sup> and the high priests of the Golden Temple and other religious leaders." Noting that the SGPC is a body elected by the Sikhs, Sethi was essentially calling upon the Sikhs to dissociate themselves from their own elected religious representatives.

There have been attacks on the Sikh heroic tradition. Shourie<sup>77</sup> refers to Sikhs "having retained a false pride in martial temperament and abilities." The ideal for a Sikh is to be a 'saint-soldier'. Sikhs have been soldiers in the cause of liberty and for protection of the oppressed since the time of the Sixth Guru. Up to the time of British annexation of Punjab, they were "soldiers to a man".

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<sup>72</sup> The last line in the verse, not included in the above quote, translates: "The mind is attuned to God, it is absorbed in the Reality."

<sup>73</sup> S. Anandram, *Assassination of a Prime Minister: As it happened*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1994, page 58.

<sup>74</sup> PM is abbreviation for Prime Minister.

<sup>75</sup> J.D. Sethi: "Secularism, Communalism and Nationalism," in *Punjab in Indian Politics*, Edited by Amrik Singh, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1985, page 440.

<sup>76</sup> Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Please see footnote # 64.

<sup>77</sup> Arun Shourie, "Lessons from the Punjab," in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books International, 1984, pages 178-179.

During British rule, soldiering was the primary occupation of Sikhs; their population of nearly two million provided<sup>78</sup> 88,000 men to the army during the First World War. In free India, serving in the military is regarded as just another occupation and one can understand the view that this opportunity should be equally available to all Indians and not reserved for 'martial races' like the Sikhs. However, it is extremely unfair and arrogant to label the pride a community has in its heroic tradition built over three centuries as 'false'. Tully and Jacob too defame the glorious Sikh history of consistent unflinching resistance to oppression by stating<sup>79</sup>: "The Sikhs, with their martial tradition, are a violent community at the best of times."

#### iv. The Concept Of 'Moderate' And 'Militant' Sikhs

The Arya Samaj-dominated press in Punjab and the left-oriented politicians have coined the words 'secular' Sikh and 'moderate' Sikh. Those who violate Sikh religious principles and practices are fondly described as 'secular and 'moderate' whereas devout Sikhs who follow the *Sikh Rehit Maryada*<sup>80</sup>, which specifically forbids cutting hair and abusing intoxicants, are branded orthodox, militant, extremist, terrorist, and criminal, in an orchestrated sequence. For example, Sethi,<sup>81</sup> describing his conversation with an aged Sikh in 1983, reported the Sikh's view as sane when he described the relationship between Hindus and Sikhs as that between the finger and the fingernail; but the same Sikh had "suddenly lost his sanity" when he said that "in his opinion, Sant Bhindranwale was the greatest Sikh leader alive." However, Sethi describes a day spent in the company of "a young Sikh of the clipped beard and short hair variety" with whom he visited a bar and later a home, where "a young second lieutenant saunters in (you can't tell if he is a Sikh, he wears his hair short like every one else in the room, though he later admits to using a 'fake' turban for appearance's sake)", and Sikhs are addressed as 'Surds' and 'Surdies'<sup>82</sup>, as completely free of 'social uneasiness'. Evidently, Sethi is socially 'uneasy' with a Sikh practicing or admiring one who practices his religion. A devout Sikh is offensive and insane whereas those who have decided to conform so that they are indistinguishable from the Hindus are wholesome, peace-loving persons.

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<sup>78</sup> Stephen P. Cohen: *The Indian Army*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1990, page 69.

<sup>79</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: *Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 104.

<sup>80</sup> *Sikh Rehit* or *Sikh Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

<sup>81</sup> Sunil Sethi, *Journey in Punjab*: *India Today*, 30 September 1983, pages 64-65

<sup>82</sup> These are derogatory forms of address derived from the traditional way of addressing a Sikh as 'Sardar.'

Tully and Jacob<sup>83</sup> describe Major General Brar who commanded the operation against Darbar Sahib as "a Sikh from the same area and the same caste as Bhindranwale, who had committed the cardinal sin in the Sant's book of shaving his beard and cutting his hair." Similarly, Indian army's attack in Patiala was "commanded by a Sikh general who had forsworn his beard, Major-General Gurdial Singh."

Nayar,<sup>84</sup> unhappy at Sikhs following the codes of their Faith, finds it offensive that

"Bhindranwale .... said that Sikhs who trimmed their beards or imbibed liquor were not Sikhs. He was getting to be a fundamentalist and began to be described as the Khomeini of Sikhs. Upon his call many Sikhs even stopped tying their beards; some of the younger ones who had become *sahajdhari*<sup>85</sup> stopped having their hair cut and again started growing beards."

There are those who have the Sikh appearance but do not accept the Faith or its history and culture. Darbara Singh, while Chief Minister of Punjab, is quoted as having<sup>86</sup> "candidly stated his opinion that there was no longer such a thing as Sikh culture. There was a Sikh culture before. That Sikh culture has now reached the limit. Sikh culture is now dead .... Now the Sikh culture has been converted into a composite culture." He was a 'secular' Sikh acceptable to the establishment. K.P.S. Gill, the former Punjab Police Chief who oversaw the elimination of thousands of devout Sikhs as 'terrorists' killed in 'faked encounters' is another 'moderate' Sikh because, in his opinion<sup>87</sup>, the scriptures "represent somebody's ideas hundreds of years ago and are hardly relevant in today's life." Khushwant Singh is yet another favorite of the secularists because he confesses<sup>88</sup>: "My emotional attachment is more to the Sikh community to which by accident of birth I happen to belong to rather than to Sikhism."

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<sup>83</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: *Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 147.

<sup>84</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 70.

<sup>85</sup> In Sikh religion, the term *Sahajdhari* is used for a person who believes in the Sikh Gurus but has not yet received initiation. Here, Nayar is erroneously using it to describe Sikhs who by cutting their hair have violated the Sikh code. Such persons are *patit* [fallen ones], not *Sahajdhari*.

<sup>86</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: *Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 69.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Ramesh Vinayak: *India Today*, 30 November 1996, page 184.

<sup>88</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 9.



v. Equating Linguistic Identity With Political Separatism

Since India's freedom from British rule, the Sikhs had been demanding creation of the Punjab as a linguistic state. The militants among the Punjabi Hindus represented to the Parliamentary Committee on Punjabi Suba<sup>89</sup> that<sup>90</sup> "the real motive underlying this demand is to have an area in which only the Sikhs are in a majority and which can ultimately be carved out as an independent state, and a sort of buffer state between India and Pakistan." This is a direct contradiction of the fact that Punjabi Hindus outnumbered Sikhs two to one in 1951. In addition, this was a right granted to every other major linguistic group in India.

At a conference held at Princeton University in March 1985, Nayyar<sup>91</sup>, a noted scholar, told the audience that at the time of partition of Punjab in 1947, India welcomed half of the total Sikh population as refugees from Pakistan. He erroneously insisted that their religion, being a combination of Hinduism and Islam - which is Semitic - is, like all Semitic religions, inherently separatist. He stated that Muslims and Sikhs have come out of Hindus; that Sikh nationalism does not emerge from oppression but that it seeks power; that Sikh nationalism is in conflict with Indian nationalism and the secular Indian state has priority; that, by the very nature of their religion, the Sikh community is highly organized, combines religion and politics, institutionalizes conflict, sanctifies violence, uses a coercive approach, including effecting demographic changes through murders, in order to correct the status inconsistency of its enormous economic power and low political power. In his opinion, there was no possibility of reaching any agreement with the Akalis because their purported ambition was unbounded. He claimed that the line "*Raj karega Khalsa*"<sup>92</sup> in the Sikh daily prayer does not mean rule only over Punjab but implies a building of momentum to achieve a separate state; to get concessions, consolidate them and then proceed to another state. Summing up the tragic events of June 1984, he said that the Akalis had assumed that the Government would be deterred from taking action against the Sikhs because of the number of Sikhs in the army but that, sadly for the Akalis, Mrs. Gandhi also knew this and planned accordingly. He warned the Sikhs that the achievement of Khalistan was not going to be a 'costless process'. Even very learned Hindus, reiterating the militant viewpoint, accused the Sikhs of demanding a separate state when they were not. The extremists among the Hindus equated the Sikh

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<sup>89</sup> Punjabi Suba means Punjabi-speaking state.

<sup>90</sup> Memorandum presented to the Parliamentary Committee on Punjabi Suba by Sanyukt Punjab Sanrakshan Samiti of Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, New Delhi, page 18.

<sup>91</sup> B.R. Nayyar: Speech at the conference. The Proceedings titled *India's Democracy*, edited by Atul Kohli, published by Princeton University Press, 1988, do not contain the text of this speech. The above reference is from this writer's notes taken at the conference.

<sup>92</sup> Please see footnote #44.

religion with anti-nationalism, and along with the Indian Government in which they were dominant, acted to control and crush a minority faith they had taught themselves to dread.

#### d. The Akali Perfidy

##### i. Sant Bhindranwale's Early Disappointment With The Akali Leaders

Not interested in political office, Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale supported the Shromani Akali Dal<sup>93</sup> as the sole representative of Sikh political interests. However, he was greatly disappointed when Parkash Singh Badal, then Chief Minister of Punjab, and Jiwan Singh Umranangal, another minister in Badal's cabinet, did not support him on the Sant Nirankari issue in 1978. This, and the widespread belief that many of the Shromani Akali Dal leaders did not faithfully follow the Sikh code of conduct and even abused alcohol, led to his decision to oppose the Shromani Akali Dal in the 1979 elections to the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee<sup>94</sup>. Bhai Amrik Singh, Sant Bhindranwale's close associate, lost to Jiwan Singh Umranangal, the Akali candidate. The Sant attributed this loss to the support that the Akalis had sought and received from Radhaswamis<sup>95</sup> and Nirankaris, who had been encouraged to register posing as Sikhs and participate in the election. Sant Bhindranwale often referred<sup>96</sup> to this election rigging and denounced Akali leaders who, in order to win, were willing to invite non-Sikhs to vote in elections to Sikh religious bodies.

Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale's opposition to the Akalis was good news to the ruling Congress party since a division among the Sikhs could be used to their own advantage. Even after Sant Bhindranwale's death, many writers have insisted that he was 'planted' by Indira Gandhi and Zail Singh to promote dissension among the Sikhs. However, there were differences within the Congress leadership. When Darbara Singh, the Chief Minister of Punjab, unleashed systematic oppression against Sant Bhindranwale's men and other devout Sikhs in Punjab, Zail Singh, at that time Home Minister in the Indian Government, apparently did not endorse this line of action. For example, Sanghvi states<sup>97</sup>:

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<sup>93</sup> Shromani Akali Dal is the political party that has traditionally represented Sikh interests.

<sup>94</sup> Please see footnote # 64.

<sup>95</sup> Radhaswamis, like the Sant Nirankaris, follow a human guru.

<sup>96</sup> For example, speeches on 16 August 1983; 20 August 1983; 8 March 1984; 19 April 1984; and the interview with a family from Canada on 22 February 1984.

<sup>97</sup> Vir Sanghvi: The Giani and Bhindranwale, Imprint, February 1986.

“Zail Singh's critics continually point to the failure of the Government to arrest Bhindranwale even when it became clear that he was a man of violence<sup>98</sup>. This failure suggests, they argue, that Zail Singh wanted him free so that he could harass Darbara Singh<sup>99</sup>. In September 1981, the Punjab police issued a warrant for Bhindranwale's arrest. At that time, Bhindranwale was preaching in Chando-Kalan in Haryana. When the Punjab police crossed the state lines, and got there, they found that he had fled. The Haryana police knew he was a wanted man: why, then, did they let him escape? According to Kuldip Nayar, the reason was simple. Zail Singh called up Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal and told him to let Bhindranwale get away. Nayar says that Bhajan Lal himself told him this.”

Sanghvi's comments regarding Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale being “a man of violence” and “a wanted man” merely echo the official version. It is quite possible that the Congress party tried to take advantage of the differences between the Sant and the Akali leadership. Later, Zail Singh and Darbara Singh might have argued over policy but there is no evidence to support the claim that the Sant was at any time working as any body's ‘agent’ or that he was being guided by any person.

## ii. Making Common Cause With The Akalis

On 19 July 1982, Bhai Amrik Singh and Baba Thara Singh, two of Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa's close associates, were arrested on false charges. The Sant was quite ill at that time and under doctor's orders not to move “even twenty paces”<sup>100</sup>. However, fearing that the two would be tortured and possibly killed in custody, he came to Darbar Sahib complex and led a group of peaceful protestors the same night to secure their release. Thereafter, a group of volunteers would peacefully protest the false arrests each day. On 4 August 1982, the Shromani Akali Dal decided to merge its struggle for greater state autonomy and other political and religious concessions with the Sant's efforts for the release of his associates. The combined movement was under the leadership of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal. Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale specifically defined<sup>101</sup> his role:

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<sup>98</sup> This is Sanghvi's conjecture. Sant Bhindranwale consistently opposed violence against any innocent person.

<sup>99</sup> Darbara Singh was, at that time, Chief Minister of Punjab, an office similar to that of a Governor of a state in the USA.

<sup>100</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 19 July 1983.

<sup>101</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Interview in January 1983.

"Our demands were primarily the release of our *Singhs*<sup>102</sup> and classification of Amritsar as a holy city. That was all. These were the basic demands."

After Bhai Amrik Singh and Baba Thara Singh's release in August 1983 Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale's stated objective had been essentially fulfilled. However, the Sant pledged his continued support to the Akali leadership and decided against returning to his headquarters in Chowk Mehta<sup>103</sup>.

During the course of the movement, the Akali leaders wished to use this religious leader for their own political ends. Khushwant Singh informs us<sup>104</sup> that Sant Harchand Singh Longowal described Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale as: "He is our *danda*<sup>105</sup> with which to beat the Government." The Akali leaders needed the influence of the popular Sant to ensure a steady supply of volunteers for their Gandhian style nonviolent protest movement.

### iii. Rift With The Akali Leadership: Isolation And Betrayal

Indira Gandhi's Government did not view the Akali movement seriously but wished to suppress Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale's message of returning to basic Sikh values which was receiving increasing support in the Punjab villages. Her Government was selective in the treatment of detainees who were Akalis and those belonging to the Bhindranwale group. Akali protestors were generally released after two to fifteen days in jail or even taken out of the city and let off the day they were arrested. On the other hand, protestors from Sant organization, most of whom had been formally initiated into the Sikh faith, were brutally tortured and often killed while in police custody<sup>106</sup>. Many of them were prosecuted for various real or faked charges. The Sant claimed, on 19 April 1984, that out of nearly 400 Sikhs charged for various offenses, the *Taksaal* was providing legal defense for 375 persons. At the same time, the Government was describing the Akalis as 'moderates' and urging their leadership to dissociate themselves from the 'extremists'. Eventually, this policy was successful in promoting a rift between Sant Bhindranwale and the traditional Sikh leadership. The Akalis became advocates of peacefulness regardless of provocation and oppression while Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale, the primary target of police brutality,

<sup>102</sup> *Singh* is a word often used for an *amritdhari* - formally initiated - Sikh.

<sup>103</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale; Speech on 8 August 1983.

<sup>104</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, page 337.

<sup>105</sup> *Danda* is Punjabi for a stick.

<sup>106</sup> For example: Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Speeches on 9 August 1983, 8 March 1984, 1 April 1984; Interview with Surinderjit Singh, January 1983.

began advocating resistance to deliberate arbitrary arrest and torture of people known to the police to be innocent. He insisted that this had to be done because *daleel*<sup>107</sup>, *vakeel*<sup>108</sup> and appeal<sup>109</sup> had failed. He accused the Akali leadership of cowardly indifference in the face of oppression.

Sant Bhindranwale repeatedly disavowed<sup>110</sup> any political ambition. His attitude towards Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President of the Shromani Akali Dal was of total respect. In January 1983<sup>111</sup>, when asked if the struggle was under his and Sant Longowal's leadership, he replied: "Sant Longowal is the President. I am only a minor servant of the congregation. Leadership is with the Akali Dal." However, the Akali leadership viewed his soaring popularity with the rural masses as a potential threat to their hegemony over Sikh affairs. After August 1983, they intensified their campaign to harass and discredit him. They tried to obstruct his access to the public. When he called a meeting of Sikh intellectuals in September 1983, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal put him down stating that as the leader of the struggle only he had the authority to call such meetings. After that incident, Sant Bhindranwale was never invited to speak at Manji Sahib Diwan Hall<sup>112</sup>. In the interest of unity, the Sant did not raise the issue at that time but, in his later speeches, mentioned the restrictions placed on him<sup>113</sup>.

At the start of the protest movement in August 1982, the Akali leaders had, in their *Ardaas*<sup>114</sup> at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, resolved that they would continue the struggle until the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was accepted and implemented by the Government. Later, noting Indira Gandhi's intransigence, it appears that the Akali leaders were willing to water down their demands. Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale reminded his audiences that Tohra, Barnala, Balwant Singh and other leaders were signatories to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and that he was not present when the Resolution was adopted.

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<sup>107</sup> *Daleel* means appeal to reasoning or logic that is presented to officials in authority.

<sup>108</sup> *Vakeel* means a lawyer; here it means recourse to the legal system.

<sup>109</sup> Appeal to the conscience of public officials in authority and the public at large.

<sup>110</sup> For example: Speech in May 1983 and speeches on 16 August 1983, 20 September 1983, 8 March 1984, and the interview on 22 February 1984

<sup>111</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale: Conversation with Surinderjit Singh of Vancouver, Canada, in January 1983.

<sup>112</sup> Manji Sahib Diwan Hall is the primary place in the Darbar Sahib complex for leaders to address large public gatherings.

<sup>113</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 19 April 1984.

<sup>114</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly. Here reference is to the *Ardaas* said on 4 August 1982, at the beginning of the *Morcha* (campaign), by all the Sikh leaders. This constituted a solemn vow.

He insisted, however, that having said the *Ardaas* at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib no Sikh could go back on his solemn word<sup>115</sup>.

On 15 December 1983 members of the Babbar Khalsa, with the Akali leadership's acquiescence, forced Sant Bhindranwale out of Guru Nanak Niwas<sup>116</sup>. According to Tavleen Singh<sup>117</sup>:

"Early on the morning of 15 December, six armed youths belonging to the Babbar Khalsa group entered the Guru Nanak Niwas which was recognized as Bhindranwale territory. .... According to Balbir Singh Sandhu who witnessed what happened, from Room 32, 'These youths came in looking for a fight. They marched into some rooms occupied by Sant Jarnail Singh's men and told them to get out. They said the rooms were theirs.' Bhindranwale had at least 200 armed men staying in the Guru Nanak Niwas at the time but instead of fighting the Babbars, he and his followers packed their belongings and moved by that afternoon into the Akal Takht. Bhindranwale said later, 'I did not want to desecrate the sanctity of the Harmandar Sahib by allowing a fight to take place, that is why I moved'."

Even though the Akali leadership was burning the Indian constitution, threatening to withhold shipment of grain, and making various other demands with great vehemence in public, they were, according to one source,<sup>118</sup> by the end of 1983 they were secretly cooperating with the Indian Government agencies to undermine the Sant and the All India Sikh Students Federation. Gurcharan Singh, Secretary, Shromani Akali Dal, was the contact person in this reported conspiracy. A letter dated 2 November 1983 from Gurcharan Singh to R.K. Dhawan<sup>119</sup> offered cooperation in infiltrating the All India Sikh Students Federation and another dated 5 November 1983 from Harchand Singh Longowal to Mr. Dhawan stated that he was having difficulty controlling Bhindranwale and that infiltration would be necessary to inform the police of whatever the Sikh youth were up to. A letter dated 5 December 1983 from Gurcharan Singh to R.N. Kao<sup>120</sup> named an agent he had found and requested compensation for his services and one dated 25 December thanked Mr. Kao for the reward, described Sant Bhindranwale as a dacoit and a murderer, and

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<sup>115</sup> For example: Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Speech on 1 February 1984.

<sup>116</sup> Please see footnote #10.

<sup>117</sup> Tavleen Singh: "Terrorists in the Temple," in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 42.

<sup>118</sup> Copies of four letters were published in *Sant Bhindran Jatha*, Vol. 3, No. 1, February 1986, by Tarsem Singh Khalsa.

<sup>119</sup> R.K. Dhawan, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister of India.

<sup>120</sup> Mr. R.N. Kao, an intelligence official in the Cabinet Secretariate, Government of India.

assured him that the Sant's support was limited to two to three hundred persons in Punjab and that the entire Sikh population was with the Shromani Akali Dal.

Unaware of the secret parleys, Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale noted the lies that the Akali leadership was spreading about him. After Surinder Singh Sodhi<sup>121</sup> was murdered, Sant Bhindranwale wanted Gurcharan Singh, Secretary, Shromani Akali Dal, whom he suspected of having hatched the murder conspiracy, to be removed from office. He appealed to the Akali leadership and sought intervention from Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President, Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and the Jathedar, Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Various committees were appointed to look into his complaints. All of them agreed with him during their discussions but were unwilling to take an open stand against the party leadership<sup>122</sup>. Frustrated, Sant Bhindranwale accused Longowal of lying and double-speak. His attitude of respect changed to one of increasing disaffection. Faced with escalating police and paramilitary oppression and with the premier Sikh political organization abandoning him, Sant Bhindranwale said<sup>123</sup>:

ਇਹ ਪੰਛੀ ਇਕੱਲਾ ਏ ਏਹਦੇ ਮਗਰ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰੀ ਬਹੁਤੇ।

'This bird is alone; there are many hunters after it.'

According to correspondence made public by Tarsem Singh Khalsa<sup>124</sup>, the Akali leadership offered assistance in Indian Government's operations to control Sikhs living in the free world. One of these letters, dated 25 April 1984, allegedly<sup>125</sup> signed by Harchand Singh Longowal and addressed to R.K. Dhawan, states that he [Longowal] had deputed Major General Bhullar and Professor Manjit Singh to work in the USA and that arrangements had been made to squelch support for Sant Bhindranwale. He also promised a list of names of Sikhs living abroad who supported Sant Bhindranwale. He strongly urged that "we have to do what we planned earlier and Sardar Parkash Singh Badal<sup>126</sup> has already explained in detail."

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121 A close associate of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.

122 Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 24 May 1984.

123 Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 1 February 1984.

124 Copies of three letters were published in Sant Bhindran Jatha, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1986.

125 It has not been possible to locate Tarsem Singh Khalsa and to check whether these letters were genuine or merely part of the Indian government's misinformation campaign.

126 Parkash Singh Badal was and continues to be an important leader in the Shromani Akali Dal. He served as Chief Minister of Punjab 1977 to 1980. He currently is President, Shromani Akali Dal as well as the Chief Minister of Punjab.

According to Nayar<sup>127</sup>: "On 26 May, Tohra<sup>128</sup> informed the Government that he had failed and it could do whatever it wanted to. Bhindranwale was not under his control or, for that matter, under anyone else's." The Shromani Akali Dal leadership had decided that elimination of Sant Bhindranwale was more important than having their own economic and religious demands fulfilled. They elected to violate their solemn vows made at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Sant Bhindranwale, as a devout Sikh, could not go along with this and was left holding their bag of demands even though it was they, and not he, who had signed the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

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127 Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 88.

128 Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President, Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.



## MISREPRESENTATION AND VILIFICATION OF THE SANT

### a. Role of the Indian Government

#### i. Exaggeration And False Apportionment Of Blame

In order to mislead the Indian public and to facilitate the passage of draconian laws restricting Sikh right to life and liberty, the Indian Government blamed Sant Bhindranwale for every crime committed in Punjab. At the same time, the level of crime in the state was grossly exaggerated to justify government oppression as necessary for control of separatism and the preservation of national unity and integrity. Punjab had a crime rate significantly below the Indian national figures. According to official reports<sup>129</sup>, 172 persons were killed in the period from August 5, 1982, to December 31, 1983, and 453 (including 118 killed by the police and paramilitary organizations and some killed in the neighboring state of Haryana), over the period August 5, 1981, to June 2, 1984. Sinha et al. tell us<sup>130</sup>:

“In Delhi alone in the year 1983, 244 persons were murdered (Statesman, July 1, 1984). .... Clubbing together every kind of crime under the heading and blaming the Akali agitation for all of them is but an attempt to mislead the people.”

Nayar confirms<sup>131</sup> that:

“Punjab Government circulated a secret document. This document said that there were 5,422 murders in 1980 and 5,068 in 1981 in U.P.<sup>132</sup>, while in Punjab there were 620 murders in 1980 and 544 in 1981.”

It is noteworthy that of all the cases listed in the White Paper it was only in eleven that the attackers are even alleged to be Sikh. In all other cases the assailants were unknown. Sant Bhindranwale commented on this<sup>133</sup>: “If someone's dog or cat dies, they say Bhindranwala gets it done.” Also<sup>134</sup>:

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<sup>129</sup> White Paper on The Punjab Agitation, Government of India, 10 July 1984.

<sup>130</sup> Sachchidanand Sinha, Jasvir Singh, Sunil, G.K.C. Reddy: Army Action in Punjab: Prelude and Aftermath, Samta Era, Delhi, 1984, page 38-39.

<sup>131</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1985, page 56.

<sup>132</sup> U.P. is the state of Uttar Pradesh. While comparing the crime figures, we need to allow for the fact that the population of U.P. is 110.8 million and that of Punjab 16.8 million (figures for 1981 census reported in “INDIA 1986: A Reference Manual” published by Government of India). The population of Delhi in that year was 6.22 million. The number of crimes in Punjab was significantly less than that in the neighboring states.

<sup>133</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech in early 1982 in Karnal.

<sup>134</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 29 April 1983.

“At whatever place, whatever untoward incident occurs, whether any other place is named in that connection or not, the names of Harmandar Sahib and Nanak Niwas are always included. .... Madhya Pradesh is thousands of kilometers from here. Something happened at Bhilai<sup>135</sup> a long time back. Even that case has been linked to this place.”

Extremist Hindus described the practice of Sikh religion as commitment to violence and initiation into the Sikh religion as provocative action. They described the Sant's trips to Punjab villages to preach as<sup>136</sup>: “Sant Bhindranwale himself used to go about with about 50 of his armed men in a bus and a lot of tension was generated in the State as a result.” They and the Government started to refer to the Sant as an extremist. Noting this, Sant Bhindranwale said<sup>137</sup>:

“One who receives *amrit* and helps others take it; who reads the *Gurbani* and teaches others to do the same; who gives up intoxicants and helps others to do likewise; who urges all to get together and work in cooperation; who preaches Hindu-Sikh unity and asks for peaceful coexistence; who says: “If you are a Muslim be a devout Muslim, if you are a Sikh be a devout Sikh, respect your *Isht*<sup>138</sup>, unite under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>139</sup> stoutly support the *Panth*, and be attached to Satguru's Throne and Guru's Darbar;” persons who preach like this are now all being called extremists by this Government and by the *Mahasha*<sup>140</sup> press. In particular, I have been given a big title. They call me the ‘leader of the extremists.’ I am a true extremist, but of the type which has the characteristics I have described to you.”

He also said<sup>141</sup>:

“Who is an extremist in this Government's eyes? It is one who has a turban on his head; wears the *kachhera*<sup>142</sup>; supports unity and follows the Guru; is desirous of progress of the country; is desirous of justice for the blood of the martyrs, for the insult of Satguru Granth Sahib; and

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<sup>135</sup> Bhilai is a city in Madhya Pradesh.

<sup>136</sup> Harji Malik: *The Historical Legacy*, in *'Punjab in Indian Politics'*, Edited by Amrik Singh, Ajanta Publications, 1985, page 17.

<sup>137</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 11 May 1983.

<sup>138</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence; here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>139</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>140</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

<sup>141</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech in early 1982 in Karnal.

<sup>142</sup> See footnote #54.

promotes the good of all mankind. In Punjab today, anyone who believes in and follows the path of :

ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਭਾਏ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ

‘Nanak says: God's Name is glorious; there is good for all in accepting Your (God's) Will’, is an extremist.”

## ii. Staged Crimes

To brand devout Sikhs as criminals, the Government stage-managed numerous crimes. The police would orchestrate a crime and then ascribe it to Sant Bhindranwale. Following this, the law-enforcement agencies would round up devout Sikhs and harass, torture, rape, and often ‘eliminate’ them.

### a. Cows' heads thrown in a Hindu temple

Some heads of cows were discovered in a Hindu temple. The Government and the Hindu press immediately placed the blame on Sant Bhindranwale. Actually, the crime was staged. According to a report:<sup>143</sup>

“Surinder Kapoor M.L.A.<sup>144</sup> created sensation, when in a meeting of the Congress (Indira) Legislative Party, Punjab, held on March 6, 1983, he accused the then Punjab Government of hatching a conspiracy at Mohali of cutting a few heads of dead cows and of actually conveying them to Amritsar for being stealthily thrown in some Hindu temple there and thus lit the first communal fire in the state.”

Sant Bhindranwale and the AISSF<sup>145</sup> had nothing to do with this, denied any involvement, and denounced this kind of activity, but were blamed by the same Government that showed no interest in prosecuting a person caught red-handed throwing tobacco in the Darbar Sahib premises<sup>146</sup>. He explained<sup>147</sup>:

“No Sikh is in favor of placing cows' heads in temples. We are also not in favor of killing the cow.”

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<sup>143</sup> Delhi Recorder, May 1983.

<sup>144</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of the state.

<sup>145</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>146</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Interview in January 1983. Injuring a cow is offensive to Hindus; so is exposure to tobacco for Sikhs.

<sup>147</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech in February 1983.

b. Bombs Thrown at the Chief Minister of Punjab

Incidents of bombs being thrown at the Chief Minister were enacted. According to Sinha et al.<sup>148</sup>:

“Dubious attacks on Chief Minister Darbara Singh and such other activists were stage-managed in order to malign the Akali movement and to find a pretext to unleash repression. .... On August 20, 1982, two hand-grenades were thrown at him at Rahon. A few policemen and onlookers were injured but the grenade thrown at Darbara Singh did not blast instead it was securely tied in a handkerchief. One man was claimed to have been arrested at the place of the incident. The following night one man in custody was later set free. It was proved that he was a police person who managed the show, and hence had to be set free.”

Using this stage-managed crime as a pretext, an innocent *amritdhari* Sikh was arrested and tortured to death<sup>149</sup>.

c. Extortion

Some persons received letters demanding money. These letters were purportedly written on behalf of Sant Bhindranwale. Upon this being brought to his attention, he said<sup>150</sup>:

“I appeal to the congregation that this is the product of the Government's black deeds. This is because in the cases that they had registered against *Singhs*,... the *Singhs* are being acquitted and released. To hide this, to hide their own black deeds, and to tarnish the brightening image of the *Jatha*<sup>151</sup>, to malign it, the Government has started these activities.... We have to guard ourselves against such people. To give a bad name, to place obstructions in the conduct of this ongoing struggle, the Government is going to use every possible trick. We ought to be fully alert to these. This *Taksaal* has never believed in robberies, thefts, and abusing drugs. It does not now nor will it ever.”

He also spoke about other ‘dirty tricks’ by the police<sup>152</sup>:

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<sup>148</sup> Sachchidanand Sinha, Jasvir Singh, Sunil, G.K.C. Reddy: Army Action in Punjab: Prelude and Aftermath, Samta Era, Delhi, 1984, page 30.

<sup>149</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 20 August 1983.

<sup>150</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 10 August 1983.

<sup>151</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>152</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on July 30, 1983.

"The Police is set up for protection of the public, but today's police have taken on the form of robbers to loot the public. There are innumerable examples of this - not one, two, or four."

iii. Oppression Directed At Devout Sikhs

a. Murder of Devout Sikhs in 'Faked Encounters'

For officially orchestrated as well as fictitious crimes, devout Sikhs were selectively rounded up, labeled as terrorists and murderers, tortured and often killed. We shall give only a few instances here. Tully and Jacob report<sup>153</sup> a conversation with Darbara Singh, the Chief Minister of Punjab:

"He did order the police to take action against those terrorists<sup>154</sup> they could not get hold of and there was a series of what the Indian police call 'encounters' - a euphemism for cold-blooded murder by the police. Darbara Singh admitted as much to me. On another occasion, when Satish Jacob and I both met him, the former Chief Minister said, "Encounters did take place, and they were killed. I told my senior police officers, "You kill the killers and I will take the responsibility". "

And again<sup>155</sup>:

"Bhinder told me that ten people he described as 'Bhindranwale's do or die men' had been shot by the police and that more than 1600 people had been arrested."

Tully and Jacob were using the appellations 'terrorist', 'suspected terrorist', 'do or die men', synonymously with *amritdhari*<sup>156</sup>. Nayar reports<sup>157</sup>:

"The police retaliated by raiding the houses of suspects, beating up the inmates<sup>158</sup> and even killing a few of them in faked 'encounters'. Twenty-four 'wanted' people were killed thus. This infuriated

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<sup>153</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 106.

<sup>154</sup> They were typically innocent rural Sikhs who, fearing police brutality, went into hiding.

<sup>155</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 108.

<sup>156</sup> *Amritdhari* is a person who has been formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>157</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 54.

<sup>158</sup> The inmates included families of the suspects. Often, if a 'suspect' was not found at home, women of the family would be picked up and subjected to rape and torture at police stations. There were cases of Sikh women being stripped and paraded in streets by the police.

Bhindranwale the most; he would say that the Hindu police were killing 'innocent Sikhs'."

Nayar also states<sup>159</sup>:

"Since the police had no way to distinguish between a Sikh who is a terrorist and one who is not, every Sikh travelling to Delhi was searched. Trains were stopped at wayside stations at midnight in cold December and the Sikh passengers, travelling even in first class AC<sup>160</sup> coaches, were made to get down to appear before a police official on the platform. Buses were detained to get Sikh passengers down and at some places the rustic policemen said: "All Sikhs should come down"."

Khushwant Singh tells us<sup>161</sup>:

"The police were rarely able to identify or arrest the culprits. Its only method of dealing with the menace was to organize fake encounters and kill anyone they<sup>162</sup> supported."

Often young Sikhs, fearing torture by the police, would run away from their homes. Nayar<sup>163</sup> confirms that the police victimized their families:

"Relatives of the absconders were harassed and even detained. Even many days after the excesses committed by the police, we could see how fear-stricken the people were. Villagers gave us the names of some of the police sub-inspectors and deputy superintendents involved; some of them, they said, had a reputation of taking the law into their hands."

Zail Singh, who was President of India at the time, himself confirmed<sup>164</sup> cases of police shooting dead 23 Sikhs in 1982 for the simple reason that, as part of a statewide protest, they tried to peacefully stop traffic on a road, and of killing another six for shouting slogans.

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<sup>159</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 66.

<sup>160</sup> Air-conditioned.

<sup>161</sup> Khushwant Singh: in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books International, 1984, page 9.

<sup>162</sup> Thus, anyone the suspected person had any contact with was to be killed.

<sup>163</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 55.

<sup>164</sup> Zail Singh: in *Disappearances in Punjab*, A videotaped documentary by Ram Narayan Kumar and Lorenz Skerjanz, 1995.

b. The Chando-Kalan Looting and the Chowk-Mehta Massacre

On 9 September 1981, Lala Jagat Narain was murdered. Immediately, and without any supporting evidence, Sant Bhindranwale was presumed to be associated with the crime. Warrants for the Sant's arrest were issued on 11 September. The Police tried to arrest him in village Chando-Kalan in Haryana on the 13th but by the time they reached there, the Sant had left. The Police ransacked the village and killed 20 persons in indiscriminate gunfire<sup>165</sup>. They also committed sacrilege by setting fire to two busses containing religious texts<sup>166</sup>. The Sant frequently referred<sup>167</sup> to this wanton arson by the police as sacrilege committed by Darbara Singh, Chief Minister of Punjab at that time.

On learning that there was a warrant for his arrest, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale announced that he would surrender to the police in Chowk-Mehta on 20 September 1981. The mayhem following his arrest, climaxed with police gunfire resulting in death of eighteen innocent Sikhs, is said<sup>168</sup> to have been staged by the Government's intelligence agencies. When Sant Bhindranwale was being taken away, in spite of his personal advice and entreaties by his staff for everybody to stay calm and peaceful, some people became emotional. According to one account<sup>169</sup>, someone tried to grapple with the Senior Superintendent of Police on duty. There are reports that this too was orchestrated to give the police an excuse to open fire. Birbal Nath, the then Director General of Police, is said to have regarded Lala Jagat Narain's murder as his personal loss and along with the other members of the Punjab bureaucracy, wanted a 'good slaughter' of Sikhs at Chowk Mehta. He made plans to storm Chowk Mehta and had a commando unit trained for the purpose of capturing Sant Bhindranwale. Joginder Singh Anand, Deputy Inspector General, later committed suicide presumably<sup>170</sup> because of his remorse at having been associated with this massacre. The Sant's arrest and the massacre that accompanied it led to violent reaction in several places followed by still more oppression. It was much later, after continued demands by the Sikh leadership, that an inquiry was instituted. According to Sant Bhindranwale<sup>171</sup>:

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<sup>165</sup> Chand Joshi: *Bhindranwale, Myth and Reality*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1984, page 89.

<sup>166</sup> Such an act is a well-known form of sacrilege.

<sup>167</sup> For example: Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Interview in January 1983; Speeches on 11 March 1983; 10 June 1983; 16 August 1983; 20 September 1983; 8 March 1984; and 19 April 1984.

<sup>168</sup> Surya Monthly, New Delhi, September 1984.

<sup>169</sup> Personal conversation with a member of the family of the police officer involved.

<sup>170</sup> Letter from Simranjit S. Mann to the Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated 22 January 1984.

<sup>171</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 19 July 1983.

"There was an inquiry into the Mehta affair. Amrik Singh and others were working in connection with that. They were arrested and put in jail. The inquiry was completed but now they are not making it public. This is because according to its findings many big leaders will have to be punished. They are sitting on it."

c. Murder of Hardev Singh and his Associates

On 16 March 1983, the police reported<sup>172</sup> an 'encounter' in which nineteen-year old Hardev Singh, from Sant Bhindranwale's organization, was killed along with some of his associates. Mr. Pandey, Superintendent of Police, claimed that when the jeep was signaled to stop, the miscreants opened fire and managed to escape towards the river Beas. He said that he presumed some persons in the jeep were killed by police gunfire. The Daily Tribune reported its sources as saying that the jeep had been "earlier followed by police vehicles on its emerging from a religious place in the city." The next day, The Tribune reported that police sources did not rule out the possibility of the police having lobbed more than one grenade. It was surmised that Mr. Pandey received pellet wounds in one of these grenade explosions. According to The Tribune<sup>173</sup>, the Central Bureau of Investigation did not agree with the Punjab Government's version of the encounter and decided to shift Mr. Pandey to Delhi to facilitate an independent inquiry. According to Sikh leaders, it was a clear case of murder of innocent unsuspecting Sikhs travelling in the jeep. Tavleen Singh reported<sup>174</sup>: "All the factions that inhabited the Gurdwara at that point were .... convinced that the murder was a government plot devised to find an excuse to enter the Temple complex." Paradoxically, instead of inquiring into the affair and punishing the guilty officials, the Indian Government used this murder by ambush as the basis for canceling the arms licenses of Sant Bhindranwale's associates. The Union Home Ministry<sup>175</sup> "directed the State Government to deal firmly with the extremists and ensure that its orders canceling the arms licenses of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's followers are faithfully and expeditiously carried out." While Sikh leaders were crying 'murder' and praying for the departed souls, extremist Hindu groups were quick to blame the victims and to protest the prayer meetings held in their memory. Instead of noting the absence of due process and seeking justice, leaders of the Bhartiya Janata Party charged the Center and the State Government with 'failure' to deal with 'terrorists' and called for punishment of the mourners.

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<sup>172</sup> The Daily Tribune, Chandigarh, 17 March 1983.

<sup>173</sup> The Daily Tribune, Chandigarh, 25 March 1983.

<sup>174</sup> Tavleen Singh: "Terrorists in the Temple" in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 34.

<sup>175</sup> The Daily Tribune, Chandigarh, 23 March 1983.



#### d. False Charges against Amrik Singh

Amrik Singh and Thara Singh had been detained on false charges since 19 July 1982. One year later, on 21 July 1983, they were acquitted by a court but were kept in judicial custody for another two weeks or so while the police tried to trump up new fictitious charges against them. The plan was to arrest them immediately after their release<sup>176</sup>. The news media, instead of protesting government high-handedness, issued a de facto endorsement of the government policy of arbitrary arrest and detention, by calling the release a lapse on the part of the police. The police official concerned was placed under suspension and relieved of his duties even though he had a history of faithfully torturing and killing Sikh youth and having his own son join the All India Sikh Students Federation in order to collect information for the Government<sup>177</sup>. Amrik Singh was released and the false charges were never pursued. However, this false report, drafted before the victims could have had any opportunity to commit the crime listed, was later presented as evidence before a judge of the High Court<sup>178</sup> and accepted by him as fact.

#### e. Cremation of Sikhs murdered by Police

The Police routinely refused to release the bodies of Sikhs killed by police gunfire, in faked 'encounters', and while in police custody to the families of the victims<sup>179</sup>. Sant Bhindranwale repeatedly mentioned that the bodies of the victims of the 20 September 1981 police gunfire at Chowk-Mehta were not returned to the families nor were their post-mortem examination reports made public. Even after his death, the Police continued this policy of disposing off the bodies as unclaimed<sup>180</sup>, denying families the simple solace of a funeral. Many Sikhs were simply kidnapped and 'disappeared'.

#### f. Encouragement to Hindu Mobs

Mobs, led by extremist Hindu organizations, repeatedly set upon and massacred innocent Sikhs in various cities in Punjab and neighboring states.

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<sup>176</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 16 July 1983.

<sup>177</sup> The Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated 17 September 1984; page 11, paragraph 23 referring to the evidence of Government Witness #5 Surjit Singh Bains.

<sup>178</sup> The Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated 17 September 1984; page 11, paragraph 26 referring to the evidence of Government Witness #11, Sardara Singh who stated that when he brought Amrik Singh and Tara Singh to the District Court on 16 July 1983, they raised slogans 'Khalistan Zindabad', etc.

<sup>179</sup> This was primarily done to obliterate evidence of police brutality. Often, the public explanation given was that this was done to prevent funeral rites for victims becoming gatherings for political protest.

<sup>180</sup> Ram Narayan Kumar and Lorenz Skerjanz: Disappearances in Punjab, A videotape documentary, 1995.

No protection or support was given by the law-enforcement agencies to the victims of this violence. Often, it was the victims of violence who were arrested. The attackers' actions were justified as 'understandable' reaction to Sant Bhindranwale's 'inflammatory' speeches regarding human rights violations. For example, Tully and Jacob report<sup>181</sup>:

"Satish Jacob saw police looking on as Hindu mobs burnt down the *Gurdwara* in Panipat ... Sikhs pulled off busses and forcibly shaved. Eight were clubbed to death."

Any demonstration or other protest organized by the Sikhs against these atrocities was met with extreme violence by the police. Sant Bhindranwale emphasized that at no time in history had any Sikh set fire to Hindu scriptures or a Sikh mob set upon any Hindus.

#### b. Role of the News Media and 'Intellectuals'

In a democratic and free society, one would expect the press and the intelligentsia to be watchful of activities of the administration, to expose excesses against the innocent, and to be on the side of life and liberty. However, in the case of Sikhs, the Indian news media failed to look for facts and enthusiastically participated with the Government in its deliberate campaign of vilification of a deeply respected religious leader, criminalization of an entire Faith through stage-managed criminal acts, and oppression of a religious community based on false accusations of illegal activities. Well-known writers, on the one hand, noted that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was an honest religious man without political ambition against whom no criminal charges could be substantiated and, on the other, went on to blame him for everything echoing government propaganda. They sensationalized baseless Government accusations and official disinformation to inflame passions against devout Sikhs in general and Sant Bhindranwale in particular. They showed extreme insensitivity to the plight of the victims of state oppression and their families and joined in the Government's campaign of character-assassination.

For example, when some Hindus were taken out of bus and massacred, accepting Government allegations as fact, Nayar wrote<sup>182</sup>:

"Until 6 October, the target of Bhindranwale's men were Hindus who were known to be hostile, Nirankaris, police officials or Sikhs who had been 'informers', or who had sided with the Government. But from then on the killings became indiscriminate; six Hindus passengers in a bus

<sup>181</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: *Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 117.

<sup>182</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 76.

were killed near Dhilwan, Ludhiana. They were innocent people who had nothing to do with politics, and this marked a watershed in relations between the Hindus and the Sikhs.”

Even Tavleen Singh who had filed some objective reports, joined in the general chorus of condemnation. She wrote<sup>183</sup>:

“Slowly the venom that was being spewed out every day from the Golden Temple started to get into the very blood of the Punjab and this culminated inevitably and horribly in the killing of six Hindu bus passengers in Dhilwan village, near Jullundur on 5 October 1983. The men were singled out by Sikh terrorists and shot dead for the simple reason that they were Hindu.”

It is important to note Sant Bhindranwale's reaction to this killing of bus passengers. He denied any Sikh involvement and condemned the act outright<sup>184</sup>.

Referring to incidents of hijacking of airplanes, attacks on the Chief Minister, bank robberies, and murders, Khushwant Singh<sup>185</sup> implicitly and incorrectly assumed that Sant Bhindranwale was responsible for them. The Sant's connection with any of them has never been established. For instance, the hijackers of the Indian Airlines plane on 4 August 1982 belonged to Dal Khalsa which, according to Khushwant Singh himself, was a creation of Zail Singh<sup>186</sup>. It has been reported<sup>187</sup> that Talwinder Singh Parmar, a leader of the Babbar Khalsa, paid for five of the tickets purchased by the hijackers. In another hijacking incident, the hijacker, upon landing in Amritsar on 20 August 1982, demanded to see Sant Longowal and Sant Bhindranwale. Sant Longowal sent his representative but Sant Bhindranwale, on being assured that the man did not belong to his organization, refused to oblige. However, he protested the barbaric treatment meted out to the hijackers because they happened to be Sikh but himself had nothing to do with the crimes.

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<sup>183</sup> Tavleen Singh: “Terrorists in the Temple” in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 40.

<sup>184</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speeches on 16 October 1983 and 20 October 1983.

<sup>185</sup> Khushwant Singh: *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, pp. 337-338.

<sup>186</sup> Home Minister (similar to Attorney General in the USA) of India at the time Dal Khalsa was created.

<sup>187</sup> Harjinder Singh Dilgeer: *Sikh Hijacker (Part 1)*, in Punjabi, Guru Nanak Institute of Sikh Studies, Norway, 1989, page 10.

Nayar writes<sup>188</sup>: "The state grew tense; 115 major cases of violence had taken place in two areas since Jagat Narain's murder in September 1981 and 24 innocent people had been killed by the extremists, who came to be known as Bhindranwale's men." He also states<sup>189</sup>: "The reign of terror that began with the Jagat Narain murder did not stop. Innocent people were killed. The targets were mostly Hindus and Nirankaris but many Sikhs who had the courage to speak out against the extremists were also killed." Also<sup>190</sup>: "There were regular reports of someone being killed here and another there and often Bhindranwale's men claimed responsibility for the killings."

This is patently incorrect. In fact most of those killed were Sikhs and the killers were the police. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale had nothing to do with these murders. For some cases, it was men of Dal Khalsa and Babbar Khalsa, groups openly opposing Sant Bhindranwale, who took responsibility most of the time. The news media was eager to blame the Sant but not the persons who claimed responsibility. According to India Today<sup>191</sup>: "Whereas Bhindranwale has publicly disowned each act of the extremists, the Babbar Khalsa openly claim credit for most of these, barring the killing of Hindu bus passengers and that of Atwal." Regarding the Babbar Khalsa, we have Tavleen Singh's<sup>192</sup> report:

"Jathedar Sukhdev Singh, a youth of about 28, who dressed like a Nihang, started requesting journalists to come up and meet him in a small, sunless room in the Akal Rest House. He would talk about how it was really the Babbars who had killed most of the Nirankaris so far and how they would continue to kill them (the toll was already around 40) because they followed the dictate of the Akal Takht and they were only abiding by an edict (*hukumnama*) issued by them."

Babbars are known to have consistently opposed Sant Bhindranwale. According to India Today<sup>193</sup>, their leader Sukhdev Singh said: "We have nothing to do with Bhindranwale who is basically a coward." Sukhdev Singh was instrumental in making false accusations against the Sant<sup>194</sup>.

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<sup>188</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 68.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid*, page 54.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid*, page 75.

<sup>191</sup> India Today, 31 December 1983, page 37.

<sup>192</sup> Tavleen Singh: *Terrorists in the Temple*, in *The Punjab Story*, Edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 43.

<sup>193</sup> India Today, 31 December 1983, page 38.

<sup>194</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 24 May 1984.

Tully and Jacob, without citing any evidence, write<sup>195</sup> about Amrik Singh: "As President of the All-India Sikh Students Federation he was responsible for organizing many of the murders, robberies and attacks on government property." The assumption is that the Federation was a group of criminals. The fact is that the Government arrested Amrik Singh and kept him in detention for a year on trumped up charges despite massive Sikh protest and his release was protested by the Arya Samajist press simply because the Federation was engaged in a program for revival of the Faith among the Sikh youth.

During the protest movement, thousands of Sikhs peacefully courted arrest. In a country that won its freedom by peaceful protest the Government's consistent response was continued beatings and torture of Sikh youth. Instead of raising their voice against such oppression, most intellectuals justified government brutality against innocent people, accused Sant Bhindranwale of encouraging violence when he spoke out against state terrorism and were insensitive to the frightful helplessness of the victims. Nayar, typical of the news media, while conceding that the police killed Sikh youth in faked 'encounters', noted<sup>196</sup>:

"We could not but condemn the extremist elements who were out to defy law and glorify violence. Those who were accused of heinous crimes were honored in their absence in the villages of their birth and in recognition of their 'heroism' their kin were given *saropas*<sup>197</sup>. We were shown in Jalandhar, where we ended our trip, photographs of people who had been charged with murder, rioting and the like being 'honored'. And we were pained to note that even the leaders among the moderate Sikhs were reluctant or afraid to condemn what the extremists had done."

This renowned columnist equates false accusations by an oppressive government with the actual commitment of a crime. He is willing to condone inhuman torture and to condemn the relatives of innocent victims for 'honoring' their dead.

Even instances of oppression against Sant Bhindranwale's men have been described as wily schemes by the Sant to get his own men killed and tortured in order to assist the Government against the Akali leadership! Nayar<sup>198</sup> regarded

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<sup>195</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 93.

<sup>196</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 55.

<sup>197</sup> *Saropas* are robes of honor.

<sup>198</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 56.

Amrik Singh and Thara Singh's arrest in 1982 to be a cunning device concocted between the Government and Sant Bhindranwale. According to him:

"Darbara Singh...sent a message to Bhindranwale to start a *morcha* earlier so as to take the wind out of their<sup>199</sup> sails... To give him reason enough, the Punjab Government arrested two of Bhindranwale's workers on 17th July 1982. And two days later, Amrik Singh, the AISSF President whose father had made Bhindranwale his successor, was taken into custody on the charge of murdering a Nirankari. Yet another close associate of Bhindranwale, Thara Singh, was arrested on July 20. All this provoked Bhindranwale who went from Chowk-Mehta to Guru Nanak Niwas and launched a *morcha* from the Golden Temple, preempting the Akalis."

Incidentally, in suggesting that the arrests were merely an agreed upon device, Nayar accepts that Amrik Singh was innocent of the crimes attributed to him.

The media slavishly served the Government's campaign of slander against the Sant depicting him as a monster of some sort. As typical of this attitude, we quote Sanghvi<sup>200</sup>:

"The rise and death of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale must be one of the most amazing sagas in the history of Indian politics. In 1978, he was an obscure 31-year-old village preacher who toured the Punjab warning youths against shaving their beards or cutting their hair. By 1984, when he was only 37, he had come to represent the single greatest threat to the unity and stability of India since Independence. And nearly two years after the battle in which he lost his life, taking the Akal Takht with him, he remains a martyr in the eyes of many Sikhs. Even today, rare is the Sikh politician who will dare to call him what he was: a fanatic and a murderer."

It is amazing that Sanghvi should paint the Sant as a fanatic and a murderer without any supporting data. He is surprised that Sikhs, directly affected by government oppression and knowing Sant Bhindranwale more closely, honored their extremely popular leader. Most journalists concede<sup>201</sup> that the Sant was easily accessible and that whenever they met him he would describe details of police brutalities against Sikhs. Instead of following up on these complaints and looking for facts, the news media ignored them as wild accusations. Nayar

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199 The Shromani Akali Dal.

200 Vir Sanghvi: *The Giani and Bhindranwale*, Imprint, February 1986.

201 For example: Tavleen Singh, *Terrorists in the Temple*, in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 34.

reports<sup>202</sup>: "Bhindranwale's speech would contain venom; he would pick up some instance of police excess or of 'discrimination' against the Sikhs and say that the Sikhs were not getting their due in India and that they must unite to fight for justice." One wonders how a call for unity against discrimination could be construed as 'venom'?

The news media propagated the myth that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was associated with or in a position to direct and control the activities of groups which claimed credit for violent acts. Tully and Jacob concede<sup>203</sup>: "Bhindranwale never openly associated with the Dal Khalsa. Until his death he maintained that he was a man of religion, not a politician." However, they make a quick turnaround and, following the Indian Government's 'White Paper', say<sup>204</sup>: "Bhindranwale used to preach hatred against India and against Hindus." They also state that "the Dal Khalsa was always known as 'Bhindranwale's party'." Contrary to this, Jeffrey<sup>205</sup>, among others, tells us that the founding of the Dal Khalsa in 1978 was "with the alleged backing of Zail Singh" of Indira Gandhi's Congress party. Tully and Jacob refer to<sup>206</sup> "the Sikh fundamentalist Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who had been spreading violence, hatred and communal poison in Punjab"; and allege that<sup>207</sup> "Bhindranwale went on to appeal to Sikh villagers to organize and support terrorism" despite the fact that the Sant condemned all violence against innocent people. They further state<sup>208</sup>: "Badal and Longowal lacked the courage to stand out against a force they knew was evil. Tohra tried to use it for his own ends." The fact is that in his speeches<sup>209</sup>, Sant Bhindranwale complains that Longowal had terminated his access to the public at the Manji Sahib Diwan Hall and that Tohra did not have the courage to correct Longowal when he denounced and misrepresented Sant Bhindranwale. Again, after Sodhi's<sup>210</sup> murder in April 1984, Sant Bhindranwale asserted that this was done with the connivance of some Akali leaders and wanted Gurcharan Singh, Secretary, Shromani Akali Dal removed from his office. He did not succeed in getting Longowal and others to comply. The 'evil' force depicted as so

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<sup>202</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1985, page 60.

<sup>203</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 60.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid*, page 111.

<sup>205</sup> Robin Jeffery: What's Happening to India, Macmillan, 1986, page 175.

<sup>206</sup> Mark Tully and Satish Jacob: Amritsar, Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle, Rupa, New Delhi, 1985, page 11.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*, page 114.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*, page 218

<sup>209</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Interview dated 22 February 1984, and speeches of 8 March 1984 and after.

<sup>210</sup> Surinder Singh Sodhi was a close associate of Sant Bhindranwale.

dominant in Punjab could not or would not enforce its will even within the confines of Darbar Sahib complex.

Khushwant Singh, a 'moderate' Sikh noted Sant Bhindranwale's success in the Sikh revival but shared the Government's and militant Hindus' dislike for it. Trying to ridicule Sant Bhindranwale, he states<sup>211</sup>: "There was very little learning or piety to this man." Also<sup>212</sup>:

"To Bhindranwale modernity was evil: the Sikhs must return to the simple ways of their warrior forefathers. They must look like them: wear their beards loose and not rolled up and tied under their chins; they must wear long shirts, below knee-length breeches (*kuchhas*) covering their shins. Likewise, Sikh women should not drape themselves in *sarees* which were Hindu, but in *salwar-kameez* (baggy trousers and long shirts) which are Punjabi, nor wear *bindis* (dots) on their foreheads. His newborn Khalsa were to be god-like (*saabat soorat gur Sikh*), while the rest of the world was ungodly-and woe to the ungodly. The newborn Khalsa were the Gurus' storm troopers who would trample their foes under their bare feet like so much vermin. It was a heady brew that Bhindranwale served to simple-minded Sikh peasants."

Sant Bhindranwale did advise people to return to simple ways, shun intoxicants, remember God, follow the Gurus' teachings, and fulfil their role as saint-soldiers. However, contrary to Khushwant Singh's conjectures, he never implied that people of other faiths were ungodly and "woe to them". There was no question of 'reborn Khalsa'. The Khalsa, created by Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, have always believed in the equality of all people and served to defend the helpless and the oppressed of every faith. Sant Bhindranwale did not initiate this concept.

Like many other journalists following the government line in blaming Sant Bhindranwale for all violence, Khushwant Singh states,<sup>213</sup> again without any supporting evidence, that Sant Bhindranwale's "services could be bought by the highest bidder; the Sant became a big time brigand." He reviles<sup>214</sup> the Sant as "the Hindu-baiter", "a martyred hero of lumpen sections of Sikh society" and blithely refers<sup>215</sup> to "lads of the A.I.S.S.F. and nominees of the *Damdami Taksal* reared in the Bhindranwale school of terrorism." He chastises

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<sup>211</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1985, page 13.

<sup>212</sup> Khushwant Singh: *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, page 331-332.

<sup>213</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 23.

<sup>214</sup> Khushwant Singh: *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, page 417.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid*, page 416.



“gangsters who haul innocent, unarmed people from busses and kill them, lob grenades in crowded market places and cinemas.” He presumes that these gangsters were acting upon Sant Bhindranwale's instructions. He is ignoring the fact that Sant Bhindranwale consistently condemned such acts, and the clear evidence that the Government stage-managed several of these to promote hatred against devout Sikhs. He further alleges that Sant Bhindranwale<sup>216</sup>

“well understood that hate was a stronger passion than love: his list of hates was even more clearly and boldly spelt out. On top of the hate-list were apostates<sup>217</sup> (*patits*) who dishonored emblems of the Khalsa by cutting their long hair and beards, smoked, drank liquor or took drugs. However, these *patits* could be redeemed if they agreed to mend their ways and accept baptism. Next on the list were Sant Nirankaris who had gained a sizable following among the Sikhs. They had committed the cardinal sin of recognizing a living human being as their guru when it was an article of Sikh faith that only the holy book, the Granth Sahib, was the ‘living’ embodiment of the ten Gurus. The Sant Nirankaris had also fabricated their own sacred texts, *Yug Purash* and *Avtar Bani*. They were therefore beyond redemption and had to be liquidated. Finally, there were the Hindus-uncomfortably close to the Sikhs, and far too many to be liquidated. The only way of dealing with them was to treat them with contempt as an effeminate, non-martial race and a lesser breed without the law.”

These baseless accusations by Khushwant Singh are completely contrary to fact and to Sant Bhindranwale's speeches and actions. However, they have formed the basis of opinions by many others<sup>218</sup>. We note that his reference<sup>219</sup> to Bhindranwale's discovering “that fomenting hatred between the two communities was the easier method of preserving the Sikhs' separate identity from the Hindus than *amrit prachar*” and the Sant's “adding Hindu-baiting to his other activities” is contrary to his own observations regarding the Sant's success with *amrit prachar*.

Sant Bhindranwale<sup>220</sup> did not advocate hatred, punishment, or any form of violence against the so-called *patits* or others. His opposition of the Sant

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid, page 330-331.

<sup>217</sup> According to the Sikh Rehit Maryada, a person formally initiated into the Sikh faith becomes a *patit* if he/she commits any of the four acts – adultery, cutting bodily hair, eating flesh of an animal killed slowly, and abusing drugs including tobacco.

<sup>218</sup> For example: T.N. Madan, *Modern Myths, Locked Minds*, Oxford University Press, 1997.

<sup>219</sup> Khushwant Singh: *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, page 336.

<sup>220</sup> For example: Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Speech on 8 March 1984, and interview with Surinderjit Singh of Vancouver in January 1983.

Nirankaris was limited to their public show of disrespect towards Siri Guru Granth Sahib, their making parodies of the Sikh scriptures, the Nirankari guru styling himself as *Bajaanwala*<sup>221</sup> in imitation of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, and their use of the names of the Gurus for their servants merely to insult and provoke the Sikhs. Neither prior to nor after the 13 April 1978 incident did Sant Bhindranwale "pronounce damnation" on them. As Khushwant Singh, the Government<sup>222</sup>, and other journalists (e.g. Tavleen Singh<sup>223</sup>) have noted, the Babbar Khalsa, always opposed to Sant Bhindranwale, claimed responsibility for the killing of Nirankaris. Certainly, Sant Bhindranwale deplored the fact that the Government was not interested in prosecuting the Nirankaris who had murdered thirteen Sikhs in cold blood on 13 April 1978, in Amritsar, and at other places later on, and urged upon the Sikhs to unite in resisting such attacks upon their Faith and their persons.

Khushwant Singh also writes<sup>224</sup>:

"Had not the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, proclaimed that one Sikh was equal to a *sava lakh* (125,000) and a *fauj*-a one man army? So spoke Bhindranwale: one Sikh could easily reckon with thirty-five Hindus."

Here the reference to thirty-five Hindus to each Sikh is picked out of context and distorts its implication. It was not at all an exhortation for every Sikh to tackle thirty-five Hindus. Sant Bhindranwale consistently maintained that Hindu-Sikh unity was an article of faith<sup>225</sup>. In the statement quoted by Khushwant Singh, he was simply telling the Sikhs not to be afraid merely because they were only two percent of the population and that there were thirty-five Hindus to every Sikh. He reminded them that at the Tenth Guru's time each Sikh had been asked to be ready to fight *sava lakh*<sup>226</sup>. On several occasions, the Sant used a similar expression in response to a threat by the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, that the Sikhs of Punjab should think about what might happen to Sikhs living in other states. For example, Sant Bhindranwale responded<sup>227</sup>: "*Bibi*<sup>228</sup>, if this is what you think and this is your attitude towards the turban and the beard, we also have counted that they are

221 Master of the hawks: a description reverently used by Sikhs for Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib who kept a white hawk.

222 White Paper on The Punjab Agitation, Government of India, 10 July 1984, page 129.

223 Tavleen Singh: "Terrorists in the Temple" in The Punjab Story, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 43.

224 Khushwant Singh: A History of the Sikhs, Volume 2: 1839-1988, Second Edition, Oxford University Press, Delhi, India, 1991, page 336.

225 For example: Bhindranwale's call for Hindu-Sikh unity, Indian Express, 4 January 1982.

226 *Sava Lakh* is one hundred twenty-five thousand.

227 Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 20 October 1983.

228 *Bibi*, in Punjabi, is a respectful form of reference to a lady.

only twenty to each one of us." He emphasized that this exchange between him and Mrs. Gandhi was entirely rhetorical by adding: "She did not send someone out with a sword, nor did Jarnail Singh send anybody out with a sword."

About one of his visits to Darbar Sahib, Khushwant Singh reports<sup>229</sup>:

"Bhindranwale's short speech was largely addressed to me as I had been hauled out of the congregation to sit on the dais. He towered above me; a steel arrow in one hand, the microphone in the other. Pointing to me he said: "This Sardar Sahib here writes that I spread hatred between Hindus and Sikhs. This is wrong. What I do is to preach the gospel of the Gurus; I do *amrit parchar* and persuade young Sikhs to stop clipping their beards, stop smoking and drinking. If I had my way, I would get hold of all these Sardars who drink *bhisky-shisky* in the evening, pour kerosene oil on them, and set the bloody lot ablaze." This statement was greeted with loud acclamations of *bolely so nihali Sat Sri Akal*. It was ironic that more than half the Sardars sitting on the dais with me, and a sizable proportion of the peasant audience, were hard-drinking men."

We have not been able to locate these comments in any of Sant Bhindranwale's speeches available to us. His speeches indicate that he hardly knew Khushwant Singh. Addressing a Sikh gathering, he said<sup>230</sup>: "There is one Khushwant Singh. I have only seen him perhaps once. He is from Delhi and is close to Indira." His statements<sup>231</sup> regarding consumption of alcohol appear to completely contradict Khushwant Singh. He never held out any punishment for persons like Khushwant Singh. His appeal was only for the *amritdharis* - those who had been formally initiated into the Faith. It did not apply to the others. His disapproval was limited to hypocritical Sikh preachers who themselves violated the *Sikh Rehit Maryada*. Sant Bhindranwale's use of the words "pouring kerosene and setting them on fire" is merely a common Punjabi idiom equivalent to "chewing someone out" in colloquial English. In Punjab villages, mothers would often use this phrase while scolding their children.

Sant Bhindranwale's call to Sikhs to keep weapons as required by their Faith was misrepresented by the press as preparations for killing Hindus. The Sant, commenting on this, said<sup>232</sup>: "I had given a statement that in every village there should be a motorcycle and three young men with three revolvers of high quality. Opposition newspapers, the *Mahasha Press*, have published this

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<sup>229</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 27.

<sup>230</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 13 April 1984.

<sup>231</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Interview with Mr. Surinderjit Singh Bains, January 1983.

<sup>232</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 20 August 1983.

news: 'Bhindranwala says, get these and kill Hindus.' Have you ever heard me say that?"

American correspondents, fed erroneous information, generally went along with their Indian counterparts. Reasoner said <sup>233</sup> of Sant Bhindranwale: "He hated the successful urban Sikhs who trim their beards and wear two-piece suits. The poor and the illiterate loved him, brought him what rupees they could spare. He spoke openly of the deaths and violence his followers had caused. These were not murders, he said, but justice. And, if necessary, the Sikhs would set up their own state and, the government feared, start the disintegration of India as a federal nation." Sant Bhindranwale's admirers included numerous Sikhs who wore 'two-piece suits' and he did not advocate the disintegration of India. In fact he said: "How can a nation which has sacrificed so much for the freedom of the country want it fragmented."<sup>234</sup> It is extremely unfortunate that, instead of investigating Sant Bhindranwale's complaints that innocent Sikhs were being tortured and killed, newsmen regarded him and the victims he referred to as convicted criminals.

Even after Sant Bhindranwale's death, the press has continued to work hand-in-glove with the Government. When some Punjabi newspapers published information concerning the deaths of Sikh young men, most of whom died while in police custody or in 'fake' encounters, the Punjab Government approached the Press Council of India to enlist its co-operation against its own members, the Punjabi newspapers. The Council, assuming that the official view of the situation in Punjab was the correct one, dutifully ignored the protestations of its members and recommended that the Government set up proper arrangements to provide authentic information to the press<sup>235</sup>. The Government not only continuously harassed newspapers like the daily *Ajit*, the *Akali Patrika*, and *Charhdi Kala* but also regularly fed disinformation to the newsmedia. A *Times of India* article<sup>236</sup> revealed:

"Often and unwittingly .... journalists fall prey to the government disinformation which suavely manages to plant stories .... The confusion gets compounded when government agencies also resort to feeding disinformation on letterheads of militant organizations since there is no way of confirming or seeking clarifications on press notes supposedly issued by militants who are underground and remain inaccessible most of the time."

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<sup>233</sup> Harry Reasoner, in 60 minutes, CBS News, June 1984. The quote is from the transcript provided by CBS News.

<sup>234</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 11 May 1983.

<sup>235</sup> The Press Council of India, *Crisis and Credibility*, Lancer International, New Delhi, 1991.

<sup>236</sup> Dinesh Kumar: 'Dispatches from the Edge', *The Times of India*, New Delhi, 11 August 1991.

The writer went on to report:

“A group of journalists, including myself, had called on the former governor to lodge a protest against the registration of a case against the Times of India and the Punjabi daily Ajit, last January. After hastily apologising and promising to withdraw the case ‘shortly’ (that the case was ultimately never withdrawn is a different story), the governor had sought the journalists’ co-operation in tackling the militants. “Don’t publish press notes that preach violence against an individual, an organisation, etc. but you are free to publish their press notes that encourage inter-gang rivalry,” he said, adding: “We have drawn up a plan for disinformation to be issued on the militants’ letterheads. We hope that you will co-operate”.”

Hindu leaders were content to go along with the Government or indeed to demand more strict action against the Sant. They paid no heed to the Sant's complaints of violation of human rights in Punjab. Typical of this attitude was a statement by Gujral<sup>237</sup> who said, in the course of an eloquent speech, that the Sikh struggle had been peaceful but was taken over by violent elements. This writer asked him<sup>238</sup> if he was referring to Sant Bhindranwale as the ‘violent elements’. He agreed. This writer reminded him that Sant Bhindranwale, in one of his speeches, had mentioned that over 140 persons had been killed and another one thousand crippled in police torture up to that date and that the Sikhs had tried persuasion with the police, legal action in the courts and appeals to the national leaders and the press but that nobody had made any effort to stop the torture and the killings in custody, and that the Sant had then gone on to ask the public as to how long the Sikhs should continue to quietly suffer without defending themselves. This writer asked Gujral as to whether, in his opinion or according to his information, Sant Bhindranwale was lying and if not, what did leaders like him do about the killings and torture by the police and what should the Sant have done in the face of this oppression? Gujral replied that he had never thought about the problem from that point of view.

### c. Role of the Akali Leadership

The Akali leadership was uncomfortable with Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale’s increasing popularity among the rural masses of Punjab. In spite of his repeated declarations that he would never seek or accept public

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<sup>237</sup> I.K. Gujral: Speech at an international conference held at University of California, Los Angeles, 24-25 October 1987 on ‘Punjab Crisis: Possible Paths to Resolution’. Proceedings of the conference were not published. The report here is based upon the author’s notes taken at the conference. Gujral, a prominent Punjabi political figure, later served as Prime Minister of India.

<sup>238</sup> Personal conversation with I.K. Gujral during the international conference held at University of California, Los Angeles, 24-25 October 1987.

office they felt power slipping away from them. They wanted to neutralize the Sant so that he would not publicly remind them of their solemn vows. In order to discredit him, the Akalis resumed their propaganda that at heart Sant Bhindranwale was a congressite<sup>239</sup>, an agent of the Government, and that he deliberately advocated a violent response to police brutality in order to provide the Government with an excuse to label the Sikhs as separatists and militants. The Sant was angry<sup>240</sup> about this misrepresentation. However, the campaign of vilification continued. The Sant mentions that on 1 February 1984, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal stated<sup>241</sup> that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale had suggested to him that motor cycles and arms should be purchased on a mass scale for killing members of a particular community. In the end Longowal even accused him of embezzlement<sup>242</sup>. These allegations were vehemently denied and never supported by facts. Sant Bhindranwale was very upset at these accusations and innuendoes<sup>243</sup>.

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<sup>239</sup> Member of the ruling Congress party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>240</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 1 February 1984; also speeches on 8 March 1984; 1 April and 19 April 1984; and 24 May 1984.

<sup>241</sup> The Daily Tribune, Chandigarh, 2 February 1984; newsitem titled "Longowal Admits Rift With Sant."

<sup>242</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 19 April 1984.

<sup>243</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 24 May 1984.

## ALLEGATIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In justifying its attack on Sikh places of worship, the Indian Government declared<sup>244</sup>: "Bhindranwale and others operating directly from the Golden Temple complex began to extol and instigate violence". The army action was described as<sup>245</sup> "operations taken to remove terrorists, criminals and their weapons from sacred places of worship". Indira Gandhi, in her broadcast to the nation on 2 June 1984, described the leaders of the Sikh struggle as<sup>246</sup> "a group of fanatics and terrorists whose instruments for achieving whatsoever they may have in view are murder, arson and loot". The Indian Government's 'White Paper' charged<sup>247</sup> that "the tactics employed by the secessionist and terrorist groups were: systematic campaign to create bitterness and hatred between Sikhs and Hindus; indoctrination in the ideology of separatism in militant terms behind the facade of *gurmat*<sup>248</sup> camps; training in the use of modern weaponry; use of terrorism against specific targets in the police and the administration of Punjab; preparation of 'hit lists' of those who disagreed and organizing their murder; random killing of persons of a particular community aimed at creating terror and instigating communal violence; stockpiling of arms and ammunition in places of worship; utilization of smugglers and anti-social elements for procuring supplies of arms, ammunition and for looting banks, jewelry shops and individual homes; and obtain covert and overt support from external sources." The evidence runs contrary to each of these allegations.

### a. Initiation of Violence

Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale repeatedly declared<sup>249</sup> that he would never initiate a dispute or a confrontation. Tavleen Singh<sup>250</sup> reports:

"Contrary to the popular belief that he took the offensive, senior police sources in the Punjab admit that the provocation came in fact from a Nirankari official who started harassing Bhindranwale and his men. There were two or three Nirankaris in key positions in the Punjab in those days and they were powerful enough to be able to create quite a lot of trouble. The Nirankaris also received patronage from Delhi that made

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<sup>244</sup> White Paper on The Punjab Agitation, Government of India, 10 July 1984, page 26.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid*, page 4.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*, page 105.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid*, page 2.

<sup>248</sup> Camps for religious instruction.

<sup>249</sup> For example: Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Speech on 18 May 1983; and Harry Reasoner's report on CBS News 60 minutes.

<sup>250</sup> Tavleen Singh: *Terrorists in the Temple*, in The Punjab Story, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 32.

Sikh organizations like Bhindranwale's and the Akhand Kirtani Jatha, headed then by Bibi Amarjit Kaur's husband, Fauja Singh, hate them even more."

Khushwant Singh<sup>251</sup> tells us:

"Terrorist activity preceded the *morcha*<sup>252</sup> by more than six months and was born out of encounters faked by the Punjab police and the armed conflict between the Nirankaris and Sant Bhindranwale beginning April 13, 1978."

Harry Reasoner of CBS News met Sant Bhindranwale in May 1984. About his conversation with the Sant, he reported<sup>253</sup>: "A Sikh is never an oppressor but only defends himself and his people. I have never, he said, initiated any attack with my tongue or my pen or with my sword. I only answer back or retaliate, he said, to actions initiated by the enemies of the Sikhs."

Consistent with his view that a Sikh should never initiate a conflict but must respond<sup>254</sup> to unprovoked oppression, Sant Bhindranwale advocated that if the Government were to attack Darbar Sahib, Sikhs must resist. He advised Sikhs to procure weapons and be ready for a general uprising in case of an attack on gurdwaras. It is well known that even when the Indian army fired upon Sikhs in Darbar Sahib complex killing several in the days preceding the general attack in June 1984, those inside the complex did not respond. Sant Bhindranwale's instructions were that so long as the army was outside the complex, they would not fire back. They were to fight only if the surrounding army physically entered the complex. The Sikh reaction to oppression must be totally defensive.

#### **b. Attacks on 'Conscientious' Police Officials**

As oppression against devout Sikhs escalated during 1982 and 1983, Sikhs from villages flocked to Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale seeking redress. At first he felt that there were some unscrupulous police officials who were responsible for the spate of arbitrary arrests followed generally by brutal torture and often resulting in death in police custody. He sought redress from higher authorities in the administration and from courts. Senior police officials

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<sup>251</sup> Khushwant Singh: *The Brink of the Abyss*, in Punjab, *The Fatal Miscalculation*, Edited by Patwant Singh and Harji Malik, Patwant Singh, New Delhi, 1985, page 130.

<sup>252</sup> *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign: here it refers to the peaceful protest movement started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>253</sup> Harry Reasoner, CBS News 60 minutes, 10 June 1984. The quote is from the transcript provided by CBS News.

<sup>254</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 31 December 1983.



listened to him, assured him of fairness but took no action. Referring to the assurances given by the Inspector General of Police<sup>255</sup> in the case of Harbhajan Singh and Harpreet Singh, Sant Bhindranwale commented<sup>256</sup>:

“Deviously, they keep telling the President<sup>257</sup> on the phone that the boys have not committed any offense. If they are innocent then why are they kept there, for fun? How long are we going to suffer this oppression?”

The news media and the political leadership would not believe his charges of police brutality. The administration, instead of punishing the guilty policemen, rewarded them with promotions. He found that the courts were powerless in enforcing their decisions<sup>258</sup>. Frustrated in his attempts to get the Government to inquire into incidents of police excesses and to punish the guilty officials, the courts to provide protection, and the press and the public at large to call for an investigation and redress, he told his audience in March 1983:

“*Khalsa Ji*, one gets justice out of inquiries when there is room for legal representation, argument, and appeal. Here [under the Indian Government] it is outright injustice. They have decided to annihilate the Sikhs, to insult their turban, and to destroy their Faith. Under this situation, why do you need to use a lawyer and appeal?”

He publicly identified<sup>259</sup> some of the most notorious culprits in the police force. Some of these officials were eventually killed, possibly by surviving relatives of their victims. The Government and the news media immediately held Sant Bhindranwale responsible for “death of conscientious police officers” without any evidence that he was connected with these incidents in any direct manner. For example, he protested that he had nothing to do with Atwal's murder in April 1983. However, most writers continue to blame him for it. There is a feeling<sup>260</sup> that the Government itself had Atwal killed. Later on, faced with continuing torture and brutality, Sant Bhindranwale declared that he would provide shelter to anyone who would punish the police officials guilty of torturing to death people they knew to be innocent.

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<sup>255</sup> The highest ranking police official in the state.

<sup>256</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 27 February 1983.

<sup>257</sup> President, Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>258</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 1 March 1983.

<sup>259</sup> For example: Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Speech on 27 February 1983.

<sup>260</sup> Personal conversations with some members of Atwal's family and other individuals. Atwal was a senior Sikh police officer on duty in Chowk-Mehta at the time of the 20 September 1981 massacre of Sikhs and was supervising the investigation into the murder of nineteen year old Hardev Singh and his associates by the police in March 1983.

### c. Keeping 'Hit-Lists'

The Indian Government and its supporters claimed that Sant Bhindranwale kept "hit lists of those who disagreed with him and organize their murder." Amarjit Kaur refers<sup>261</sup> to "the barbaric acts, duly sanctioned by the author of the 'hit-lists' living in the safety of Akal Takht." Noting this propaganda, Sant Bhindranwale said<sup>262</sup>:

"If, from this stage, I say something naming someone they say: "Bhindranwala has given out the name of such person, now this name has come on the list." This kind of gossip goes on."

Also<sup>263</sup>:

"It is said that I have already made a list. I haven't made any so far but the way these people are forcing us, it is quite possible that the youth may have to start such a list. I have not made any."

Khushwant Singh claims<sup>264</sup>: "I was on Bhindranwale's hit list for the many unkind things I had written about him in my columns and said over the BBC." The fact is that Sant Bhindranwale hardly knew him. He got upset on learning that Indira Gandhi had accused him of keeping 'hit lists' and said<sup>265</sup>:

"I have challenged her and given a warning. Upon my life and upon my breath, let her prove where did I get the paper for that hit list, where did I get the pen, and the ink and the inkpot. She should get the C.B.I.<sup>266</sup> to check this out. If she proves that I have signed any paper; that I have signed for the purpose of any body's being killed; standing here in the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>267</sup>, I declare that I shall cut off my head and place it before the congregation."

Though many journalists bought the official line and kept harping on it there never was such a list.

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<sup>261</sup> Amarjit Kaur: *The Akali Dal, the Enemy Within*, in *The Punjab Story*, edited by Amarjit Kaur et al., Roli Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 24.

<sup>262</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 11 May 1983.

<sup>263</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 19 July 1983.

<sup>264</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 10.

<sup>265</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 16 October 1983.

<sup>266</sup> Central Bureau of Investigations of the Government of India.

<sup>267</sup> Respectful form of reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

#### d. Hating and Killing Hindus and Others

The Government blamed<sup>268</sup> Sant Bhindranwale for "advocating the killing of Hindus in Punjab so as to set in motion a general exodus", "random killing of persons belonging to a particular community aimed at creating terror" and for "carrying on a systematic campaign to create bitterness and hatred between Sikhs and Hindus". As noted earlier, prominent intellectuals and the news media went along with the official line.

Sant Bhindranwale emphasized the uniqueness of the Sikh faith being founded upon its set of beliefs and practices, not upon hatred of any religion. He advised<sup>269</sup> everyone to be true in their own faith. The Sant did not consider Hindus to be 'close' to the Sikhs in their beliefs and practices. However, emphasizing the catholicity of the Sikh faith, he pointed out that Siri Guru Granth Sahib includes verses composed by some Hindu saints. Addressing the Hindus, he said<sup>270</sup>:

"Who was Jaidev? Wasn't he a Hindu from amongst you? He was a Brahmin. Jaidev is sitting here in Guru Granth Sahib. If a son of a Sikh has made obeisance here he has done so at the feet of Jaidev, the Brahmin."

Sant Bhindranwale did note that even though Sikhs had defended the Hindus' right to free worship, Hindus were ungrateful<sup>271</sup>.

Nayar states<sup>272</sup>: "Bhindranwale asked Longowal to give a call to the Sikh masses to purchase motorcycles and revolvers to kill Hindus in Punjab." This accusation was based upon a public statement by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and was part of the Akali campaign to defame Sant Bhindranwale. Sant Bhindranwale took Longowal to task<sup>273</sup> for attributing to him something that he could never even dream of, namely, killing members of a certain community. He explained in one of his speeches attended by many Hindus<sup>274</sup>, and on many other occasions, that he had no hatred for Hindus and quoted instances of his going out of the way to help some members of that community<sup>275</sup>. He explained that he did not support killing of innocent

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<sup>268</sup> White Paper on The Punjab Agitation, Government of India, 10 July 1984, pages 2, 33.

<sup>269</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 13 April 1984.

<sup>270</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech in early 1982 in Karnal.

<sup>271</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 4 July 1983.

<sup>272</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: Tragedy of Punjab, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, page 79.

<sup>273</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 19 April 1984.

<sup>274</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech in early 1982 in Karnal.

<sup>275</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 20 September 1983.

people or destruction of temples. Sikhs have been building temples for Hindus and not destroying them<sup>276</sup>, he said. Sant Bhindranwale emphasized the need to stay peaceful and to avoid confrontation but warned<sup>277</sup>:

“If the Hindus also get into the Government's boat and start to dishonor<sup>278</sup> the daughters and sisters of the Sikhs and to take off the Sikhs' turbans, then, in order to save our turban, we shall take what steps the *Khalsa*<sup>279</sup>, following the path shown by Guru Gobind Singh Ji, has always taken in the past. We might have to adopt those methods, but we shall do so only when we are forced. We shall not resort to those methods on our own. We have to be peaceful.”

#### e. Hiding from the Law

India Today reported<sup>280</sup> in December 1983 that a senior officer in Chandigarh confessed: “It's really shocking that we have so little against him while we keep blaming him for all sorts of things.” The fact is that when the Government was in the process of training army units in the planned invasion of Darbar Sahib, the only charges against Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale were that his speeches were ‘objectionable’.

There were demands for Sant Bhindranwale's arrest after Baba Gurbachan Singh<sup>281</sup> was murdered in April 1980. Sanghvi reports<sup>282</sup> the supporters of Zail Singh, then Home Minister of India, as saying “whatever Bhindranwale's involvement, the Government had no concrete evidence and the ministry thought it inadvisable to arrest him on a flimsy case only to have him acquitted and transformed into a hero.”

Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale had apparently not committed any serious violation of the law and, accordingly, had no need to ‘hide’. But, speculates Khushwant Singh<sup>283</sup>: “When Bhindranwale sensed that the Government had at long last decided to arrest him, he first took shelter in the Golden Temple, then occupied and fortified portions of the Akal Takht.” Why, one might ask this famous columnist, would Sant Bhindranwale present himself, along with over fifty of his supporters, at the Deputy Commissioner's

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<sup>276</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 16 October 1983.

<sup>277</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 18 May 1983.

<sup>278</sup> In Punjabi the word dishonor is used to describe rape.

<sup>279</sup> *Khalsa* here is used for the *Panth*, i.e., the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs.

<sup>280</sup> India Today, 31 December 1983, page 36.

<sup>281</sup> Leader of the Sant Nirankaris.

<sup>282</sup> Vir Sanghvi: *The Giani and Bhindranwale*, Imprint, February 1986.

<sup>283</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1985, page 10.

residence on the day he moved to the Darbar Sahib complex, if his purpose in moving there was to hide from the law? Gurdev Singh, District Magistrate at Amritsar until shortly before the invasion is on record<sup>284</sup> as having assured the Governor of the state that he could arrest anyone in Darbar Sahib at any time.

Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was not in hiding. No court of law had asked for his personal appearance for any crime. He lived in a place of worship open twenty-four hours a day. As Harry Reasoner of CBS News reported<sup>285</sup>: "Anyone willing to put on a hat, take off his shoes and socks and leave his cigarettes outside, anyone could go in, as we did." Why would the Sant hide from the law? Was he wanted by the 'lawless' police and an oppressive government so that he could be killed, as many other Sikhs had been, in order to silence the voice of protest<sup>286</sup> and to check the revival of the Sikh faith which he led?

There were people who felt offended by Sant Bhindranwale's views and wanted him silenced. They noted his innocence but stubbornly refused to accept it. Commenting on Sant Bhindranwale, Shourie conceded<sup>287</sup>: "For all I know, he is completely innocent and is genuinely and exclusively dedicated to the teachings of the Gurus." However, he went on to state in the same paragraph: "It is not Bhindranwale who triggers reflex actions in the tension that precedes a riot, it is this apprehension and fear that he has invoked." Why were these people frightened and so apprehensive if he had committed no crime? Evidently, it was a self-imposed dread of the revival of the Sikh faith and the popularity of the Sant.

#### f. Advocating Political Separatism

The Government blamed Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale for "indoctrinating an ideology of separatism in militant terms behind the facade of *gurmat* camps". A government note alleged<sup>288</sup>: "The obvious direction and thrust of the movement was towards an independent Khalistan-fully supported by neighboring and foreign powers. The terrorists led by Bhindranwale were perhaps only cogs in the wheel. If the army action had not been resolute and determined, the movement would have moved towards full scale insurgency

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<sup>284</sup> Gurdev Singh: Letter addressed to I.K. Gujral, dated 26 January 1996, published in *Abstract of Sikh Studies*, Chandigarh, October-December 1996, pp. 106-111.

<sup>285</sup> Harry Reasoner, CBS News 60 minutes, 10 June 1984. The quote is from the transcript provided by CBS News.

<sup>286</sup> Bharpur Singh Balbir: Speech at the annual meeting of the All India Sikh Students Federation, September 22, 1983.

<sup>287</sup> Arun Shourie: *The consequences of pandering*, Indian Express, May 13, 1982.

<sup>288</sup> M.M.K. Wali: *The Army Action at Golden Temple*, Note dated 13 June 1984, in *The Fatal Miscalculation* edited by Patwant Singh and Harji Malik, page 147.

which would have crippled the armed forces in any future confrontation across the borders." Many Hindu writers joined in this chorus of these were wild and baseless accusations. According to Surendra Chopra<sup>289</sup>: "It is argued that all this would end when shackles of slavery are broken. Bhindranwale never elaborated what he meant by this. An obvious connotation is the achievement of sovereign state." Nayar claims<sup>290</sup> that Sant Bhindranwale said "the next stage was to have a separate homeland, and for that the Sikhs must be ready to fight." There is no corroboration available for these views. In fact, the Sant repeatedly declared that he had no interest in political matters and had not raised the slogan of Khalistan<sup>291</sup>. The *gurmat* camps were not organized by Sant Bhindranwale and the only ones he spoke to were those held within the Darbar Sahib complex. Claiming his assertion that the Sikh religion had an identity of its own and is not a sect within Hinduism implies political separatism and the demand for an independent state is illogical mischievous propaganda by the Government and extremist Hindus.

Sant Bhindranwale was repeatedly questioned by reporters regarding the demand for an independent state for Sikhs. A few of his responses are:

"I don't oppose it nor do I support it. We are silent. However, one thing is definite that if this time the Queen of India<sup>292</sup> does give it to us, we shall certainly take it. We won't reject it. We shall not repeat the mistake of 1947. As yet, we do not ask for it. It is Indira Gandhi's business and not mine, nor Longowal's, nor of any other of our leaders. It is Indira's business. Indira should tell us whether she wants to keep us in Hindostan or not. We like to live together, we like to live in India."<sup>293</sup>

And,

"How can a nation which has sacrificed so much for the freedom of the country want it fragmented but I shall definitely say that we are not in favor of Khalistan nor are we against it."<sup>294</sup>

And,

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<sup>289</sup> Surendra Chopra: Ethnicity, Revivalism and Politics in Punjab, in *Political Dynamics and Crisis in Punjab*, edited by Paul Brass and Surendra Chopra, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1988, page 472.

<sup>290</sup> Kuldip Nayar and Khushwant Singh: *Tragedy of Punjab*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1984, pages 71-72.

<sup>291</sup> For example: *Bhindranwale pleads for IA hijackers*, Indian Express, 5 January 1982.

<sup>292</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>293</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 27 March 1983.

<sup>294</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 11 May 1983.

"I have given my opinion that we do not oppose Khalistan nor do we support it. We are quiet on the subject. This is our decision. We wish to live in Hindostan but as equal citizens, not as slaves. We are not going to live stuck under the *chappals*<sup>295</sup>. We have to live in freedom and with the support of *Kalghidhar*<sup>296</sup>. We wish to live in Hindostan itself. It is the Central Government's business to decide whether it wants to keep the turbaned people with it or not. We want to stay."<sup>297</sup>

There were persons, some of them even close to Sant Bhindranwale<sup>298</sup>, who supported an independent state but he himself was not one of them. Sant Longowal is said to have confirmed that, as late as 5 June 1984<sup>299</sup>, Sant Bhindranwale refused to declare his support for an independent state. He did, however, declare that if the Indian Government invaded the Darbar Sahib complex, foundation for an independent Sikh state will have been laid. This was to emphasize that the invasion would unalterably confirm the Government's designs against the Sikhs. The Khalistan bogey was apparently a creation of the Indian Government and the extremist factions among the Punjabi Hindus.

#### g. Getting Support from External Sources

Did Sant Bhindranwale "receive covert support from external sources"? Raising the specter of 'the foreign hand' was Indira Gandhi's favorite ploy and it was eagerly accepted by the Indian public which is always suspicious of 'colonial powers'. The accusation was obviously added to other innuendoes against Sant Bhindranwale in order to mobilize public opinion. Responding to an accusation by Indira Gandhi, Sant Bhindranwale challenged her to provide proof<sup>300</sup>. Regarding receiving funds from Sikhs living outside India, he told the prospective donors<sup>301</sup>:

"The foremost way of helping the martyrs is that if the congregations in foreign countries collect some money, bring it yourselves..... The second alternative, if you cannot adopt the first, is that I can give you the

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<sup>295</sup> *Chappals* are sandals. Here Sant Bhindranwale is referring to slavery as living under Indira Gandhi's sandals, i.e., as slaves under the Indian Government.

<sup>296</sup> *Kalghidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>297</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 19 July 1983.

<sup>298</sup> For example: Harminder Singh Sandhu, interview with Harry Reasoner of CBS News 60 Minutes, May 1984.

<sup>299</sup> The day of the Indian army invasion of the Darbar Sahib complex.

<sup>300</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 23 May 1983.

<sup>301</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Interview dated 22 February 1984 with a family visiting from Canada.

addresses of all the martyrs. You can take these and directly send help to the martyrs, not through intermediaries. The third alternative is that if you can trust the *Jatha* and you voluntarily wish to send the moneys to the *Jatha* - I do not ask you for any money - you may send it. I do not ask for it.”

There was nothing underhanded or secretive about this at all. Sant Bhindranwale was a preacher and there was no support for this activity from any foreign government. To Sikhs settled abroad, his advice was to help the families of victims of torture and extra-judicial killings by the police. His enemies interpreted, and continue to do so, this assistance to the victims of government brutality as support of terrorism.

#### **h. Procuring Weapons for Looting Banks, Jewelry Shops and Individual Homes**

Keeping weapons is part of the Sikh faith and has been for centuries. The ideal lifestyle for a Sikh is that of a ‘saint-soldier’. Sant Bhindranwale often reminded the Sikhs that, in line with the principles of their Faith, they should possess and carry arms and quoted Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's instructions<sup>302</sup>. He explained<sup>303</sup> that a Sikh does not keep weapons for offense, for hurting others, or for personal gain. He reminded Sikhs that the use of weapons is very well circumscribed in their Faith; they are only for defense against oppression. He compared the Sikh concept of keeping weapons with a nation's maintaining its defense forces in a state of preparedness. He quoted from Siri Guru Granth Sahib:

ਜਬ ਘਰ ਮੰਦਰਿ ਆਗਿ ਲਗਾਨੀ ਕਢਿ ਕ੍ਰਪੁ ਕਢੈ ਪਨਿਹਾਰੇ ॥੪॥

‘When the house is on fire, he [one who did not use his time to prepare for the possibility] goes to dig a well to get water.’ He told the Sikhs that, following Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's teachings, they were never to seek conflict or confrontation but, when all other means of redress fail, it is right to use weapons to defensively fight oppression. Explaining the Sikh attitude towards possession of arms, Sant Bhindranwale expressly reminded his listeners<sup>304</sup> that being armed, there is no greater sin for a Sikh than attacking an unarmed person, killing an innocent person, looting a shop, harming the innocent, or wishing to insult anyone's daughter or sister. Also, being armed, there is no sin greater than not seeking justice. This teaching, basic to the Sikh faith, was

<sup>302</sup> For example: Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, Speech on 27 March 1983.

<sup>303</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 14 May 1983.

<sup>304</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech on 20 October 1983.



described by many Hindus as 'cult of violence'. Sinha et al. wrote<sup>305</sup>: "Bhindranwale wanted to revive an older tradition of armed fight which went several centuries back, and originated in some of the Gurus themselves. This went very well with the archaic outfit of the revivalist movement. It also filled its adherents with the irrational zeal."

After the British occupied Punjab in 1849, Sikhs were completely disarmed. In 1914, the Government agreed that any Sikh could keep a *kirpaan* as part of practice of his/her Faith. However, for firearms, one had to obtain a license from the local authorities. This practice has continued after India's freedom from British rule. The Indian Government as well as the press have harped on the circumstance that Sant Bhindranwale, on his travels in the country, was often accompanied by an armed retinue. It is not at all uncommon for important persons in India to have armed escorts. All the weapons carried by Sant Bhindranwale and his men were, at one time, duly licensed and he was not breaking any laws. There have been no reports of any of Sant Bhindranwale's escort hurting anyone. On the other hand, the press never protested the fact that the Nirankari Baba traveled with armed men with him and that, in Amritsar on 13 April 1978, they fired upon an unarmed group of about one hundred Sikh protestors killing thirteen and injuring another seventy-eight. The 'White Paper' referred to the subsequent Sikh protest as<sup>306</sup> "dogmatism and extremism". The Indian Government's solution to the problem was to disarm the victims, instead of protecting them. In 1981, responding to the clamor of the extremist Hindu Press in Punjab, the licenses issued to Sant Bhindranwale and his men were ordered canceled. In March 1983, after Hardev Singh's murder by the police, the Home Ministry asked the State Government to seize all firearms in the possession of the Sant and his men. When the Sikhs launched a struggle in August 1982, the Government response to peaceful protest consisted of beatings, brutal torture, and killing in fake encounters of Sikh youth, in particular of those belonging to Sant Bhindranwale's group. Sant Bhindranwale placed<sup>307</sup> the number of persons so killed at 113 in February 1983, about 140 in July 1983 and about 200 later that year. Over two thousand were said to have returned from police stations as cripples. It was under these circumstances that Sant Bhindranwale asked his men to defy the order to deposit their weapons so that, if need arose, they could defend themselves against the Nirankaris<sup>308</sup> and others who might be bent upon mischief. When it became obvious that arrest by the police, generally on fabricated charges or no

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<sup>305</sup> Sachchidanand Sinha, Jasvir Singh, Sunil, G.K.C. Reddy: Army Action in Punjab: Prelude and Aftermath, Samta Era, Delhi, 1984, page 32.

<sup>306</sup> White Paper on The Punjab Agitation, Government of India, 10 July 1984, pages 23,26,27,33.

<sup>307</sup> Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: Speech in May 1983, speeches on 16 August 1983, 20 September 1983, and 8 March 1984, and the interview on 22 February 1984

<sup>308</sup> Interview with Om Chawla, India Today, July 1-15, 1981, page 77.

charges at all, meant certain torture and death, Sant Bhindranwale advised Sikhs to first try to explain their innocence but if that did not work, to resist.

Much has been made of the Darbar Sahib complex having been turned into an arsenal and a fort by Sant Bhindranwale. Since 1982, extremist Hindu factions had demanded that the Government forces should enter the Darbar Sahib complex and arrest Sant Bhindranwale. All the Sikh leaders, including Sant Bhindranwale, had made it clear that if the Government invaded this center of the Sikh faith, they would resist with whatever means they could muster. The Government is alleged to have arranged for weapons to be smuggled into Darbar Sahib. This influx of weapons was apparently planned to heighten the scale of the conflict in order to justify the killing of as large a number of Sikhs as possible without arousing a national protest against the genocide and to ensure that after the invasion was complete, these could be shown as having been recovered from the so-called 'rebels'. Noorani reports<sup>309</sup>:

"Prem Kumar reported in *The Statesman* of July 4: 'The arrival of light machine-guns and sophisticated self-loading rifles had been taken notice of by various agencies. The information received was so detailed that even the make and the country of origin of the weapons was known...The authorities had some idea of the source of these weapons, mainly smuggled from Pakistan and obtained through thefts and robberies and leakage from Indian Ordnance units... Many may be surprised over the fact that the Central and the State Governments used to receive almost hourly reports of monthly meetings of Akali leaders even when only five or six of the top leaders attended these meetings in the Temple complex. When Sant Bhindranwale discussed his plans with only one or two close confidantes, the information reached the authorities. It is understood that the Government got information about Sant Bhindranwale even when he was confined to the Akal Takht and till as late as June 6.' As P.S. Bhinder, former IGP<sup>310</sup>, told Neerja Chowdhury and Shahnaz Anklesaria of that paper, shortly before he quit, 'Intelligence information reached the places it should have. It was a political failure.' A.S. Pooni, Home Secretary of Punjab, also confirmed that 'the Government had a fair idea of the kind of weapons inside the Golden Temple'.... How did they reach there? In *Kar-seva*<sup>311</sup> trucks carrying food and construction material. 'They were not intercepted because there were oral instructions "from the top" until two months ago not to check any of the *Kar-seva* trucks', Bhinder told the two correspondents."

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<sup>309</sup> A.G. Noorani in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 22 July 1984 reported in *Punjab-The Fatal Miscalculation* by Patwant Singh and Harji Malik, page 149.

<sup>310</sup> Inspector General of Police, the highest police officer in the state at that time.

<sup>311</sup> *Kar Seva* is voluntary labor at gurdwaras.

It is clear that the Darbar Sahib complex was deliberately provided weapons in order to justify the invasion and the genocide that followed. The list published by the Government in its 'White Paper' shows the weapons were World War I vintage, mostly obsolete, and quite useless in fighting organized military units.

## MARTYRDOM

Sant Jarnail Sing Bhindranwale was only thirty years of age when he became head of the *Damdami Taksaal*. Five turbulent years later he was forced to move to Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, from where he tried to get justice for the Sikhs. Two years later he died defending Darbar Sahib.

During his stay in the Darbar Sahib complex, several attempts - conceivably planned with blessings from the Akali leadership and cooperation by government agencies - were made to assassinate him. At a press conference on 15 September 1983, Sant Bhindranwale disclosed<sup>312</sup>:

“Three murderous attempts were made on my life during the past few days, but through God's grace, I escaped unhurt every time. The first attempt on my life was made in the *Parkarma*<sup>313</sup>. The assailant was waiting for me in the stairs leading to the Temple. My disciples grew suspicious and caught hold of him before he could take out his pistol. He was brought to Guru Nanak Niwas where he confessed that he had a hand in the conspiracy to murder me. He was let off after administering a warning. During the second attempt, the assailant followed me up to Room No. 47 in Guru Nanak Niwas but his pistol fell down on the way. The third attempt to kill me was made in Gurdwara Manji Sahib.”

Joshi<sup>314</sup> mentions another attempt on the Sant's life:

“It was obvious that some persons/organizations had mixed a certain amount of poison in his food. But given the traditional Indian 'efficiency' it was just not enough to kill him. On 23 September, Bhindranwale's condition was reported to be critical with his urine containing 40 per cent blood.”

In April 1984, Baljit Kaur confessed to having been paid to kill Sant Bhindranwale. The original plan having failed, Surinder Singh Sodhi - a close associate of the Sant - was assassinated, allegedly with the connivance of some Akali leaders.

The Government also made direct attempts to eliminate him. Joshi, describing a 1 June 1984 attempt by the military to kill Sant Bhindranwale,

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<sup>312</sup> Surjit Jalandhary: *Bhindranwale Sant*, Punjab Pocket Books, Jalandhar, page 66.

<sup>313</sup> *Parkarma* is the marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.

<sup>314</sup> Chand Joshi: *Bhindranwale, Myth and Reality*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, page 118.

states<sup>315</sup>: "At a silent order four shots were aimed in a vain effort to assassinate this fountainhead of terror."

The vigorous propaganda by the Arya Samaj press supported by the Government was eminently successful in branding the Sant as a criminal. With all the misrepresentation against him presented as fact by a compliant press, even the opposition parties in India started to clamor for action against the Sant. Finally, in June 1984, with the Indian public opinion thoroughly prepared and Akali cooperation assured, the Indian Government sealed the state from the rest of the world and launched an attack, code-named 'Operation Bluestar', on the Darbar Sahib complex in Amritsar and over forty other gurdwaras in Punjab. The day of the attack was selected very carefully as the day on which Sikhs in the thousands had come to Amritsar to observe the martyrdom of Siri Guru Arjan Sahib. The Akali leadership was escorted out of the complex. Sant Bhindranwale, many students and teachers belonging to the *Damdami Taksaal* as well as an estimated ten thousand innocent pilgrims perished in the conflict.

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid, page 21.

## SOME COMMENTS AND CONCERNS

Throughout history, whenever a corrupt and degenerate society has felt threatened by a moral and social revival, the powers of the day have branded the leaders of such revivals as traitors and criminals to justify their elimination and the brutal subjugation of their associates and disciples. These messengers of peace and brotherhood were killed not because they had committed any crime but because they did not tow the official line. These people were 'inconvenient' because of their popularity and influence with the people. Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale's martyrdom represents yet another addition to this illustrious list.

Sant Bhindranwale was a religious preacher without interest in politics. His mission was to propagate the basic principles of the Sikh religion. He emphasized a life of prayer and saintliness and himself set an example for other Sikhs. He advised Sikhs to possess weapons and to be ready to lay down their lives, if necessary, in the interest of ensuring justice and protection of the defenseless and the weak, in line with the teachings of the Gurus. He insisted that a Sikh should never initiate a confrontation. A Sikh's way is one of love and mercy and not of violence. Sikh response to oppression and injustice had to consist of persuasion, legal action, appeal to higher authorities in the Government and to the public at large, and that a Sikh should follow the tradition of recourse to weapons only as the last resort when all other means had been exhausted. In an environment of escalating unrelenting state oppression, rather than face certain annihilation of his Faith and the Sikhs as a people, this is the path he followed.

After the confrontation with the Sant Nirankaris on 13 April 1978, when thirteen innocent Sikhs lost their lives to Nirankari gunmen, his only request was that the Government arrest and prosecute the murderers. After the incident at Chowk-Mehta, on 20 September 1981, in which the police opened fire upon a peaceful Sikh gathering killing eighteen, all he asked for was a judicial inquiry. Upon Amrik Singh's arrest, convinced that he had committed no crime, he sought the intervention of the District Magistrate, Amritsar, through peaceful demonstration. He sought legal redress and found the courts to be powerless; their orders were not obeyed or the victims were re-arrested on fictitious charges immediately after release. The news media and the national leadership, instead of checking police brutality, lauded such arbitrary re-arrests and indeed called for them in order to keep the 'terrorists' behind bars. The Government canceled the arms licenses of the victims and not those of the perpetrators. He would narrate stories of police brutality to news reporters but, instead of investigating and bringing these to public attention, the press dismissed them as his 'favorite yarn'. Until the very end, the Sant maintained that he had never used his weapons to hurt anyone and complained about police

brutality. Arbitrary arrests, rape, torture and elimination of young Sikhs went on. Not getting redress from the higher authorities, the courts, the news media, the national leadership, or the Indian public which was fed disinformation by the Government and the Arya Samaj press, Sant Bhindranwale told his men to resist because arrest, in most cases, meant certain death in police custody after inhuman torture followed by issuance of a faked report of an 'encounter'.

The revival of the Sikh religion led by Sant Bhindranwale worried the extremists among Hindus because it stemmed the tide of apostasy among Sikh youth and reinforced the Sikh sense of religious identity. The so-called 'moderates' among the Sikhs at first wished to use this immensely popular religious leader to advance their own purposes. Later, as his popularity among the Punjab peasantry grew, they considered him to be a threat to their hold over Sikh affairs. He had to be killed not because he had committed any crime, but because too many people loved him and looked up to him for guidance in their misery. Laura Lopez wrote in June 1984<sup>316</sup>:

"By early this year, it was apparent to her<sup>317</sup> that Bhindranwale had become so popular he had usurped the Akalis' authority, leaving the party impotent in negotiations and fearful of his violent fanaticism. No matter how long she talked to the Akalis, Mrs. Gandhi concluded, they could never deliver on an agreement that would hold while Bhindranwale was alive."

In order to eliminate him, he had to be depicted as a criminal, as the symbol of all that was evil and dangerous for the country. Indira Gandhi's Government, influenced and assisted by extremist Hindu politicians whose support she needed for the next elections, carried on a continuous misinformation campaign to vilify Bhindranwale and the institutions he represented and symbolized. Despite his vehement denials, he was blamed for every crime that was committed in Punjab. Government agencies routinely fed the news media with such misinformation. The Press, the Indian Government, and even the highest courts in the country, found it convenient to misinterpret the centuries old Sikh prayer as a call for Sikh supremacy and secession and, therefore, an act of sedition. Sikh possession and carrying of weapons (the Indian Constitution accepts the possession and carrying of a *kirpaan* by a Sikh to be a part of the practice of the Sikh faith) was now described as creating tension and terror.

Peaceful Sikh protest against public ridicule of their religion was met with bullets. The tradition of peaceful civil disobedience, successfully used against

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<sup>316</sup> Laura Lopez: India, Diamonds and the Smell of Death, Time, 25 June 1984, page 47.

<sup>317</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

the British by M. K. Gandhi, was regarded as treason when it was adopted by the Sikhs to press their economic and religious grievances, and met with mass killings. At the same time, attacks on Sikhs and Sikh institutions were dismissed as a 'natural reaction'. The propaganda was eminently successful. The Sant, himself not a politician, also fell into the trap. Some police officials had been very enthusiastic in the torture of Sikh youth. Instead of reining them in, the Government rewarded them with promotions. Sant Bhindranwale publicly announced their names. Apparently, angry relatives and friends of the victims, feeling helpless and denied justice, killed some of them. This gave the press and the Government additional material to defame the Sant.

Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale had always emphasized that he did not hate Hindus but was opposed only to the machinations of some extremists bent upon creating divisions among Hindus and Sikhs. With the Arya Samaj press demanding invasion of Darbar Sahib, he called upon the villagers in Punjab to drive out the Hindus if they joined the Government in the attack. This call of desperation was not in line with his previous stand because the Hindus in Punjab villages were, by and large, peaceful and the two communities lived in amity. Even though he had emphatically stated that this was to be done only if the Hindus joined the attack upon Sikhs, the call suited the Government in its propaganda. As a result, though there was no evidence of the Sant having committed any crime, even well-meaning people were misled into believing that he was leading a revolt against the country, that he was a secessionist, that he hated Hindus and encouraged their being massacred, and that the Government action against him and other Sikhs was necessary and justified. The sensitivities of the Indian people were dulled to the point that many of them accepted without protest, and even endorsed, the gruesome torture and unlawful elimination of tens of thousands of devout Sikh men, women, and children.

If the purpose of the invasion was only to arrest Sant Bhindranwale, it could have been easily accomplished as indicated by the then District Magistrate of Amritsar. There was no need to attack Darbar Sahib or the forty other gurdwaras in the state. It is said<sup>318</sup> that there were only about seventy persons with Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. If taking him were the objective, it would not be necessary to use fifteen divisions of the Indian army for the invasion. If Sant Bhindranwale had committed any crime, it would have been appropriate to file some charges against him in a court of law. However, all these niceties were not considered relevant. Sant Bhindranwale was merely a symbol. The real target was the Sikh faith itself because it was viewed as a

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<sup>318</sup> Personal conversation with a member of the All India Sikh Students Federation who – along with about 150 others – left Darbar Sahib complex just before the Indian army's attack.



threat to the concept of Indian nationhood. The intention clearly was to teach this community a lesson. According to Pettigrew<sup>319</sup>:

“The army went into Darbar Sahib not to eliminate a political figure or a political movement but to suppress the culture of a people, to attack their heart, to strike a blow at their spirit and self-confidence.”

The ‘lesson’ was continued when the army invasion was followed by ‘Operation Woodrose’ in which the army, supported by paramilitary and police forces, swept through Punjab villages to eliminate ‘anti-social elements’. These ‘anti-social’ elements were identified as *amritdharis*. Initiation into the Sikh faith was now considered a crime punishable by torture and death and these Sikhs were branded as terrorists. Instructions given to the troops at that time stated<sup>320</sup>:

“Some of our innocent countrymen were administered oath in the name of religion to support extremists and actively participate in the act of terrorism. These people wear a miniature *kirpan* round their neck and are called *Amritdhari* .... Any knowledge of the ‘*Amritdharis*’ who are dangerous people and pledged to commit murders, arson and acts of terrorism should immediately be brought to the notice of the authorities. These people may appear harmless from outside but they are basically committed to terrorism. In the interest of all of us their identity and whereabouts must always be disclosed.”

These instructions constituted unmistakably clear orders for the genocide of all Sikhs formally initiated into their Faith. Another ten to twenty thousand are said to have been murdered, often with torture, during this phase. Typical of this period is a report by Mary Ann Weaver<sup>321</sup>:

“The pattern in each village appears to be the same. The Army moves in during the early evening, cordons a village, and announces over loudspeakers that everyone must come out. All males between the ages of 15 and 35 are trussed and blindfolded, then taken away. Thousands have disappeared in the Punjab since the Army operation began. The Government has provided no lists of names; families don't know if sons and husbands are arrested, underground, or dead.”

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<sup>319</sup> Joyce Pettigrew: The Sikhs of the Punjab: Unheard voices of State and Guerrilla violence, Zed Books Ltd., London, U.K. 1995, page 8.

<sup>320</sup> Baat Cheet, A publication of the Department of Defense, Government of India, Serial Number 153, July 1984; reproduced in Surya Monthly, October 1984, page 6.

<sup>321</sup> Mary Ann Weaver: India's Sikhs are bitter as Army tries to weed out 'militants', Christian Science Monitor, 15 October 1984.

The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, allegedly by two Sikh members of her security force, triggered another orgy of violence against the Sikhs. The Government estimated the number of persons killed in Delhi during the first three days of November 1984 at nearly 2,700. A list of 3,870 names was published by a newspaper<sup>322</sup>. The total for the country is estimated<sup>323</sup> to be around twenty thousand, ten thousand in Delhi alone. A report<sup>324</sup> recognized the number of Sikh women widowed in Delhi itself in three days as 1,300. It has been alleged<sup>325</sup> that leaders of the ruling Congress party and officials of the Government organized and encouraged these massacres. Gloating over the massacre of Sikhs after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination a prominent Hindu leader wrote<sup>326</sup>:

“But the false notions had not only persisted but were shown off in a disgusting way by some Sikhs in day to day life. Aftermath of Mrs. Gandhi's assassination has changed the situation. Many Sikhs have been forced to shed their ego and exaggerated sense of self esteem and behave as normal men.”

Apparently, the intent of the Hindu leadership was to put the uppity Sikhs in their place and to tell them who the boss was in 'free and democratic' India.

The oppression against the Sikh faith is relentless. An elected government took charge of the state in 1985. A commission was appointed to look into charges of police brutality, reports of faked encounters, and illegal detention. A member of the commission, started by asking the police how many of the Sikhs in jails were innocent. He was given a figure of 90 percent. He recommended that the Government immediately release those the police itself considered to be innocent. This was not done. It was argued that these young men had been treated so brutally in prisons that, if released, they might try to take revenge against the guilty police officials. They were left to languish in jails indefinitely for the crime of being victims of torture. This elected Government was later dismissed for not being vigorous enough in subduing the Sikhs.

Under Central Government rule, devout Sikhs were hunted down or forced to leave the country to save their lives. Their families have been harassed, tortured and in some cases 'eliminated'. Their properties have been confiscated and surviving members of their families reduced to abject poverty and

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<sup>322</sup> Indian Express, 1 November 1989.

<sup>323</sup> Inderjit S. Jaijee: *Politics of Genocide*, Baba Publishers, Chandigarh, India, 1996, page 33.

<sup>324</sup> Amiya Rao, Aurobindo Ghose, and N.D. Pancholi: *Truth About Delhi Violence*, Citizens for Democracy, New Delhi, January 1985.

<sup>325</sup> *Delhi: 31 October to 4 November 1984*, Report of the Citizens' Commission, 1984.

<sup>326</sup> Balraj Madhok, *Punjab Problem: The Muslim Connection*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 1985, page 131.

helplessness. Official sources place the total number of persons killed between 1984 and 1992 at about 25,000 and ascribe all violence to so-called Sikh terrorists. On the other hand, Sikh leaders have claimed that nearly 200,000 Sikhs have been deliberately murdered, generally after arrest, by government agencies. Human rights organizations (for example,<sup>327,328,329,330</sup>) and other groups (for example <sup>331,332,333</sup>) have documented a large number of cases of torture, rape, disappearances and murder by the law-enforcement agencies in Punjab. Thousands have been killed so that the police could collect generous bounties.

Recently, another elected government has taken over. The ruling political party in the state won elections on the promise that it would investigate cases of police excesses. After coming to power they forgot about the promises. This is not surprising given that the leaders of this Government are the same persons who sided with the Indian Government in 1983-1984 to crush the Sikh revival. Under the rule of this 'moderate' Sikh leadership, it is said that the per capita consumption of alcohol has set new records. This leadership has interfered with and undermined Sikh institutions making them subordinate and subservient to their own political interests. Human rights groups are not allowed to function freely. The case of Jaswant Singh Khaira is a classic example. He was Secretary of the human rights wing of the Shromani Akali Dal, the ruling party. He unearthed evidence of thousands of Sikhs having been cremated as 'unidentified terrorists'. He was picked up by the police and 'disappeared'. A People's Commission consisting of three retired judges of India's Supreme Court, none of them a Sikh, was set up by the public. However, it has not been allowed to function. Some of their field workers trying to collect evidence of police atrocities have been detained and are said to be still held by the police and to date Amnesty International is still not allowed into Punjab.

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<sup>327</sup> Punjab Human Rights Organization Reports: Rape of Punjab, Indian State's indignities on Sikh Women and Children; The Fascist Offensive in Punjab, Reports of Human Rights Violations; An Indian Torture Chamber, The Full Story of Ladha Kothy; Sikh Villages Ransacked, among others.

<sup>328</sup> Asia Watch: Punjab in Crisis: Human Rights in India, 1991.

<sup>329</sup> For example: Amnesty International, India: Some Reports Concerning Deaths in Custody allegedly as a result of torture or shooting during 1985, ASA 20/03/86 dated 29 January 1986; India: A Review of Human Rights Violations, ASA 20/02/88 dated August 1989; and numerous Urgent Action Letters.

<sup>330</sup> Oppression in Punjab, Citizens for Democracy, New Delhi, 1985.

<sup>331</sup> Ram Narayan Kumar and George Sieberer: The Sikh Struggle, Chanakya Publications, New Delhi, 1991.

<sup>332</sup> Joyce M. Pettigrew: The Sikhs of Punjab: Unheard Voices of State and Guerilla Violence, Zed Publishers, London, 1995.

<sup>333</sup> Harjinder S. Dilgeer and Awatar Singh Sekhon: India Kills Sikhs, The Sikh Educational Trust, Edmonton, Canada, Second Edition, 1994.

Sant Jarnail Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale was certainly not a believer in "peace at any price" but, at the same time, he was not the trouble-mongering, trigger-happy monster the Indian Government and the Indian press have made him out to be. Many Sikhs admire him for having lived an honest life and for having died bravely defending the Faith against impossible odds. He was a religious leader with no political ambition. He called upon the Sikhs to follow the ideal given them by Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib – the lifestyle of a 'saint-soldier' that emphasizes love, peace, and public service but it also requires one to be prepared to resist state oppression. It requires a Sikh to keep weapons, the *kirpaan* being the symbolic minimum. It is mandated that the weapons must never be used to hurt innocent people but be used only to resist oppression in a defensive posture and that too as the last resort.

The Sant advocated Hindu-Sikh understanding based upon acceptance by all that the two religions are distinct. His notion of Sikhs being a separate 'nation' did not imply political separatism. India has to recognize its own diversity of cultures and religions as a rich asset. It must reject the communist doctrine that religion stands in the way of national integration. Differences in belief and religious practices should not be construed to imply socio-political hostility. India must integrate as a commonwealth with mutual respect for each of its faiths and all of its social, cultural, and ethnic segments. Labeling leaders of minority faiths as traitors and killing them off under false accusations and without due process is the recipe for disintegration and ruin.

With these remarks we invite the reader to study what Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale said in his public pronouncements.

SPEECHES AT  
LALBAI TRICENT & COLLEGE IN BARNALI

SPEECHES AND CONVERSATIONS  
OF  
SANT JARNAIL SINGH KHALSA  
BHINDRANWALE



**SPEECH #1**  
**EARLY 1982 (IN A COLLEGE IN KARNAL)**

*Note: The speech is preceded by congregational recitation of selected verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib and by reading of the Hukam<sup>1</sup> from Siri Guru Granth Sahib by a reader. The verses sung in chorus [Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale leading] are:*

ਗਗਨ ਦਮਾਮਾ ਬਾਜਿਓ ਪਰਿਓ ਨੀਸਾਨੇ ਘਾਉ॥ ਖੇਤੁ ਜੁ ਮੌਤਿਓ ਸੂਰਮਾ ਅਬ ਜੂਝਨ ਕੋ ਦਾਉ॥ ੧ ॥  
ਸੂਰਾ ਸੋ ਪਹਿਚਾਨੀਐ ਜੋ ਲਰੈ ਦੀਨ ਕੇ ਹੇਤ॥ ਪੁਰਜਾ ਪੁਰਜਾ ਕਟਿ ਮਰੈ ਕਬਹੂ ਨ ਛਾਡੈ ਖੇਤੁ॥ ੨ ॥ ੨ ॥

ਕਬੀਰ ਮੋਹਿ ਮਰਨੇ ਕਾ ਚਾਉ ਹੈ ਮਰਉ ਤੇ ਹਰਿ ਕੈ ਦੁਆਰ॥ ਮਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਪੂਛੈ ਕਉਨੁ ਹੈ ਪਰਾ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਬਾਰ॥  
੬੧ ॥

ਕਬੀਰ ਜਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੇ ਤੇ ਜਗ ਡਰੈ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨਿ ਆਨੰਦੁ॥ ਮਰਨੇ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਪਾਈਐ ਪੂਰਨੁ ਪਰਮਾਨੰਦੁ॥ ੨੨ ॥

ਪਹਲਾ ਮਰਣੁ ਕਬੂਲਿ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਛਡਿ ਆਸ॥ ਹੋਹੁ ਸਭਨਾ ਕੀ ਰੇਣੁਕਾ ਤਉ ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪਾਸਿ॥ ੧ ॥

*These translate as:*

‘In the Tenth Door the kettle-drum [of divine instruction] was struck and it pierced the target [heart]. As the warrior has taken the field, now is the occasion to fight<sup>2</sup>.

‘Only he who fights in behalf of the poor is recognized as a valorous man. He may be cut up limb by limb but will not leave the battlefield.

‘O Kabir, I have a desire to die but I wish to die at God's door. Perhaps God will ask: who is this person lying at my door?’

‘O Kabir, death, which people fear, is bliss to me. It is only through dying [destroying one's self-will] that one finds the Perfect One, the Supreme Bliss.

‘First accept death [of personal ego]; give up the desire of [worldly] living; be the dust of everyone's feet; only then come to Me [God].’

[The Hukam from Siri Guru Granth Sahib, read by the Granthi<sup>3</sup>, is:]

ਸੋਰਠਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੫  
ਮਿਰਤਕ ਕਉ ਪਾਇਓ ਤਨਿ ਸਾਸਾ ਬਿਛੁਰਤ ਆਨਿ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ॥

<sup>1</sup> *Hukam* is the Word for the Day. It is the verse at the top of the page on the left as Siri Guru Granth Sahib is opened for the first time on each day. The verse often starts on the page previous to the one opened.

<sup>2</sup> To fight the evils of lust, anger, greed, attachment and ego.

<sup>3</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

ਪਸੂ ਪਰੇਤ ਮੁਗਧ ਭਏ ਸ੍ਰੋਤੇ ਹਰਿਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਗਾਇਆ॥ ੧ ॥  
 ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਦੇਖੁ ਵਡਾਈ॥ ਤਾ ਕੀ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਕਹਣੁ ਨ ਜਾਈ॥ ਰਹਾਉ॥  
 ਦੁਖ ਸੋਗ ਕਾ ਵਾਹਿਓ ਤੇਰਾ ਅਨਦ ਮੰਗਲ ਬਿਸਰਾਮਾ॥  
 ਮਨ ਬਾਛਤ ਫਲ ਮਿਲੇ ਅਚਿੰਤਾ ਪੂਰਨ ਹੋਏ ਕਾਮਾ॥ ੨ ॥  
 ਈਹਾ ਸੁਖ ਆਗੈ ਮੁਖ ਉਜਲ ਮਿਟਿ ਗਏ ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣੇ॥  
 ਨਿਰਭਉ ਭਏ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਸਿਆ ਅਪੁਨੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਣੇ॥ ੩ ॥  
 ਉਠਤ ਬੈਠਤ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵੈ ਦੁਖ ਦਰਦੁ ਭੁਖੁ ਭਾਗਾ॥  
 ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾ ਕੈ ਪੂਰ ਕਰੀਮਾ ਜਾ ਕਾ ਗੁਰ ਚਰਨੀ ਮਨੁ ਲਾਗਾ॥ ੪ ॥ ੧੦ ॥ ੨੧ ॥

*This translates as:*

‘By the Fifth Body<sup>4</sup> in *Raag Sorath*.

[The Guru] put breath [of God's Name] in the body of the [spiritually] dead person and united with God one who had been separated. The animals, the spirits, the ignorant ones became listeners; they started to sing God's Name. Witness the greatness of the Perfect Guru, it is impossible to describe its worth. The source of pain and sorrow has been destroyed; joy and happiness abide. All that the heart desired has been unexpectedly received and all wishes have been fulfilled. Those whom their Guru loves have become fearless and God's Name abides in their hearts. For them there is ease and comfort in this world; they will have a clear countenance in afterlife and their cycle of birth and death has ended. Sitting as well as standing they [always] sing God's praises. Pain, sorrow, waywardness, and fear have disappeared. O Nanak, say: the life of one whose mind is attached to the Guru's feet<sup>5</sup> is fulfilled.’

## THE SPEECH

Guru's Image, Assembly of God's worshippers - constituted and blest by Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>6</sup>, Master of the throne, Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji; *Guru Khalsa Ji*, coming to the presence of Satguru<sup>7</sup>, listening to the poets you have obtained information regarding what happened at Mehta. You have had this good fortune.

First of all, with great humility and full of love, I appeal to the entire congregation standing on these grounds that no beloved person, member of this

<sup>4</sup> Body of the Guru, Guru Nanak: the Fifth Body means the Guru who was the fifth in succession, viz., Siri Guru Arjan Sahib

<sup>5</sup> Attachment to or service at Guru's feet means receiving instruction from the Guru.

<sup>6</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as “*Saccha Patshah*”, the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Satguru’ means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.



congregation, should try to keep standing. In the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>8</sup> you should sit and listen with concentration and love. This is not a gathering of political leaders, or of living gurus; nor is it a gathering of those who hanker after chairs<sup>9</sup>, or of hypocritical *Narkdharis*<sup>10</sup>. This spiritual light of the ten forms [of the Guru], the Divine Word in whose presence this congregation has come together, is the Guru's Word that gives collective instruction to all people. Here one ought to sit respectfully and with devotion. I appeal to those who are Satguru's Sikhs and those who love the Guru. Brothers, do sit down. If there is someone who is a follower of the *Narkdharis*, he may stand while listening. However, the Sikhs of the Guru and those who have faith in Satguru Granth Sahib should sit and listen. It is possible that the doubts and misunderstandings that are prevalent may all be removed. However, those of a majority will definitely be removed. If there is an atheist here, nothing can be said about him.

### FALSE PROPAGANDA

You have learnt from the newspapers, the news, and propaganda by ignorant people, that Bhindranwala is an extremist; that he is a dangerous man, a communalist; that he kills Hindus. There are many Hindus sitting here. You should carefully note how many I injure and how many I kill before leaving. You will be with me. Keep listening attentively. Having listened, do think over who are the communalists; whether they are the turban-wearers or your newspaper owners, the *Mahasha*<sup>11</sup> Press. Follow your own logic.

### EXPLANATION OF GURU'S HUKAM

The Guru Sahib has blessed us with the [topic for the] discourse [through the *Hukam*]. Listen to it with attention and love. I appeal to those who are students - all of them - whether they are sons of Hindus or sons of Sikhs, sit down and listen. There is no need to roam about. Do not worry in the least.

ਨਾ ਕਰਿ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਰਤੇ

'Do not worry, the Creator cares for all.' Everything is in the hands of God. A Sikh of the Guru should have the mission:

ਭੈ ਕਹੁ ਕਉ ਦੇਤ ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਭੈ ਮਾਨਤ ਆਨ

<sup>8</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>9</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>10</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>11</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

'He does not frighten anyone nor does he have any fear.' The Sikhs appealed at the feet of Satguru, the Fifth King<sup>12</sup>: "O Guru, Supporter of the humble, the True King, in your mercy enlighten us as to what are the attributes of the Perfect Guru, what is the mission of the Perfect Guru; who can be called the Perfect Guru; who deserves to be called the Perfect Guru?" My dear people, this argument regarding gurus is not a new development. Ever since the world was created, this argument has gone on. This is because liars will keep telling lies and the truthful ones will tell the truth. Truth is bitter as hot peppers and falsehood is sweet like raw sugar lumps. However, one who loves God will find falsehood to be bitter like peppers. For this reason, a Sikh should not get lost in doubt and hesitate but should remain upbeat and confident. Since the time that Guru Nanak Dev, the True King, took on human form, up to the time of the Fifth King; since the time of the Fifth King to the present; and for all time to come, for the benefit of the world, the Guru has given instruction. In this context, listen as to who can ask to be called a Perfect Guru. Today these *Narkdharis*, *Radhaswamis*<sup>13</sup> and others occupying red chairs are engaged in innumerable false transactions and call them 'true deals'. Listen to their thinking alongside the views of the Perfect Guru. If these human gurus, these hypocrites, have this power then my dear people, go on believing in them. However, if they do not have a single one of the attributes of the Perfect Guru, you are all well-read, city-dwelling people with brains, you can listen and figure out for yourselves as to the one you are going to believe in. Listen attentively.

ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ॥ ਸੋਰਠਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੫॥  
ਮਿਰਤਕ ਕਉ ਪਾਇਓ ਤਨਿ ਸਾਸਾ ਪੁਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਦੇਖੁ ਵਡਾਈ॥

In *Sorath Raag*, the Fifth King tells us: "The Guru put breath in the body of the dead person. Look at the greatness of the Perfect Guru." One who himself dies cannot be called a guru.

### Story Of A Child Brought Back To Life

Satguru Nanak Dev, the True King, went to some place in the region of Lahore. There was a young woman whose little son, the ornament of her motherhood, was playing in the courtyard. Leaving the child playing in the courtyard, the woman went into the room to prepare food so she could feed Guru Nanak Dev Ji. She was serving him recognizing him as a *sadhu*. When she had gone into the room to bring some foodstuffs, the young child, attracted by the bright fire jumped into it. The child died. Upon his death, the young Sikh woman thought that as she was a householder and it was a great sin for a householder to turn away a holy man without feeding him, she would cremate

<sup>12</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, the fifth Guru.

<sup>13</sup> Radhaswamis, like the Sant Nirankaris, follow a human guru.

the child after Guru Sahib had been fed. The food was prepared. Satguru Sahib, the True King, came and they all sat in a line [to receive the food]. The food was prepared and placed in a tray. Satguru Ji said: "Young lady, where is your son who was playing here in the courtyard?" [She replied]: "Satguru Ji, he got tired playing and has gone to sleep." The tray was brought. The Great King said: "Young lady, bring that child to us." [She said]: "Satguru Ji, he got very tired. Eat your food. We shall wake him up later." The Great King said: "Young lady, we are not going to eat until you bring us your son." With folded hands she humbly said: "True King, my son has fallen into the sleep from which no one has ever woken up." Satguru Ji got up and went up to that child. He told the family and others present to say aloud: ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਵਾਗਿਗੁਰੂ 'God's Name, the Reality.' Having said these words, when Satguru Ji became silent, the child sat up reciting God's Name. This is not [merely] a historical event; it is verified by Guru's own words. [If some orders] are signed and sealed by the supreme court, the parliament, the president, the prime minister, then there is no need to get signatures of anyone lower than them, of any state chief minister. There is no need to consult with any lowly servants.

### Siri Guru Granth Sahib Is The Greatest

If anyone questions, or doubts what Guru Granth Sahib and the Guru Sahibs themselves have put their seal to, does he deserve to be called a son of the Guru? Why is Satguru Granth Sahib Ji the greatest of all? The Geeta is worthy of respect. The Qura'n is also worthy of respect. The Bible and the Torah are also worthy of respect. All the 18 Puraans are worthy of respect. The six Shastras, the four Vedas, the Smrities, the 52 Upanishads, they are all worthy of respect. However, there is none like Guru Granth Sahib Ji. Why is none accepted [as equal]? Of all the books that have been created, none of the guides of the world recited the word and wrote it himself or had it written by someone sitting with him. Balmik wrote the Ramayan 10,000 years before Ram Chandra Ji's birth. The Puraans were written later. The Geeta was not written as it was spoken. It is only *Gurbani*<sup>14</sup> that was spoken from Satguru Nanak Dev Ji to the Tenth Form. In the Fifth Form, he had it written by Bhai Gurdas Ji as the scribe while the Guru spoke it. In the Tenth Form, the Dhirmalias did not give up the text<sup>15</sup>. Satguru Ji, Supporter of the humble, had Bhai Mani Singh work as the scribe. Starting from ੴ<sup>16</sup> up to ਅਠਾਰਹ ਦਸ ਬੀਸ<sup>17</sup>, each word on each of the 715 sheets, 1430 pages, 19 lines on each page, 38 on both sides of each sheet, was spoken by Satguru Ji, Supporter of the humble, with [Bhai

<sup>14</sup> *Gurbani* is literally Guru's Word; contents of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> Reference is to the story that the Dhirmalias possessed the original text of Granth Sahib and refused to give it to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>16</sup> 'Ek Onkaar' - the first words in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>17</sup> 'Athareh das bees' - the last words in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

Mani Singh] siting next to him in single-minded concentration. Having spoken the Word, he did not leave it at that. An uninterrupted reading was carried out. Having ordered the uninterrupted reading, *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>18</sup> sat on the same seat and continuously listened to the complete reading. Later, after reaching Hazoor Sahib<sup>19</sup>, guruship was conferred [upon Siri Guru Granth Sahib]. Also, why is [Siri Guru Granth Sahib] referred as the common Father [of all people]? Why doesn't anyone call the Geeta the Father? Why doesn't anyone call the Qura'n the Father? A Hindu might call Geeta the Father but a Muslim will not. A Muslim might call Qura'n the Father but no Hindu will. What is the reason for this? Our college principals, professors, and teachers will have to pay attention to these matters. The Geeta has eighteen chapters. Let any learned person show me any chapter in which there is instruction for a Muslim to go to heaven. The Qura'n has thirty chapters. Let any Muslim or Hindu show me where it is written that a Hindu reading the Qura'n will be saved? A Hindu cannot even read it. A Muslim cannot say the *Namaaz*<sup>20</sup> in a Hindu Temple. A Hindu cannot ring the bells and perform *Pooja* in a mosque. No one is willing to accommodate people of other faiths. However, anyone who has made obeisance here<sup>21</sup>, whether he is a principal [of a college], or a holy man, a minister [in the Government] or a gatekeeper, a sweeper or a dish cleaner at your school, or a caretaker of shoes, has made obeisance at the feet of Ravidas, the cobbler. Whoever has made obeisance here has done so at the feet of Kabir the weaver. This Hindu<sup>22</sup> says Bhindranwala is inimical [to Hindus]. It is they who are inimical. Who was Jaidev? Wasn't he a Hindu from amongst you? He was a Brahmin. Jaidev is sitting here in Guru Granth Sahib. If a son of a Sikh has made obeisance here, he has done so at the feet of Jaidev the Brahmin. Here Beni, the potter who made pottery, is seated. Here Pipa, who sat on a throne and ruled, is seated. From among the Jats, Dhanna who used the plow is seated here. Guru's beloved people; Namdev who supported himself by washing people's clothes is seated here too. People who felt penitent for all their sins and agreed never to commit them again, never to make the same mistake again, for example, Ganika who gave up prostitution and adopted the Guru's way, is seated here. Sadhana the butcher, who used to butcher goats, when he realized that he would have to suffer for his sins, is seated here. Ajamal who patronized prostitutes is seated. But when was he so seated? When he gave up his bad ways and resolved never to sin again.

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<sup>18</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume; *Ji* is an added word of respect.

<sup>19</sup> One of the five *Takhats* or thrones, located in Nanded in South India where Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib ended his worldly sojourn.

<sup>20</sup> *Namaaz* is the Muslim prayer.

<sup>21</sup> To Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>22</sup> Reference is to Lala Jagat Narain, a newspaper editor.

## About The Nirankari Guru

You just now heard about the letter<sup>23</sup>. He makes a promise to the *Jathedar* of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib and does not keep it. If someone asks him, he says: "We shall see." He is superficial. All who really feel sorry, give up sin and come here, there is a common haven for all of them. Friends, how can you say Bhindranwala is jealous? How can you say that sons of Sikhs are communalists? Be watchful. Make sure you are not the ones who are communalists. We are already labeled as such.

## More About The Perfect Guru Bringing The Dead Back To Life

ਮਿਰਤਕ ਕਉ ਪਾਇਓ ਤਨਿ ਸਾਸਾ ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਦੇਖੁ ਵਡਾਈ॥

'The Guru put breath in the body of the dead person. Look at the greatness of the Perfect Guru.' These are the signs of a Perfect Guru - one who will make a dead person come to life. This is not merely historical, read Guru Nanak Dev Ji's words in *Raag Maru Mahla 1*<sup>24</sup>:

ਮੁਲ ਖਰੀਦੀ ਲਾਲਾ ਗੋਲਾ ਮੇਰਾ ਨਾਉ ਸਭਾਰਾ॥  
ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਬਚਨੀ ਹਾਟਿ ਬਿਕਾਨਾ ਜਿਤੁ ਲਾਇਆ ਤਿਤੁ ਲਾਗਾ॥  
ਤੇਰੇ ਲਾਲੇ ਕਿਆ ਚਤੁਰਾਈ॥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਕਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਨ ਕਰਣਾ ਜਾਈ॥  
ਮਾ ਲਾਲੀ ਪਿਉ ਲਾਲਾ ਮੇਰਾ ਹਉ ਲਾਲੇ ਕਾ ਜਾਇਆ॥  
ਲਾਲੀ ਨਾਚੈ ਲਾਲਾ ਗਾਵੈ ਭਗਤਿ ਕਰਉ ਤੇਰੀ ਰਾਇਆ॥

'Receiving instruction from the Guru, I have become Your slave. You have bought me by paying the price [giving me instruction]. People call me the fortunate one. I do what the Guru has told me to do. Your servant is not clever. I can hardly carry out the Master's orders. My mother [intellect] is in your service and so is my father [spiritual contentment]. I am the offspring of one in your service. The female servant dances [my intellect is in joyous excitement], the male servant sings [spiritual contentment provides the accompanying music] while I worship You, the Master.' These words were spoken, by Guru Nanak Dev Ji, in the Lahore area after the dead child had been brought to life.

ਮਿਰਤਕ ਕਉ ਪਾਇਓ ਤਨਿ ਸਾਸਾ ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਦੇਖੁ ਵਡਾਈ॥

'The Guru put breath in the body of the dead person. Look at the greatness of the Perfect Guru.' Brothers: these are the attributes of the Perfect Guru.

<sup>23</sup> Reference is to a letter from the Nirankari guru to *Jathedar*, Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> In the music classification Maru, by the First Body, i.e., Siri Guru Nanak Sahib.

## The Story Of Moola

Here, in the city of Karnal, at the Manji Sahib Gurdwara, some of you might have heard the story of Moola. He was a resident of Sialkot who, because of his greed for money, judging between truth and falsehood, wrote that life was false and that death was the truth. However, upon reaching his home and listening to his wife, he hid in his house [hoping to avoid death]. Satguru has said the words:

ਨਾਲਿ ਕਿਰਾੜਾ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਕੂੜੀ ਕੂੜੈ ਪਾਇ॥ ਮਰਣੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੈ ਮੁਲਿਆ ਆਵੈ ਕਿਤੇ ਥਾਇ॥

'Friendship with a greedy person is worthless because of his love of false objects. O Moola, [a greedy person] does not understand that death may come any time and at any place.'

## The Story Of Samman And Moosal

Samman and Moosal became Sikhs of the Guru. They started work as accountants for a moneylender. They took this job to support themselves. They accumulated 500 rupees in wages for the service they did to the moneylender. They requested Guru Ji, the True King, to come and share a meal with them. [He replied]: "Brothers, prepare [the meal] and I shall come and eat with you." When, to make preparations for the community meal, they went to the moneylender to get their wages, he refused. He refused thinking that if the Guru went away hungry the Sikhs would get a bad name and, therefore, the Guru would be slighted. He refused. Father and son sat down and discussed [their situation]. For a Sikh it is wrong to be unfair to anyone. If a Sikh steals, it is bad; if a Sikh commits robbery, it is bad; if a Sikh kills someone, it is bad; if a Sikh seeks to insult someone's daughter or sister, it is bad; but for a Sikh to take what is due to him is not a sin. They thought that for them stealing was bad but they had earned this money through hard work. This man had ill-feeling for the Guru and, therefore, had refused the payment. They decided that they would get what was their due. At that time, *Khalsa Ji*, they climbed to the top of the [moneylender's] house. In old homes - you can see some of them even nowadays - there are openings in the roof for sunshine to come in. Through that hole, Samman lowered his son Moosal. A heavy object can be lowered to the ground but is difficult to pull up. He [Moosal] picked up the bag containing five hundred rupees and handed it to his father. Trying to climb back up, he got stuck in the opening. At that time, the son gave this advice. O Father, the Guru must not be turned away hungry even if I have to die. Cut off my head and take it along with this bag of 500 rupees. Picking up a sword, the father cut off his son's head in order to serve the Guru. You city dwellers also serve [the Guru]. If you offer two rupees while making obeisance, you tell ten others that you made obeisance to this holy man; that you made an offering of five rupees while making obeisance to Guru Granth Sahib. They performed such great service.

When, hearing the thud, the moneylender came into the house, he saw a writhing headless human body. He came to Samman's house and said: "Someone has killed a man in my house. If you hide this body some place, I shall give you the 500 rupees that I owe you and also a great reward in addition. [The body] was that of the Sikh's son. He brought it and laid it next to the head and put a sheet over it. When the King, Supporter of the humble, arrived, he asked: "Samman, where is your son?" [He replied]: "*Maharaj*<sup>25</sup>, he was preparing food all night, he has gone to sleep." The questions and answers of the time of the First Guru ensued. Finally, the Guru went up to him and brought him back to life by saying '*Vaheguru*' [God]. The evidence for bringing back to life is written in *Gurbani*. In order to guard against Samman falling victim to pride, the Guru said: "Samman, do not be proud that you have earned this distinction of sacrificing your son in serving the Guru." It is worth it even if one has to sacrifice one's life for it.

ਸੰਮਨ ਜਦੋਂ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਕੀ ਦਮਕਿਹੁ ਹੋਤੀ ਸਾਟ॥ ਰਾਵਨ ਹੁਤੇ ਸੁ ਰੰਕ ਨਹਿ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਿਰ ਦੀਨੇ ਕਾਟਿ॥

'O Samman, if this love had a price, people like Ravan, who cut off his head and offered it, were not poor.' Ravan was not a pauper. He was called 'one having ten heads' because ten times he cut off his head and offered it to Shiv Ji. He had only one head. Ten times he performed penance. Each time he cut off his head and offered it. [Shiv Ji] had mercy upon Ravan. That is why he came to be called 'one having ten heads.' When he went to turn the Kailash mountain upside down, the mountain shook. Shiv Ji asked Parvati<sup>26</sup>: "Parvati, who is shaking this mountain?" She said: "My simple-minded Master, this is your own servant." With his own power, he [Shiv Ji] pressed on the mountain [to keep it in place]. This is an ancient story. So, Guru's beloved people: he screamed; Ravan cried, for several days. This is why he got the name 'Ravan'. This is what happened to him. So, he [Samman] cut off his [son's] head and gave it to the Guru. He performed this service and the True King brought him back to life.

#### Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Brought The Five Beloved Ones Back To Life

ਮਿਰਤਕ ਕਉ ਪਾਇਓ ਤਨਿ ਸਾਸਾ ਪੁਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਦੇਖ ਵਡਾਈ॥

'[The Guru] put breath in the body of the dead person. Look at the greatness of the Perfect Guru.' Brothers: The Tenth King<sup>27</sup> cut off the heads of the Five Beloved Ones. I don't know what the matter is with the writers, the philosophers, college principals and college professors, who have studied so

<sup>25</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Nanak Sahib.

<sup>26</sup> Shiv Ji's consort.

<sup>27</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

many grades at school. They say the Tenth King perhaps did not cut off heads<sup>28</sup> and killed goats [instead]. I said: "My good men, others may say anything but how can you, sons of Sikhs, start to tell lies. Do you doubt your own Father?" If someone says about his mother and father that his mother and father are not correct, he should be asked how he was born good. If his mother and father are not correct, how can he be legitimate? Where did he come from? One whose father is a cheat, can never go three miles with his head on the palm of his hand<sup>29</sup>. If someone is a trickster, one thing from the outside and another from the inside, who slays goats inside and comes out to claim that he has cut off heads [of persons], his son Taru Singh, could never sit for twenty-two days after removal of his scalp. One whose father is in the habit of telling lies, his son can never recite sixteen *ashtpadis*<sup>30</sup> from Sukhmani Sahib while being cut up joint by joint. Can anyone swing on the wheel, recite God's name while he is broken on the wheel? If a father and Guru is so deceitful that his talk is different from what he means, his seven and nine year old sons can never stand in the wall [while being bricked alive] and say:

ਸਿਰ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਜਾਵੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਨ ਜਾਏ॥

'I may lose my life but may I never lose my faith as a Sikh.'

#### Stories In The Nirankari Books About Other Faiths

These *Narkdharis* go about styling themselves as gurus. I have received this message. They say that Bhindranwala's preaching is tough. They say that they have people following me and that they will get me. It is a matter of great pleasure to me. I have been wishing for three years that I run into them somewhere so that I can fulfill my duty. These people never come face to face with me. If, being the son of *Kalgidhar* and having become a Sikh, I was to be afraid of the *Narkdharis*, my life would be worthless. What is there to gain by living? Let them know. They are going about in these *Bhavans*<sup>31</sup>, let them set up a [new] *Bhavan* in India. Let them organize one even in Delhi. I have to go there in about ten days. How can we be Sikhs of the True Guru and be afraid of hypocrites and humans? *Khalsa Ji*, these are the attributes of the Perfect Guru; he brings the dead to life. These people style themselves as gurus. I have their books with me. One is '*Avatar Baani*' and another is '*Yug Purash*.' My

<sup>28</sup> Reference is to the Five Beloved Ones of the Guru. In 1699, Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib administered *Khande da Pahul* to five Sikhs who, responding to the Guru's call, volunteered to lay down their lives. Sant Bhindranwale is discussing some people's doubts whether the Guru actually cut off their heads or just made a pretense of doing so.

<sup>29</sup> Reference is to Baba Deep Singh Ji's martyrdom.

<sup>30</sup> An *ashtpadi* is a verse ordinarily having eight stanzas. Sukhmani Sahib is a composition in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>31</sup> Nirankari places of worship.



educated brothers from schools and colleges: read on page 232 of '*Yug Purash*'. They are the ones who hate. They say Bhindranwala is too harsh but anyone who is a son of the Sikhs cannot hear it and bear it. On page 232 of the book '*Yug Purash*' they have written this. I do not remember the exact lines in sequence. They are in the form of a poem. I don't remember the words but recall the meaning. He writes that Abraham Ji, Mohammed Ji, Krishan Ji, Ram Chandra Ji, Guru Nanak Dev Ji, Jesus Ji, Guru Gobind Singh Ji, all went together to God. God asked that one of them should go to the mortal world; that people have become immoral, have taken to intoxicating drugs, and are beset by doubts. You should read this in the book. They say, Ram Chandra Ji was the first to be asked. They say that Ram Chandra Ji refused God saying: "O God, I cannot go. My Secta was kidnapped by Ravan. I brought her back after a lot of difficulty. I cannot go." He refused. Next, Krishan Bhagwan Ji was asked. Krishan Bhagwan Ji said: "The son of Bheels took away my *gopis* when I left Mathura and established Dwarka. I sent them with Arjun to Delhi. They were snatched on the way. They committed *Sati*. I cannot go." Next, Abraham Ji was asked. Abraham Ji said: "O God, I too cannot go. I endured great suffering in slavery. I circumcised someone. I had to sit inside for forty days." Next Mohammed Ji was asked. Mohammed Ji said: "O God, I cannot go either. When there was the battle with the Jews, afraid of death, I closed my mouth tight and lay down. I even had my teeth broken. I rode my camel and went to Medina where I died of pncumonia. I cannot go." Then Jesus Ji was asked. He said: "To save myself from temptation I had blindfolded myself. I do not have faith. I too cannot go." Guru Nanak Dev Ji was asked next. Guru Nanak Dev Ji said: "O God, I cannot go. I have returned after turning the grindstones of Shah Babur." Then *Kalgidhar Ji* was asked to go. *Kalgidhar Ji* replied: "I cannot go. I returned after having my four sons become martyrs; after my mother and father became martyrs; and after I had to sleep on beds of thorns in the jungles of Machchiwara. I have suffered great hardship. I cannot go." Then the brave one got up. Then, according to the book by this *Narkdhari Gurbachna*<sup>32</sup> who has died, Avtar<sup>33</sup> got up with folded hands. God asked him if he would go. He said: "I shall go but I have a condition which you must agree to." You Hindus do not read these books. You fight the Sikhs and oppress them. Read the books. See what is written there. They [the Hindus] do not read these books and only hurl abuse at us. [They say] we shall withhold the roll numbers [for admission to examinations]; we shall fail them [the Sikh students]. He<sup>34</sup> gave his sons. Don't declare us as failing in being his Sikhs. We can handle failing the school examinations. *Khalsa Ji*, when God asked Avatar, Gurbachna's father, he got up and with folded hands said that he would go. He said: "O God, I shall go to the mortal world but You will have to agree to my one condition." God asked:

<sup>32</sup> Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru.

<sup>33</sup> Avtar Singh, Gurbachan Singh's father.

<sup>34</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

“What is that condition?” Listen, you educated people. Gurbachna's father told God his condition. He said: “O God, regardless of how many illicit relationships I have, regardless of how many sins I commit, regardless of how many lies I tell, anyone upon whose head I place my hand should go to heaven and not to hell.” God signed this condition. Then he said that one more condition would have to be met. Asked what that condition was, he replied: “Whomsoever I pat on the head or the back and send to any city or region as their Guru; all those who wash his feet and drink the wash water should go to heaven.” God agreed to this too. My educated friends, does your mind accept this? Here our sisters are sitting, our daughters are sitting, and our mothers are sitting. If this man dishonors our sisters and daughters in this city or bazaar, can any self-respecting person tolerate that? In their books it is written that Ram Chandra Ji, Krishan Ji, and Nanak could not remove their own veil [of ignorance]. He says: “Ram Chandra Ji, Krishan Ji and Guru Nanak Dev Ji could not get rid of their own veil [of ignorance].” He says he shall do it. This is written in their books. Those who doubt should read *Avatar Baani*.

#### The Nirankaris Kill Sikhs And Are Not Punished But Pampered

They say: “The *Narkdharis* are from such a family. At this time the fight is between Sikhs and these people.” Here the *Mahasha* Press comes up and says: “There was a fight between *Nihangs*<sup>35</sup> and *Narkdharis*.” This fight is by the *Narkdharis* alone. The *Nihangs* have nothing to do with it. A *Nihang* is one who lives as *Nihang*, i.e., ‘without pride.’ One who is without pride is called *Nihang*. *Khalsa Ji*, they have shown such extreme behavior. When the time came, how unfair was it? In 1978, it happened to me personally. You have heard about it from the newspapers or from Government officials. I experienced it myself. At that time he [the Nirankari Guru] said he wanted to create seven ‘Stars’ whereas Guru Sahib had created only five Beloved Ones; that his *Avatar Baani* will parallel Guru Granth Sahib. He drank the blood of thirteen *Singhs*. They were killed. Seventy-two were injured. The gathering there went on for three hours. He spent the night at the home of the Commissioner, Jalandhar. At four o'clock, the Commissioner personally took him in his own car and saw him off beyond the Rama Mandi intersection where the road to Hoshiarpur takes off. By daybreak, he was sent to Delhi in a Government car. Even then [having killed 13 innocent men and injured 72 others] he is not guilty. Later, one of our sisters and seven of our Sikh brothers who were with them [our sisters] were killed. He is still not guilty. Three were killed in Delhi. Still it is not his fault, he has committed no sin. The [Sikh] community has appealed to the Central Government. Legal action has been going on in Gupta's court here in Karnal. Some time back you heard news about Gupta, didn't you? No one said anything; no statements were issued against him; no one ever spoke from

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<sup>35</sup> A sect of Sikhs.

any stage; people only lay in front of his office. He says that someone has sworn in his presence that he too is going to be finished off; that his children are in school. Didn't he realize this when he took 300,000 [rupees as bribe] and acquitted all of them? Didn't he realize it then? We fought here [in court]. We appealed to the Government. At three places, twenty-four of us poor Sikhs were killed. The Government has given this 'justice': that the Sikhs are liars and the *Narkdharis* are truthful. Did anyone raise a voice in sympathy?

### We Have To Take Matters Into Our Own Hands As Our Ancestors Did

*Singhs*, I appeal to you. Adopt the worldly constitution where mundane affairs are concerned, but if you wish to protect the Faith we shall have to accept the constitution in the presence of which we are sitting at this time.

ਆਪਣ ਹਥੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕਾਜ ਸਵਾਰੀਐ॥

'With our own hands we should ourselves fulfill our mission.' Neither you nor I wrote this. You can take any blessings you wish from me. If you wish to deal in matters of the Faith, [keep in mind that] if Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh had come to Punjab to file a suit in order to catch Massa Ranghar, he would never have been caught. If Baba Deep Singh Ji had sought writs [of the courts] from here, the Haidari flag [of Afghans] would never have come down from Harmandar Sahib. If Bhai Banda Singh Bahaadar had consulted with commissioners and lawyers, it is certain that Wazira would never have been captured. When do Sikhs have to adopt this constitution [line of action]? When all around no other choice is left. At four places you suffered beatings. Then some true son of his mother was born, some Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh. I preached about these [Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh] at some place. Our own young sons of Sikhs came after me. They said: "*Saadha*<sup>36</sup>, you preach like this. That mother has not yet been born who would now bear Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh." In two years, the mother was born, grew up and got married; her sons too were born and became grown up young men. They [the killers of Gurbachan Singh the Nirankari Guru] are in no way less than Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh. They were born to her [their mother] where we get out of Manji Sahib Diwan Hall. The distance to the capital of India is about the same. Measure the distance from Amritsar to Buddha Dal<sup>37</sup> and from Amritsar to Delhi. It is the same number of kilometers. There might be a difference of a few kilometers. They got into his house and kneeling on his chest and neck; to bless the womb of their mother, to justify the milk they had sucked at their mother's breast, to uplift the soiled honor and the lowered mustache of the Sikh Nation;

<sup>36</sup> A rude form of addressing a holy man.

<sup>37</sup> Headquarters of the group to which Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh belonged.

entering his house and putting it [a bullet] through his side, they have infused a fresh breath of life into the Sikh Nation.

### The Hindu Press Is Against Sikhs: Practices Misinformation

Today the Lala, Romesh<sup>38</sup> has given this news. He says: "Bhindranwalas, you are not afraid of anyone else; you should at least fear God." I am very much afraid of God. We have had many questions and answers. One dear person said: "Sant Ji, will you answer his questions?" The C.B.I.<sup>39</sup> people have gone back penitent, who is he that I will not be able to answer his questions? He says there is no injustice against the Sikhs. O Romesh, [recall that] when your father died, after post-mortem [examination] his body was given to you; but when 18 sons of the Sikhs were killed after your father's death, no one returned their dead bodies. Is this not injustice? When your father died, within three days the treasure of the Sikhs, the heartthrob of the Sikhs, Siri Guru Granth Sahib was torched. Has anyone ever burnt a Hindu? He writes in his newspaper: "I wish to ask Bhindranwala that [when] so many of us Hindus have been killed in Jalandhar and Tarn Taran [why] there has been no inquiry into their deaths?" My good man, if you had any self-respect in you, you would not say such things. These arrests, of Lakha Singh of Nagoke, of Harminder Singh Sandhu, of Chawla, and of six or seven *Singhs* from the village Kuhaar, what are these all about? They [the suspects] have been arrested from their homes. For the Sikhs who have been murdered, has anyone been arrested? Did they [the Sikhs who have been murdered] burn any Hindu's home? Did anyone burn your office? You have set on fire Sikh newspapers for three years. They say they never discriminate against the Sikhs. They are lying. So much about what they say. So, *Khalsa Ji*, these persons [who killed the Nirankari Baba Gurbachan Singh] have shown that they could be like Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh.

Discussion was about

ਮਿਰਤਕ ਕਉ ਪਾਇਓ ਤੰਨ ਸਾਸਾ ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਦੇਖ ਵਡਾਈ॥

'[The Guru] put breath in the body of the dead person. Look at the greatness of the Perfect Guru.' It is the greatness of the Perfect Guru that he can bring a dead person back to life.

### About Nirankari Guru Gurbachan Singh's Murder

Guru's beloved people: you must have read the news that the *Mahasha* Press gave in 1980, on the 25th day of perhaps the month of April. They wrote

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<sup>38</sup> Editor of a Hindu newspaper.

<sup>39</sup> Central Bureau of Investigations of the Government of India.

that before leaving his home Gurbachna, the human guru<sup>40</sup>, said that he had proved his omniscience that day. In that [report] it is written that before he left he told his follower, his servant, that two Sikhs were waiting to see him and that he would give them his *darshan*<sup>41</sup>. This is the news from Lala's [Romesh Chandra's] newspaper, not my own. I have to give them my *darshan* [he said]. He went to give his *darshan* and the Sikhs came to have his *darshan*. He gave his *darshan*, and they had his *darshan*. He had intended to catch the train [of death] and they intended to put him on it. If anything happened differently after the *darshan* there would be reason to complain. He gave *darshan* and they had *darshan*. They put him on the train and he got on to it. If he had omniscience, if he knew that he was to be put on the train, why is there the case against Bhindranwala? I was sitting in Mehta. These CBI people have interrogated me. They asked: "Sant Ji, you are a suspect in Gurbachna's case." I asked: "How does this case concern me?" They replied: "On 3 June 1978 you made a statement that you would cut off Gurbachna's head and hang it in the *Darshani Deorhi*<sup>42</sup>." I replied: "I never said that." They said: "It appeared in the newspapers." I replied: "Newspapers are not God's word, are they? It is something men have written. I do not know who wrote this. I never said it." They said: "You did not contradict it." I replied: "Regarding contradicting it; you are sitting with me now. If you go and get it published that Bhindranwala says that he will cut off Indira's head, I won't contradict that either. Should I be going around contradicting what news you publish or should I hold religious discourses?" They said: "If you did not contradict it, you will be involved in the case." I laughed. They asked me why I laughed and that I could not get away without blame. I told them that I laughed at their [lack of] wisdom. I told them that legally there could not be a case against me no matter how hard they tried. They said: "How do you know?" I replied that I did know. They said: "Are you educated?" I replied: "Listening to people like you I have learnt things though I have not been educated at a school. Show me how you can legally implicate me." They asked: "What answer do you have?" I told them to figure this out. I asked them: "You keep saying that I had said I would cut off his head and hang it up." They said: "Yes." I said: "I claim I never said it." They said: "The newspaper reports this." I said: "That is why I say there can be no case against me." They asked: "How." I said: "You tell me. Is Gurbachna's head with his body or have I cut it off and brought it to Amritsar." They said: "It is still with his body." I said: "Then how will I be implicated in the case?" If I had cut it off and brought it to Amritsar, I would be involved. If the head is still with his body, how can you implicate me in the case?" This is the state they are in. Guru is one who will bring the dead to life. What kind of guru is he [Gurbachan Singh of the Nirankaris]? [They say] nobody knew what happened when he was

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<sup>40</sup> Of the Nirankaris.

<sup>41</sup> Let them see him.

<sup>42</sup> *Darshani Deorhi* is the entrance to the bridge leading to Harmandar Sahib at Amritsar.

hit in his side. He just lay down in the car. They say he just lay down and nobody knew what happened. Only the one who did it would know or the one who lay down. We have only read about it in the newspapers. He died in Delhi while I was sitting in Mehta but my name appears in the F.I.R.<sup>43</sup>. I have a copy of the F.I.R. and should tell you about the principal words in it. In it is written that it is a conspiracy of Jarnail Singh Khalsa Ji of Bhindran-Mehta and his followers. I have been charged with conspiring sitting in Mehta while, when he was sitting right there [during the 1978 massacre of Sikh protestors] he was not charged with any conspiracy. I had barely reached Amritsar to make my obeisance after release from jail when someone killed Narinder Joshi's brother in the Secretariat in Chandigarh. By next morning the *Mahasha* Press published the news with the title: "Gift to the Nation on Bhindranwale's Release" implying that Bhindranwala had had him killed. The next day they published the [false] news that Bhindranwala had had him killed! [I told them]: "Your Chief Minister is also not going to get off scot-free in this; he too will be held responsible." They asked: "Why?" I replied: "If I hatched this conspiracy in the jail, how could I have done it without his<sup>44</sup> collaboration? The Chief Minister of Punjab should answer this." After this they<sup>45</sup> desisted and did not give any news. One Shadi Lal<sup>46</sup> died in Anandpur Sahib, became a Ghami Lal<sup>47</sup>. I was sitting in Muktsar at that time but he [Ramesh Chandra] wrote in his paper: "It is Bhindranwale's mischief." If someone's dog or cat dies, they say Bhindranwala has got it done. Here I am sitting in your midst and someone was killed at Moga railway station. People in Punjab do not know who is going to be blamed for it. This is the state of affairs here. This is the business of [false] gurus. I like to challenge the Government. They say that they have not created the *Narkdharis* and Radhaswamis. He, Gurbachna's son, took [an escort of] seventy police vehicles when he went to visit his dead father. Sons of Sikhs: well-educated professors and principals: you have contacts with the Government. You should ask them that if he is a guru why does he take so many police with him. What [political] party is he the Prime Minister of? Of which country is he the president? Why is he assigned so much police [protection]? Here I am outside Punjab sitting with you. Which police did we have to get permission from to shout slogans for Hindu-Sikh unity? Our mission is to preach good for all mankind; to get people to give up intoxicants; to persuade people towards the path [of life] shown by the Guru and to save people from wickedness. Why would we need any police? Police would be needed if we had to hurl abuse at Hindus; if we were to insult their daughters and sisters. Won't we need police only in that case? You should ask him why he

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<sup>43</sup> First Information Report at the police station.

<sup>44</sup> The Chief Minister's.

<sup>45</sup> The *Mahasha* Press.

<sup>46</sup> Figuratively, a happy Hindu.

<sup>47</sup> Figuratively, a sad Hindu.

has been assigned so many police vehicles. You should ask them to hold congregation on their own. If there is a fight, let them get killed. We shall cremate our people where they die. They can go on cremating theirs where they die. Let the Government lay off for a month and then see if any of the *Narkdharis* can be found.

### The False Gurus And The Perfect Guru

*Khalsa Ji:* Guru Gobind Singh Ji is the Perfect Guru who, surrounded by a hundred thousand [enemy] in the fortress at Chamkaur, clapped aloud while escaping and declared that the *Pir*<sup>48</sup> of India was going and if anyone dared to catch him let him do so. He left alone but this man rides police vehicles, protected by stens<sup>49</sup> and brens<sup>50</sup>. Some brothers tell me [derisively]: "You are a *sadhu* but you too go around carrying rifles. Aren't you too scared?" Brothers, it is correct that I keep a rifle for my protection. I do not keep it for shooting quails or partridges nor is it for looting someone's home. I have stayed five days in your [city of] Karnal. Tell me if I have taken even a peanut from anyone. Tell me if I have hurled abuse at anyone or spoken about anyone in a derogatory manner. I do not keep a rifle to kill people nor for hunting. I have kept a rifle in case wherever the *Jatha*<sup>51</sup> might be, if a tout of the *Narkdharis* or the *Narkdhari* [Guru] himself comes and, having drunk the blood of those with turbans, wishes to run away to Delhi, it might be necessary to put him down. It is for this purpose and not for killing people. We shall not commit any excess against anyone but we are not going to take any abuse either. Yes, we do have them with us. Do blame us if we kill someone or if we rob someone.

Brother, this is the mark of a Perfect Guru: that he put life into a dead person. However, what is the use of worshipping one who himself gets killed?

ਬਿਛੁਰਤ ਆਨਿ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ

'He united those who had been separated [from God].' Only he who unites those who have been separated is called a Guru. He united those who had been separated. Moola, a Khatri from Sialkot had been separated. *Kalgidhar Ji*, in the Tenth Body, united him at Shikar Ghat. The *Narkdharis* of today also unite. Perhaps you noticed this. They close the *Bhavan*. Locking girls from 16 to 25 years of age and boys from 16 to 21 in a room, turning the lights off, telling them to put their arms around and be raped by men is the business of prostitutes and pimps or is it the business of humanity? What sort of principle

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<sup>48</sup> A *Pir* means a religious leader.

<sup>49</sup> Sten-guns.

<sup>50</sup> Bren-guns.

<sup>51</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

is this; dishonoring daughters and sisters? *Khalsa Ji*, he [the Nirankari Guru] too unites people who have been separate. Sahib, the True King, holds in his embrace those who did not have a guru. The attributes of the Perfect Guru are such.

ਪਸੁ ਪਰੇਤ ਮੁਗਧ ਭਏ ਸੋਤੇ

'The animals, the lost souls, the ignorant ones, became listeners.' What is the mark of the Perfect Guru? *Maharaj*<sup>52</sup> says that he makes animals, the lost souls, and the ignorant ones into listeners.

ਹਰਿਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਗਾਇਆ

'They sang out God's Name with their tongues.' One who makes animals and lost souls sing God's Name is called the Perfect Guru. He saved the animals. Guru Nanak Dev Ji delivered the elephant from bondage in Delhi. The Ninth King<sup>53</sup> saved the spirit in Delhi. The Eighth King saved the ignorant one. He got Chhajju to interpret the Geeta. [*To the reader: "Read the line again." He reads:*]

ਪਸੁ ਪਰੇਤ ਮੁਗਧ ਭਏ ਸੋਤੇ

'The animals, the spirits, the ignorant ones became listeners.' People like Ganika and Asjamal who were sex-addicts like animals.; those animals were also liberated. Drunkards like Reta were also saved.

ਪਸੁ ਪਰੇਤ ਮੁਗਧ ਕਉ ਤਾਰੇ ਪਾਹਨ ਪਾਰਿ ਉਤਾਰੈ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਰਣਾਈ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੈ॥

'God saves the lost and the ignorant, those who are like animals, and those who are hard-hearted. Nanak says: [O God] Your servants seek shelter with You and are constantly amazed by You.' Even those who were such were saved. [*The Reader reads: ਹਰਿਨਾਮਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਗਾਇਆ 'They sang out God's Name with their tongues.'*]. Even such as these became singers of God's Name. [*The Reader reads on: ਪੂਰੇ ਗੁਰ ਕੀ ਦੇਖ ਵਡਾਈ 'Witness the greatness of the Perfect Guru'*]. This is the greatness of the Perfect Guru. If your run into such a one listen to him. Those following the human gurus tell us Sikhs that we preach a lot. I need to make an urgent appeal to the educated people, college students as well as college instructors. They [the followers of human gurus] ask us: "You believe in Guru Granth Sahib but Guru Granth Sahib does not speak. Only he who can speak can preach and you should believe in him. What he preaches from should be regarded as a book." To this you should reply in this manner. A young Sikh from the city of Karnal enlists in the army. His superior officer sends him on

<sup>52</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>53</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahadar Sahib, the ninth Guru. The eighth King was Siri Guru Harkrishan Sahib.



some expedition. He is an *amritdhari*<sup>54</sup> *Singh*. There, war begins and he is sent to higher mountains, e.g., to the region of Leh. The war is won and he returns to the barracks. In the morning the Sikh gets up, has a bath and reads the five prayers - *Sukhmani Sahib*, *Aasa Di Vaar*, and *Panj Granthi* - as the daily routine. As the day advances, having been married recently, thinks that his wife might be worried and he should write her a letter. He writes the letter and in it [in the beginning] he writes: ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ 'One God, Eternal [realized] through Guru's grace.' Further on he writes: My beloved wife I am all right and in good health. He writes down whatever thoughts [of love] come to his mind, seals the letter and mails it. This is the reply that should be given to the *Narkdharis* and the Radhaswamis. They say Guru Granth Sahib does not speak but this man [the human guru] does and that you should accept him as guru. You have to consider this yourself whether you wish to accept him or not. The letter reaches here in Karnal at the College. The wife is alone at home and she does not know how to read. Her husband is in Ladakh. Her father-in-law and mother-in-law are not with her, she does not have any sister-in-law nearby. The postman, the messenger, the letter-carrier, gives her the letter. Seeing the letter she comes out of the door, the gate to her house. She thinks that she is illiterate and maybe instead of going to the neighbors to have the letter read, she might as well ask the postman to read it to her. The letter does not speak. Guru Granth Sahib does not speak, according to the *Narkdharis*. He [the husband] has written: "My beloved wife". The husband is sitting in Ladakh and [imagine that] the postman, having read the letter to the woman, tells her that he has pronounced her his wife and that she should accompany him to his home. If the woman is faithful and devoted to her husband, I ask you educated people, professors and principals and students, how would this postman be served well except through a shoe-beating? They say the letter does not speak; according to the beliefs of these *Narkdharis*, Guru Ji does not speak. If one's sister or daughter is married to someone and a postman should come along and wish to take her home, tell me, you sons of Sikhs, if you would be willing to tolerate it. If, after your sister or daughter is married, you are willing to accept her living in the postman's home, if you consider that all right; then, someone who reads Guru Granth Sahib can claim to be a guru. If there is no other way but giving a shoe-beating to the postman, then who are these human gurus to challenge Guru Granth Sahib's Word and get away with it and that too passing close by a Sikh! Such a person is not the son of a Sikh. He should be asked, it should be investigated, as to where he came from. Get hold of them [the Nirankaris and Radhaswamis], ask them to answer you. Do they have any answers? They are so oppressive yet they are [considered by the Government] to be right but if a son of a Sikh keeps getting beaten up he is [still] false!

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<sup>54</sup> Formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

## The Hindus Are Communal-Minded But Label Sikhs As Such.

They keep stating in the newspapers that Bhindranwala is communal-minded. You [Sikhs] sacrifice 95 lives [for the freedom of the country]; you destroy the fortress at Kasur to liberate a Brahmin lady; you fight everyone [on their behalf]; during Emergency you go to jail to get them [the Hindus] out; you give your lives to protect the *tilak*<sup>55</sup> and the *janeoo*<sup>56</sup>; you are still communal-minded. If they give in writing that the *Jathedar* of the Akal Takhat is a traitor to the country, Tohra<sup>57</sup> is a traitor to the country, Guru Gobind Singh Ji lived like a prince, there is no guilt [assigned to them]. If their Kewal Krishan writes that all Sikh organizations will be wiped out, he is not blamed. If someone tells a Hindu to be a true Hindu, they ask what is he [the true Hindu] like? When we tell them, they run away from home. O Hindus: become true Hindus. Don't stay in the middle ground. The sign of a Hindu is that he wears a cap on his head. The sign of a Hindu is that he wears twelve *tilaks* on his forehead. So many of you are standing here. Let me see if any of you has even one *tilak*. Hindus should wear the *janeoo* made of thread; Hindus should read the Geeta; Hindus should drink the wash water from the Shiv-Ling; Hindus should ring the bells in the temple. If there is such a Hindu and he does not smoke, if he comes to the Bhindranwala *Jatha*, he receives full opportunity to speak. We present him robes of honor on behalf of the *Jatha*. The son of a Muslim should offer *Namaaz* five times daily and should have been circumcised. He should know how to say the *Kalma*. He should know how to say 'God is great,' should say 'Thank God' and give the call for prayer, should know how to say 'In the Name of God.' If also he does not smoke, such a Muslim is our brother. We offer him a place on our stage and accept it from him when we visit him. If one is a son of a Sikh and is not *amritdhari*, whether he is a principal or the father of a principal, whether he is the Prime Minister or the father of one, if he is not wearing a *kirpaan* [is not *amritdhari*], he cannot be allowed to speak from the Bhindranwala stage. If he wears a *kirpaan* but drinks, first of all he would not come to us but if he did we would offer him a *chahta*<sup>58</sup> instead of tea. You know what *chahta* is? That's how one who is a son of a Sikh, and is such, is served. Still, you Hindus keep on saying "Bhindranwala is communal-minded."

### Discrimination Against Sikhs

If a person wearing a *janeoo* hijacks a plane he is a patriot but if one wearing a *kirpaan* does the same he is a traitor to the country. What crime did Gajindar Singh commit? Did he kill anyone? Did he set fire to the plane? He

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<sup>55</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

<sup>56</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>57</sup> Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

<sup>58</sup> Sant Bhindranwale is using a pun. *Chaa* means tea and *chahta* means a slap on the face.

has been branded a traitor to the country but Pandey and party who hijacked a plane after Indira was sentenced [to one day's jail] are called patriots. If a son of the Sikhs, Jagjit Singh Aurora, subdues ninety-five thousand<sup>59</sup> he is forced to retire six months early. However, one with a cap, Maneckshaw, just calls on the phone, he is raised in rank. Tell me who practices discrimination? Are these sons of Sikhs practicing discrimination? The Punjab police has laid off 32 men, all sons of Sikhs wearing *kirpaans*. Yesterday, someone told me that somebody had taken tape-recordings [of my speeches] and passed them on to the C.I.D.<sup>60</sup> and the C.I.D. people send them on to Delhi. People [of the C.I.D.] in Punjab and Haryana: do not go through all this trouble. I have to go to Delhi in about ten days. I shall speak there too and that should meet the needs of your business. Why do you keep going through all the trouble? It is correct that you have to do it because it is your job. You have to report what Bhindranwala said. Isn't it unfair that thirty-two sons of Sikhs have been laid off alleging that they are extremists? In the tent outside, I have had people raise their arms to show if they were extremists. Who is an extremist in Government's eyes? It is one who has a turban on his head; wears the *kachchhera*<sup>61</sup>; supports unity and follows the Guru; is desirous of progress of the country; is desirous of justice for the blood of the martyrs, for the insult of Satguru Granth Sahib; and promotes the good of all mankind. In Punjab today, anyone who believes in and follows the path of

ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਭਾਣੇ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ

'Nanak says: God's Name is glorious; there is good for all in accepting Your Will' is an extremist. Regarding the thirty-two that they have laid off, [let me remind the Government that] it has not been able to control one motorcyclist. Don't they [the Government] consider it [the motorcycle] as the ride for three persons? If they, who have laid off thirty-two, had laid off one more that would make thirty-three and that would give eleven times three as thirty-three. [One might ask them]: "If sons of Sikhs get eleven more motorcycles, would you be able to control them if you cannot control three [of them]?" They say that it is the same one motorcycle and the same three persons involved in all cases. If those three have created so much trouble at so many places, then if the Sikhs take eleven motorcycles and get on them after saying the *Ardaas*<sup>62</sup>, who is going to take care of them? These [thirty-two] upon whose chests they have placed a knife [of unemployment] are not going to sell peanuts [after all].

<sup>59</sup> Number of troops of the Pakistan Army who surrendered after the Bangladesh war to General Aurora.

<sup>60</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

<sup>61</sup> The Sikh shorts, one of the five k's.

<sup>62</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly.

## More About The Perfect Guru

So, *Khalsa Ji*, these are the attributes of the Perfect Guru; one who unites those who have strayed, one who makes [the ignorant] wise. [*The Reader reads*: ਤਾ ਕੀ ਕੀਮਤਿ ਕਹਣੁ ਨ ਜਾਈ. 'It is impossible to describe its worth']. It is impossible to describe the worth of the Supreme God. Gurbachna and his wife were weighed, in Indira's scales, against 1.1 million rupees that gives the value of each of them as 550,000 rupees but no one can place a value on those who love the Supreme God.

ਕੰਚਨ ਸਿਉ ਪਾਈਐ ਨਹੀ ਭੋਲਿ॥ ਮਨੁ ਦੇ ਰਾਮੁ ਲੀਆ ਹੈ ਮੋਲਿ॥

'God cannot be found by paying one's weight in gold. I have bought God by giving him my heart.'

ਸਾਈ ਨਾਮੁ ਅਮੋਲੁ ਕੀਮ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਜਾਣਦੋ॥ ਜਿਨਾ ਭਾਗ ਮਥਾਹਿ ਸੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਹਰਿ ਰੰਗੁ ਮਾਣਦੋ॥

'The Name of the Master is priceless, no one knows its worth. O Nanak, only those who are so destined enjoy God's love.' [*The Reader reads*: ਦੁਖ ਸੋਗ ਕਾ ਢਾਹਿਓ ਭੇਰਾ. 'The source of pain and sorrow has been destroyed']. This source of pain and sorrow is ignorance. With knowledge man finds happiness; in ignorance onewails. If someone dies, because of ignorance, man cries. When some power is attained, he starts to celebrate. So, the source of ignorance has been destroyed; it has been removed from the mind. [*The Reader reads on*: ਅਨਦ ਮੰਗਲ ਬਿਸਰਾਮ 'Joy and happiness abide']. The source of joy has come to abide, to stay. [*The Reader reads*: ਮਨ ਬਾਛਤ ਫਲ ਮਿਲੇ ਅਚਿੰਤਾ 'All that the heart desired has been unexpectedly received']. Brother, everything has been attained. This is the greatness of the Perfect Guru. [*The Reader reads on*: ਪੂਰਨ ਹੋਏ ਕਾਮਾ 'Wishes have been fulfilled']. All the wishes of those people have been fulfilled. Brothers, Bidhi Chand's business was to steal horses. His wish was fulfilled. He only needed to see Satguru, the True King. The horse has arrived [the main mission has been accomplished]. The Guru will himself take care of the calf [the minor matter that remains]. [*The Reader reads on*: ਈਹਾ ਸੁਖ ਆਗੈ ਮੁਖ ਉਜਲ 'There is ease and comfort here; they will have a clear countenance in afterlife']. Here they have comfort. In afterlife they have cheer on their faces. Here they receive praise. Hereafter too they will have no worry of any kind. Upon death there is the Region of Truth<sup>63</sup>, and while alive they are with the congregation. [*The Reader continues*: ਮਿਟਿ ਗਏ ਆਵਣ ਜਾਣੇ 'Their cycle of birth and death has ended']. Brothers: coming [to the world of senses] upon birth and going away upon death has ended for those who love God. [*The Reader continues*: ਨਿਰਭਉ ਭਏ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਸਿਆ 'They have become fearless, and God's Name abides in their hearts']. They have become fearless. God's Name abides.

<sup>63</sup>*Sach Khand* is the abode of Formless God, The Eternal Truth. Sikhs often refer to the deceased as 'living in Sach Khand' or 'living in the Region of Truth', i.e., being with God.

They have become God's own form. They do not frighten anyone. Neither do they fear anyone. A son of a Sikh who is afraid is not a son of a Sikh. One who is the son of a Sikh and frightens anyone is also not a son of a Sikh. [A Sikh] is not afraid of anyone nor does he frighten anyone. [*The Reader continues: ਮਾਪੁ ਨੇ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਭਾਣੈ* 'They are loved by their True Guru']. Those who live according to the True Guru's wishes are fortunate. [*The Reader reads: ਉਠਤ ਬੈਠਤ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਵੈ* 'Sitting as well as standing [always] they sing God's praises']. Standing as well as sitting, one should be singing God's praises. Some ask what will they get by singing. [*The Reader reads: ਦੁਖੁ ਦਰਦੁ ਭੁਖੁ ਭਾਗਾ* 'Pain, sorrow, waywardness and fear have disappeared']. There are five types of hurt, five types of doubt, five types of pain. They will all disappear. The *Narkdharis* say that if you reveal their *mantra* to anyone you will be stricken with leprosy. What is the use of receiving such a useless thing [the *mantra*], which only brings leprosy? You should ask these *Narkdharis* and Radhaswamis. Ask them what *mantra* the *Baba*<sup>64</sup> has given them. They do not tell. You can try ever so hard. People hide bad things. Good things are hawked around. People say our shop is open, come and take the stuff. Don't they hide their stuff because it is bad? Guard against such selfish people. Serve the Perfect Guru. [*The Reader reads: ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਤਾ ਕੇ ਪੂਰ ਕਰਮਾ* 'Say, O Nanak, he receives complete mercy']. 'Perfect grace' this is a Persian word. In that language the word is *karam* for mercy. [*The Reader reads: ਜਾ ਕਾ ਗੁਰ ਚਰਨੀ ਮਨੁ ਲਾਗਾ* 'Whose mind is attached to the Guru's feet [instruction]']. His mind is attached to the Guru's feet [*Here, Sant Bhindranwale recites a poem, a verse by Bhai Nihal Singh, about the merits of one who is united with the Guru. This has not been included in this translation*]. When the elephant was caught by an octopus, he prayed. God came from heaven and saved the elephant's life. The same way, when India, the elephant, was caught by Aurangzeb<sup>65</sup>, the octopus, who wanted to drown the elephant in the river of *Shariat*<sup>66</sup> using his imperial order, the religion and the *Shariat* to tie it up, at that time India, the elephant, in the form of Kashmiri Pundits appealed to Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib. God-like Guru Gobind Singh Ji met him. Instead of the *Chakra*<sup>67</sup>, wielding an arrow, he cut the bonds of *Shariat* imposed by Aurangzeb the octopus and saved India, the elephant, from the pain of subjugation by Muslims. In the same manner, our life is an elephant. Ignorance is an octopus. This world is a river full of water that is love of worldly goods. Ignorance wishes to put a rope through our noses and drown us in this river. When love is offered at the feet of Satguru Granth Sahib; Satguru Granth Sahib standing close by, shooting the arrow of the Word from the tongues of the seekers, destroying the physical desires, the arms of the octopus, has saved the elephant that is the human soul from drowning in the

<sup>64</sup> Reference is to Nirankari or Radhaswami Gurus.

<sup>65</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>66</sup> Islamic law, Muslim way of life.

<sup>67</sup> A weapon used by Krishan, a Hindu deity.

river of existence and taken him to liberation. You should think of this octopus. These *Narkdharis* ask people to wash their feet. First the feet have to be placed in one's heart. If one were to cut off their foot at the ankle, could one swallow it whole? If it is chopped up into pieces and swallowed, then it is only pieces of flesh and no longer a foot. 'Feet' is simply the Word.

ਹਿਰਦੈ ਚਰਣ ਸਬਦੁ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਕੋ ਨਾਨਕ ਬਾਧਿਓ ਪਾਲ॥

'O Nanak, I have carefully collected in my heart the True Guru's word, his feet.' The Tenth King used the words:

ਚਿਤਿ ਚਰਣ ਨਾਮੁ

'[God's] Name; [God's] feet in the mind.' Having the Name reside in one's mind is the 'feet'. Dear *Khalsa Ji*, be careful. My educated brothers: I appeal to you.

ਆਇਉ ਸੁਨਨ ਪੜਨ ਕਉ ਬਾਣੀ॥ ਨਾਮੁ ਵਿਸਾਰਿ ਲਗਹਿ ਅਨ ਲਾਲਚਿ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਜਨਮੁ ਪਰਾਣੀ॥

'O creature, one comes [to this world] to read and listen to [God's] Word. Those who, forgetting [God's] Name, get busy in other pursuits waste their lives.'

ਹਰਿ ਪੜੁ ਹਰਿ ਲਿਖੁ ਹਰਿ ਜਪਿ ਹਰਿ ਗਾਉ ਹਰਿ ਭਉਜਲੁ ਪਾਰਿ ਉਤਾਰੀ॥

'Read about God, write about God, remembering God sing God's [praise]; God will take you across the ocean of fear [the world of senses].' Read and listen to God's Name.

### The Word *Khalsa* In Names Of Institutions

Regarding the schemes that the word *Khalsa* will be obliterated let no one remain in any doubt because of his pride of power. It is very difficult to erase the word *Khalsa*. Mir Mannu<sup>68</sup> died trying to exterminate the *Khalsa*. Zakariya<sup>69</sup> died trying to finish the *Khalsa* off. Lakhpat and Jaspat<sup>70</sup> died trying to accomplish this. Jehangir, Shah Jehan<sup>71</sup> and Aurangzeb died trying to destroy the *Khalsa*. Who are you that you will eliminate the *Khalsa*? I appeal to the sons of Sikhs. If in any Hindu college, in any Hindu school, any Hindu

<sup>68</sup> Reference is to Moin-ud-din, a Governor of Lahore during the eighteenth century.

<sup>69</sup> Reference is to Zakariya Khan, a Governor of Lahore during the eighteenth century.

<sup>70</sup> Two Hindu brothers who carried out imperial orders to exterminate the Sikhs in earlier part of the 18th century.

<sup>71</sup> Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb were the three Mughal emperors at Delhi from 1606 to 1707 C.E.

library, the name of some of the incarnations [they believe in] is written, you should respect it. Don't throw stones at anyone, don't use your pen against anyone. However, if in any college, school or library of the Sikhs or at other religious place there is anything written about the True Gurus or about the Sikh faith; and someone intoxicated with power or with power of leaders of the Government, wishes to destroy the Sikh principles, the Sikh symbols, the words of the Sikh faith, let him do so remembering that this Sikh Nation is one that knows how to say *Vaheguru* while being broken on the wheel; it is the Nation that can hold out against Zakariya for twenty-two days after having the scalp removed; it is the Nation that, having its head and body sawn through, knows how to sit on Aurangzeb's neck and drive him out of Delhi. So, my Hindu brothers, I love you, we welcome you. Then, intoxicated by power, you say things like: "the name Guru Nanak College cannot be used", "the name Guru Nanak Khalsa College cannot be used." I like to ask such educated people as to who gave the word *Khalsa*? Have you read *Karmi Nama*? The word *Khalsa* was given by Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The Tenth King manifested it.

ਰਾਜ ਕਰੇ ਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਕੀ ਰਹੇ ਨ ਕੋਇ॥ ਖੁਆਰ ਹੋਇ ਸਭ ਮਿਲੈਗੇ ਬਚੇ ਸਰਣਿ ਜੋ ਹੋਇ॥

'The *Khalsa* shall rule; no one will remain hostile. Frustrated, they shall all unite. All who seek protection will be safe.' These words are not the Tenth King's. These are Guru Nanak Dev Ji's. The word *Khalsa* is a Persian word. How can you say that the word *Khalsa* cannot be used with Guru Nanak Dev Ji's name [as part of the name of a college] and that it should be deleted and simply the name 'Guru Nanak Dev Ji' used? The True Guru gives us the *Khalsa* form, the Tenth king manifests it and you, in pride of your power tell us to cut out the word *Khalsa*! Sons of Sikhs: I appeal to you. Let all of you who are sons of Sikhs be cut up into pieces but do not let them remove this name. How dare anyone remove it? When we say: "Go ahead; write Krishan Ji; write Ram Chandra Ji; write Hanuman Ji; write Dattatreya Ji; write Parsram Ji; write Shiv Ji; write Brahma or Vishnu wherever your libraries are. No one will stop you." Sikhs shed their blood to protect their *janeoo* and cap. Now why do you find the use of Guru's words objectionable? ....

[The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available].

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**CONVERSATION WITH SURINDERJIT SINGH BAINS  
OF VANCOUVER, CANADA  
JANUARY 1983**

**Mr. Bains:** Sant Ji: I, Surinderjit Singh Bains, bring you greetings from the Sikhs living abroad. *Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>1</sup>.

**Sant Bhindranwale:** *Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**Mr. Bains:** Sant Ji: Can you tell me since when have you been staying at Guru Nanak Niwas and what is the reason for doing so?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** I have been living here since 19 July 1982. I am here to stop the atrocities being committed against *Singhs*<sup>2</sup> through peaceful protest. There is no other purpose. This struggle had been going on on behalf of the *Panth*<sup>3</sup> keeping in view some worldly objectives. However, Bhai Amrik Singh Ji was arrested on July 19. Before that, on 17 July, three *Singhs* of the *Jatha*<sup>4</sup> on their way back after dropping off Baba Uttam Singh Ji of Khadoor Sahib went to pick up a prescription for me. I was ill at that time. I fell ill on the 13th, between 12 and 13 July.

**Mr. Bains:** Were you at your village at that time?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** At Mehta, I was receiving glucose intravenously. The doctor had prescribed rest. Baba Uttam Singh Ji of Khadoor Sahib had come to see me. These *Singhs* went to drop him off at Khadoor Sahib. On the way back, the police stopped them and asked them who they were and where they were going. They replied that they had come from Mehta and were returning thereto .... [*inaudible*]. .... The policemen said: "Our superior officer wants you to come and see him." They went along. The police caught hold of them and started to beat them up. They had a .455 pistol. It was licensed. They also had 16,000 rupees in cash. The police confiscated that too and beat them up. The next day, I sent Bhai Amrik Singh to inquire about them; he was arrested on 19 July. I sent Baba Thara Singh after him and they arrested him as well. Many people criticize me saying that previously so many *Singhs* had been killed, so many arrested, why did I not do something at that time? The reason for not launching a protest earlier has been that in all the struggles by the Akali Dal so far and for some martyrdoms that occurred during the year .... [*inaudible*]. ....

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>2</sup> *Amritdhari* Sikhs: *amritdhari* means a person who has been formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>3</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>4</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.



a period of time was allowed for pursuing the cases in courts of law. This is why no struggle was launched. We said to ourselves, the legal process is taking its course, let us see how it turns out and then decide the next step. However, there is a new twist to this now. They catch hold of a person. Whosoever goes to get help to get him released is arrested. Then whosoever goes to the rescue of this second person is himself arrested. This leaves us with only two options: to fight peacefully or with the bullet. Before taking to the path of the bullet we have considered it prudent to adopt the path of peaceful protest. This is why we started the struggle on 19 July. We called a big assembly on the 25 July. On 26 July there was a meeting or discussion, whatever you might like to call it, on behalf of the Shromani Akali Dal during which it was decided that from 4 August - up to 4 August the protest was by the *Jatha* only - the struggle would be in *Panth's* hands. On 4 August, a *Jatha*<sup>5</sup> was sent, on behalf of the *Panth*, by the Akali Dal. Our demands were primarily the release of our *Singhs* and classification of Amritsar as a holy city. That was all. These were the basic demands. Regarding the Anandpur Resolution, a movement on that basis had already been going on for a long time. On 4 August, all these came together. Now it is a *Panthak*<sup>6</sup> struggle on behalf of the Akali Dal. The sequence of arrests started with the arrests of 19 July. Even though the struggle had been going on since much earlier, there had been no arrests. Talwandi<sup>7</sup> is sitting here. He has been arrested at times. There was the *Morcha*<sup>8</sup> for busses, the *Morcha* for rates, the *Morcha* for milk [prices], and the *Morcha* of Kapoori which is often called the Kapoori *Morcha*. The Kapoori *Morcha* was for canal waters. There were demonstrations in these *morchas* but no arrests. The arrests were only on 19 July. This is the main reason [for my staying here]. Since then they have not released these persons and I have not gone back.

**Mr. Bains:** How many people courted arrest on 19 July?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** Fifty-one.

**Mr. Bains:** Did those *Singhs* belong to your *Jatha*?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** They belonged to the congregation. They were from the public.

**Mr. Bains:** Where did they court arrest?

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<sup>5</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group. Here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>6</sup> *Panthak* is an adjective means pertaining to the *Panth*; associated with or belonging to the *Panth*.

<sup>7</sup> Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi, a well-known leader of Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>8</sup> *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

**Sant Bhindranwale:** D.C.<sup>9</sup>

**Mr. Bains:** Is the current struggle under your and Sant Longowal's leadership?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** Sant Longowal is the President. I am only a minor servant of the congregation. Leadership is with the Akali Dal.

**Mr. Bains:** Have there been any talks since the *Morcha* started?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** There have been some with Sant Ji<sup>10</sup>. There haven't been any with me. Sant Ji would know what talks have taken place with him. Only one person has talked to me. It was Swaran Singh<sup>11</sup>. He came here. First he saw Sant Ji and then came to see me.

**Mr. Bains:** Could you tell us something about the talks?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** I could tell you a lot. When he came, I was sitting here, down below. He greeted me and I responded. Then he said: "Sant Ji, I applaud your creating an awakening among the Sikhs. You have preached *amrit*<sup>12</sup> to the people. You have brought people to the correct path." I said: "That is the precise reason I am sitting here today - because of the temperament of your Government." He asked what I meant. I told him that the Government had made it its policy that whosoever administers *amrit* must not be allowed to move about. He said this couldn't be true and that he was himself a Sikh [and had no trouble with the Government]. We were silent after this conversation. Then I asked him how he had come, as a messenger or as a Sikh? He said he had come as a Sikh. I asked him what he wanted. He said he wanted my blessings. I told him that blessings are available from there, from Darbar Sahib and from Guru Granth Sahib. He said: "*Mahatmas* can also give [blessings]." I asked him: "Does your Government consider me *mahatma*? Your Government says I am a robber. You are from the Government and you call me *mahatma*?" He said: "I called you a *mahatma* in my capacity of being a Sikh." I asked him: "You just now said that you wish to talk to me about the struggle. If you have to talk to me about the struggle and you have come to me as a Sikh and not as a messenger, what is your problem?" Then he said: "I am here as a messenger as well." I replied that, in that case, we could talk. He started by asking me to tell him about the struggle. I told him that I had heard that he had been a minister

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<sup>9</sup> Deputy Commissioner: the administrative head and chief magistrate of the district; the *Morcha* was outside the Deputy Commissioner's residence.

<sup>10</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President of Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>11</sup> A Sikh who was a preeminent leader in Indira Gandhi's Congress party and a former minister in the Indian Government.

<sup>12</sup> To receive *amrit* means to be formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

in the Central Government, that he was a lawyer, and that he was very skilled at dilatory conversation but that I would believe him to be an educated person if he could answer the questions of this *Saadh*<sup>13</sup> otherwise he would be illiterate in my eyes. He said: "Ask." I said: "Give me the answer to my first question. What have you done about the murderers of Satguru<sup>14</sup> Granth Sahib - about the setting on fire of the books of Guru Granth Sahib in Chando-Kalan? If you haven't done anything so far, why not? If you are doing something, what is it? He said: "I have no answer." I said: "If you have no answer, then go away; what do you want from me? If you have an answer, let me have it." .... [inaudible] .... Then I asked him: "Are you a Sikh of the Guru or of Indira?" He said: "Sant Ji, I had heard that you are a difficult person. Today I have seen for myself." I told him: "If being truthful is being difficult, then I am difficult, but if being false is difficult, then I am very sweet. Tell me if I am lying? I shall be truthful. Guru Granth Sahib is all Truth. If [Siri Guru Granth Sahib] is difficult, then, because I read the *Baani*<sup>15</sup>, I have to be difficult. If I have maligned anyone, blamed anyone, tell me. There are twenty-eight points which I can give you in writing. Tell Indira to give me answers to these twenty-eight points. Let her prove me false in any open forum and I shall have my head cut off and presented to the Sikhs. Neither you nor Indira have answers to these twenty-eight questions, and you keep calling me difficult!" He said to me: "I am a Sikh of the Guru." I said: "I do not believe it; you are not" He said: "Why?" I said: "Lala Jagat Narain died?" He said: "Yes, someone killed him." I asked him: "Did you issue a condemnation?" He said: "Yes, I did." I asked him: "Did the other Sikh ministers do it too?" He said: "Yes." I asked: "A volume of Satguru Granth Sahib was set on fire. Did you condemn that?" He said: "No." I asked him: "Why? Guru Granth Sahib is our Father, our Beloved. You were so hurt by the Lala's death but Guru Granth Sahib's being set on fire does not hurt you? Why have you not condemned that if you are a Sikh, a Sikh of the Guru?" He said: "It is not a mistake, it is neglect." I thought [to myself] that he was a clever fellow but let us follow his line of argument. I said: "If you neglected it then go ahead and issue one now. The newspapermen are sitting right here." He said: "I have constraints." I said: "Then accept that you are a Sikh of Indira's. If someone's father is set on fire, if someone's father's beard is pulled out, if someone's father's turban is tossed, and the son hesitates in making a statement about his father, is he really [a son] of his father?" He had no answer. Well, we further talked about my questions and he asked me to dictate these to him. I had him write this in it. Our Sikh brothers living abroad also doubt that we Bhindranwale Sikhs are slaves. These are the signs of slavery. This is my question to Indira. You can go out and tell from various

<sup>13</sup> A *saadh* is a holy man, an ascetic.

<sup>14</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

public platforms that Bhindranwala wants an answer [from Indira]. If she does not answer, it is your business. Is that all right? How are we slaves?

The first question for which I seek an answer from Indira is whether there is one Constitution for all of India's citizens or whether there are two. If Indira has prepared two Constitutions, one for the Sikhs and another for the rest, let Indira so declare and let the Sikhs sit down and think over which Constitution to accept as applicable to them. But if there is only one Constitution, then Indira must explain why there is discrimination against the Sikhs. We are not asking for two Constitutions, but if she has made two she should so declare. If she has not made two, she should give an answer. The question is that when eighty-year old Lala Jagat Narain died, the inquiry into his death was completed within three days. One and a half dozen Sikhs were killed on 20 September 1981. They were killed in 1981. Why has the inquiry into their deaths not been completed until now. It is now 1983. What is the reason that the inquiry for the death of an eighty year old person of the 680 million strong majority community is completed in three days but for the minorities, even if eighteen of them are killed there is no inquiry for one and a half years? Isn't this discrimination?

The second point is that an eighty-year-old man belonging to the majority, Lala Jagat Narain, died and his body was handed over to his son Romesh after the post-mortem examination. However, when Sikhs, who were eighteen to twenty-two years old were killed, not one of the bodies was given back to the families. If the Constitution is the same [for all], why this discrimination?

Were the warrants<sup>16</sup> issued for me or for the busses? If the warrants were for my arrest, why were the busses set on fire? Were the warrants for me or for Guru Granth Sahib? If the warrants were for my arrest, under what law was Guru Granth Sahib set on fire? Did they go to catch me or to catch the village of Chando-Kalan? If they had gone to arrest me, under what law did they loot property worth 300,000 rupees including gold, silver, cash and clothes from the residents of Chando-Kalan? Are Governments for protection or are they for the destruction of the country? If the Government is for protection, why was so much wealth looted from the people of the village? The law requires that if any person is a suspect, warrants for his arrest should be issued. He should be told what the charges against him are. If he fails to surrender, then warrants for confiscation of his property are to be issued. If he still does not surrender, he is to be declared a fugitive and may be shot to death. However, what happened in this case is that the Lala died on 9 [September] and on the 12th warrants for my arrest were issued from their court. On the 14th they burnt both the busses, showed disrespect to Satguru, and ransacked the village. I was shown the

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<sup>16</sup> Warrants for Sant Bhindranwale's arrest issued on 12 September 1981 after Lala Jagat Narain's murder.

warrants at Mehta at 4 p.m. on the 16th. Why was so much damage done before showing me the warrants? Under what law was this done? Here I had declared that if the Government has any suspicions about me, it should issue warrants for my arrest and I shall appear on my own anywhere they wish me to. It can use all the power it has. On the 20th, at the time of offering myself for arrest, before leaving I said this from the stage. It was a large gathering of about half a million. The *Singhs* asked me why I was wearing a saffron turban and carrying a cloth of the same color? I gave them - the congregation - this reply. In India, among us Sikhs, it is customary that when people go to get a boy married, they wear saffron turbans and carry a saffron cloth. I am going to marry Death. If Zakariya<sup>17</sup>, the Chief Minister Darbara of Punjab, has a *granthi*<sup>18</sup> or if Indira<sup>19</sup> has a *granthi* to perform the ceremony, they should send him to jail and hang me to Death. I appealed to the congregation to maintain peace and said that, until I return after marrying death, anyone who throws a brick or a rock at any police official or fires at one would be my greatest enemy. I told them to recite God's name until my return. What other announcement for peace could I make to the congregation? They had come to arrest me. Then, after I had left, why did they open fire? Indira should answer this.

Why have sons of Sikhs, persons with the name 'Singh' alone been discharged from service in Punjab? From the police, thirty-two [have been discharged]. Why no Hindus have been laid off? Why did the police set only the houses of Sikhs on fire? How is it that no home, no factory belonging to any Hindu has been burnt? Not that we are in favor of any property being burnt, the question is that only Sikh homes are burnt and none of the Hindus.

There have been protest movements from both sides. Why the daughters of Sikhs have been sent to jail and dishonored there? Cases under sections<sup>20</sup> 302 and 307 were registered against them. Why was this never done to Hindu women? Sikh men fought among themselves. Under what law have cases been registered against the women? Bibi Nachhattar Kaur is the wife of the martyr Gurmeet Singh of Daheru. Under what law is she being prosecuted? Why was a Sikh woman, daughter of a poor family with the name 'Singh', stripped naked and her father made to dishonor her in public? Under what law was this done? Why are these things not happening to any Hindus? In the Ghall Khurd Police Station, a daughter of poor Sikhs whom we sometimes describe as *Jheoor*, from Dauke village situated on the border in District Amritsar, was stripped naked

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<sup>17</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>18</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>19</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>20</sup> Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code is applicable to a case of murder and 307 of the Indian Penal Code is applicable to attempted murder.

and Swaran Singh the D.S.P.<sup>21</sup> held her by her breast and paraded her through the village. A Commission was set up [to inquire into the matter]. The Commission submitted its report that he was guilty. The S.S.P.<sup>22</sup> of that time, Avtar Singh Atwal, said that it had been done under his orders. Let us accept that he [Swaran Singh] was set free, why was Atwal not questioned? The punishment Atwal received for stripping a poor Sikh girl was that he was promoted from S.S.P. to D.I.G.<sup>23</sup> of Jalandhar Range. What is the reason for this? Is this not discrimination? Has any daughter of a Hindu been stripped? Indira should answer this. She says that Sikhs are living in peace, that Sikhs are happy, that she does not discriminate against them. This is what has happened to us. We have proofs for all this.

A person associated with a Hindu *Vairaagi*<sup>24</sup> brought and dropped some tobacco in the *Parkarma*<sup>25</sup> Sikhs caught him there and handed him over to the police. He admitted that he had been sent by Romesh<sup>26</sup> and that they, who had come, were four men. For throwing tobacco at a religious place of the Sikhs, for the desecration, the police would not even take him to the Police Station. He was released on the road outside the station. On the other hand, someone brought a head of a dead cow from the slaughterhouse and dropped it in a Hindu religious place. Neither any Hindu nor any Sikh witnessed any Sikh boy doing it. Simply based on suspicion, a price of fifty thousand rupees has been placed on the head of Jaswant Singh Thekedar of Gurdaspur and of twenty-five thousand on the head of Rajinder Singh of Mehta where we are based and where there is a Gurdwara Sahib<sup>27</sup>. A price was placed on his head because he grew up in the village where Bhindranwala lives, because he is a student in the Federation<sup>28</sup>, because he is an employee of the Shromani Parbandhak Committee, and he has the complete appearance. His bounty is twenty-five thousand [rupees]. We are not in favor of such things being thrown<sup>29</sup> but I am talking about it because there is discrimination. What is the reason that one who was caught red-handed and turned over to the police had no price placed on his head, suffered no torture, had no case registered against him, but one who was neither caught nor seen doing anything has a price on his head? Under what license is this done? Is it because his name is *Singh*? Isn't this discrimination?

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<sup>21</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Police.

<sup>22</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>23</sup> Deputy Inspector General.

<sup>24</sup> A *Vairaagi* is a Hindu ascetic.

<sup>25</sup> *Parkarma* is the marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.

<sup>26</sup> Editor of a Hindu newspaper, son of Lala Jagat Narain.

<sup>27</sup> Gurdwara Sahib Gurdarshan Parkash.

<sup>28</sup> All-India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>29</sup> Reference is to an incident of cow's head having been thrown in a Hindu temple.

If Sikhs have to get a train named after their religious place, if we have to speak the Punjabi language, if we wish to have the boundaries of the Punjabi Suba redefined, if we wish to have a city given a holy city status, 67,000 to 68,000 have to go to jail. Has any Hindu [ever gone to jail] to speak the Hindi language, to get a Hindu State created, to get a train named after a Hindu religious place, to get a transmitter installed - you have read the report which appeared in the newspapers some time back that there is going to be recitation of Vedas from Calcutta and Bombay - to establish ownership over rivers that flow through their states. Other states have this right but for the rivers that flow through Punjab, the Punjabis have been asking for control but all they have received is [the promise] that a Commission will be appointed to look into this claim, that this matter will be handed over to the Supreme Court. It is still to be referred. When will that happen? Sixty-seven thousand have gone to jail and the issue is still nowhere near resolution. Why is it that even after 67,000 have gone to jail there is no decision? Why is it that 67,000 have to go to jail just to get the case moving? Is it simply because it is a demand of the Sikhs, because Sikhs raised their voice for it? Why is it so? Isn't this discrimination?

If a son of a Sikh, Jagjit Singh Aurora, gets ninety thousand [Pakistan troops] to surrender, and enhances the prestige of India by liberating Bangladesh, within six months he is forcibly retired but the cap-wearing Maneckshaw is promoted on the basis of a telephone call! General Shabeg Singh, an associate of Jagjit Singh Arora, gets the Muslims to lay down their arms, and then he is denied his pension from '73 to '83. Why is it so? Is it because he is a Sikh? Isn't this discrimination?

In India, Indira Gandhi, a girl born in the home of Pundits, getting the votes of the people, became the Prime Minister. In 1977, based on what she had done, a judge of the Supreme Court sentenced her to a couple of days in prison. If her co-workers, persons associated with her, associated with the Hindu brotherhood, Pandey and others, wearers of the *janeoo*<sup>30</sup> or believers in the practice if not actually wearing it, hijack an aeroplane, they are given tickets to become M.L.A.'s<sup>31</sup>. On the other hand, if the *Isht*<sup>32</sup> of the Sikhs is set on fire, daughters and sisters of Sikhs are stripped naked, Sikhs are tortured, to protest all that, taking their cue from Pandey and others, Sikhs hijack a plane - they have to suffer exile. They are in Pakistan. Isn't this discrimination? Say, who was the first to set a precedent? Was the first hijacking by a person with the *janeoo* or by a person with a *kirpaan*<sup>33</sup>? If the one with the *janeoo* set the

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<sup>30</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>31</sup> Members of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>32</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>33</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

precedent, then should the one who showed the way be hanged first, exiled first or should it be the one who learnt from the example? Indira should answer this. If a cap-wearer<sup>34</sup> hijacks a plane, he gets a room in the Assembly. However, if a fellow with a *kirpaan* and a *dastaar*<sup>35</sup>, Gurbakhsh Singh who stayed here last night, hijacks a plane, he is punished. I asked him what happened. He told me that they gave him an injection to paralyze his leg. If a Hindu hijacks a plane it is patriotism but if a Sikh, Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh hijacks a plane, he is shot and killed. Aren't these cases of discrimination? Don't the Sikhs living abroad wake up? Why don't they go out and say that there is discrimination against the Sikhs and that Indira should answer? Of course, if any Sikh set fire to a plane, damaged the plane in any way, struck any passenger, killed any passenger, he is to blame. The Sikhs were only protesting. The Hindus [Pandey and others] too were protesting. The Hindu gets public office and the Sikh gets the bullet. [They say] the country is free and there is no discrimination. Isn't this discrimination?

A Sikh young man of village Machaki in Moga Tehsil was forced down and a Hindu sat on his chest, smoked tobacco and then spat into his, the Sikh's, mouth. He is a *granthi* at a gurdwara. Tobacco was sprinkled in his mouth. Has any Hindu been ever treated like this?

Jangir Singh, son of Tara Singh of village Ittanwali, is a handloom worker in Moga. They [the police] held Jagir Singh, his [Tara Singh's] son, down, made a cut in his thigh, pulled out flesh from the cut, and then filled the wound with salt. Isn't this discrimination?

The police took Kulwant Singh of Nagoke in their custody, hung him upside down and pierced his body with heated steel rods. They broke him joint by joint, broke his right leg and then shot him. They reported that there had been a police 'encounter.' Isn't this discrimination?

The police tied up the penises of Sukhdev Singh and Jasbir Singh, both from Isapur village. Their bodies got bloated. The police tore off their flesh with pliers, pulled flesh from their upper arms, tore out their eyes and then shot them. Has any Hindu been treated like that? Isn't this discrimination?

All the ten nails from the hands as well as from the feet of Gurmeet Singh of Dhulkot were extracted with pliers and salt sprinkled over the wounds. Candles were lit under his hands and he was burnt. Then he was shot. Isn't this discrimination? Tell me, has any Hindu been so treated? They [the Government] should answer this.

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<sup>34</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often referred to Hindus as cap-wearers.

<sup>35</sup> *Dastaar* is the Sikh turban.



When Vinoba Bhave died, the Government offices were closed for two days. Satguru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib laid down his life for the caps [of the Hindus] but there is only half a day off for that. Isn't this discrimination? What is the reason for this?

If one is a Sikh; if not even an empty cartridge is found on him, a case is registered against him merely on suspicion and he is hung upside down and tortured. But if 230 grenades, bombs, are found in the possession of a Hindu - Pawan Kumar, President of Hindu Suraksha Samiti of Patiala - there is no case registered against him. Why is this? Indira should answer.

Once she<sup>36</sup> asked why I had written a letter to Jagjit Singh regarding Khalistan. I ask the Government for an answer to this and the Sikhs living abroad should also ask her this. In which Constitution is it written that a Sikh cannot write a letter to another Sikh? If a member of Jan Sangh can write to another member of Jan Sangh; if an Arya Samajist can write to another Arya Samajist; if a Hindu can write to another Hindu; if Indira can write to Pakistan and America; why is there a restriction on the Sikhs? In what Constitution is it written that a Sikh cannot write a letter to another Sikh? Let them answer me. Then I shall tell them if I have written a letter or not. Why is this?

On the one hand they say that Sikhs are a part of the Hindus. If the Sikhs are a part of the Hindus, then they should say that Sikhs are a separate nation. They call Sikhs a part because they are identifiable as distinct from other parts, don't they? If they are not distinct then they should say that all are Hindus. Why do they say Sikhs are a part of Hindus? Why are they saying so? Then, they say Sikhs are extremists. If Sikhs are extremists and Hindus are not then they should accept that Sikhs are a separate nation. If they don't then they should say Hindus are extremists because then there are no Sikhs, they do not recognize anyone as Sikh. On the one hand, Sikhs are extremists and Hindus are chaste and, on the other, if Sikhs are not a separate nation; then how can a Sikh be an extremist? They should answer these questions. It is being tape-recorded. Let Indira give correct answers. I shall have my head cut off and present it to the *Singhs* if she can prove even one of my statements wrong. Let her say here is where Bhindranwala told a lie.

**Mr. Bains:** Any message for the Sikhs living abroad?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** The message for the Sikhs living abroad is that they should receive *amrit*, live according to the *Rehit*<sup>37</sup>, unite under the saffron

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<sup>36</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

<sup>37</sup> *Sikh Rehit* or *Sikh Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

*Nishaan Sahib*<sup>38</sup> and support the *Panth* stoutly, be prayerful at every breath, make an honest living and share the fruits, cooperate with each other, never attack one another but never spare anyone who criticizes Guru Granth Sahib, and bear arms.

We say that a Hindu should be a true Hindu. The mark of a true Hindu according to Hindu religious texts is that he should have *tilaks*<sup>39</sup> - on his forehead, nose, chin, chest, each cheek, each ear, each armpit, neck, and head - twelve in all; should wear a *janeoo* of nine threads; should wear a *dhoti*<sup>40</sup> with a border which we call *kakhaee dhoti*; should have a cap on his head; and should read the Geeta. A Hindu should take *Charanamrit*<sup>41</sup> from Shiv Ling. I won't say any more about this because they start fighting. I have told you a little bit. You can ask them further. [They say] Shiv Ji was going to do something wicked. Vishnu Ji hurled his *Sudarshan Chakra*<sup>42</sup> and cut [Shiv Ji's penis] into twelve bits. His [Shiv Ji's] organ is called Shiv Ling, because it is a mark of Shiv Ji. Ask them how their Isht came into being? They won't tell you because they feel so much shame. I won't tell from this stage because they will say I deliberately talk about it to taunt them. Ask them why it is written in their texts that they take its [Shiv Ling's] *Charnamrit*? We also prepare *amrit*. If they wish to believe in these things it is their business. They can take *Charnamrit*, they can stir it and drink it. If such a Hindu comes to us we invite him to our stage so long as he does not abuse tobacco; and if such a one invites us we go to his home too. How can they say I am against Hindus? If a Muslim has been circumcised, says his prayer five time daily at the proper times, reads the Qura'n, worships Allah and believes in Mohammed, and does not use tobacco, we have complete love for such a Muslim. If he invites us we shall go to him and if we invite him he will visit us. A Sikh should be:

ਸਾਬਤ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਦਸਤਾਰ ਸਿਰਾ

'Complete form with *dastaar* on the head.' He should have the *kachh* of chastity, *kara* on his hand and a weapon.

ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਣ ਪਾਣ ਧਾਰੀਯੈ। ਕਰੋਰ ਖਾਧ ਟਾਰੀਯੈ।

'I wielded the sword in my hand, I turned away ten million sins.' Complete appearance, flowing beard, and

ਕਾਠ ਕਾ ਕੰਘਾ ਕੇਸੀ ਚੜ੍ਹਾ॥

<sup>38</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>39</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

<sup>40</sup> *Dhoti* is a loincloth devout Hindus wear.

<sup>41</sup> Wash from the feet.

<sup>42</sup> A weapon that Lord Krishna used.

'wooden *kangha* in the hair.' A *kara* should be on his wrist. He should be one who rises early in the morning and reads the *Baani* and abstains from alcohol. If there is such a Sikh, we love him. I have declared that if there is someone who drinks while wearing a *kirpaan*, and you catch him drunk, the punishment I have announced is that you should get him examined by a doctor<sup>43</sup> and then pour kerosene over him and burn him alive. I shall fight your court case. This is regardless of the party affiliation of the person in such a garb doing such a thing. My appeal to all is that no one should drink but this [declared punishment of burning with kerosene] does not apply to the others, it is only for those with the *kirpaan*. If your legs are weak, cannot carry your weight, and you cannot take it [upon yourselves to administer the punishment specified], you should at the very least do the following. If any *raagi*<sup>44</sup>, *sant*<sup>45</sup>, *mahatma*<sup>46</sup>, *granthi* even if he is from Bhindranwale [*Jatha*] who wears a *kirpaan* does such a thing [drinks], wherever he goes, blacken his face, put a garland of old shoes around his neck, put him on a donkey and parade him throughout the village or the district. Write to the congregation of the village where he lives: "Brothers, we have become vigilant and if we catch such a one who wears a *kirpaan* and drinks again, he will be given double the punishment." Then tell me if anyone still continues to drink. How can they say we are unconcerned?

I, humbly and with folded hands, appeal to the Sikhs living abroad that they live in unity and not be soft to a critic of the Guru. Anything else?

**Mr. Bains:** *Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**Sant Bhindranwale:** *Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**Mr. Bains:** Sant Ji: would you tell me why they call Sikhs extremists?

**Sant Bhindranwale:** The Government has started to call extremists such Sikhs who are *amritdharis* and administer *amrit* to others; who read the *Baani* themselves and teach others to read it; who favor unity, preach unity and exhort people to be united; such people are called extremists. For this reason they call me, your servant, too an extremist. This is because my business is to explain *Gurbani*<sup>47</sup>, to teach *Gurbani* to those around me, to administer the *amrit* of

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<sup>43</sup> To make sure that he has been drinking.

<sup>44</sup> A *raagi* is a professional singer of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>45</sup> A *sant* is a holy man.

<sup>46</sup> A *mahatma* is a great soul, a holy man.

<sup>47</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

Five Beloved Ones<sup>48</sup>. This is why I am called an extremist. I appeal to the Sikhs living abroad that all the Sikhs settled in other countries need to become extremists. What sort of extremists; the kind who do the things that those people do whom the Government calls extremists. The Government has started calling those people extremists who administer *amrit*, who read the *Baani* and teach it, who are prepared to seek justice for the dishonor to their sisters, disrespect to their *Isht*, desecration of their religious places, and the murder of innocent people. I am an extremist. I am also a militant. I am a communalist and a separatist too but of the sort I have just described. Protecting the honor of our sisters, promoting respect for *Nishaan Sahib*, being ready to preserve respect for our *Isht*, seeking justice for the blood of innocent people that has been shed and to prevent its being shed in the future, this is the kind of extremist that I am. Those who agree with this should become extremists. Those who are the followers of Radhaswamis<sup>49</sup> and *Narkdharis*, those who are Sikhs of the goat or the spinning wheel<sup>50</sup>, or Sikhs who water the *Pipal* [tree] or sprinkle vermilion on the *Jand* [tree] should not raise their arms. The others should. In this manner, not only once but from innumerable stages I have got the Sikh Congregations to make this pledge and the Congregations have so pledged by raising their arms. I ask you and you should answer me once by speaking up. Tell me if you agree with me in protecting the honor of our sisters, establishing respect for our Beloved, maintaining respect for *Nishaan Sahib*, being ready to seek justice for the blood of martyrs, advocating unity and cooperation, urging people to give up intoxicants, telling a Hindu to be a true Hindu, a Muslim to be a true Muslim, a Sikh to be a true Sikh?

**Mr. Bains:** Yes.

**Sant Bhindranwale:** Tell me. Are you in agreement or not?

**Mr. Bains:** Yes, we are.

**Sant Bhindranwale:** Then, aren't you an extremist?

**Mr. Bains:** Yes.

**Sant Bhindranwale:** Tell me. Are you an extremist or not?

**Mr. Bains:** Yes.

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<sup>48</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith.

<sup>49</sup> Radhaswamis and the Sant Nirankaris are among religious groups that believe in human gurus.

<sup>50</sup> A follower of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule. Mr. Gandhi used to drink goat's milk.

**Sant Bhindranwale:** That's all. That is the type of extremist I am and the type all the Sikhs living abroad should become.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

## SPEECH #2 LATER PART OF FEBRUARY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru – Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>1</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Seated in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, all of us are experiencing the bliss. No praise is too much for this highly praiseworthy and important step that young Sikh students have taken to express their agreement with the *Panth*<sup>3</sup>.

### ADVICE TO YOUNG SIKHS

#### Hindus Are True To Their Faith: You Too Should Be

I shall very humbly say to the young students: "The effort you have made, through organizing this gathering, to free a downtrodden nation in the future by breaking and throwing aside the chains of slavery will be successful only if we ourselves are firm in our Faith in line with the words spoken by Satguru, Supporter of the humble, the True King, and follow the Guru's teaching." If a preacher does not himself possess the virtues he preaches, he cannot influence anybody. I had humbly said to the students who had met me in the office and I consider it worthy of repetition here. I said to them: "Out of all of you who are assembled here today by the grace of the Guru, let anyone of you *Singhs* resolve and try this. I shall give you five thousand rupees. Take it and go to any bazaar, any city or any other area and ask any son of a Hindu to wear his hair uncut in return for the money. You will find that he will never do what you ask him to. In return for 5,000 rupees he will not adopt the external Sikh form with uncut hair and beard. He will never agree to keep it intact. He will say: "No this cannot happen. It is impossible." Why can it not happen? It is because of his elders. [If he agrees with you] he is deviating from the ways of his elders. He is proud of what he is, even when he knows that they [Hindus] were punished by their elders. Krishan Bhagwan Ji had, with his own hands, cut off Rukaman's hair when he brought away Rukmani in marriage. He killed Shashpal, but they

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

[Hindus] have never doubted or criticized Krishan Ji. They never say that their Bhagwan [God] put them on the wrong path. They say that even though they have to destroy this gift from God, whatever their Guide has done is right. At the time Krishan Ji cut Rukaman's hair, Balbhaddar Ji, Krishan Ji's younger brother, who is also referred to as Balram Ji in books, said: "Bhagwan Ji, what you have done is not right. Why have you destroyed the gift given by *Khudaa*, *Parameshwar*, *Allah*, *Akal Purakh*<sup>4</sup> who sent you?" At that time, Krishan Ji realized his error and replied: "Balbhaddar Ji. What is done is done. I shall not do it again." But his followers have accepted the punishment he had given as a formula, as a fundamental principle, as a rule. They are following it. However, my young brothers, I am very sorry that [we do not follow the instructions of] the Guru in whose protection we are sitting, about whom it has been said:

ੴ ਸਾਡਾ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਬਾਪੁ ਹਮਾਰਾ॥ ਨਉਨਿਧਿ ਤੇਰੈ ਅਖੁਟ ਭੰਤਾਰਾ॥

'You are our common Master and Father, In Your coffers are limitless amounts of the nine treasures.' My Beloved, our common Guru, the Creator of such a commonwealth through universal teaching, wrote:

ਸਾਬਤ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਦਸਤਾਰ ਸਿਰਾ

'Complete form with *dastaar* [turban] on head.'

### Accept The Sikh Appearance

Maintain your complete appearance. Keep a turban on your head. I have considered it proper to make a humble request of the young men first because what I am going to tell them further will have effect only if you accept this first request. If you do not, preaching will perhaps have little effect. I wish to ask you to make a pledge by raising your arms. I ask those brothers who have destroyed their hair and beards and, having fallen into false and bad company, have strayed away from Sikh ways. With folded hands, and in all humility, I make a request of my brothers who have cut their hair and beards. If you love the *Panth*, if we are Sikhs of Siri Guru Granth Sahib and not of some holy man or other person, if we like the complete appearance, if we love our Faith and the *Panth*, if you consider it worthwhile maintaining a loving relationship with Presidents<sup>5</sup>, great men, and saints, then those of you who have cut their hair and beards should promise that in the future you will not cut your hair and beards and that you will not take alcohol. Only those who have cut their beards, not the others, please raise your arms. Only from among those who have cut their hair and beards, and show how many of us accept this principle. Those who have cut their hair and beards but promise today that they will keep hair,

<sup>4</sup> These are different names used by Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs for God.

<sup>5</sup> Reference is to Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

those who love Our *Isht*<sup>6</sup>, those who love the *Panth*, those who have 'Singh' as their name, raise your arms. Raise your arms brothers, let me see how many you are. Don't be shy. Those who have kept their hair, do not raise your arms. We do not have to keep count. We must not make it a hypocritical joke. Here we have to uphold the Truth. But if you are not prepared to keep your hair and beards, tell me how will you get the *Khalsa* to rule? We have listened to sermons by everybody. I do not criticize anyone. The sermons were in the interest of the Faith, for the benefit of the [Sikh] Nation, for pulling up the seedlings [the younger generation] buried under hell, for securing freedom from oppression under the stick of the Hindu regime. Later on, at the time of *Ardaas*<sup>7</sup>, we shall recite the lines: "The *Khalsa* shall rule, no one shall remain hostile." We can rule only if we become *Khalsa*. If we never become *Khalsa*, whose rule is it going to be? About *Khalsa*, it has been said:

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਖਾਸ ਕਹਾਵੈ ਸੋਈ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਹਿਰਦੇ ਭਰਮ ਨ ਹੋਈ

'Only he shall call himself *Khalsa* who has no misgivings in his mind.' Only he can be a *Khalsa* who has no doubts and misgivings in his mind. We have fallen into doubts even as to whether we should be women or men. What a colossal doubt is this! Has a woman ever grown a beard? If, by chance, a woman grows one, people express their dislike. Young men: if being sons of Sikhs we cut our beards, whom are we trying to blame? We are ourselves destroying Sikhism. No other people in the world have the courage to destroy Sikhism. Some of my brothers who have raised their arms, while sitting there, have the feeling that only a few arms have been raised. Only those who have cut their hair had to raise them, not everybody. I see that all those who have raised their arms have their hair cut. Those who have not raised [their arms] are all those who have their beards intact. I very humbly remind those brothers who have made the pledge that this is the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>8</sup> and not a congregation of some *sadhu*, or leader, or of some student belonging to the Federation<sup>9</sup>. This is the presence of the Guru wherein we all are seated as a united congregation. Stay true to your pledge. If we stay true, Guru Sahib will have mercy.

## SIKHS ARE SLAVES

You have heard about the signs of slavery. Many new young men have come here. Keeping them in mind, even though I have said this from many platforms, I consider it appropriate to repeat it here. The communists have

<sup>6</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>7</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly

<sup>8</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>9</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.



started asking students in schools: "Listening to Longowal and Bhindranwale, you have started to say we are slaves. In what way are we slaves?" I shall list for you only a few of the major points because the great man, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji has to go out to send the *Jatha*<sup>10</sup> off. I shall not take too much time and shall quickly wind up my speech. How are we slaves?

### Fear As A Minority

We are overwhelmed by the fact of our being a minority. Somehow this has to be corrected. I shall humbly say this. There are many well-read brothers sitting here. They teach me all the time. Do not think we are any less [than other communities]. One whose father is weak is a loser but one whose father is powerful can never lose. He is in loss who cannot get goods from somewhere. But if one who owns all the goods keeps feeling: I am in loss, I am in loss, then who will be in profit? Our Father<sup>11</sup> declared: "I shall get each [of my Sikhs] to fight one hundred and twenty-five thousand [of the enemy], only then shall I [deserve to] be called Gobind Singh." He made such a tremendous commitment that he would not like his name if his son would not fight one hundred and twenty-five thousand. He not only said this, he did it. Guru Sahib did not rely on declaration alone, he relied upon deeds. He fulfilled his word regarding one hundred and twenty-five thousand through Baba Ajit Singh Sahib Ji, the elder *Sahibzada*<sup>12</sup>, and through Bhai Himmat Singh Ji, one of the Five Beloved Ones<sup>13</sup>, through the two of them. I asked a well-read person to figure it out. He told me that they are only thirty-five of them to each of us, not a hundred. They are 660 million, aren't they? If each Sikh takes on thirty-five, there is no thirty-sixth. Then how do you say we are weak? But we shall do this division only when the President [of the Shromani Akali Dal] shall order us. In this connection, I like to humbly say to you that the peacefulness we keep talking about is not peace. Only he can realize this upon whom the responsibility rests. He knows which paths have to be followed to provide protection to his people, and how through sacrifices, we have to get something from them. It is not right to break the peace all the time. Neither is it right to remain peaceful under all circumstances. If it is too cold, frost will kill the wheat and fodder. Even if it is too hot and it does not rain, the crop dries up. Responsible persons have to carry the heavy responsibility. May Satguru have mercy. I remember the words spoken one day by Baba Ji<sup>14</sup>. He said from this stage: "*Singhs*, you ask us to be watchful that we do not give up." One brother had even preached: "Baba Ji,

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<sup>10</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>11</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; Ajit Singh was then eldest son of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. He was only fifteen years old when he died defending Chamkaur.

<sup>13</sup> One of the first five Sikhs initiated by Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in 1699.

<sup>14</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

release us from this peacefulness." Even this was preached! Sant Baba Harchand Singh Longowal also said from this stage one day: "*Singhs*, have patience. When we are about to make a decision, then ask us what we have decided. At this time the struggle is still going on. When decisions are made, we shall tell you this is the decision. If you accept it, well and good. If not, then say no. Before that [stage is reached], I do not consider it proper to use such words." They are no more than thirty-five to each of us. I have also learnt one day that these thirty-five include one hundred fifty million Muslims too. I do consider it appropriate to inform the educated people and the students as to how this chain of slavery got to be around our necks and in what way we are slaves. This is necessary because any news<sup>15</sup> that appears in the newspapers is abbreviated. They do not give it much space.

### Sikh Life Is Not Important In India

Out of the count of 660 million [Hindus], eighty-year-old Lala Jagat Narain was killed. My young brothers, his inquiry was completed in three days but when one and a half dozen of your age, from among young men and children, were killed the inquiry has not been completed even in fifteen months. There was firing in Mehta Chowk. Over eighteen *Singhs* achieved martyrdom there. Bhai Amrik Singh and Baba Thara Singh were responsible for [following up on] that inquiry. When these butchers - I hope I am not wrong in using these words, they do seem to be appropriate - these officials of the Government found out that they were in a tight spot and would be caught, they could not think of anything else. They thought that if they caught four or five of these [people who were following up on the inquiry] and put them in jail, the case against them would fizzle out. I beg your pardon, but I have never had much faith in legal proceedings because in the country, in the regime, in the court, where truth is not heard at all, how can one hope to get justice? Even then, to make sure that people do not blame the Akalis for arousing the young people and inciting trouble, we had to follow that route. A Sikh of the Guru, to secure his right, has to seek support only from Satguru Granth Sahib. His constitution is Guru Granth Sahib.

ਆਪਣੇ ਹੱਥੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕਾਜੁ ਸਵਾਰੀਐ॥

'With our own hands we should ourselves fulfill our mission.' No Sikh has ever achieved anything without this. It is correct that we are following the worldly laws. But follow that only so long as the President does not give us permission [to follow what the Sikh have historically done]. But, *Khalsa Ji*, the inquiry [into the death of] the eighty-year-old man belonging to the 660 million majority community was completed in three days and the inquiry into the death of one and a half dozen of the minority community has not been completed

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the Sikh view of the struggle.

even in a year and three months! Lala Jagat Narain's body was subjected to a post-mortem examination and the body was handed over to Romesh, his son. On the other hand, Sant Ji, the President Sahib, knows it too, and the rest of the members of the public are aware as well, that not a single one of the bodies of those with turbans was given to the families. Isn't this a chain of slavery?

### Sikhs Are Punished Differently Than Others

#### a. Hijacking of planes

The lady, Indira Gandhi, born in the house of Pundits, having secured the votes of the public, became Prime Minister of India. In 1977, because of her misdeeds, she was sentenced to jail for a day or two. She went to Tihar Jail. Her associates, Pandey and others, hijacked a plane to protest [her imprisonment]. *Khalsa Ji*, they were rewarded with cushions, with chairs<sup>16</sup> in the Assembly.

On the other hand, under instructions from *Zakariya*<sup>17</sup>, the Chief Minister of Punjab, the cruel [men], Bhatti and Manak<sup>18</sup>, set fire to my Father, Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, the Master of Four Thrones, the Embodiment of enlightenment. In this connection, our brothers, Gajinder Singh and others, sons of Sikhs, to protest that if grief can be expressed for a daughter of the Pundits, why can't there be a demonstration of grief for the *Isht* of the Sikhs? Today they are in exile in Pakistan. This is the chain of slavery around our necks. If a plane is hijacked for a daughter of the Pundits, it is patriotism. Hijacking for the Guru of the Sikhs is treason against the country. Through an injection in his leg, Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh, the son of a Sikh was crippled. When on 4 August [1982] the struggle was launched as a united effort and Sant Ji<sup>19</sup> took charge of directing the struggle and started his role as Dictator of the movement, this youthful brother could not control himself. To protest our daughters and sisters being dishonored, to draw the attention of the people towards this problem, to get our voice to reach the ears of the Government, Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh hijacked a plane. He has been shot to death. How will you secure justice for this? You can't get it with mere paperwork. You will get it through steadfastness. This is a chain of slavery around our neck.

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<sup>16</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance. The persons referred to were given tickets for contesting the elections to the legislative assemblies of their respective states and they won the elections.

<sup>17</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>18</sup> These are names of two police officers.

<sup>19</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal and Dictator of the peaceful struggle started on 4 August 1982.

b. Case of Cows' Heads in a Temple and Tobacco in Harmandar Sahib

If tobacco is thrown into Harmandar Sahib and a son of a Hindu is caught, *Khalsa Ji*, there is not even one hour's case against him. Here our Rajinder Singh Mehta is sitting with you. Jaswant Singh Thekedar has stepped out. Against [them] and other students too there are charges of throwing cows' heads [in a Hindu Temple]. No Sikh is in favor of placing cows' heads in temples. We are also not in favor of killing the cow. We do not consider the cow a Guru, it is a good animal. When the cows' heads were placed there [by someone], no Hindu, no priest saw the person who did it. But they placed a bounty of thirty-five thousand rupees on the head of our brother Mehta. The [total] bounty was set at eighty thousand rupees for all the brothers. If a Hindu throws tobacco in a Sikh place of worship, it is patriotism. But a son of a Sikh, even if he is not caught, mere suspicion is enough to class him a traitor to the country!

c. Punjabi Language, Punjabi-Speaking State, Naming of a Train, Holy City Status, etc.

How shall we get rid of this curse of slavery? If you wish to speak Punjabi, if you want a Punjabi-speaking state demarcated, if you wish a train named after Harmandar Sahib, if you want to get this city given the status of a holy city, not eighty but eighty-five thousand to eighty-six thousand of you go to jail, over one hundred and thirteen shed your blood and achieved martyrdom and still there is no announcement from Indira. She is a great hypocrite. She has again announced it in the newspapers that she accepts the Sikhs' religious demands. If she accepts them, why doesn't she so declare? Does she feel shy doing so? How long has this struggle gone on? Seven months? Every fifth day news arrives: "Longowal Ji, I accept the religious demands but there are some obstacles to the others." She should announce those demands for which there is no hitch. These people have adopted the devious path following which they seek to give the Sikh Nation a bad name. Has any Hindu ever gone to jail to speak Hindi, to get a Hindi-speaking state demarcated, to get a train named after a temple? If they get everything sitting [at home] and we do not get anything even after so many have been put to death, we have to think as to how we are going to get our rights. If we just sit with our hands tied and suffer beatings it is not manliness. We shall have to think of many things in this regard.

d. Different Inheritance Laws for Rural and Urban Property Hurt Sikhs

The son of a Sikh may be seventeen years old, if his parents die, even though comparison with anyone. .... [inaudible] .... He may be seventeen years of age, name should be 'Singh'. It should not be Chhalli Ram or Pakauri

Ram<sup>20</sup>. If the name is 'Singh', and we are seventeen years old, if our parents die, death tax has to be paid. Death tax will be levied based on the landholding. The Government will take the money for that [inheritance tax]. But if one is born as Chhalli Ram or Pakauri Ram, he could be owner of forty million rupees, there is no death tax. We, with turbans, at seventeen years' age, are not owners of our father's property. *Khalsa Ji*, don't be under any illusions. I am not saying this in excitement. It is my personal experience. It is still going on. At seventeen, we are not owners of our father's property but a son born to a Hindu, at birth itself, he is owner of the balance and weights<sup>21</sup>. I mentioned this because it has happened in my own family. My brother-in-law's father died. This tax has been levied against my brother-in-law. My brother-in-law died at twenty-eight years' age in Dubai. My nephew is eleven years old. He has to pay tax on his father's property. This does not happen to a Hindu. Don't be under any illusion that we have become big *Choudhries*, big *Sardars*<sup>22</sup>. We are *Sardars* but we don't accept our *Sardari*, we don't own it, we are vainly trying to identify with them [Hindus]. In their oppression they have adopted the attitude that if you read *Gurbani*<sup>23</sup>, if you talk about the *Panth*, if you talk about the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>24</sup>, if you talk about your spiritual Guide, Guru Granth Sahib, they say "He is an extremist."

### Sikhs In Government Are Deluded

I made a statement about this. Neither Indira nor *Zakariya* answers me nor does anyone else. Either they cannot read or they have adopted a stubborn attitude. Something just occurred to me about diplomacy. It appears to me that these people who occupy seats of power must certainly have the five virtues. I am saying this in jest. Bhagat Farid Ji has said:

ਪਿਰੁ ਵਾਤੜੀ ਨ ਪੁਛਈ ਧਨ ਸੁਹਾਗਣਿ ਨਾਉ॥

'The husband does not care for her but the woman has the name *Suhagan*<sup>25</sup>.' The husband does not care for her, but, sitting among *Singhs*, she says she is a happily married woman!

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

<sup>20</sup> Chhalli Ram, and Pakauri Ram are fictitious Hindu names contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli means an ear of corn and Pakauri is a fried food.

<sup>21</sup> Shopkeeper's tools of trade.

<sup>22</sup> *Choudhries* or *Sardars* means powerful people or community leaders.

<sup>23</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>25</sup> *Suhagan* is a happily married woman; literally, a fortunate lady.

**SPEECH #3**  
**27 FEBRUARY 1983**

Assembly of God's worshippers, Guru's Image constituted and blest by Satguru - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>1</sup>: say aloud,

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>2</sup>.*

*Khalsa Ji*: This struggle under the name of *Dharam Yudh*<sup>3</sup> has been going on for quite some time. In this struggle, there have been innumerable arrests and martyrdoms. In order to defeat the movement the Government has, from time to time, made the utmost effort. However, thanks to Satguru Ji's mercy, the struggle has gone on with steadfastness on the part of the *Panth*<sup>4</sup>, changing its form according to the circumstances. Just now you heard from Bhai Balwant Singh that *Bibi Indira*<sup>5</sup> has been making some announcements in a roundabout manner.

#### MRS. GANDHI'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

##### The Holy City Question

For instance, she has said something about the city but the location and extent of the 'city' have not been defined. They talk about the area in the vicinity [of Harmandar Sahib] but how far will this 'vicinity' extend?

##### The Issue Of The Length Of The *Kirpaan*

The other statement given is about [the length of the] *kirpaan* [that a Sikh may carry]. No Sikh is ever going to accept this. There is sadness in my heart. As far as I have learnt from historical accounts and by word of mouth from great men, no person following any religion has ever had restrictions imposed on his religious symbols. If any restriction has been forcibly imposed, it has not been tolerated. Whether she decides in favor of six inches or nine inches, a Sikh will never tolerate it. Tell her that this is an inseparable part of us. We did not get the *kirpaan* in exchange for peanuts. We did not sell lentils to get it. It

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle.

<sup>4</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>5</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time. *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name

has been received in return for our heads. Those who would take off their caps and place them at the foot of Nauranga's<sup>6</sup> cot want to place restrictions on something that was acquired by sacrificing our heads! What right do they have to impose restrictions on our *kirpaan*? A Sikh should keep a *kirpaan* as long as he can manage. The minimum should be six or nine inches. There is a reason, a secret, for this minimum of nine inches. Even though some people place a symbolic miniature in their comb as well, nine inches is the smallest weapon. If one has the nine inch *kirpaan* with him as the smallest weapon and is going on his way without a spear or a rifle or even a stick and runs into a person of evil intent who is bent upon mischief, upon giving insult, if one has the nine inch *kirpaan*, he can at least protect himself against physical harm. This is the primary purpose. Also, the word *kirpaan* means '*kirpa aan*' - the bringer of mercy. That which provides protection to the oppressed and dignity to the bearer - has been called *kirpaan*. The miniature in the comb cannot accomplish these two purposes. It cannot provide protection to anyone nor can we, with this miniature, save someone's daughter or sister from dishonor. This is why I have mentioned the minimum of nine inches. The Government is also going to say that no one can wear it longer than nine inches. What good is that for Sikh organizations? People like yourselves do not even sleep without a *kirpaan*, at least a foot in length, by your side. Entering a plane, we have to take along a *kirpaan* three and one-half feet long. How will the formula apply at that time? Accepting restriction on the *kirpaan*, to my mind, is accepting restriction on our religion. We have had to sit on a heated metal plate<sup>7</sup>. We have had to give our life sitting on the heated metal plate. After this sacrifice, the Master<sup>8</sup> of *Miri* and *Piri* wore two *kirpaans*. What was the restriction at that time? Wasn't this the restriction imposed by Jehangir<sup>9</sup> that a Sikh could not own and carry weapons; that a Sikh could not ride a horse; that a Sikh could not wear a turban; that a Sikh could not cook in or eat from metal utensils; that a Sikh could not beat a drum; that a Sikh could not fly a flag; that a Sikh could not maintain troops? Jehangir had put all these chains around the Sikhs' necks. The Nation was in chains.

#### SIRI GURU HARGOBIND SAHIB'S RESPONSE TO RESTRICTIONS

To break these chains, the Master of *Miri and Piri*, the Destroyer of all Foes, the Brave Guru, the Great Warrior, the Great Benefactor, at the age of eleven years resolved and at that time declared: "May [the punishment for] all the sins and crimes that are the lot of evildoers, adulterers, betrayers, traitors,

<sup>6</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>7</sup> Reference is to Siri Guru Arjan Sahib's martyrdom. He was made to sit on a heated plate during torture.

<sup>8</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>9</sup> Jehangir was the mughal emperor of India from 1606-1627 C.E..

liars, robbers, thieves and cheats be my lot if I do not exact retribution for my father, Guru Arjan Sahib, and put a rope through Chandu's nose." This is what he said at that time. Even these days, when matters get a little spicy and things heat up a little bit, many people start having sweats. They say: "Matters are getting hot, tension is being increased." This is not right. On the one side is the Government and on the other are we ordinary Sikhs, powerless members of the public. Even at that time [1606 C.E.] many people with fat bellies who, like us, ate too much, went to Mother Ganga Ji's<sup>10</sup> presence and asked her what had come over her son, Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji. They said: "He is so young, has no money, has no weapons, has no armies and has declared that he will put a rope through Chandu's nose." Chandu was a minister and close associate of Jehangir. [They pleaded]: "Mother, it is going to be a terrible mess. The Master, your son, has said this in excitement." Many times Sikhs tell me that I speak in a heated manner and not thoughtfully. If a Sikh, succumbing to a state of hopelessness and ignorance does not hesitate to tell his Guru that he has got mixed up by speaking in the heat of the moment, saying the same about a man like me is a very ordinary matter. It was said about the Sixth King<sup>11</sup> that he spoke impulsively, that he spoke irresponsibly, and that he had made a declaration from the stage, from Akal Takhat Sahib. How is the battle with Jehangir to be fought? That evening Satguru Ji went to his residence, his palace. The Mother of the World, Ganga Ji asked: "My beloved son, I have received a complaint against you. The Sikhs have respectfully told me this." [He asked:] "Mother, what did they say." The Mother said: "They say, you have declared that may such and such sins be your lot if you do not put a rope through Chandu's nose." The Guru replied: "Yes, my Mother, I have so declared. Mother, this is a dangerous thing for those who do not have faith, those who have strayed from their resolve. A time will come when the words I have uttered will be fulfilled. I shall certainly put a rope through his nose." *Khalsa Ji*, the time came. Chandu tried his worst to ensure the martyrdom of my Most Beloved Lord. Getting the astrologers to talk to Jehangir, he incited the Emperor and had the Master of *Miri* and *Piri* summoned to the Gwalior Fort. He [the Guru] asked why he had been summoned. He was told that the *Sarh-Sati*<sup>12</sup> was on, that he should do penance and meditation there so that this *Sarh-Sati* would not harm Jehangir. A smile crossed the Guru's face, the bright face of my Most Beloved. He said with a smile: "The *Sarh-Sati* has risen for a particular person, why are you worried, Jehangir?" Satguru Ji said this much and began his stay at that place. He spent some time there. At the expiration of the stipulated period, Bhai Jetha and Bhai Parana Ji, taking on the form of lions, got on his [Emperor Jehangir's] chest<sup>13</sup>. Jehangir could not sleep. He sent

<sup>10</sup> Ganga Ji was Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib's mother.

<sup>11</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>12</sup> *Sarh-Sati* is a seven-and-a-half years of ill omen under the influence of Saturn.

<sup>13</sup> The Emperor had nightmares.



Chinch Beg accompanied by Wazir Khan to Satguru Ji. They appeared before Satguru Ji and had meetings with him and said to him: "Have mercy and leave the fort." Satguru Ji said: "I am not going to leave it alone. I shall leave only after these fifty-two Hindu princes in captivity are also released." Chinch Beg returned and told the Emperor what the Guru had said. He [the Emperor] said: "We are in a great dilemma. If I release the Hindu princes, it is against my policy. If I do not release Guru Sahib, the lions are going to again ride my chest at night. I have with great difficulty managed to pass the night." Chinch Beg at that time counseled: "Consideration of your physical well-being is of the utmost importance. Guru Sahib will help you make peace with the Hindu princes. Go and fall at his feet. Release the *Rajas* too. Otherwise, at night you will again be in torment." Hearing this, the Emperor went to Satguru and said: "Satguru Ji, you should go from here. Any persons who hold on to the tie-strings of your garments may leave with you." He was being clever. He was devious. But who can deceive the Perfect Guru? If it had been a false *Narkdharia*<sup>14</sup>, the scheme might have worked. The Perfect Guru cannot be duped. *Khalsa Ji*, he wore a robe made with fifty-two tie-strings. He liberated the fifty-two princes by wearing that robe with fifty-two tie-strings. That is why he is called *Bandichhor*<sup>15</sup>. The Beloved Master came there and had talks with Jehangir. Jehangir said with folded hands: "I have not done anything [wrong]; Master, have mercy on me." The Great King<sup>16</sup> smiled and said: "I will have this much mercy on you. I shall not say anything to you here [even though I am aware that] you are the one who has got all the harm perpetrated. I want you to summon and turn over to us the evil man who stood there in person and had hot sand poured over my father's head. I shall settle with you up to this right now. Regarding forgiveness, I shall be silent here but in the other world you will be held accountable." If anyone can say such things to the Emperor of Hindostan, only a Guru, a Perfect Guru can. The imperfect ones cannot. [For instance] Gurbachana's son<sup>17</sup> has been going to Indira and dusting her sandals. The Perfect Guru said this. Jehangir, shaking, shivering, with folded hands, sobbed and had Chandu brought and seated in the presence of The Master of *Miri* and *Piri* and said: "Here is the one who is guilty of offenses against the Guru's house". A thought came to Bhai Bidhi Chand's mind that The Great Master was also very merciful and might even forgive the culprit. He immediately signaled to Bhai Jetha to put a chain round his [Chandu's] neck and to turn him over to keepers of dogs. Putting a rope through his nose, *Khalsa Ji*, he was taken through the streets of Delhi and Lahore. But the day he<sup>18</sup> had first made this declaration, people said: "This is impossible. This can

<sup>14</sup> Nirankari guru.

<sup>15</sup> *Bandichhor* literally means he deliverer from bondage.

<sup>16</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib.

<sup>17</sup> Reference is to Hardev Singh, son of Gurbachan Singh, and the Nirankari Guru at the time.

<sup>18</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib.

never happen." Many times when I express my thoughts from any stage to anyone remarks like: "This boyish fellow keeps talking"; "he lacks wisdom"; "he is creating dissension within the *Panth*"; "he has had no education, nor does he know diplomacy" are made. When, in the course of time the hurt comes home, it will be said: "What he said was right. If only we had listened to him."

### SIKHS MUST UNITE AND BE GOOD SIKHS

So long as we do not unite on one platform, so long as we do not desist from throwing mud at each other, so long as we do not have complete faith in Guru Granth Sahib, so long as we are not firm in being Sikhs, so long as we do not regularly read Guru's Word, *Khalsa Ji*, we shall get beatings.

### SIKHS WILL PUNISH THE OPPRESSORS

#### Gurdial Singh Has Been Killed

You heard just now that Bhai Gurdial Singh has been shot to death. It does not matter. Earlier too, many have been killed. In the time of Banda Singh Bahaadar, they were lined up in rows and massacred. But what happened to those who killed Banda Singh Bahaadar? I shall say this to the people in the Government: You have the strength for a few days. It won't be there for long. You can use it, or you can abuse it as much as you like, but those who have started killing people should remember that their time will come.

#### Banda Singh Avenged The Death Of The *Sahibzadas*<sup>19</sup>

When Wazira<sup>20</sup> attacked the *Sahibzadas*, there were many people present - many more than are sitting here today. No one would raise his face for fear that a finger might be pointed at him. The *Sahibzadas* became martyrs. The time came. My Beloved Master<sup>21</sup> gave Madho Das Bairagi the name 'Banda Singh Bahaadar,' gave him five arrows, and sent him from Hazoor Sahib<sup>22</sup>. When Wazira was caught, laid on the ground, and a horse was ridden over his chest, that day, at that time, he realized he had sinned. Then there was Chandu, no, Sucha Nand, whom *Guru Khalsa*<sup>23</sup> refers to as Jhootha Nand<sup>24</sup>. He had a

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<sup>19</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two younger sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib who achieved martyrdom at Sirhind.

<sup>20</sup> Wazir Khan, the Faujdar at Sirhind in the year 1704.

<sup>21</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>22</sup> A place in Nanded in South India where Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib ended his worldly sojourn.

<sup>23</sup> *Guru Khalsa* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdhari*s are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith

<sup>24</sup> Sant Bhindranwale is pointing out that the word *Sucha* means pure whereas he was actually *Jhootha*, i.e., false.

daughter eight years of age who too was captured. His family was caught. They were produced before Banda Singh. Upon being presented to him, Banda Singh ordered that the young girl be put through the same treatment that the *Sahibzadas* had suffered. Some of the *Singhs* advised Banda Singh that a Sikh of the Guru will not attack a woman and moreover she was a minor. As he heard this said, *Khalsa Ji*, his mustache curled, his face flushed, his eyes reddened, and getting into a valorous mood, Banda Singh Bahaadar said: "*Singhs*, you have pointed out that this girl is too young. Tell me how old was *Sahibzada Fateh Singh*?" They said he was seven. He said: "She is eight years old. Tell me what crime had *Sahibzada Fateh Singh* committed? But the *Khalsa* has spoken. I shall listen to the *Khalsa* to this extent. We shall not behead her. Take her away and marry her to an outcast." When *Sucha Nand's* daughter was married to an outcast and he was given appropriate punishment, only then did he remember his ancestors and regret his part in the perfidy.

### The Case Of Harbhajan Singh And Harpreet Singh

I have learnt last night and got a report during the day that *Gurbachan Singh* who is D.S.P.<sup>25</sup> of this area has been crossing all limits. This has gone on for a long time. I do not wish to make any heated statements. Perhaps my voice will reach him, if not, I ask the men of the police force to get the word to him. Tell him: "Remember this; this is the same *Khalsa* that killed *Jaspat* and *Lakhpat*<sup>26</sup> when they were riding elephants and were surrounded by their troops. Climbing upon the elephant by holding on to its tail, the *Singh* had cut off his head just as a gourd is cut from the vine. Keep in mind that some *Khalsa* of the Guru will meet you." My heart is filled with grief at hearing of the humiliation this man has meted out to *Bhai Manmohan Singh's* brothers, *Harbhajan Singh* and *Harpreet Singh*, and their families. Over a hundred *Singhs* went to see him. [They said]: "If our boys are guilty, give them what punishment you wish but do present them [in court]." It is thirteen days since they were arrested. The President of the *Shromani Akali Dal* telephoned and sent messengers. The messengers have returned to report. He [*Gurbachan Singh*] told them that they [the prisoners] will be released. *Balwant Singh Ramoowalia* has just now said that they have given us assurances. *Guru's Singhs*, forgive me when I ask you, what sort of wisdom is it to rely upon the assurances of a snake? For thirteen days they have been tortured. When their families went to inquire about them this *Bachna*, whose name is *Gurbachan Singh*, tells them: "If you wish them released, hold out the aprons of your shirts and beg of me to give you charity." I cannot say anything [about it]. They [the prisoners] were their sons. It is possible they were swayed by their love [for their children]. If he ever has to deal with someone like me he will understand.

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<sup>25</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Police.

<sup>26</sup> Two Hindu brothers who carried out imperial orders to exterminate the Sikhs in earlier part of the 18th century.

Someone from that grieving family complied and begged. He [Gurbachan Singh] said: "All right, come back at three o'clock." When the family went to him at three o'clock, he told them to come in the evening. When it was eleven at night, he told them they [the boys] were at Gharinda Police Station. The hapless people drove at night in a car and reached Gharinda Police Station. Before this he had asked the family, Manmohan Singh and his father, whether they wanted the older or the younger son. How can a father say which one, younger or older? To him both are equally precious. The sole purpose was to create dissension within the family. At eleven o'clock, they were told that Sucha Singh had taken them to Jalandhar. Poor people came quietly back here and the next day again met him [Gurbachan Singh]. He was furious and said: "How can the S.S.P.<sup>27</sup> from Jalandhar, an inspector or the D.S.P from Jalandhar take them without my permission?" Then they went to Surjit Singh Bains. He too made a similar statement in Gurbachan Singh's presence. This entire coterie is the same type. There are sixteen or seventeen persons in Punjab who have drunk Sikh blood. There is Surjit Singh Bains, Inspector Harjit Singh, Inspector Kehar Singh brother of Mehma Singh *Narkdharia*<sup>28</sup> who has been stationed here to kill the *Singhs*, D.S.P. Gurbachan Singh, *Havaldar*<sup>29</sup> Makhan Singh, Constable Boor Singh and one Darshan Singh who have done some mischief in this case, Gurdarshan Singh of Rayya, Gurcharan Singh Sansi of Faridkot, Sucha Singh, Shyam Sundar of Moga, Bhatti, and the Chief Minister of Punjab who has resolved that whether a Sikh is innocent or guilty, in order to hold on to his chair<sup>30</sup>, he may not be allowed to retain his *kirpaan* in the *gaatra*<sup>31</sup> nor a turban on his head. But these foolish persons do not know that attempting to destroy the Sikh's turban is futile. There have been people like Nauranga who had to quit [this world] wailing. Who do they think they are? Hypocritically, they say they are sorry for this. The I.G.<sup>32</sup> was contacted on phone. [He says]: "How can Sucha Singh take them [the prisoners] away without our permission?" If an investigation is under an S.S.P., how can an inspector take people away without consulting with them? They say that the first day people went and sought a meeting. What are you going to get from seeing them? It is better if you save your children. People in the Police: I like to give you this warning. Both of their sons are in your hands. You can kill both of them if you

<sup>27</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>28</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>29</sup> *Havaldar* is equivalent to sergeant lower in rank than the Assistant Sub-inspector and higher than a head constable.

<sup>30</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance; in this case his chief ministership.

<sup>31</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>32</sup> Inspector General of Police, the second highest ranking police official in the state next only to the Director General of Police.

wish. We have honored many martyrs before this, we shall salute and remember these too. But do make arrangements for your families and your children the best you can. If you shoot the two boys dead or kill them by torture, if we are Sikhs of *Kalgidhar*<sup>33</sup> we shall exterminate your families. If I do not do it [in my lifetime], the [Sikh] Nation will surely do it after me. Like true men present them in a court and, if they are guilty, try them. Deviously, they keep telling the President<sup>34</sup> on the phone that the boys have not committed any offense. If they are innocent then why are they kept there, for fun? How long are we going to suffer this oppression? There is so much oppression. What sort of peacefulness is this? I shall humbly tell our spokesmen too that we have to stay peaceful and we have been peaceful. But what is this? On the one hand they keep beating our children and killing our *Singhs* and on the other hand come to us and say that they [the *Singhs*] have committed no offense? When they come and tell us this, get them to sit down and when they are sitting tell them that they too have committed no offense. Say to them: "When you release our boys we shall release yours." This will stop them. How they come again and again and say they [the boys] have committed no offense, and then go back. How are we going to get our boys released?

#### ADVICE AND GREETINGS TO THE *JATHA*<sup>35</sup>

Love the Sikh way of life. Act in cooperation. We all have to obey the instructions of the Dictator<sup>36</sup> of the *Panth*. Bear arms. It is said that without strong arms, enemies do not become friends. Whosoever insults Satguru Granth Sahib, drinks the blood of innocent Sikhs, and dishonors a daughter or a sister, never forgive him. If a poor man hurls an abuse do not let that annoy you. Stay peaceful. On my behalf, I thank and congratulate the *Jatha* from Sabhrawan that is going [to court arrest] today along with the great man, beloved of the Guru, worthy of honor, Baba Man Singh Ji of Kishanpur who has great affection for me and treats me as his child, and the other members of the *Jatha*. May Satguru have mercy on us. May he ever bless us with unity and cooperation. Other things matter little. I have told you about the sanctity of the *kirpaan* and the matter of its nine-inch length. Talk alone is not going to bring satisfaction [to the Sikhs]. So long as [the Government] does not accept the Anandpur Resolution in a straightforward manner, we should keep going. They can also keep going. The terrain is the same for all who run.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>33</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>34</sup> Of the Shromani Akali Dal; Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>35</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>36</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

**SPEECH #4**  
**1 MARCH 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>1</sup>: the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: You have listened to the nice thoughts of the leaders of the *Jatha*<sup>3</sup> that is going and of other prominent friends regarding the ongoing *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>4</sup>.

**THE GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO CREATE DISSENSION AMONG US**

Some Sikhs Congratulate Mrs. Gandhi Upon Rumors Of Acceptance Of Some Demands

We have to pay attention to the way the Government has attempted to create dissensions among the Sikhs by offering temptations to some of us and simultaneously, in order to create doubts in the minds of the people, efforts are being made to encourage some of our brothers in the villages to go and dust Indira's shoes. Just now, Balwant Singh Ramoowalia told us that some truckloads of people are going to congratulate Indira<sup>5</sup>. We have no complaint about this because the Sikh who loves his *Isht*<sup>6</sup> will never go. Also, we cannot stop the Sikh who loves his chair<sup>7</sup> and [Indira's] shoes. It is a different matter if there is someone who somehow stops them. He has necessarily to go because .... [Inaudible] .... I shall say this about them, who are going to congratulate her, that perhaps their sense of self-respect is all gone, and that they have fallen from their sense of honor and have lost their conscience. If there was an iota of decency left in them they could never go. Why is that? The regime under which only the daughters of Sikhs have been stripped naked; the regime under which

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>5</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>6</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>7</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

only the Beloved Guru of the Sikhs<sup>8</sup> has been set on fire; the regime under which only the homes of the Sikhs have been set on fire and destroyed; the regime under which only the jobs and rank of officials displaying the Sikh appearance have been hurt and they have been made homeless; the regime under which only those who desecrated the Sikh religious places were forgiven but those who desecrated Hindu religious places had a price of fifty thousand rupees placed on their heads without any evidence; in that regime, upon an inconsequential statement having been made - and there is no proof of its having been made - Longowal<sup>9</sup> has not received any written letter about it - going to congratulate those people is a matter of low level of conscience. It is a matter of shamelessness. It is lack of self-respect. We should not pay much attention to these people. We should pray to Satguru.

### Issue Of The Transmitter

Regarding the promises that these people have made, and the minor announcements over the radio and in the newspapers, that they will permit relaying of *kirtan*<sup>10</sup> from the Jalandhar Radio Station, it has been said regularly from this stage and it is being said even now that we want to get a transmitter. They say they will start *kirtan* from Jalandhar. One might ask them; "You want to start relaying from Jalandhar but this equipment that you are carrying around in little boxes, will it enable the Sikhs sitting in America and Canada to listen to *kirtan*? [What good is it] if the Sikhs outside [India] cannot listen to the *kirtan* and also we never know when you will cut off the *kirtan* from Jalandhar; you stop it promptly whenever any little thing happens as did happen some time back. A celebration associated with some event in the life of Guru Sahibs was observed. In that twenty-seven minutes were requested. They were not given to the Committee. The demand is for a transmitter, not for dust in people's eyes. When the Sikh world is saying it needs a transmitter, the Akali Dal is saying it needs a transmitter, all Sikh organizations are saying they need a transmitter, the Sikhs abroad are saying that they would pay for its entire cost, yesterday they sent two boxes to Longowal Sahib. Five or six persons brought these to him and asked: "Sant Ji, where shall we install them. Whence do we start?" Sant Ji asked: "Is there a letter from Indira?" [They replied]: "No. We have been sent by the Chief Minister." He [Longowal] said: "We have no dealings with the Chief Minister. We deal only with Indira. If there is a letter from her, let us know, otherwise, take your stuff away." I do not know whether they took it away or not. They would know. This is the situation. A transmitter is requested and they install a tiny machine and say there will be *kirtan* from Jalandhar without any specific place and time for it. Even if the place and time

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<sup>8</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>9</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal and Dictator of the peaceful struggle started on 4 August 1982.

<sup>10</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

were specified, what use is it? Something for which the Sikhs abroad have, out of their hard-earned income obtained through their sweat and blood, provided financial assistance to the *Panth*<sup>11</sup> if they get nothing at all out of it, what is the use of having this set-up? This is total fraud. The information given by Sant Ji is correct. This is deceit being practiced with the Nation.

### The Length Of The Kirpaan

They have also announced about the *kirpaan*. Day before yesterday I said a few words about it. They say that they have accepted nine inch length. You [the Government] have agreed to nine inches but have you asked us whether we accept nine inches? Why should we accept any restriction on our religious symbol? Why should we say to anyone that we cannot wear it longer than such and such length? There is no restriction on the sacred thread [worn by Hindus]. It could be down to the ankles in length. It could be ten feet long. How do we care how long they wear it? Why [should there be] a restriction on our religious symbol? We have to pay attention to these matters. The Government is trying its utmost to stir up minor problems among us to get us involved in mutual dissension. We have to guard against this.

### More On The Transmitter Issue

In connection with this transmitter, through these small machines, they want to show that the Akalis are being obstinate and that they [the Government] have accepted the demands. [We ask]: "If you have accepted the demands, in a straightforward manner give in writing that we can install the transmitter. This will settle this issue." One dispute will be settled to this extent. Other matters can be settled later when their time comes.

### ABOUT SOME MISGUIDED SIKHS

The Government is doing such dirty tricks. Still, there are some such among our brothers who, not knowing what else to do, try to push things the wrong way. Today I read a news item. It is only a small one though. There is one Bir Birinder Singh. I do not know where he is from. I have learned that he belongs to the Congress<sup>12</sup>. He has given a statement that such and such statement by Longowal is not right; it is bad. He has criticized it and further along in the item he states: "I advise Jarnail Singh to go to Mehta and give his sermons there." Does my speech from here hurt? Also, [I might ask him]: "Who has asked you for your advice? Who are you to give me advice?" It is like the saying: "She became a ghost only yesterday and today she wants half of the

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<sup>11</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh Faith.

<sup>12</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.



cremation grounds as her share." [One might say to him]: "Born yesterday, chasing a chair, you have left your Faith, you have left your party and now you give advice to people belonging to the *Taksaal*<sup>13</sup> whose purpose in life is to be ever in readiness to lay down their lives?" We have to protect ourselves from such persons.

#### BEWARE OF GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA

Be united in your actions. March together. Do not believe what they are saying about trivial matters. There is no proof of these nor is there any letter or documentation. Responsible persons have declared the objectives that the Nation is striving for. Sant Ji, Longowal Sahib has also declared. Some brothers say there have been two declarations [by the Government], then that there are three. There is a feeling among many brothers that there has been some declaration about a couple of things and if one or two more such inconsequential issues are settled, people might be lulled into sleep. Brothers, when someone sleeps, you can wake him up. You all have mentioned the Anandpur Resolution. You know there is no leader more powerful than the congregation. No ascetic, no holy man, is more powerful [than the congregation]. If anyone betrays you can ask him: "Brother, standing here in the presence of The Guru, you had said this. Tell us something about it." The work is still going on. They are trying to create dissension among us. It won't be wise to fall in their trap. March together. Bear arms.

#### COURTS ARE POWERLESS; POLICE ARE JUDGES TOO

I have learnt that they arrested a *granthi*<sup>14</sup> from Gurdaspur District, from Galhri Gurdwara Sahib. This is nothing new that is happening to us. A lot has happened to us in the past. Noting these things it is not necessary to remain silent. It is important to pay attention to these. We should not say: "They have arrested us." We should think how to stay free from them, and how to liberate those who have been caught. We know all the time that they catch us. Every Sikh will have to pay attention to this. Most of the people going in the *Jatha* have come from the villages. I shall humbly make this request. Listening [to me] here, do not shake it all off. Take something home with you. What I mean is that when you go home, in every home, in the heart of every young man, of every mother, of every woman, of every old man, it should sink that we are slaves and we have to be free. Keep weapons and be fully prepared. Whenever and at whatever place a situation arises that the Government starts trouble and, through mischievous people, tries to destroy the Sikh appearance, at that time no villager should hesitate. Only then will things settle some way and not

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<sup>13</sup> *Damdami Taksaal*, the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head.

<sup>14</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

otherwise. Do not let it happen that because their numbers are large and the Sikhs are only a few, the Sikhs are massacred or driven out while you sit waiting for orders. No one is going to issue such orders. Each one of you will have to shoulder his responsibility. What else can you do? If one is a *granthi* he is not spared; if one is an ascetic he is not spared; if one is a preacher, he is not spared. If you argue or have a lawyer, there is silence. What other alternative do you have? If a case goes to a court and is heard there, a *Singh* should wait for some time. At the time of Amrik Singh's arrest, Puran Singh Hundal, his lawyer, went to the judge. He petitioned the judge and after submitting the petition came and met the [police] officers. He said to the officers: "Here is his [Amrik Singh's] petition to the judge and the judge's signature. The lawyer can stay [with the accused]." The officers at that place told him: "We do not know the judge. Here, we are the judges." The lawyer went back to the judge and told him: "Sir, here is your signature. These are your orders and the officers say that they do not know the judge and that they are the judges." The judge folded his hands and said that this was not in his power. Where will you go? When there is no respect for the judge and the [police] officer says that he is everything, then there is the instruction:

ਆਪਣ ਹਥੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕਾਜ ਸਵਾਰੀਐ॥

'With our own hands we should ourselves fulfill our mission' which is contained in our [Sikh] constitution, has been bestowed upon us in Guru Granth Sahib, has to be adopted. In this there is no writ [before a court], there is no claim and there is no case filed against this line. But we have to follow this line only when such a situation arises. Do not let it happen that you make no preparation; attacks upon you start and you go looking around searching for what was said where and who gives what to whom and where. No one is going to talk about giving anything to anybody. Stay alert wherever you are. Act in cooperation. Do not be misled by superficial things reported in the newspapers. Remain firm until the Anandpur Resolution is implemented in toto. Regarding backsliding by any of our leaders, Sant Ji [Longowal] has himself declared: "Guru's followers, do not get impatient listening to other people's gossip. Talk to us when you see any slackness on our part at the time of decision." When any of our leaders shows slackness, ask him courteously: "You had made such declaration, why this weakness?" We must not fall victims to stories of weakness being given to the papers. This movement will continue until the implementation of the [Anandpur] Resolution. During the course of such movements, ups and downs are bound to occur. Just as the Government is carrying on, you can too. But do keep weapons; without this we cannot succeed.

If I have uttered any unpleasant word about anyone, please forgive me. I congratulate the *Jatha* that is going and offer my thanks to everyone.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**SPEECH #5**  
**13 MARCH 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>3</sup>.*

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: Having assembled as a congregation and, seated in the lap of Guru Granth Sahib, you have heard the views of speakers regarding the *Dharam Yudh Morcha<sup>4</sup>*.

### SIKH PATIENCE IS RUNNING OUT

I had some thoughts about speaking here. I had not read the news nor heard any details about it but from what I have learnt upon coming here it is apparent to me that even though the Sikhs are making great efforts to ensure that peacefulness can somehow be maintained, when one notices what is happening it conclusively indicates that the Sikhs, following the orders of their Father, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, will have to place their hand on the sword. We cannot do without it.

### SIKHS ARE BLAMED FOR NATURAL CALAMITIES

If nature has shown its anger against these Hindus, there can be nobody's hand behind it nor can it be anybody's conspiracy. Some four or five days back, due to their [the Hindus'] sins, in this city, the city of Amritsar, there was lightning. There is a Hindu temple near here within the city. Due to the lightning, its bell and the chain were broken off. [One might ask them:] "Nature is itself punishing you and you want to vent your anger against the Sikh Nation! The consequences of this are going to be very hard to bear. It would be better if you desist from this." But I think that instead of addressing them, we should awaken our own minds. Without firmness, these people are not going to be quiet, they are not going to desist from mischief.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

## PUNISH THE WRONGDOERS

I have felt very hurt. I did not know about it until this morning that Guru Granth Sahib, The True King, was insulted so grievously and [I am told] there were Sikhs nearby! I wonder how they were born to their mothers. Why were they not born to cattle or dogs? They did not punish anyone with death [for the dastardly crime]. *Singhs*, I have said this many times at many places. Today also a lot of people are gathered here. All of you ask me: "Sant Ji, give us some orders." Brothers, how do you want me to give you orders? Let the congregation here tell me the way it wants me to give the orders. Sant Longowal Sahib has already spoken from this stage. I have humbly requested everyone who comes to see me and I have had it announced in the newspapers. You keep asking me for orders, but you are not in the least prepared to carry them out. How many times have I humbly said to you that whoever insults Guru Granth Sahib should be beheaded instantly at the site of the crime. If he cannot be got hold of at the site, he should be looked for, sought out, and then put on the train [of death]. Why don't you do it? You keep looking at the faces of the two of us<sup>5</sup>; do we have bunches of grapes growing on us? You are Sikhs of the Guru, sons of Sikhs, born in the land of Hindostan, born in Punjab. Such desecration occurs at various places and you say that Pappu and others [figuratively: your children] are crying! Trying to save your families, you allow your Father<sup>6</sup> to be insulted! What order do you want from me? Tell me. With folded hands I humbly say to you that so long as you do not consider such incidents your personal responsibility and, going to various places, do not catch these mischievous people and pierce their noses, they will not be set right. Some young men, followers of the Guru, are such that they ask: "Sant Ji, if we do such a thing no one will take care of us?" There is no place more sacred, no better place for salvation than this [Harmandar Sahib]. If a Sikh makes a pledge here and backs out, can he remain a Sikh? I say this with a full sense of responsibility. Whoever beheads a murderer of Guru Granth Sahib and comes to me, I shall take care of him. I shall fight any legal case [that may be brought] against him. What else do you want me to say? This is a weakness on the part of all of you. Due to the necessities of the *Morcha* I have to stay here. Sant Ji<sup>7</sup> too cannot go out because of these constraints. Why are you, Guru's Sikhs, whether you are villagers or city-dwellers, being overcome by sleep? One whose daughter or sister has been stripped naked, whose Beloved Guru has been insulted, should his son just go around asking questions and do nothing with his hands? Is he worthy of being called the son of the Guru? Think it over.

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<sup>5</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Sant Bhindranwale.

<sup>6</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>7</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

## A CONVERSATION WITH SOME HINDUS

At various places you are shouting slogans for victory and wailing for Hindu-Sikh unity. Bhai Ramoowalia has just now told us about the owners of small factories. They went to the Sant too and came to me as well today. Today, after eight months, many Hindus got together and came. There were mutual questions and answers. Many questions were asked and I answered them. There was satisfaction. They asked us to show sympathy towards them. Sant Ji had given a hint to Ramoowalia. He said and he told me as well and this was in my mind too that we should have tranquility here. But of what worth is this tranquility when our Beloved Guru is being insulted in such a foul manner? Instead of this, instead of this peace, it would be better to rot in jail. Has anybody, any Sikh, any Hindu, ever - today I also asked my Hindu brothers - .... [inaudible] ....

## LETTER TO INDIRA GANDHI

I have today written a letter to Indira Gandhi. Some brothers have suspicions regarding my letter. They wonder: "We have broken off with her and this Bhindranwala goes about writing letters!" I have not read that letter to anyone. I shall some day read it to responsible persons. It is in my pocket. When they read that letter, they will know what I have written to Indira - whether I am getting into her good books, or whether she would have needed a pill to sleep after listening to the letter read to her.

## MORE ABOUT THE MEETING WITH HINDUS

Some words .... [inaudible] .... I asked the Hindus who came to see me today: "Tell me, you have come to wail here and say that you are sad. We are sad too that you are being uprooted today. Satguru Granth Sahib's volumes were burnt. Out of 660 million Hindus, did any Hindu express any anguish? Did anyone of them criticize the foul deed?" They said: "No, no one did." Then I asked: "What is the trouble now? To get the right to speak Hindi, to get a Hindi-speaking state, to get a Hindu city declared a holy city, to get a train named after a Hindu temple, to have Hindus declared a nation, to confidently wear the religious symbols of his Faith, after India's achieving freedom, has even a single Hindu suffered imprisonment even for one hour?" They replied: "No one has suffered." I told them: "To speak Punjabi, to get a Punjabi-speaking state, to get their religious city declared a holy city, to get a train named after Harmandar Sahib, to get the Sikhs described as a separate nation, to always wear their religious symbol, the *kirpaan*, in their *gaatra*<sup>8</sup> with confidence, since the time India got freedom [from the British in 1947], over

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<sup>8</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

two hundred thousand Sikhs have gone to jail. There have been innumerable martyrdoms. All this has had no effect."

#### THE CHIEF MINISTER CANNOT BE PARDONED

This hypocrite, this *Zakariya*<sup>9</sup>, this Chief Minister, keeps wailing. He says there is complete peace. "I am a Sikh with *kirpaan*", [he says]. Also, today a messenger from the Chief Minister came here. He said: "Sant Ji, we can get him to come to Nanak Niwas to seek forgiveness." It is the duty of a Guru's Sikh:

ਜੋ ਸਰਣਿ ਆਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਕੰਠਿ ਲਾਵੈ ਇਹੁ ਬਿਰਦੁ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਸੰਦਾ।

'He [God] embraces anyone who comes to His protection; this is the Master's special attribute.' They learn lines<sup>10</sup> to use them [for their own purposes]. For example, in the Jap Ji the lines occur:

ਕੇਤੇ ਲੈ ਲੈ ਮੁਕਰੁ ਪਾਹਿ॥

'Innumerable are those who take and then deny having taken.' I met a fellow, this happened in a village, who asked me what these lines meant. I asked him why he asked. He explained: "The Guru has said: "You should take and then forget. Never give back". [I asked him] how about the next line? He answered: "You can read Jap Ji Sahib yourself, everything is not for me." This is the situation. On the one hand, there are atrocities going on and, on the other, they say they can bring him here to ask for forgiveness. I asked him, I said to him: "Have you ever turned the second page of history?" He said: "No." I asked him: "Did Chandu receive pardon?" He said: "No." I said: "Would Chetoo Masand have begged forgiveness of Guru Gobind Singh Sahib when hot molasses was poured on his head or not?" He said: "He must have done that. He must have begged [of the Guru]." I asked him: Did the Tenth King<sup>11</sup> instruct Daya Singh not to fill the ladle while pouring the molasses on his head? He said: "No." I said: "They set fire to Guru Granth Sahib and your lips were sealed. Why have you come to ask for pardon? With what face can you come here to ask for forgiveness?" At various places, we are being dishonored, gurdwaras are being destroyed, desecration of the sacred form [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib] is going on, and these turncoats stand up and keep on saying there is no problem, there is no trouble. The principal reason for this is that we keep crying peacefulness and these people keep oppressing us. [There is a saying] "Without strong

<sup>9</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>10</sup> From Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>11</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

hands, the enemy does not become friendly." So long as we do not pay these people in their own coin, they will not come around, they will not be set right.

### ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN

Young men, be steadfast. Keep weapons with you. Act in cooperation with each other. Give up drug addictions. Receive *amrit*<sup>12</sup>. So long as you do not read *Gurbani*<sup>13</sup> you cannot have courage. One who reads *Gurbani* can have himself chopped joint by joint<sup>14</sup>, only he who reads *Gurbani* can walk three miles with his head in the palm of his hand<sup>15</sup>, only he who reads *Gurbani* can hit an elephant in the forehead with his spear and turn him around<sup>16</sup>. Until today no alcohol-addict has had his scalp removed and got a cruel oppressor to march in obedience. If it has been done, it has been done by one who read *Gurbani*. If we only keep talking, this talk will lead us nowhere. We shall get nothing. Stay united and act together.

### MORE ABOUT THE MEETING WITH HINDUS

*Khalsa Ji*, you have to guard against certain types of people. When I asked these Guru's men: "Do you have any answer to this?" They said: "Sant Ji, we have no answer. We had been misled. We called you an extremist. Today we have learnt what type of person you are." Why have they found this out today? [This is] because today their house is burning. Earlier, only our world was on fire. I do not mean that I am pleased that they are suffering a loss. But I shall say that we all have to make an effort in respect of the type of taxation that is being levied, the excess that is being committed against .... [inaudible] .... The Government should be given a warning so that all the residents of Punjab can live in comfort. [It is strange that] we go on giving such warnings but when Sikhs are dishonored, not a single Hindu brother expresses his anguish! We all shall have to pay attention to this.

### PUNISH THE WRONGDOERS

I feel very hurt. If any of you young men learns of the whereabouts of or runs into the person who has desecrated the sacred form [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib], or who has cut up *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>17</sup>, do not be lenient to him. Why is

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<sup>12</sup> Receiving *amrit* means formal initiation into the Sikh faith.

<sup>13</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>14</sup> Reference is to Bhai Mani Singh's martyrdom in 1734 C.E.

<sup>15</sup> Reference is to Baba Deep Singh's martyrdom.

<sup>16</sup> Reference is to Bhai Bachittar Singh's killing of an elephant that was charging the fort held by Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>17</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

that so? History bears witness that for the murderer of a human being there is police remand, there is judicial remand. For the murderer of a man, there is jail, the cell and the noose. For the murderer of the Guru, it is none of these. For the murderer of the Guru, there is Guru's Assembly of God's worshippers. History bears witness to this. Chandu murdered the Guru<sup>18</sup>. Chandu was not made to stand in any court, in any enclosure. Guru Sahib<sup>19</sup> handed Chandu over to the Guru' congregation. Bhai Jetha and Bhai Bidhi Chand turned him over to the outcasts. He was punished by being tied among the dogs and made to beg for cowries. If his case had to be presented in courts, we would never have won. For this reason, for the Guru's murderer, do we need any judicial or other inquiry? *Khalsa Ji*, one gets justice out of inquiries when there is room for legal representation, argument, and appeal. Here [under the Indian Government] it is outright injustice. They have decided to annihilate the Sikhs, to insult their turban, to destroy their Faith. In this situation, why do you need to use a lawyer and appeal? When those who insult the Gurus have been beheaded at various places, let them look for the lawyers, why do we need to do it?

#### GREETINGS TO THE *JATHA* AND APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN

Be united. On my own behalf I thank all the friends, Bhai Bharpur Singh Ji Jalla, Bhai Dhanraj Singh Ji Gill formerly M.L.A.<sup>20</sup>, and our dear Bhai Gurinderpal Singh Ji, Guru's devotee, who are going [to peacefully court arrest]. I also thank those friends who are members of the *Jatha*<sup>21</sup> who are going [to peacefully court arrest] and congratulate them. Humbly and with folded hands, I request the nearly two hundred *Singhs* who have today agreed to keep their beards, as I requested on other occasions: "*Singhs*, we are seated in the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>22</sup>." Most humbly, with a *palla*<sup>23</sup> around my neck, considering them my brothers, I beg of those who have promised to keep their hair and beards and to give up alcohol, not to go back on their word. Otherwise we shall be answerable to the Guru. Anyone who backs out of the presence of the Guru never finds any rest.

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<sup>18</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib.

<sup>19</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib.

<sup>20</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>21</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>22</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>23</sup> A piece of cloth draped around one's neck, indicative of humility before authority.



## THE GOVERNMENT IS INTRANSIGENT

### The Transmitter Issue

Regarding this thing about the transmitters that is going, on they say that they have agreed to it in principle. *Khalsa Ji*, they might have accepted the principle but I have concluded that there is some mischief. We are being deceived. They have as yet accepted no principle. It is deceit and mischief. What have they agreed to? They say: "We shall get the *kirtan* broadcast from Jalandhar. We shall get it relayed." We keep wailing, asking them to install a transmitter here. They now say a strong one will be installed in Jalandhar. Would the wind from the sky topple a powerful one here? Why don't they allow it here? There was a news item some 25 days back that for the spreading [the teachings] of the *Vedas*<sup>24</sup>, transmitters will be installed at four places viz. Bombay, Calcutta, Mathura and Kanpur. If transmitters can be installed for preaching the *Vedas*, for the spread of [the teachings of] the *Vedas*, why can one not be installed for Guru's *Baani*?

### The Holy City Issue

Regarding the giving of holy city status, they say "about two hundred yards from Harmandar Sahib." Two hundred yards from Harmandar Sahib might extend as far as the *Darshani Deorhi*<sup>25</sup>. On the other side there could [conceivably] be a field of tobacco. This information comes from the newspapers and from what is said from various stages. We speak from the stage here and these *Mahashas*<sup>26</sup> take deputations to Delhi to meet with [the authorities]. They say: "Granting holy city status will set [Punjab] on fire." [One might ask them:] "Is fire caused by pouring water or by pouring gasoline?" Regarding the granting of holy city status, they ask why they were not consulted. One should ask these Hindu brothers: "When you got holy city status for Pehowa Sahib did you ask any Sikh? When Mathura was declared a holy city, was any Sikh consulted?" They say the smell of onions gets to *Vaishno Devi*. Does the smell of tobacco not get to Guru Sahib? Is *Vaishno Devi's* nose very wide? There is such contemptible hatred, such communalism. We need to protect ourselves against it.

### BE PREPARED

We should try to get along with them in dialogue as long as is possible but be fully prepared. It shouldn't come to this that Longowal Sahib announces

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<sup>24</sup> Hindu scriptures.

<sup>25</sup> *Darshani Deorhi* is the entrance to the walkway leading to Harmandar Sahib situated at the middle of the pool.

<sup>26</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

some action and you run around searching for the border to cross. No one is going to let you cross. Make complete preparations. If there is fighting, never hurt an oppressed person, never hurt a woman, and never hurt an old man. Show no leniency to him who insults Guru Granth Sahib. I thank the *Jatha* that is going [to peacefully court arrest].

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**SPEECH #6**  
**27 MARCH 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>: the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

**HARDEV SINGH'S MARTYRDOM**

A Cowardly Murder By Police

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Today we are assembled here in the sacred memory of the martyr Bhai Hardev Singh Ji. The manner in which the police, in order to spread terror in the minds of the Sikh people and to concoct a scheme to destroy the *Damdami Taksaal*<sup>4</sup> - which is also called the *Bhindranwali Taksaal* - has had the audacity to carry out this murder, while [the victim was] traveling on the road, is, to my understanding, unsurpassed in cowardice. Also, there cannot be any greater delusion in the Government's mind. Ahmad Shah Abdali and many other cruel persons of that time tried to destroy this *Taksaal*. They could not destroy this *Taksaal*. In the end they themselves were destroyed.

Why Was The Body Brought To Harmandar Sahib

The Chief Minister of Punjab, *Zakariya*<sup>5</sup> is very proud, considers himself entitled to being called a Sikh, and thinks he is very wise. There has been and still is discussion in the newspapers as to why the body was brought to Nanak Niwas; there are demands that the Akali Dal and the Shromani Committee should condemn this. All of you have read the replies that were given. Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal, Gurcharan Singh Ji Tohra who is President of the Shromani Committee, Jathedar Sahib Jagdev Singh Ji Talwandi, Bhai Sukhjinder Singh and the other leaders have, at various places, answered in

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>5</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

pretty strong words: "We shall never abandon any martyr. We shall honor him as best as we can." Even though I have preached this on two or three occasions, it is possible that there is a censor or a ban imposed on the newspapers because news [of this] did not appear in the newspapers. Many people believe that after Hardev Singh's martyrdom there is some pressure on Jarnail Singh's mind and this is why he does not speak [in public]. *Khalsa Ji*, it is not like this. The people who gather here or meet me, all of them, of course, know. But people who are sitting outside [are not here] can only learn from newspapers. The newspapers do not carry these news. Today I like to humbly say this to the congregation. In particular, I like to challenge the Chief Minister of Punjab about his question as to why the body was brought here. Either he has not read history or has read it and forgotten it. Round the clock, he is so preoccupied with the thought of dusting Indira's<sup>6</sup> sandals; as to when he can get the opportunity to dust her sandals so that his chair<sup>7</sup> is preserved. He perhaps does not think about this side. The Chief Official of the *Taksaal* - which he has attempted to destroy - was the martyr, the great man, the *Brahm Giani*<sup>8</sup> Baba Deep Singh Ji who, while living at Damdama Sahib, Talwandi Sabo, Guru ki Kashi, in his own hand wrote the recension of Satguru Granth Sahib Ji and listened to the meanings of the Divine Word from *Kalgidhar*<sup>9</sup>, the Tenth Master, our Father. He was eighty years of age when he got the message: "Baba Ji, Harmandar Sahib is being desecrated." He could not tolerate it. He said the *Ardaas*<sup>10</sup> and set off. Near Tarn Taran Sahib he drew a line [and said]: "Brothers, anyone who is attached to his family, who is desirous of living his physical life, who has the desire to use worldly goods, should go back. He, who is desirous of martyrdom, who loves the Faith, who is desirous of preserving the sanctity of Harmandar Sahib, should cross the line." Upon Baba Ji's saying these words, those who had cowardice in their minds returned. Those whose minds were steadfast went forward. At eighty years age, *Khalsa Ji*, the leader of this *Taksaal* was going along. Near Chabba, there was an encounter with Jamaal Khan. The heads of both were severed from their bodies. There was this request made by the Guru's devotees at that time, by Baba Natha Singh Ji. [They asked] "Baba Ji, you had said that you will offer your head at the feet of Guru Ram Dass Ji." However, in poetic form, this incident is presented in a different way. They say that Baba Deep Singh and Fate had a confrontation. Fate challenged him that it would not let him keep his word. After his head was severed, it [Fate] taunted him: "Baba Ji, you had said you will live up to your word but I have never let anyone fulfill his pledge: what do you have to say

<sup>6</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>7</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance; in this case his chief ministership.

<sup>8</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

<sup>9</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>10</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly.

now?" At that time, Baba Deep Singh replied: "Nothing is wrong with me." *Khalsa Ji*, carrying his head in the palm of his hand, he wielded a double-edged sword weighing nearly forty pounds and bravely fought the cruel enemy. The head of the Chief of this *Taksaal* reached the *Parkarma*<sup>11</sup>. From the *Parkarma*, after bathing it, the body was taken outside to Chatiwind, where a place was built in his memory, and cremated. Since then, in our own lifetime, bodies of innumerable responsible persons, who as members of the Akali Dal served the Nation, were brought here upon their passing away. Sant Baba Fateh Singh Ji's body came here. Pheruman's body came here. The bodies of the Singhs who, in 1978, became martyrs outside [of Harmandar Sahib] while staying peaceful with the *Narkdharis*<sup>12</sup> came here. Jathedar Mohan Singh Ji Tur's life ended in the P.G.I.<sup>13</sup> Hospital. His body came here. When Sant Baba Gurbachan Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale, who was at the third step before me<sup>14</sup>, passed away at Meha and went to the True Region<sup>15</sup>, his body was brought here and, after a bath, was taken to Bhindran and then cremated at Kiratpur Sahib. Then, if Hardev Singh's body was brought here, how did the sanctity get destroyed? The bodies of martyrs come here, the bodies of those who have sacrificed their lives come here, but if there is someone who drinks the blood of those who sacrifice themselves and claims the right to be called a king or is desirous of being so called, the body of such a person has been taken out of Harmandar Sahib, taken to Bude Jauhar<sup>16</sup> and used to play stick-ball with. The dead bodies of those with sacred blood come here and those with profane blood are made into dead bodies and taken out of here. He says: "Look, they came here." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. *Khalsa Ji*, under each slab, under every brick, of the floor of this *Parkarma* of Harmandar Sahib, to give it sanctity, there are the heads of a hundred martyred *Singhs*. And this man, busy dusting the sandals of the *Bibi*<sup>17</sup> gets up and says: "The sanctity has been destroyed. If Longowal Sahib permits me, I would take Bhindranwala out of there in only half an hour." I said this the day before yesterday at Akal Takhat Sahib, and like to repeat it today. *Khalsa Ji*, intoxicated by power, a man may say many things. Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji used to say: "Brother: a politician has to get votes. He will call his father a donkey to secure position of authority. They will call their father a donkey and a donkey their father." His [the Chief Minister's] situation is the

<sup>11</sup> *Parkarma* is the marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>13</sup> Post Graduate (Medical) Institute.

<sup>14</sup> That is, he was Sant Bhindranwale's predecessor's predecessor as head of the *Taksaal*.

<sup>15</sup> *Sach Khand* is the abode of Formless God, The Eternal Truth. Sikhs often refer to the deceased as 'living in Sach Khand' or 'living in the Region of Truth', i.e., being with God. Dying is going to the True Region.

<sup>16</sup> Reference here is to the killing of Massa Rangar by Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh.

<sup>17</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

same. Tell him: "After you give up the position of Chief Minister; you say you will take me out from Nanak Niwas; if you resign the position of Chief Minister, I shall meet you outside on the street wherever you wish and then you can catch me and take me away. Then you will understand well. Sitting in Chandigarh, protected by sandbag piles, panting out of fear, you are getting innocent children murdered. Some time when you come out of [this protection], you will learn what it means to get involved with the *Khalsa*."

## APPEAL TO THE SIKH NATION

### Stay Peaceful But Be Prepared: Act Only If Harmandar Sahib Is Attacked

I appeal to the entire Nation. *Khalsa Ji*: We have orders from Dictator Sahib<sup>18</sup> to stay peaceful. Peace is necessary too. But I shall certainly say that it should not be such peace that the Sikh Nation is destroyed, that an inconsequential man should set about annihilating the Sikhs and we maintain peace. I am not in favor of such peacefulness. We have to maintain peace, we have to obey orders. So long as the Government confines its activities to outside [of Harmandar Sahib], definitely stay cool because we are engaged in the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*. We all have to achieve success in this struggle. We have to secure our rights. However, when at any time, on any day, the Government enters the boundary of this complex to destroy its sanctity, let me appeal most strongly to the entire Sikh congregation - to all of you who live in villages, towns and in the entire country - that when you learn that they have entered the boundary of the complex and attacked then it will be your responsibility everywhere to kill every critic of the Guru and every enemy of the Sikh Nation. At that time there should be no hesitation on your part. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>19</sup>]. However, remember this, you must not react to any provocation or false alarm. When you learn for sure that they have entered, attacked and killed the *Singhs*, martyred the *Singhs*, then don't wait. Do not think that you will act after you get a message from Bhindranwale or Longowal. Get this message right now, today.

### Punish Those Who Insult Siri Guru Granth Sahib

Many young men come and say: "Baba Ji: when you give us the orders, we shall 'lift the boards'<sup>20</sup>." But, brothers, where are these boards kept ready, sawed and stacked, that you will lift them? How many times have I declared from here

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<sup>18</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha*. *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. This was the name given to the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Akali Dal.

<sup>19</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>20</sup> This phrase in Punjabi is the equivalent of the phrase 'raise the rafters.'

that if there is anyone who insults Satguru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King, put him on the train [of death], crush him to bits, and then come here. We shall take care of you. There is a village named Khatra in Ludhiana District, some four kilometers from Rara Sahib. *Khalsa Ji*, the cloth coverlet over that volume of Satguru Granth Sahib, The True King, was taken off and they buried the volume in cowdung, in manure. *Singhs* took the volume out of the manure. Even now, still soiled by cowdung, the volume is displayed in the gurdwara. I like to ask the entire congregation: Tell me how many of you have gone there? Tell me if even one out of all of you has gone there? It is three months since it happened. And then you come to me, see the leaders, and say to the President: "Whatever you order." On what do you want that order written? Tell me, Guru's Beloveds. Tell me if even one of all of you who are sitting here has gone there to hold an inquiry or to punish him who buried Our *Isht*<sup>21</sup> in cowdung? Who do you want to ask about it? What responsibility do you want? How can I assign any greater responsibility than this? We are all assembled in Darbar Sahib where the ground has been sanctified by the sacred feet of the Fifth King<sup>22</sup>, where there is presence of the Spiritual Light of the Ten Kings<sup>23</sup>. Here, standing before the congregation, I take the responsibility of saying this to all of you and even then you do not punish him and later come to me and say: "Baba Ji, we shall do whatever you order?" What is it that you are going to do?

#### SIKHS ARE A SEPARATE NATION

He, this Chief Minister of Punjab, says he is very wise and knowledgeable. There is discussion about the Sikhs being a separate nation. Even though I was not present when the resolution<sup>24</sup> was approved, I have learnt [about it]. The leaders know all about it. The resolution that Sikhs are a separate nation was passed. The newspapers that opposed it kicked up a big row. Attempts were made to preach communalism the world over. It was said that Sikhs want separation, desire to be separate.

#### I Neither Support Nor Oppose Khalistan

I stayed ten days in Delhi. There I too was asked, just as they ask me here all the time when friends from the newspaper come. [They ask]: "Sant Ji, do you want Khalistan?" I replied: "Brothers, I don't oppose it nor do I support it. We are silent. However, one thing is definite, if this time the Queen of India<sup>25</sup> does give it to us, we shall certainly take it. We won't reject it. We shall not

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<sup>21</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>22</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, the fifth Guru.

<sup>23</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> The Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

<sup>25</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.

repeat the mistake of 1947. As yet, we do not ask for it. It is Indira Gandhi's business and not mine, nor Longowal's, nor of any other of our leaders. It is Indira's business. Indira should tell us whether she wants to keep us in Hindostan or not. We like to live together [with the rest of Indians]; we like to live in India. Indira should tell us whether she wants to keep us or not." It is her job and they ask us! We are not her gatekeepers that we should be doing what really is her job.

#### The Decision In The British Parliament

Sikhs are a separate nation. My educated brothers must have been delighted at the news that appeared some three or four days back. In connection with the turban there has been a decision in England. My educated brothers know better. It is a weighty matter. The Parliament in England has decided that not only are the Sikhs a separate nation, they are a separate race. Sikhs are a separate race. Yes, a race. Yes, a separate race. Just as in a fruit garden there are trees of many types, different varieties are identified there even though the whole is called a garden. They have decided that the Sikhs are, of course, a separate nation but they are also a separate race in the world.

#### The Hindu Attitude Towards Sikh Identity

That Parliament has decided and all our leaders in the Akali Dal and in the Shromani Committee have decided that the Sikhs are a separate nation, but the *Mahashas*<sup>26</sup> keep saying: "No, they are a part of the Hindus." If we have to be classed as criminal tribes, they say we are separate; if one is to be appointed to a job, they say we are separate, that we should be given one and one-half [percent share of the jobs] and the others should get ninety eight and one-half [percent]. But if we have to make arrangement to feed ourselves, we have to get our share, they say we are part of the Hindus. What is the reason for this?

#### Sikhs Are Identified Exclusively As Extremists

On an earlier day too I made a statement that if Sikhs are a part of Hindus and are not a separate entity, then they should start saying in the newspapers, in the Parliament, in the Assemblies<sup>27</sup>, that Hindus are extremists. And if Sikhs are extremists, then they have to admit Sikhs are a separate nation. They exclusively call the Sikh extremist, but collectively we are all Hindu. The Government should give an answer to this. They sit there in the Parliament passing resolutions.

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<sup>26</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

<sup>27</sup> State Legislatures.



## GOVERNMENT OPPRESSION AND PROPAGANDA

### Bir Birinder Singh's Statement

I haven't read the news myself but I have learnt about it. I am standing here in *Maharaj's*<sup>28</sup> presence [and admit] that it could even be wrong. I have heard from a *Singh* that there is a person named Bir Birinder Singh. To date I have never seen him. He has written that he, along with his family, his mother, his children will himself go to Bhindranwale and say to him: "If you are so thirsty for blood, kill all of my family and be satiated with it." He said this but then he should have come. Who turned him away? Only on coming here would he know that he has called 'bloodthirsty' a man whose mission is to get people to give up drug addictions, whose mission is to administer *amrit*<sup>29</sup>, whose mission is to get people to wear the *kirpaan* and *gaatra*<sup>30</sup>, whose mission is to get people to stand united under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>31</sup>, whose mission is to openly and resolutely support the *Panth*<sup>32</sup> and persuade others to do the same, whose mission is to unite people with Guru Granth Sahib following:

ਮਾਗਿਆ ਭਈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਤਭੈ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਪੰਥ॥  
ਸਭ ਸਿੱਖਣ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨਿਓ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ॥

'The *Panth* was started following God's instructions and all Sikhs are ordered to accept the Granth as Guru,' and to tell people to firmly believe in the *Sabad Guru*<sup>33</sup>.

### Chief Minister's Rule - Discrimination Against Sikhs

I would like to ask the Chief Minister and his followers and touts. He is the man in whose rule our *Isht* has been set on fire; in whose rule our daughters and sisters have been stripped naked and their father forcibly laid on them; in whose rule the sanctity of the Sikh religious place has been violated by throwing tobacco; in whose rule there is a ban on the *kirpaan*; in whose rule he has himself said the words: "Due to me, this Sikh culture has been finished." These are the words of the Chief Minister, the Chief Minister of Punjab, the *Zakariya*. He has made this statement - that due to him, Sikh culture has died.

<sup>28</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus.

<sup>29</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>30</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>31</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>32</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh Faith.

<sup>33</sup> *Sabad* Guru means the Word as Guru; Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

He is laying the foundation for this and takes responsibility. He says: "I am no less [a Sikh] than the Akalis. I have a *kirpaan* in my *gaatra*." [I might ask him]: "As a hypocrite you keep saying this. Have these things not happened in your regime?" Let anyone raise his arm and tell me if, particularly, in Punjab or, generally, in all of Hindostan, the police have set any Hindu's home or factory on fire? How many Sikh young men have had their homes burnt down? In the whole of Hindostan, is any Hindu's daughter being prosecuted? Let anyone stand up and tell me.

#### The Case Of Nachhattar Kaur's Harassment

Why are [innocent] Sikh girls being prosecuted? *Khalsa Ji*, I appeal to you too. There is cowardice in our minds too. We have been rescuing thirty thousand; yes, thirty thousand! While I am disappointed and sad, I have a complaint too for those of you who are sitting outside [the jail]. Bibi Nachhattar Kaur is under trial. She is living in Ludhiana. The court hearings are held in Samrala. All the leaders are sitting here and all of us too are gathered as a congregation. If all of us were to go and stand on that road, while the *Bibi*<sup>34</sup> is in handcuffs, if a cap-wearing Hindu were to say: "Sikh leaders, here is your sister going [under custody]." What answer do we have? If you have an answer, let me know. We have not been able to prevent that girl from being taken to attend court. Tell me, do we have the spirit of *Sikhi* in us? Tell me, do we have firmness in our Faith? It was Amarjit Singh who fought when the police went to kill him. He got an opportunity and put them on the train [of death]. When the police had a chance, they tricked him and killed him in a fake encounter. They have sought revenge and killed him but what is the lady's crime? Why is this daughter of a Sikh going to court if the law is the same for all? It is our cowardice, it is our faint-heartedness. When I preach this way, they say: "You should not speak. There will be cases registered against you." I have learnt only yesterday that there is some silly clause 506. If they had to make a case against me, they should have selected a decent clause. What sort of a trivial charge is this against me?

#### Sikhs Will Defend Harmandar Sahib. Attack Will Result In Khalistan

Our *Isht* has already decided this when we were born. Against every man, there is a case registered:

ਮਰਣੁ ਲਿਖਾਇ ਮੰਤਲ ਮਹਿ ਆਏ॥

'We come to this world with death written for us.' We had death written for us and then we came to this mortal world. The case was registered there [before birth] itself. Have you ever turned your attention towards this? How are we

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<sup>34</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Nachhattar Kaur.

going to handle this? They have made these trivial cases. I had said: "We have to claim our rights for the martyrs, for the insult to our *Isht*, for the dishonor of our daughters and sisters; and we have to unite the Sikhs on one platform, we have to get all to give up drug addictions, the Nation should be prepared for it, and if these attacks on us are not stopped, we shall avenge each one of these." When I say these words, they say my preaching is fiery. But if the Chief Minister of Punjab says that he will crush us, pulverize us, rub us out, there is no case against him. Kewal Krishan, who when I once saw him in Kiratpur Sahib was shaking like a rain-soaked goat and now talks a lot, says - this statement appeared in the Akali Patrika about three months back - that all these establishments and all those Sikhs who desire to be classed as a separate nation should go to Pakistan. A fellow sitting in Haryana said that all Sikhs should go to Punjab, none would be allowed to stay in Haryana. Have any charges been filed against them? A son of a Sikh, ever since he is born will necessarily have a case registered against him. If you wish to talk about the Faith, then, *Khalsa Ji*, you will have to keep a picture. I am not much in favor of pictures. You keep pictures, but if you must keep one and you wish to live according to your Faith, you should keep a picture of the wheel. We shall be broken on the wheel if we wish to talk about the Faith. Keep a chopping axe with you because we have to be chopped joint by joint if we are so audacious as to tell the truth. Keep a scalping knife with you because we shall certainly be scalped. We shall certainly be scalped and that not only for speaking. We shall be scalped if we feed, offer food and water, to one who talks [about the Faith]. Taru Singh Ji did not attack anyone. He kept no weapon. He only placed bread in a basket and went to feed Guru Ji's hungry congregation. He was asked: "O *Singh*, did you feed them?" He replied: "Yes. I did feed them." He was told: "Stop doing so in the future." He said: "No, I won't do so." He was told: "If you don't desist, you will be scalped." He replied: "I can lose my scalp, but I cannot stop serving Guru's congregation." *Khalsa Ji*, he lost his scalp. [The congregation shouts the *Jaikara*]. That *Singh* lost his scalp. What happened when he was to lose his scalp? Just as this man [the Chief Minister] says he will finish us in half-an-hour, he has this great delusion. When this place is attacked, it is not going to be like the last time that Sachar<sup>35</sup> came and asked for forgiveness. I wish to say this with firm conviction that this time when this place is attacked by the police, it will provide its own example to the world in that Khalistan will be created. Khalistan will certainly be created the day that the police come in here and wish to engage in some improper activity. Bhai Taru Singh lost his scalp. *Khalsa Ji*, Zakariya was shoe-beaten and made to walk ahead [of those beating him]. He [Taru Singh] sat twenty-two days after he was scalped. What does he [the Chief Minister] say? "I shall take the Sant out alive?" [I like to tell him]: "Come along, if you have the courage. We too are not wearing bangles."

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<sup>35</sup> Bhim Sen Sachar, former Chief Minister of Punjab.

## Keep Weapons As Ordered By Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib

But I shall certainly say this to you. We get together, hold an assembly as a congregation, offer homage and then go away, speakers to their places and listeners to theirs. Why do you become eunuchs and sleep upon going out? Why don't you bear arms? Why don't you carry weapons? Keeping and carrying weapons, it is a sin for us to dishonor any daughter or sister. Taking any life is a sin for us. Looting someone's home or business is a sin for us. Insulting anyone is a sin for us. However, keeping weapons, not to avenge the dishonor done to us is a sin as well. Pawan Kumar keeps two hundred and thirty grenades; yes, two hundred and thirty, for which a license can never be issued. There is no case against him. But if someone with a turban were ever to say that he wishes to keep a licensed gun, they say he is an extremist; he should be hung upside down; he should be hanged. How long will you live [like this]? I shall humbly say this to the congregation. If you wish to live in this world wearing turbans, keeping your natural complete form, being recognized as a distinct nation, wearing your religious symbols, then all of you, every child, woman and old person, should get involved and come out on the road ready to sacrifice your lives. This is the order issued for the 4th [April 1983]. If you wish to go about wearing caps, having cut off your beards and shaved your hair, dusting sandals, you can do what you please and no one will check you. If you wish to live honorably and with dignity, be ready to become martyrs. If you wish to live without self-respect and shamelessly, you can go anywhere you wish and no one will bother you. Be prepared if you wish to follow the Sikh faith. Receive *amrit*<sup>36</sup>. The British Parliament has issued a decision now regarding Sikhs being a separate nation. Bhai Gurdas Ji decided this four hundred years back; the Tenth King<sup>37</sup> decided this three hundred years back; and Satguru Nanak Sahib decided this five hundred years back. We learn about this if we read the religious texts. Bhai Gurdas Ji has stated the words:

ਸਬਦਿ ਜਿਤੀ ਸਿਧਿ ਮੰਡਲੀ ਕੀਤੋਸੁ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੰਥੁ ਨਿਰਾਲਾ।

'[Siri Guru Nanak Sahib Ji] won the *Siddhs*<sup>38</sup> over through the Word and created his unique Path.' *Niraala* means separate. *Panth* has several meanings but we shall here use the meaning we are familiar with.

ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸਿਕਾ ਜਗਤਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਪੰਥ ਚਲਾਇਆ।

'[Siri Guru Nanak Sahib] established worldwide the rule [of God's Word] and promulgated the pure [bereft of the dirt of self-will] Path.' Here *nirmal* does not mean saffron clothes; it means the pure Faith. The Tenth King said:

<sup>36</sup> Receiving *amrit* means formal initiation into the Sikh faith.

<sup>37</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>38</sup> A *siddh*, among the Hindus, is a person who possesses miraculous powers.

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਹੇ ਨਿਆਰਾ॥ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਤੇਜ਼ ਦੀਉ ਮੈਂ ਸਾਰਾ॥  
ਜਬ ਇਹ ਗਹੈ ਬਿਪਰਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਤ॥ ਮੈਂ ਨ ਕਰੋ ਇਨ ਕੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ॥

'So long as the Khalsa remains distinct, I shall give it all the glory. When they adopt the ways of the Brahmins, I shall not recognize them.' Satguru says that if we follow their [the Brahmins'] ways then he would not trust the Khalsa. Now we have to see what our Father says. Note what our Father, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, says:

ਬਿਨਾ ਜਸਤ੍ ਕੇਸੇ ਨਰੇ ਭੇਡ ਜਾਨੋ ॥ ਗਹੇ ਕਾਨ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਕਿਤੈ ਲੈ ਸਿਧਾਨੋ॥  
ਇਹੈ ਮੋਰ ਆਗਿਆ ਸੁਨੋ ਸਿਖ ਪਿਆਰੇ॥ ਬਿਨਾ ਜਸਤ੍ ਕੇਸੇ ਨ ਦਿਵੋ ਦੀਦਾਰੇ॥

'Without weapons and hair, a man is but a sheep. Held by the ear, he can be taken anywhere. Listen, my beloved Sikh, this is my command: Without weapons and hair, do not come to my presence.' He says: "Whoever is my Sikh, whoever is my son, he should keep hair uncut and carry weapons." If a Sikh does not have these two things, regardless of how much penance he does, he is not entitled to come to my presence." This is our Father's decision. Those whose father's decision is that they should pick up the sword only at the time of war, and after that keep a *janeoo* of nine threads to hold their keys, [one of them, Pawan Kumar] keeps two hundred and thirty grenades and guns and stens but restrictions are applied on those whose Father has ordered that they never be without weapons. This is a challenge.

#### HINDU PRESS ENGAGES IN UNBECOMING COMMENTS

Just now *Jathedar Ji* was talking about Romesh. He [Romesh] says: "Why did they go at four o'clock?" He is the son of the Lala [Jagat Narain]. I have not seen him. I have only heard about him in the newspapers. "Why did they go at four o'clock in a jeep?" At this time I am sitting here. I might get up at any time. When I was out, I have had to address up to eighteen Congregations. Up to seven days and seven nights the Congregations did not let me sleep even for a minute. If we have to follow the rules made by some such fellow, it will become difficult even to eat our meals. For the son of a Sikh the rule always is the *Gur Maryada*<sup>39</sup> that he is in prayer until one *pahar*<sup>40</sup> into the night and to rise and be again in prayer while one *pahar* is still left in the night. This is the way of Satguru and of *gurmat*<sup>41</sup>. But where is the need to ask such a person? Nauranga<sup>42</sup> asked those people only once to take off their cap and *janeoo* and to place them on a cot. No one was beaten up. No one was attacked. No one was harassed. He merely asked that they take off their cap and *janeoo* and place

<sup>39</sup> *Gur Maryada* is Guru's principles or tradition based upon Gurus' actions.

<sup>40</sup> One *pahar* is three hours.

<sup>41</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>42</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

them at the foot of his bed. By next morning, they took their caps and *janeos* to him and saying 'Salaam U'leikum', begged him: "Sir, have mercy on us, save us this time. Take even the cap which is lying at home." Why is there fear of such persons? The fear we have is only from ourselves. What is that fear? It is that Sikh young men are falling from their Faith and taking to bad ways. This is what we are afraid of. There is no fear at all of these cap-wearers.

## ADVICE TO SIKHS

### Be Prepared To Die Fighting For Truth

Follow the path of:

ਨਿਸਚੈ ਕਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਜੀਤ ਕਰੋ

'Resolutely may I ensure my victory.' The Guides of some have asked for wine, of others have promised beautiful women. If we start getting hit hard, only the Guru is our protector. Satguru Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's words - the message of our Father to his son - is his prayer to *Akal Purakh*<sup>43</sup>:

ਜਬ ਆਵ ਕੀ ਅਉਧ ਨਿਦਾਨ ਬਨੈ ਅਤ ਹੀ ਰਣ ਮੈ ਤਬ ਜੁਝ ਮਰੋ॥

'When death is certain, may I die fighting in the thick of battle.' We should follow this path:

ਕਬੀਰ ਜਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੇ ਤੇ ਜਗ ਡਰੈ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨਿ ਆਨੰਦੁ॥ ਮਰਨੇ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਪਾਈਐ ਪੂਰਨੁ ਪਰਮਾਨੰਦੁ॥ ੨੨ ॥

'O Kabir, death, which people fear, is bliss to me. It is only through dying [destroying one's self-will] that one finds the Perfect One, the Supreme Bliss.'

### Hardev Singh Was Innocent. False Charges Concocted After His Death

Bhai Hardev Singh of Rode has been martyred. Until today there never was any case [registered] against him. Since 1978 until the present time, since his childhood until today he was never needed in connection with any trial. They fired upon him without any basis. They say he had some weapon. With permission from the President and the congregation I like to say one thing. They say the *Singhs* had some weapon, and that is why we wanted to kill them. From this stage I like to say this. Let Darbara<sup>44</sup>, along with any five of his men - I do not wish to name them, let him prepare any five men - fix some place. I shall send one of my *Singhs*. If they could take him alive, I shall offer myself for arrest. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. They say that they [the

<sup>43</sup> Eternal, All-pervading, God.

<sup>44</sup> Darbara Singh, Chief Minister, Punjab.

victims] had a lot of stuff, and such other things. He should be asked if they caught anyone. Now they say that they [the victims] dropped a sten<sup>45</sup> from the vehicle and ran away. If a person is *amritdhari*<sup>46</sup>, has a sten-gun in his hand, is a *Singh* of the *Bhindranwala Jatha*, would he give you a sten by throwing it at you?

### Be On Guard Against Government Propaganda

*Khalsa Ji*, beware of these lies. The news in the papers that the Akalis are on the point of fighting among themselves, that there is going to be disunity among them, that two groups have been formed or three groups have been formed, these are merely fanciful creations of the newspapers. Guard against these. Support the *Panth* openly. Everyone should fully support the program that has been prepared for the fourth [April] to ensure its complete success and fulfillment. On my behalf, I heartily thank the people that have come, and all the leaders. I especially thank the shop-owners of the city who closed their shops in response to our request to pay homage to Bhai Hardev Singh and have come to Satguru's door to make obeisance. I thank all of them. If I have erred during my speech, consider me an ignorant child and forgive me. The Secretary Sahib will let you know the next item on the program. Hardev Singh's mother, father, his sister, and one brother are present here. They will be given a *saropao*<sup>47</sup> from here. We shall follow the program according to the instructions of Baba Ji<sup>48</sup>.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>45</sup> A Sten gun.

<sup>46</sup> *Amritdhari*s are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>47</sup> *Saropao* is robes of honor.

<sup>48</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

**SPEECH #7**  
**13 APRIL 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>;

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: You have heard nice thoughts presented by the speakers from this stage, and by the respected President of the Shromani Akali Dal, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal and by the Chief Official of Kesgarh Sahib, the place of the birth of *Khalsa Ji*, Harcharan Singh Ji Mahalon Sahib. After this [speeches by distinguished speakers] perhaps it is not right to say much. However, accepting the instructions given from the stage I shall humbly make a couple of submissions to you.

**NEED FOR BEING ALERT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S DECEITFUL POLICIES**

Noting the way in which this Government has adopted and is following a policy to annihilate the Sikh Nation, in order to protect the honor of our sisters and daughters, in order to perpetually ensure reverence for Satguru Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, we have to do some thinking while continuing to be alert about this deceitful attitude of the Government.

**Hindus Do Not Trust Sikhs And Want Assurances**

I was not aware of this earlier but on reaching here I have learnt from Baba Ji's<sup>4</sup> own words that Vajpayee<sup>5</sup> has made a statement asking the Akali Dal to say something about safety of the Hindus, to give them some assurance. I like to ask this of these people. The nation, or the person, or the brotherhood that has no faith in the *Isht*<sup>6</sup>; those who have no faith in the Sikh Gurus; how can they trust the Sikhs? Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji, Beloved Master, who wrote [some part of] the sacred Word in Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's.

<sup>5</sup> A prominent leader of the Bhartiya Janata Party; Prime Minister of India 1998 onwards.

<sup>6</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.



whose words are steeped in detachment, left Anandpur Sahib to go to Delhi to sacrifice his life. But, people of the present time, for whom he sacrificed his life, have not only through speeches, not only by preaching from the stage, but also in published books said that Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji's head was given in some personal quarrel. Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji has said the following words regarding Satguru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji in his composition titled *Bachitra Naatak*:

ਠੀਕਰ ਫੌਰ ਦਿਲੀਸ ਸਿਰਿ ਪ੍ਰਭੁਪੁਰਿ ਕੀਜਾ ਪਯਾਨ॥ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦੁਰ ਸੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਆ ਕਰੀ ਨ ਕਿਨਹੂੰ ਆਨਿ॥

'Leaving his body over the head of the Emperor of Delhi, he passed over to God's City. No one has matched the deed that Tegh Bahaadar did.' Preceding this are the words:

ਤਿਲਕ ਜੰਦੁ ਰਾਖਾ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਤਕਾ॥ ਕੀਨੋ ਬਡੋ ਕਲੁ ਮਹਿ ਸਕਾ॥

'God protected the *tilak*<sup>7</sup> and *janeoo*<sup>8</sup> of these people, he<sup>9</sup> did this great deed in *Kalyug*.' He<sup>10</sup> said the words: "He<sup>11</sup> gave his head for the *tilak*, he gave his head for the *janeoo*." These people, through their writings, are slandering the sacrifice made by Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib, The True King, our Beloved Master. Now they say the Akali Dal should give assurance. Will they believe this [such an assurance]? There is no need for us to give assurance to these people. How many times do we have to give them this assurance? These people have been giving us assurances since 1947 until 1983 and still do not give us anything at all.

Earlier too, I have made one or two humble statements from this stage on several occasions. Since 1947 until 1983, to [get the right to] speak Hindi, to form Hindi-speaking states, to get a train named after a Hindu temple, to get a Hindu religious city given the 'holy city' status, to wear their religious symbol the *janeoo*, has even one Hindu in all of Hindostan suffered imprisonment for even an hour, let alone a day? [On the other hand], if we have to speak Punjabi, or get Punjabi-speaking state, fifty-seven thousand Sikhs have to go to jail. Young men like Inderjit are cut up and their bodies thrown in a well, and Hindus get Himachal and Haryana without any sacrifice at all on their part? Why do we have to give assurance to these people? If we wish a train named - a trivial matter; if we have to get a transmitter installed; if we have to get water which is our right; if someone has to get the price of farm products fixed; if we have to get holy status for a city; we have to get over a hundred thousand

<sup>7</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

<sup>8</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>9</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>10</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>11</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

arrested, get nearly two hundred martyred, and still be called communal! What do we get by giving them assurances? [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>12</sup>]. Sant Baba Ji, Longowal Sahib Ji, has said: "You [the Hindus] should try to sit with us at a table and have a discussion regarding our history and also regarding the present situation." I support this statement by Baba Ji. But I also humbly submit that we would need to talk to these people if they were to keep their word. One of their prominent persons, I forget his name - it had 'Krishan' in it as far as I remember and he belongs to the Hindu faith - is reported to have said some two or three days back that he was sorry that it has not been possible to find the origin of the Hindus. It is not known who their mother and father were. They are themselves accepting this. [They say]: "We have no ancestors." Then how shall we give them an assurance?

### Government Oppression Against The *Taksaal*<sup>13</sup> Continues

*Khalsa Ji*: This oppression that the Government has started to perpetrate, don't let it dishearten you. Don't say so and so has been caught at such and such place. It doesn't matter. I learn that we, all of us Sikhs, now number nearly twenty million. We were lined up in Delhi and beheaded, there was a price on the head of every Sikh. We were not finished. No regime stays for ever. But you should remember this that the Chief Minister of Punjab in the present Government, who is like *Zakariya*<sup>14</sup>, has sown such seeds for the Congress party<sup>15</sup>. He continues to sow them at this time and it is not known as to how many more he is going to sow. But [as a result], in the time to come, I believe his actions will lead to total destruction. He has sown such seeds, he has fanned such enmities! I have learnt, and Sant Ji<sup>16</sup> has already spoken about it too, that in Ferozepur District there was some embezzlement of weapons. They said there had been a robbery. They said that Bhindranwale's *Singhs* should be arrested. Bhai Sahib Ji, Jathedar Sahib<sup>17</sup> has also told us that the people said we shall all become Bhindranwale. I shall humbly say to the Nation - to the Sikh Nation - that we should get rid of the notion that we have to become Bhindranwale or Akali Dal 'Wale'<sup>18</sup>. Let the words be engraved in every Sikh's mind that we have to become Satguru Granth Sahib Ji 'Wale'. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. When we have taken our attention away

<sup>12</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>13</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>14</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>15</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>16</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>17</sup> Reference here is to Mr. Mahalon, Jathedar, Takhat Siri Kesgarh Sahib, who had addressed the gathering before Sant Bhindranwale.

<sup>18</sup> Belonging to the Akali Dal.

from the hypocrites, from the personal gurus, from the worshippers of graves and spirits, from sprinkling vermilion on the *Jand* [tree], and from the desire for political rewards, and turned it towards Guru Granth Sahib, there is no power on earth that can crush us. Let every Sikh take this to heart.

### The Government Trusts Dogs - But Not Quite

There was some talk about dogs. There is a village Ghuman beyond Mehta. Some time back there were a couple of minor explosions there. They brought the dogs there too. I humbly ask this assembly: "What justice can you get from the party which trusts only dogs?" They no longer have any faith in men. It is said that the person there, who was from the Home Guards, was taken to the police lines. Yesterday, Ramoowalia was saying: "*Bibi* Indira<sup>19</sup>, you should stand guard." If men could not provide guard, how can *Bibi* Indira provide it? But they say they have no faith in men, they believe only dogs. The party which acts according to what dogs say will do the deeds worthy of dogs only. How can it do men's deeds? This is the story of Ghuman. It actually happened to the *Singhs* of the *Jatha*<sup>20</sup>. There was this explosion. A police jeep went there. A dog was let loose. The dog went and entered the police station. They took the dog again over there. The dog again came to the police station. The *Thanedar*<sup>21</sup> of that place uttered an expletive and said: "Throw this dog into the jeep, he will get us caught." This is what happened in Ghuman. The story about Mehta Chowk is similar. They trust the dogs but they do not trust people. Satguru Ji has said about the dog; Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji has pointed to the dog and addressed Man. But there the reference is to dog's loyalty to his master:

ਸੁਆਮੀ ਕੋ ਗਿਹੁ ਜਿਉ ਸਦਾ ਸੁਆਨ ਤਜਤ ਨਹੀ ਨਿਤ॥  
ਨਾਨਕ ਇਹ ਬਿਧਿ ਹਰਿ ਭਜਉ ਇਕ ਮਨਿ ਹੁਇ ਇਕ ਚਿਤਿ॥

'Just as a dog would never leave his master's house; the same way, O Nanak, single-mindedly remember God.' He did not say that you should do the deeds that dogs do. The reference is that just as a dog protects his master's house even if doesn't get much to eat there, the same way one should be faithful. But if only the dog has to be trusted, then the dog actually went to the police station. Why did they not beat up the people at the police station?

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<sup>19</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>20</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>21</sup> *Thanedar* is the Station House Officer at a police station with the rank of an Inspector or Sub-Inspector.

## BE PREPARED

### Keep Weapons

I humbly request that you keep weapons. We have orders to be peaceful. We shall stay peaceful as long as that is the order. It shouldn't come to pass that when an order is given from here to do something you all come running here and ask: "Baba Ji, from which factory can we get weapons?" There is no such factory here.

ਆਪਣ ਹਥੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕਾਜ ਸਵਾਰੀਐ॥

'With our own hands we should ourselves fulfill our mission.' You have to accomplish everything yourselves with your own hands. Neither Longowal nor Bhindranwala will be able to provide support, and they don't let anyone seek support from the Guru's Word. Therefore, remember the line [from Siri Guru Granth Sahib]:

### Oppression Continues But Sikhs Are Not Afraid

As to the people who are oppressing us: a young man has been arrested from Harihar Jhoke, another from Usmanwala. Raids are being carried out at other places. A brother came here. I do not know whether he had come to gather intelligence or just to feel us out, I am not a mind-reader. Only Satguru knows why he came. On arrival, he told me: "The police have cooked up a scheme to kill your brother." I replied: "It is a good thing. It is something to celebrate. If and when I get the news of someone having been killed by a police bullet, I shall shout the *Jaikaara* five times if this death was for the Faith." Whose sons are we? I like to ask those who ask such questions: "Whose sons are we? Whose Sikhs are we? Which cradles did our Father and our brothers, the *Sahibzadas*<sup>22</sup> lie in, sleep in, when they were growing up?" [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. Upon beds of thorns. They spent the nights walking over beds of thorns and over the heads of snakes. This type of people who come to talk should have some thought of the Sikh way of life in their minds. So, keep weapons. Regarding those persons who have engaged in torture [of innocent people] the newspapers do not publish or rarely publish the information I provide. I do not know what pressure is there. But I shall humbly request you, who are assembled here in large numbers, go to your villages and convey the message.

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<sup>22</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

## Government Is Planning To Attack Harmandar Sahib

Today *Zakariya* came here to Raja Sansi airport. I have learnt that he is busy concocting schemes. Vajpayee asks for protection for the Hindus and wants assurances. Only he knows for sure, I am only speaking according to what I have heard. I have learnt that he [the Chief Minister] plans to distribute weapons among the Hindus. He is trying to get them to be armed and then to get them to attack us. He is telling them: "You start the action and then we [the Government forces] would [get an excuse to] enter the premises [of Harmandar Sahib] and arrest Bhindranwale from there." I have said on a couple of previous occasions too: "Don't come with any lack of preparation. Do not imagine you will be able to just come and get me. I shall certainly make piles [of dead bodies] here." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. With folded hands I shall humbly say this to those in the congregation who all the time ask me: "Sant Ji, what shall we do?" You must acquire weapons. They say: "They [the Government] do not issue us licenses." If Pawan Kumar can keep two hundred and thirty grenades, why do you and I need to get licenses? If he has not had to be in jail even for one hour, why should you be punished? If you do have some weapon and they want to arrest you, tell him [the person who comes to arrest you] once: "My dear man, go home. We are barely eking out a living. Go away." If he says: "You are a Sikh, I have to take away your weapon before I leave." Give him one in his side. Put him on the train [of death]. Face the consequences, whatever they might be. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. I request the entire congregation: if you come to know that the Government has invaded Harmandar Sahib and entered the complex, you do not need to ask Longowal Sahib or me. There is no need to consult any other leader. In that eventuality, at various places, in the villages as in the cities, wherever there is a critic of Satguru Guru Granth Sahib, or one who has dishonored sisters and daughters, or one who rejoices in this dishonor, or one who creates rifts among us, kill them wherever they are, punish them. This is my firm request of you. You must not hesitate at that time. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. So long as they hold back from such action, we shall hold back too. Beyond Mecca, everything is wilderness to a Muslim, after Harmandar Sahib, for the Sikh all is wilderness. If they pick up the courage to desecrate Harmandar Sahib, do not worry that they might carry me away. They will not take me alive. If they take me dead, never mind because what can I do for you after I am dead? Anyone who tries to take me alive, will have to take some care. He will bring some vehicles along. Just watch how we shall put them on the trains. May the Guru Sahib have mercy.

## Be Peaceful But Prepare For The Worst

It is necessary that you bear arms lest at that time [of need to use weapons] you have to go about climbing trees to cut sticks and someone pulls you down. Make full preparation, be completely ready, don't be lax in it in any way. I shall

also humbly say this regarding the struggle that is going on. We have orders to stay peaceful. We shall be peaceful but what I heard two or three days back has made me very unhappy. A Sikh girl was walking along. Perhaps she was wearing some earrings. A police official forcibly pulled that ornament off her ear and took it home. Where such crimes occur, no one should bother about peacefulness. Such a person should be fully punished. It is not going to matter if we die. The gatherings on the day of the new moon are not going to stop. We have been rescuing thirty thousand<sup>23</sup>. Now they go about catching our two sisters and stripping them naked!. What are you Sikhs doing sitting in your villages? You come here and ask: "Sant Ji, give us orders". You can't rescue two girls in your villages? [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. Perhaps some old persons have shouted this *Jaikaara*. Is it because they think it was good that they [our sisters] were caught? The *Jaikaara* should be shouted when you resolve to rescue them. I shall request the entire congregation. If someone catches any *Singh*, provide protection [to the victim]. Do not sleep over it. *Khalsa Ji*, if anyone, whether he is a Government official or someone else, molests, robs, or dishonors any sister or daughter, regardless of whether she is the daughter of a Congress worker, of someone associated with the Akali party, of some poor man or anyone else, I declare this publicly and request you that if anyone desires to ruin the honor of any daughter or sister you should put him on the train [of death] and then come to me. You come here and wail: "Baba Ji, they have robbed us of our honor, they took away ornaments." Now, Baba Ji does not have ornaments in his pocket that he can give you. Protecting the honor of our sisters is not solely my and Longowal's business. You too are our brothers. It is your responsibility as well. Yes, stay peaceful everywhere and put on the train [of death] anyone who dishonors Satguru Granth Sahib or a daughter or a sister.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>23</sup> Reference is to the Sikhs having rescued women from the clutches of the invading Ahmad Shah Abdali.

**SPEECH #8**  
**13 APRIL 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>: the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*:

ਪੰਜ ਪਿਆਲੇ ਪੰਜ ਪੀਰ ਛਠਮੁ ਪੀਰੁ ਗੁਰੁ ਭਾਰੀ। ਅਰਜਨ ਕਾਇਆ ਪਲਟਿ ਕੈ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਹਰਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਵਾਰੀ।  
ਚਲੀ ਪੀੜੀ ਸੋਢੀਆ ਰੂਪੁ ਦਿਖਾਵਣਿ ਵਾਰੋਵਾਰੀ। ਦਲਭੰਜਨ ਗੁਰੁ ਸੂਰਮਾ ਬਡਜੋਧਾ ਬਹੁ ਪਰਉਪਕਾਰੀ।

'Five cups [of life have been filled], five *Pirs*<sup>4</sup>, [now] the sixth *Pir*, the Great Guru [rules]. [Guru] Arjan has transformed his body and created the form of Hargobind. The line of Sodhis has started. They show their grace in turn. The valiant Guru is the destroyer of armies, the great warrior, the great benefactor.'

We have assembled here at the place<sup>5</sup> of the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>6</sup>. To begin with, with every breath, I offer my congratulations to the entire congregation on the occasion of the birth anniversary of the *Khalsa*.

**THE SIKHS HAVE SUFFERED BUT ALWAYS AVENGED THE WRONG**

This great gathering at this place, the people who have come to touch the feet of Satguru Ji, is not like ordinary gatherings. This gathering has some weighty and special purpose, it has some importance. Since 1526 Bikrami [1469 C.E.], the year of the birth of The True King, Satguru Nanak Sahib, up to the present time, the Sikh nation has been through a continuous and serious struggle. Those who followed the truth had to turn the grindstones<sup>7</sup>. After the millstones had been turned, those who ordered this punishment had to beg

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> A *Pir* means a religious leader; here, in plural form, it means the first five Gurus.

<sup>5</sup> Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

<sup>6</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>7</sup> Reference is to Siri Guru Nanak Sahib's working the grindstones in jail.

forgiveness with folded hands. After that, hard times came again when we had to sit on a heated metal plate<sup>8</sup>. Living peacefully, we had to suffer torture. The Master of the place where we are assembled today, Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji, at eleven years age, made some resolves. Listening to those resolves, the minds of some cowardly people were filled with great terror. [They wondered]: "At such a young age he has uttered such strong words. How can anyone fight the Government"? A complaint had reached *Mata Ganga Ji*<sup>9</sup>. Satguru replied: "*Mata Ji*, don't worry. The time will come when we shall get our rights." *Khalsa Ji*, when the time came, justice was done.

## ATROCITIES BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT

This gathering has been assembled here. The oppression that the Punjab Government and the Central Government have unleashed are not minor incidents. *Zakariya*<sup>10</sup>, the Chief Minister of Punjab, and the Central Government have surpassed all the crimes that we have learnt about from books on history of old times or heard about from great men. I do not consider it proper to talk about Hindus and Muslims in a discriminatory manner but I shall not hesitate in speaking the truth either. I especially and particularly appeal to the young men and in general to the entire congregation. *Singhs*, when we tell the truth, the Government feels greatly offended. They say: "Extremists are speaking." They say this when the truth is told. I have to speak to you about a few things in a short time because the President<sup>11</sup> has to give us the program [of action]. All of us have to listen to it and have to welcome it. We have to carry out the instructions. [I notice] there are some Hindu brothers among us too. They are standing outside.

### The Case Of Sikh Girl Stripped And Paraded

A young daughter of the Sikhs was stripped naked and, *Khalsa Ji*, her father was forcibly laid on her in Ghall Khurd police station in Moga *Tehsil*<sup>12</sup>. In Dauke village, it was the daughter of a Sikh, of *Jheoor* Sikhs whom we also call *Mehra* Sikhs. Swaran Singh, D.S.P.<sup>13</sup> of Tarn Taran, stripped their daughter naked and, in our times, had her held by her breasts and paraded through the village. Has it ever happened to a Hindu? Tell me if there is a single example in Punjab.

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<sup>8</sup> Reference is to Siri Guru Arjan Sahib's martyrdom. He was made to sit on a heated plate during torture.

<sup>9</sup> Ganga Ji was mother of the sixth Guru, Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib. *Mata* is the Punjabi for mother.

<sup>10</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>11</sup> President of the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>12</sup> A *tehsil* is a sub-division of a district.

<sup>13</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Police.



## Homes Of Sikhs Are Set On Fire

Only the homes of Sikhs have been set on fire by the police. Has a single Hindu home been set on fire by the police in the whole of Punjab? Prove it to me. I do not say that it should be burnt but those who say that the Sikhs are simply lying, that the Akalis have got into the habit of getting killed and going to jail, that they [the Government] practice no discrimination. I like to make this humble submission in your presence. Let any minister of the Central Government with logical reasoning, any minister of the Punjab Government with logical reasoning, prove even a single one of the statements that I am going to make before you to be wrong. I promise you, standing here at The [Akali] Takhat, I shall chop off my head and place it at your feet. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>14</sup>]. Such blatant discrimination is going on.

## Restriction On Sikhs Traveling To Delhi

The country is free and you, our turbaned brothers, have sacrificed ninety-three<sup>15</sup> lives out of one hundred<sup>16</sup> but, in this free country, a line is drawn. [Asian] Games were going on in India. No one with a turban or 'Singh' in his name could attend. One with a cap could; he could come from America but a Sikh could not. Are we free?

## Restrictions On The Kirpaan

Restriction has been imposed on the *kirpaan*<sup>17</sup>. They say the *kirpaan* is a weapon, that this has been used to hijack an airplane. A minister of the Central Government met me. He told me that the restriction on the *kirpaan* had been imposed because of this reason. I asked him: "Has a plane also been hijacked with an apple or a ball?" He answered: "It was round. There was a fear that it might be a bomb." I then said: "All apples are round, pears are round, oranges are round, grenades are round, the tires of vehicles are round, the axles and wheels of railroad cars are round. They should all be thrown into the ocean or there should be restrictions on all of them if we are afraid of round objects."

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<sup>14</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>15</sup> Reference is to ninety-three Sikhs having been hanged to death by the British during India's struggle for freedom.

<sup>16</sup> The actual number was one hundred and twenty one. Sant Bhindranwale is mistakenly stating the number of Sikhs killed as the percentage killed.

<sup>17</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

## Hijacking Of Planes

The lady born in the home of Pundits, *Bibi* Indira Gandhi<sup>18</sup>, getting votes of the public, became Prime Minister of India. In 1977, because of her deeds, a judge sentenced her [to prison]. She went to Tihar Jail to serve the sentence. *Khalsa Ji*, at the time of her going to Tihar Jail, her coworkers, Pandey and others, hijacked a plane. Those persons got public offices. [On the other hand], when the *Isht*<sup>19</sup> in the busses belonging to the *Jatha*<sup>20</sup> was set fire to in Chando-Kalan, when bullets were fired into the chests of the Sikhs in Mehta on 20 September [1981] after my arrest and one and one half dozen unarmed *Singhs* were, without any reason, mowed down by bullets, some wearers of the *kirpaan* hijacked a plane to protest these atrocities, they were exiled. They say Sikhs are communal-minded. A plane can be hijacked for the *Bibi* of the Pundits but for the *Isht* a plane cannot be hijacked. Is this freedom? After that, on 4 August [1982], Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh hijacked a plane. He was given an injection in his leg to cripple his leg. On 20 August [1982], Bhai Manjit Singh alias Bhai Museebat Singh hijacked a plane. He was shot dead. They say Sikhs are communal-minded! For the sake of his turban, for the honor of his daughter or sister, for the maintenance of reverence for his *Isht* a Sikh cannot hijack a plane. However, if one wears a cap, has a *janeoo*<sup>21</sup> wrapped around his waist, there is freedom to take a plane anywhere, there is no restriction. Is this freedom? Why this injustice is there?

## Discrimination

Let anyone sitting in this entire congregation tell me if in India, since India's freedom [from British rule], to speak the Hindi language, to get a Hindi-speaking state, to get a train named after a place of worship, to get a city declared holy for Hindus, to wear the *janeoo* - the Hindu religious symbol - around his waist, even one Hindu has had to go to jail even for an hour. They have got everything sitting at home. But if you want to speak Punjabi, you want to get a Punjabi-speaking state, fifty-seven thousand of you have to go to jail, you get young men like Inderjit Singh cut up and thrown into wells, you spill your blood, and they get Haryana and Himachal Pardesh<sup>22</sup>! If you want to get a train named after Harmandar Sahib, if you want to get holy city status for Amritsar, if you want to wear the *kirpaan* in a *gaatra* on your person, - you have to maintain peace in obedience to orders from our President - you fill the

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<sup>18</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>19</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>20</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>21</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>22</sup> Hindi-speaking states carved out of Punjab.

jails with over one hundred thousand, have close to two hundred of you martyred, and even then be called communal-minded, extremists, and separatists!

## APPEAL

Why are we blamed like this? We are living the life of slaves. Before you make a pledge for the Sant<sup>23</sup>, I like to ask you to make one additional pledge by raising your arms and then [I shall] end my speech. *Khalsa Ji*, we have to get rid of this slavery. I also make this appeal to you. After Sant Ji reads out the text of the pledge, only those brothers should raise their arms who have said good-bye at home and have come with the firm resolve in their minds that we have to protect the honor of our sisters, that we have to support peacefulness, that we have to uphold reverence for our *Isht*, and to claim our right against those cruel people who have dishonored our sisters and daughters, against those who have set our *Isht* on fire, against those who have desecrated our religious places, against those who have fired upon people sitting on the road reading from prayer books, and we have to secure justice. Raise your arms upon the Sant's call, at the right time. Secondly, remember too that if we raise our arms here and then go back on our pledges, we shall be answerable to the Guru. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*].

### Become 'Extremists': Definition Of 'Extremist'

Before the Sant asks you for the pledge, I have to get you to raise your arms to make you extremists. Raise your arms to become extremists only if you want to do the extremists' deeds. I, your servant<sup>24</sup>, have been given the title 'extremist' by the Government. He who administers *amrit*<sup>25</sup> to others having taken it himself, he who reads *Gurbani*<sup>26</sup> himself and teaches it to others, he who holds religious discourses and gets others to do the same, he who has faith in religious discourse and in *kirtan*<sup>27</sup>, he who considers Satguru, Guru Granth Sahib to be his Beloved and his Father, he who joins and exhorts others in protecting the honor of daughters and sisters, he who unites people under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>28</sup>, he who resolutely supports the *Panth*<sup>29</sup> and unites

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<sup>23</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>24</sup> Sant Bhindranwale repeatedly refers to himself as the Congregation's servant - a common practice among Sikhs.

<sup>25</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>26</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>27</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>28</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>29</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

people with Satguru Granth Sahib, the person who does such things is given the name 'extremist.' The Government has said this. I am the kind of extremist I have just described to you. I appeal to you that if you are in agreement to support the protection of the honor of sisters, to support the maintenance of reverence for our *Isht*, to support helping the *Panth* and, to support the claiming of justice for the spilt blood of the martyrs; if you are such extremists then, when I shout the *Jaikaara*, raise your arms. But he who is a Sikh of the spinning wheel or the goat<sup>30</sup>, he who is a Sikh of the Radhaswamis or *Narkdharis*<sup>31</sup>, he who is a Sikh of any living person or of hypocrites, he who is a Sikh of the grave or the cremation ground, he who is a Sikh of the *Jand* [tree] sprinkling vermilion on it, he who is a Sikh watering the *Pipal* tree, should not raise his arm. He who is a Sikh of Satguru, who supports protection of the honor of daughters and sisters, who supports the *Panth*, only he becomes an extremist. Remember this; I am this type here and shall stay like this. I have to get justice while I live. You should think over whether you wish to become one or not, I am one. [*Sant Bhindranwale shouts the Jaikaara*].

*Bolay so nihaal*

'Whoever says will be blest.'

[*The congregation responds*]

*Sat Sri Akaal*

'Eternal Lord is the Reality.'

### Appeal To Sikhs In The Police And The Military

From my side, I thank all those who have assembled here, including all the volunteers. Sant Ji will ask you to make the pledge. Whatever he reads out, we have to support. We have to acclaim it through *Jaikaraas*. Even though not everybody has been able to come here yet, Baba Ji<sup>32</sup> has told me that, according to times, they will all be counted in turn. People of the C.I.D.<sup>33</sup> and those in the police, you too have raised your arms. Like true men, become Guru's Sikhs, give up the hassle there and come over to this side. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. This is because I know some persons belonging to the C.I.D. and the police are sitting here. They have flowing beards and are wearing *kirpaans* on the outside. They are sporting very nice turbans. They have come here only to find out what Longowal and Bhindranwala are going to say. My dear men,

<sup>30</sup> A follower of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule. Mr. Gandhi used to drink goat's milk.

<sup>31</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>32</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>33</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

you need intelligence on a person who says one thing in a room and another outside and another when speaking to others from a public platform. Where there is always the same thing said, what will you get by gathering intelligence about him? It is only Guru's Sikhs. No Hindu can do intelligence gathering on us. It is the misfortune of us Sikhs. If intelligence has to be gathered about us, it is done by Sikhs with beards and *kirpaans*, under disguise, and it is the fellow with the *kirpaan* who comes to open fire at Harmandar Sahib. The sons of Sikhs in the police and the military should think about it some time. When means of livelihood have to be decided, your recruitment is one-and-one-half percent but when firing has to be faced, you are sent to Wagah border and those with the 98.5 percent recruitment will go to Delhi. You should pay attention to this.

### Appeal To Young Men

Finally, I make this one appeal to the congregation. I understand from some news that the Government wishes to somehow attack Darbar Sahib, Nanak Niwas and the Saraan<sup>34</sup>. On my behalf, I strongly appeal to the entire congregation, and especially to young brothers, my brothers. The day you, in the villages, come to know, be careful not to start anything on somebody setting off a false alarm. First check to be sure. When you come to know that the police have attacked Nanak Niwas or come within the four walls of the complex, do not wait for any word from me or from Longowal. Do not wait that some message will come to you. Each one should take care of his duty and pick off the critics from the villages.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>34</sup> Nanak Niwas and the Saraan are buildings in the complex adjoining Harmandar Sahib providing shelter to visitors and resident personnel.

**SPEECH #9**  
**13 APRIL 1983**

Dear *Khalsa Ji*; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>1</sup>.

All of us have resolved and accepted the pledge that you have listened to while gathered in the Lap of Satguru<sup>2</sup>, Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>3</sup>. We have to proceed according to it. Hearing the word 'peacefulness', some young brothers are wondering in their minds as to how much peacefulness this means. The *Panth's*<sup>4</sup> orders are for peacefulness and we have to act accordingly. We have also been given this example of Bhagat Singh Ji that during peacefulness, according to circumstances when everything has been tried and has been of no avail, to get justice for one's brothers following *gurmat*<sup>5</sup> following the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>6</sup>, the right to wield the sword has been given to the Sikh, to the *Khalsa*, by Satguru. Even though we do not have orders to do so [to wield the sword], if someone tries to dishonor our daughters and sisters while we are staying peaceful, then what the Akali Dal has laid down is not that we have to be peaceful even after our daughters and sisters have been dishonored. The instructions are not this way. At such time we have to get justice. We have to participate in the program peacefully. I am in full agreement with what Sant Ji<sup>7</sup> has said. I appeal to the congregation, especially to the young men, that we have to participate, with all our strength and steadfastness, shoulder to shoulder with all. I once again congratulate the entire congregation on the birthday of the *Khalsa* and for the program today.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>2</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>4</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>5</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>6</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>7</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

**SPEECH #10**  
**29 APRIL 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>: the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: Seated nicely in the sacred lap of Satguru Granth Sahib, the True King, you have listened to the views of speakers from the stage regarding the current *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>4</sup>.

**GOVERNMENT MISINFORMATION TO VILIFY SIKHS**

All of us have to be very careful about the mean efforts initiated by the Government, in line with its deceitful policy, to make this struggle of the Sikh *Panth*<sup>5</sup> unsuccessful. The Government is going to try to create dissension among us by every possible means. It is very necessary that we stay alert to this.

All Crime Is Attributed To Harmandar Sahib And Sikhs

At whatever place, whatever untoward incident occurs, whether any other place is named in that connection or not, the names of Harmandar Sahib and Nanak Niwas are always included. This is for anything happening anywhere, not only in a couple of cases. Madhya Pradesh is thousands of kilometers from here. Something happened at Bhilai a long time back. Even that case has been linked to this place. After that, at various other places, many incidents occurred. The Government and the *Mahashas*<sup>6</sup>, communal newspapers, have not hesitated in linking Harmandar Sahib to these. These conspiracies are being hatched and stories concocted with the sole purpose of vilifying the Akali Dal and to make this struggle unsuccessful. Every Sikh of the Guru should pay full attention to these [activities] and be alert to them.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>5</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdhari*s are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

## Government Lies In The Parliament

You have already heard about the Home Minister of Hindostan. Sant Ji<sup>7</sup> will tell us in detail. I have learnt just now what they said in the Parliament. They have taken a decision. In that connection a report has been received here too. They have gone back on what they had said. From the [lowly] gatekeeper to the Prime minister, everyone has the hope that if no decision can be reached anywhere, then someone in the Center would listen. But this something that had been said in the House<sup>8</sup> of five hundred: at first he issued a very strong verbal threat. He might have thought that [the Sikhs] will come with folded hands [to seek forgiveness] and that he'll achieve some glory. But he did not realize what sort of reply he was to get. He quickly turned around and said that he had said 'for seven days', that he had not used the word 'ultimatum.' He had not used the word 'ultimatum', perhaps the wording was somewhat different. If we tell someone 'this is your father' or 'this is your mother's husband', there is difference in the words but it is the same person. He merely says that he did not even say 'ultimatum', that he only mentioned seven days. So, *Khalsa Ji*, we should not become lax if, in today or tomorrow's papers, they say that they did not give [us] an ultimatum. Never should we become lax. I strongly appeal to the entire Sikh Nation, we have to stay peaceful and we support peacefulness, but we must not adopt such peacefulness that the police enter Harmandar Sahib, try to kill the Sikhs by hurling false accusations and we stay caught up in peacefulness. We shall have none of such peacefulness. Yes, if any of our *Jathas*<sup>9</sup> goes out [to peacefully court arrest], we have to follow the program decided upon by the *Panth*. But if anyone comes to try to damage Harmandar Sahib by firing, and wishes to use force to kill the *Singhs*, then each and all Sikhs of the Guru, wherever they might be at that time, have to shoulder their respective responsibilities. With folded hands, in all humility, I appeal strongly to the entire Sikh Nation that all of us have to pay attention to this.

### GREETINGS TO THE *JATHA*

On my behalf, I thank and congratulate all the Sikhs of the Guru who are members of the *Jatha* that is going today [to peacefully court arrest].

### HINDU PRESS ENGAGED IN VICIOUS PROPAGANDA

Regarding the future, from what I have learnt listening to people, many types of rumors are being spread. It appeared in a newspaper today too. Persons

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<sup>7</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>8</sup> India's Parliament. Reference is to the Home Minister P.C. Sethi's speech in the Parliament threatening the Sikhs.

<sup>9</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.



from the C.B.I.<sup>10</sup> have come here. People from the C.I.D.<sup>11</sup> must also be sitting among [the congregation]. I like to say this one thing to them about the attitude that some newspapers - some, not all of them - have adopted that no matter what happens of whatever nature, Bhindranwale must necessarily be roped in. It does not matter if some other holy man is left out. I am not burdened by this either. I consider myself fortunate. If my name is mentioned in some quarters because of my Faith, I do not consider it bad at all. But I must say one thing. Considering the attitude adopted by these few newspapermen, especially the *Mahasha* newspapers and their subsidiaries elsewhere, if they [the intelligence people] wish to find out something quickly, I think if they were to arrest a couple of these persons [newspapermen], they would get the [information]. Today, a news has been received from Ferozepur. In it is written that a sten<sup>12</sup> has been used in the murder that was committed. There has been a robbery in Phagwara, there too a sten-gun was used. Today's newspaper also had a story about a robbery in Ajnala at some Bank, I do not know which one it is. They say that here too a sten-gun was used. And which is this sten-gun? It is one of those which were stolen from the arsenal at Ferozepur. That newspaper writer should be asked: "Who was the person you handed this sten-gun to? What identification do you have for the gun? The purpose merely is that somehow all this should be linked with Harmandar Sahib, with Nanak Niwas, with the Saraan<sup>13</sup>, that the Akali Dal and the Shromani Committee should be caught up in this cycle and not rest in peace. These people do not realize what the results of this are going to be, who will have to suffer the consequences.

#### MORE ABOUT GOVERNMENT LIES AND PROPAGANDA

From many sides it is being said that Shromani Akali Dal keeps changing [its stand]. Indira Gandhi wishes to talk but the Sikhs say something and then do not stick to it. [They say] the Sikhs are communal and want to cause riots.

#### POLICE BRUTALITY AND CHALLENGE TO SIKH IDENTITY

##### The Case Of Lehar Singh

Day before yesterday Sant Ji<sup>14</sup> spoke [about it]. He also said one thing. That *Singh* is here today on the stage. [*Aside: Has Lehar Singh come to the stage?*] That *Singh* came to me today at Nanak Niwas. His name is Lehar

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<sup>10</sup> Central Bureau of Investigations of the Government of India.

<sup>11</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

<sup>12</sup> A Sten gun.

<sup>13</sup> Nanak Niwas and the Saraan are buildings in the complex adjoining Harmandar Sahib providing shelter to visitors and resident personnel.

<sup>14</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

Singh. He is from Jattanwali also known as Ram Nagar, about four kilometers from Fazilka. His name is Bichhu Ram<sup>15</sup>, it is the first time I have heard this name, I had never heard it before. There is one Bichhu Ram, *Thanedar*<sup>16</sup> of the city police station. He caught hold of that *Singh*. What was the *Singh's* crime? On the fourth [of April 1983], in connection with the *Rasta Roko* [stop the traffic] campaign, he along with his five daughters and his wife, seven persons of the family in all, brought and placed [timber] joists - he had these joists in his home - on the road and they all sat on them. They started reading the *Baani*<sup>17</sup>. For two and a half hours he alone, with his family, stopped all traffic. There was no other *Singh* with him. This *amritdhari*<sup>18</sup> *Singh* was sitting in the fields when Bichhu Ram arrested him. He was taken [to the police station] and beaten up. He asked why he was being beaten. [Bichhu Ram] asked [him]: "Who did you receive *amrit* from?" He replied: "From those belonging to Bhindranwale." He [Bichhu Ram] said: "Come on, that's why I asked." He was beaten until his right leg was much swollen. *Khalsa Ji*, his beard was cut off. He [Bichhu Ram] had his beard cut off and sent him over to me. He also said: "Go and tell Bhindranwale to do what he wants to." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>19</sup>]. You have shouted this *Jaikaara* but if something untoward happens you won't go there. Do you know why the beard was cut off? [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. Is this *Jaikaara* for the beard having been cut off? I like to tell the police and the C.I.D. people this and like to appeal to the congregation of the Guru. *Singhs*, the beard of an *amritdhari Singh* has been cut off and has been cut off only because he received *amrit* from the Bhindranwale [*Jatha*]. Some incident occurs somewhere. Later they say Bhindranwale did it. When one of them comes to speak with Sant [Harchand Singh Longowal] or with the President of the Shromani Committee, they ask how many persons shall we release? Should we release the ten or fifteen in jail? If they are told to release all of them, they say: "Are they all yours?" Do they ask me when they arrest [*Singhs*]? Whoever is picked up from his home is beaten until his skin comes off, he is hung upside down, and now they have started cutting off the beards of the *Singhs*. When you beat them up do you ask whether the man is agreeable [to the beating]? His beard was cut and he was sent to me with the challenge: "Tell Bhindranwale to do whatever he can." I am quiet. What can I do here. But if something happens, they say: "A case should be registered against him under section 506 because he has released names from the Manji Sahib Diwan Hall. He has said that so and so has committed this crime." Can there be any foolishness greater than forgiving a

<sup>15</sup> The name literally means a 'scorpion.'

<sup>16</sup> *Thanedar* is the Station House Officer at a police station with the rank of an Inspector or Sub-inspector.

<sup>17</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>18</sup> *Amritdhari* means a person who has been formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>19</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

man who has cut an *amritdhari's* beard? What an immense sin has that man committed! Who is going to answer for his sin of forcibly cutting this man's religious symbol? And what was this man's sin? How many people have taken part in the struggle? How many of the congregation have peacefully confronted bullets? If they had fired a bullet through him, we would have paid homage to him too. Where we held an *Akhand Paath*<sup>20</sup> for the twenty-one [martyrs], we could have held it for twenty-two. But, to cut off his beard and then say: "Go tell Bhindranwale!" The message has reached me. May Satguru have mercy. As yet I have not made any announcement, I have not named names. I have been silent. But he has already started sending intermediaries. They have already come to me three times since yesterday. [He tells them]: "Please tell the Sant that I erred. What I have said is said, I shall do no such thing in the future." My good man, I haven't said anything so far. I have not spoken [about it] nor am I speaking about it now. Why do you put out your hands to someone's head and then feel sorry, shaking like a goat in the cold. You should think before you grapple [with someone]. So, *Khalsa Ji*, regarding these people, I say this. Even if all the Sikhs die there is perhaps no loss. But, having had a Sikh's beard cut off, having heard a challenge thrown, having [the victim] sit with us, there is no greater cowardice for us than to sit idle. There is need for all of us to pay attention to this.

#### ADVICE TO SIKHS

May Satguru have mercy and may the Nation keep an eye on people of this type. Let us pray to Satguru Granth Sahib that the Guru bless us with the strength and the desire to protect our Faith and that he give us the strength to fulfill our lives in the Sikh faith living within the Sikh *Rehit*<sup>21</sup>. Regarding the *Dharam Yudh Morcha* that is going on, we should proceed with resoluteness according to [the Guru's words]:

ਨਿਸਚੈ ਕਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਜੀਤ ਕਰੋ॥

'Resolutely may I ensure my victory.' There has been this talk about the sten-gun. They have written in today's paper that there were ten men with sten-guns around Bhindranwale and there was an eleventh sten-gun which Bhindranwale was holding in his own hand. You see me all the time. How many sten-guns have you seen me with? The purpose of this talk is to somehow associate the weapons with Bhindranwale. There is no agitation in my mind. I am not worried about this. They can concoct anything they want to but when proof is provided then the truth will be known. So, *Khalsa Ji*, we have to stay in an

<sup>20</sup> Complete uninterrupted reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>21</sup> *Sikh Rehit* or *Sikh Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

upbeat mood. Now regarding the news reports that we<sup>22</sup> have quarreled; that these [Longowal's group] are the peaceful ones and these [Bhindranwale's group] are believers in violent agitation. Just today someone came to see me. He is a prominent newspaperman. He had interviewed Sant Ji<sup>23</sup>. He told me: "There are four who are called moderates and another four or five of you are said to belong to the 'hot' group. The demands of the moderates are different from those of the 'hot' group." I asked him: "What do you want?" He asked: "If the demands of the moderates are accepted, then what would your view be?" I said: "All right, whatever the demands of the moderates, announce them in writing and accept them." He said: "What do you think?" I asked him: "What authority do you have [to accept or reject the demands]? You have a pen in hand and paper. Don't you write to make a living? What decisions are in your power?" He said: "The decision is in the *Bibi's*<sup>24</sup> hands." I said: "When the *Bibi* asks the cool ones and the hot ones, I shall tell her. Why are you bothered?" The essence is that they are feeling us out to see if there is a drop of blood left or has all our blood turned to water. We need to pay attention to these matters. People give out in the papers that they [the Sikhs] have started fighting [among themselves], that they have started arguing, that now they will do something to each other. Do not worry about it in the least. This *Morcha* will not stop until the Center<sup>25</sup> bows down and seek forgiveness. Have full faith in this.

#### GREETINGS TO THE *JATHA*

On my own behalf, I offer thanks to the *Jatha* that is going [to peacefully court arrest]. If while speaking I made any mistakes, please forgive me.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>22</sup> Sant Bhindranwale and Sant Longowal.

<sup>23</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>24</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>25</sup> The Central Government.

**SPEECH #11**  
**11 MAY 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>1</sup>: the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: You are the temporal as well as the religious authority [of the Sikhs], [assembled] at the sacred place of Sahib Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the True King.

### THE SIKH FAITH IS UNDER SIEGE

In order to destroy religion, on all sides and in every manner, vile tactics have been initiated. To defeat these tactics, the entire *Panth*<sup>3</sup> assembled under one leadership and started recruitment of *mar-jeevraas*<sup>4</sup>. Just now, on the way to this place, I, your servant, heard that the count has already reached nearly 70,000 and it is expected that the figure to be announced today, by Satguru's grace, will be 100,000. Why have we recruited these 100,000 volunteers? With these 100,000 volunteers, do we have to distribute tickets<sup>5</sup>? Do we have to go some place and preach to people to buy certain goods? No, that is not the purpose. We, all Sikhs of the Guru, men and women, who have assembled here today, have to resolve whether we are going to spend the days of our lives as slaves or whether we wish to shake the [yoke of] slavery from around our necks and live as free people. This is why we are assembled here. Many godfearing people representing newspapers meet with me. Even today, I met with one. He asked: "Sant Ji, since the recruitment of 100,000 persons is being completed today, what is your next program?" I answered: "My brother, Dictator Sahib Ji<sup>6</sup> will answer you." It is not proper for all [of us] to give statements on our own at

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>4</sup> *Mar-jeevras* means those who have resolved to sacrifice their lives.

<sup>5</sup> For elections to various political offices.

<sup>6</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha*. *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. This was the name given to the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

various places. He asked: "What do you have in your mind?" I replied: "Whatever *Kalgi* put in, is there." He went away quietly, knowing I would not give him anything. What is the reason these people keep asking [such questions]? There is only one reason; - to figure out a way to destroy the unity of the *Panth* in order to preserve their own chairs<sup>8</sup>. In this respect, we need to remain very watchful.

## SIKHS ARE SLAVES IN INDIA

### Sikhs Are Ignorant

Regarding the brutalities perpetrated by the police at various places, many of our brothers, freshly arrived from the villages, ask: "Sant Ji, we don't know about enslavement." In this connection, I must address how it is that we are slaves?

### The Press Is Hostile

I had a discussion with Ram Jethmalani, a very well-known lawyer at the Supreme Court [of India], and Subramaniam who is a prominent representative of a [political] party. They asked me similar questions, regarding how it is that we are slaves? How are the Sikhs a separate nation? I consider it important to humbly present some of these questions and answers to you. The reason I have to do this is that such items are not reported in their entirety in the newspapers. Even if they are, it is only one or two newspapers that provide coverage, others stay quiet.

### Different Punishment For The Same Offense. Peaceful Protest Is A Crime

*Khalsa Ji*, a lady born in the home of Pundits, having got the votes of the people, became Prime Minister of India. This is *Bibi*<sup>9</sup> Indira Gandhi. In 1977, because of her deeds, a judge of the Supreme Court sentenced her to a few days [in prison]. To serve this sentence she went to Tihar Jail. Nobody slapped her, no wounds were inflicted upon her, no one used any disrespectful words. A judge had sentenced her. But her colleagues, Pandey and others, hijacked a plane to protest the imprisonment of their *Bibi*. What was the punishment given [to them] for this hijacking? They were given tickets for getting elected as M.L.A.'s<sup>10</sup>, one in U.P.<sup>11</sup> and the other in Bihar. On the other hand, on 14

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<sup>7</sup> *Kalgi* literally means the wearer of a plume. Sri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>8</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>9</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name.

<sup>10</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of the State.

September [1981], in Chando-Kalan, two busses belonging to the *Jatha*<sup>12</sup> with books of Sahib Satguru Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji in them, were doused with kerosene and set on fire by Government officials like Bhatti, and a few others of his kind. After that, on 20 September [1981], in Chowk Mehta, I offered myself for arrest after offering prayers to the Guru in the presence of the congregation. The entire *Panth*, [including various] associations and organizations, had assembled there. In spite of my surrendering peacefully, *Khalsa Ji*, one and one-half dozen *Singhs*, our turbaned Sikh brothers, were put to death [by the police]. When the young men of the [Sikh] Nation did not find any redress or justice coming from any quarter; in order to do what they could to direct the attention of the entire public and the Government to this atrocity and to point out what the Government had been doing to the Sikhs; they hijacked a plane. These five Sikhs, Bhai Gajinder Singh and others, have been exiled to Pakistan. In addition, it was said: "These persons are our accused, our criminals, they should be handed over to us, we have to sentence them to death." If a plane is hijacked for the sake of a lady of the Pundits, there is the chair, but if a plane is hijacked for the *Isht*<sup>13</sup> of the Sikhs there is exile! If a plane is hijacked for a girl, there is the residential suite in the [Legislative] Assembly but, when Gurbakhsh Singh hijacked a plane for the *Isht* of the Sikhs he was given a crippling injection in the leg. He is serving a jail sentence. Today he is due to appear in a court here. Hijacking a plane for a lady of the Pundits is patriotism; but, when Manjeet Singh alias Museebat Singh - a Sikh - hijacked a plane to protest [the treatment of] his *Isht*, he was shot to death at Raja Sansi airport on 20 August [1982]. This is an evident sign of slavery. Pandey and his associates did not damage the plane nor did they hurt any passengers. Nor did these Sikhs, in any of the three hijackings, harass any passengers or damage any planes. But, what is the rule? For a fellow with a turban, there is the bullet, there is the crippling injection, there is exile. However, if one says "Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna, Hare Rama, Hare Rama," there is the chair. This is a sign of slavery, *Khalsa Ji*.

### Sikhs Are Denied The Right Of Peaceful Protest

A few days back, Sant Ji<sup>14</sup> spoke from this stage [about] this. The *Singh* had gone there. I was unwell and could not attend. Lehar Singh is the *Singh's* name. Lehar Singh; he is from Jattanwali, alias Ramnagar, a village in District Ferozepur, Tehsil Fazilka. One Bichhu Ram of that place - this name<sup>15</sup> I have heard for the first time, maybe it is new to you too - this Bichhu Ram,

<sup>11</sup> The state of Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>12</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>13</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>14</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>15</sup> The word 'Bichhu' literally means 'a scorpion.'

*Thanedar*<sup>16</sup> arrested this *amritdhari*<sup>17</sup> Sikh. What sin had he committed? The same that all of us have committed. Longowal has committed it, Jarnail Singh has committed it, and these stage secretaries have committed it. What was the sin? It was the *Rasta Roko* [stop the traffic] campaign. He participated in the crime [of peaceful protest]. He has contributed his share to the struggle. *Khalsa Ji*, he went with his five daughters and his wife. The seven of them, including himself, stopped the traffic for two and a half hours. No other man was with him. They arrested him and took him to the police station. He was asked whence he had received *amrit*<sup>18</sup>. I have humbly said this on several occasions, if anyone asks such a question, you should not name any person. You should merely say: "I received *amrit* from the Five Beloved Ones<sup>19</sup>." But many people have got into this habit. They will say: "I received *amrit* from the Akalis." Others say: "I received *amrit* from Bhindranwale." I do not know why they have started to treat these as different. Someone might say: "I received *amrit* from *Kleranwale*<sup>20</sup>, or from someone else." *Amrit* is received from the Five Beloved Ones [of the Guru], not from any man. If anyone receives it from a man, it is not *amrit*. *Khalsa Ji*, when he [Lehar Singh] mentioned the name of the *Jatha*, this *amritdhari Singh's* beard was forcibly shaved off. His beard was cut and he was sent to Amritsar. They also told him: "Go and tell Bhindranwale that we have cut off your beard. He can use whatever force he can against us." He came and told me. The matter was taken up on this stage. If, from this stage, I say something naming someone they say: "Bhindranwala has given out the name of such person, now this name has come on the 'List'." This kind of gossip goes on. This is a sign of slavery. A Sikh is not allowed to protest peacefully and stop traffic even while reciting God's word.

### Hindu Fascists Are Encouraged

Only the Sikh raises the slogan of Hindu-Sikh unity. Our leaders also do this. All of us too keep doing this. Our Hindu brethren held a conference here. They raised slogans of

*Hindu-Hindu Bhai Bhai*  
'Hindus are brothers to one another.'

There was no mention of the Sikh. Some time back, slogans:

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<sup>16</sup> *Thanedar* is the Station House Officer at a police station with the rank of an Inspector or Sub-inspector.

<sup>17</sup> *Amritdhari* means a person who has been formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>18</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>19</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, are authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith. They are referred to as the Five Beloved Ones of the Guru.

<sup>20</sup> A group of Sikhs owing allegiance to Sant Kleranwale.



*Kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*  
'The shorts, the iron bangle, the sword, send these to Pakistan,'

and

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni*  
'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not going to let a turban remain on any head,'

were shouted here. A Hindu shouting these slogans is a patriot but if a son of a Sikh gets up on a stage and says: "We have to get justice for our [murdered] brothers", he is a criminal. This is a sign of slavery.

### Police Brutality - The Cases Of Jasbir Singh Of Chupkiti And Jagir Singh

Four *Singhs* came to see me today. I had intended that if I could meet that *Singh* I would present him to you from this stage. However, he could not see me because of the crowds. Four Sikhs have come from Moga after their release. They had been imprisoned in connection with a murder. The charges were false. In regard to the remaining cases against them, they have been granted bail. Today they have come here. If he is somewhere here and can hear my voice, I would request Jasbir Singh of Chupkiti to come up here before the end of this session so he can meet the congregation. He is an *amritdhari Singh*. He is a *granthi*<sup>21</sup> in the Moga area. The name of the village is Chupkiti. He was arrested. Nothing incriminating was found from him. *Khalsa Ji*, he is a *granthi* at a gurdwara. He was forcibly laid down on the floor and a Hindu policeman sat on his chest. The policeman smoked hand-rolled cigarettes while sitting on his chest. He spat and dropped tobacco in Jasbir Singh's mouth. There has been no punishment of the police officer. There is a man named Jagir Singh. His thigh was cut and a piece of his flesh torn out. The wound was filled with salt. There is no action against those who poured the salt.

### Harassment Of Sikhs In Government Service

Thirty-two young men, only Sikhs, have been removed from service with the police. No Hindu has been removed.

### Sikhs Are Jailed Without Due Process

Today, many students – the count runs into thousands - belonging to the Federation<sup>22</sup>, have come here. Many other dear Sikhs of the Guru have come

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<sup>21</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>22</sup> The All India Sikh Students' Federation.

and we have assembled here as a congregation. Here is Harminder Singh Sandhu. He too was hung upside down and detained. Bua Singh and his other associates were detained for a year. On the 20 [April 1983], they were to be released. *Khalsa Ji*, on 19 [April], they were taken out of the jail to a police station and again charged in a case. They [the Government] alleged: "While in jail you conspired that when you get out you would do such and such thing when you were released." No one cares about evidence. There is no proof. *Khalsa Ji*, the turban tied on the head is the sole reason these sins, these crimes, are being attributed to us. Today, or perhaps it was yesterday, I read the names of two students who have both been again detained for another year. Why has this been done? Because they are sons of Sikhs. We are so many gathered here in this congregation, let anyone of you, any devotee of the Guru, get up and tell if any son of a Hindu has ever been detained anywhere in Punjab, even a single one.

### Brutality Against Sikh Women

A daughter of a Sikh, a young woman, was stripped naked by police employees. The police officials made her have sexual contact with her father in public. This happened in the Ghall Khurd police station. *Khalsa Ji*, there are no legal proceedings against this evil-minded police official. No action is being taken against him. Why? Because this happened to a daughter of the Sikhs.

### Hindu Life More Precious Than Sikh

I am not overly interested in anyone's dying nor in killing, but I will not hesitate in saying this. They say a Hindu was killed in Patiala by a police bullet. How much hue and cry was raised by the *Mahasha*<sup>23</sup> Press! They said: "A Hindu has been killed. A great sin has been committed. President's rule should be imposed in the state". If the Sikhs say the same thing they are called communalists. When one of your men died, you [the Hindu press] started wailing. Here over two hundred Sikhs have been killed by the police, has even one of them opened his mouth over it? *Khalsa Ji*, these are signs of slavery. This is oppression.

### THE SIKH RELIGION IS DISTINCT

They are not prepared to accept Sikhs as a distinct nation. I had a conversation with Subramaniam and Ram Jethamalani. They consider themselves to be wise persons. They asked [me]: "How are the Sikhs a separate Nation?" I said: "If I prove it will you agree? They answered: "In that case, perhaps". I told them: "The [Sikh] Nation has some attributes that set it apart.

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<sup>23</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

## Sikh Scripture Is Different

Our *Isht* is different from that of other people. *Khalsa Ji*: The Qura'n has thirty chapters, Geeta has eighteen. Geeta nowhere provides for a Muslim to attain heaven. Geeta does not provide for the deliverance of a Muslim. In the thirty chapters of the Qura'n nothing is written about the deliverance of a Hindu. But the place where we are sitting today, in the Guru [that it belongs to], in the *Isht* whom we all revere; Kabir Ji, the weaver, is seated; out of Cobblers, Bhagat Ravidas Ji is seated; of Potters, Beni Ji is seated; of Jats, Dhanna Ji is seated; of Brahmins, Jaidev Ji is seated; of Washermen, Namdev Ji is seated; of Barbers, Sain Ji, the barber, is seated. Who did not get a place here? A Hindu cannot touch the ground with his forehead in a mosque. In a Hindu temple, a Muslim cannot touch the ground with his forehead. But has anyone ever been turned away from this [the Guru's] door? This is our uniqueness.

## Only Sikhs Have Free Kitchens

If you travel in this world - I too have had the opportunity to go out in Hindostan to a few places. I have been to Gaya. The Budh Temple in Gaya cost forty million rupees to build, but if anyone wants a drink of water, he has to pay half a rupee for a plain glass of water. You will get it for a price, not free. The row of people getting free food will not be found in a mosque or in a Hindu temple. Nor will it be found in a church. The row of people getting free food is only found in the court of Guru Ram Das, Guru Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. You will not find it elsewhere. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>24</sup>].

## Why The Opposition To Sikh Identity?

Jethamalani said: "I consider the entire population of Hindostan to be a Nation". I said: "How many countries are there [in the world]?" He said: "117." I said: "The, if there are 117 nations and you accept the existence of Sikhs as the 118th nation, would some calamity strike?" He answered: "No." I asked him: "Section 25 of the Indian Constitution says Jains are Hindu, Budhs are Hindu, and Sikhs are Hindu. If the entire population of India is one nation, what was the need to specially name these three in the Constitution?" He said: "I have no answer". Here is a lawyer of the Supreme Court [of India]. He charges twelve thousand rupees for each hour of debate and he says: "I have no answer." I cannot help it if they have no answer. "You tell me if we are a separate nation or not. Why don't they accept this? Is it because this is a nation

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<sup>24</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

that wishes to live with a sense of honor; this is a nation that wishes to live with self-respect?" I asked him.

### Sikhs Have Always Stood For Justice For All

He<sup>25</sup> said: "Hindus are being unfairly treated, there is communalism in the minds of many Sikhs." I asked him: "When the protest against the emergency [1975-1977] was going on, were handcuffs put on Longowal?" He said: "No." I asked: "How about Talwandi<sup>26</sup>, Tohra<sup>27</sup>, Badal<sup>28</sup>, other Sikh leaders; Bhindranwale?" He said: "No one was handcuffed." I asked him who arrested you? He said: "Hindus." I asked him who were arrested [at that time]? He said: 'Hindus.' I said: "What then was the need for us [Sikhs] to launch a protest<sup>29</sup> from the [Akali] Takhat Sahib? [It was because] we believed in brotherhood of all. We had love for humanity. We had firm conviction in the teaching:

ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ

'Nanak says: God's Name is glorious.' We followed [the teaching]:

ਤੇਰੇ ਭਾਣੇ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ

'There is good for all in accepting Your Will.' That was the reason we started the struggle from here to get you released from jail. Now you tell [us] how many out of your community of 660 million went to jail to protect your rights, and how many out of the community of 17.5 million Sikhs courted arrest to get you released?" He said: "You had more." I told him: "Now we are struggling on behalf of all Punjabis. We are not making demands, we are asking for our rights, only our rights. We have to get our rights, it is not going to pass that we do not get them and all this is idle talk. We have to get them even if it means we are cut up bit by bit; we have to get them under all circumstances." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. *Khalsa Ji*, when I asked him: "Tell me this. Here the Akali Dal has assembled the entire Sikh *Panth* in this protest. Out of our 660 million Hindu brothers, how many have courted arrest? How many have gone with us to get us out of jails?" He was quiet and had no answer. *Khalsa Ji*, the congregation should please pardon me but the weakness is in ourselves. When we sit on this stage and speak, why don't we talk about the Sikh Nation being distinct? The weakness is ours. We are sinners in the house of our Guru.

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<sup>25</sup> Ram Jethmalani.

<sup>26</sup> Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi, a past-president of Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>27</sup> Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

<sup>28</sup> Parkash Singh Badal, Chief Minister of Punjab 1977-1980.

<sup>29</sup> Reference is to the Akali protest against the declaration of national emergency and curtailment of civil liberties in 1975 by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

## Laws Discriminate Against Sikh Beliefs And Practices

Sikhs are a distinct Nation. It is not [really] necessary to be so called. However, for some reasons, it has become necessary from the worldly point of view. If you have been married here according to *Anand Karaj*<sup>30</sup> in the presence of our Guru<sup>31</sup>, and you have to go to a foreign country, you will have to certify in writing that you were married according to Hindu rites - not according to Sikh religion in the presence of the Guru. Otherwise, you will not be permitted to travel. Son of a Sikh cannot inherit his paternal property until he is 17. If Talli Ram is born to Chhalli Ram<sup>32</sup>, he is heir to his father's property at birth. For these reasons it is necessary to have us declared a separate nation in the Constitution. We cannot acquire more than 17 acres of land, we cannot own property [beyond this limit]. But if Chhalli Ram is born to Gulli Ram, even if the property is worth forty million rupees, he is the owner of that property. This is [the yoke of] slavery around our necks.

## Sikhs Not Allowed Free Travel In India

The country is free, but a line is drawn. A person who wears a turban, whether he belongs to the Congress<sup>33</sup> party or is an akali or a communist, cannot reach Delhi during the Asian Games, but a fellow who has cut his hair and is associated with a Hindu there, can go. Isn't this slavery?

## APPEAL FOR UNITY

You, sons of the Guru who are sitting here, gave ninety-three heads<sup>34</sup>. All the others gave seven<sup>35</sup>. Those who gave seven heads now are masters and those who gave ninety-three are slaves. Why is it so? It is so because we are greedy. Our misfortune is disunity. We try to throw mud at each other. Why don't we give up thinking of mud and march in close embrace with each other, work so that, in strength, we can complete our work. All of us should pay attention to these matters. I implore this congregation. *Khalsa Ji*, we are making a pledge here. When earlier pledges were made here I too spoke but yesterday I could not come [to the congregation] because of ill-health. Some of

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<sup>30</sup> The Sikh marriage ceremony.

<sup>31</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>32</sup> Talli Ram, Chhalli Ram, and Gulli Ram are fictitious Hindu names contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Talli literally means a bell, Chhalli means an ear of corn and Gulli is a wooden toy.

<sup>33</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>34</sup> Reference is to ninety-three Sikhs having been hanged to death by the British during India's struggle for freedom.

<sup>35</sup> The actual number was twenty-eight. Sant Bhindranwale is mistakenly stating the number of Sikhs killed as the percentage killed.

our brothers thought I had quarreled with Longowal and that was why I had not come. Has our quarrel ended today? I do not know why, influenced by the newspapers, you fall prey to doubts? There are no differences among any of us. We shall work together and die together. But do have faith about this one thing. I couldn't come myself but I have come to know that Sant Ji<sup>36</sup> spoke [to you] yesterday. He too said: "*Singhs*, don't be in doubt. Whatever decision is taken will be taken in your congregation." Then why should there be any doubts? Whatever is written in the copy of Anandpur Resolution is known to everyone. I too have a copy. Everyone of you also have copies. If anyone [of us] goes back on it, do not be lenient with me and I shall not be lenient with you. But I shall surely tell you: "This is what it contains and here is where we stand. Tell us what you want done." At that time the decision will be in your hands. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*].

I implore all of you in this congregation. Go to the villages and make every child, every mother, every *Singh* realize that we are slaves and that we have to shake off this slavery in order to live. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*].

#### SIKHS DO NOT WANT KHALISTAN, A SEPARATE SIKH STATE

There is plenty of talk about Khalistan. Reporters ask me: "Sant Ji, are you in favor of Khalistan or not?" I appeal to these news reporters. If you have asked someone a question on an issue once, twice, four times, you should be satisfied. It is not proper to ask the same question day after day. I shall certainly say it is wrong to ask us these questions. How can a nation which has sacrificed so much for the freedom of the country want it fragmented? But I shall definitely say this: "We are not in favor of Khalistan nor are we against it." Subramaniam asked me: "What does this mean?" I said: "I shall tell you. This is the job of the Center<sup>37</sup>. It is not Bhindranwale or Longowal's job. The Center should tell us, does it want to keep these turbaned people with it or not? [*Someone starts to shout the Jaikaara but Sant Bhindranwale stops him saying*] I wish to tell you one thing. Don't get carried away shouting *Jaikaaras*. We wish to live in Hindostan. We wish to live as equal citizens. The Center should tell us whether it wants to keep us with it or not. If the Center wants to keep us with it, it should give us our full rights according to the sacrifices we have made. If it wishes to take a count, that is all right with us. It should give us territory corresponding to ninety-three heads. It can keep the land corresponding to the seven remaining heads. A *Singh* does not charge any interest. If we did charge interest, they would have nothing left from their share. Over thirty-six years, the seven heads are not enough to meet the interest [on ninety-three]. The entire hundred percent is your right. However, if you do

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<sup>36</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>37</sup> The Central Government.

not accept this line of argument, the Center should just tell us if it wants to keep us with it? However, I must say that, standing on this stage, we do not demand it and we do not oppose it either. But, if the Center gives us Khalistan, we shall take it. This time, we shall not repeat the mistake of 1947. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. But this is the Center's job, the Center is responsible for it. If it wishes, it can keep us with it or if it wishes, it can call us terrorists and extremists and separate us. It is their job. Don't put the blame on us.

#### SIKHS ARE DISTINCT - ANOTHER ARGUMENT

This issue of Sikhs being a separate nation comes up every day. I would like to make another humble statement. They say Sikhs are extremists. I asked those leaders: "If the Sikhs are extremists, you should accept that the Sikhs are a separate nation. If Sikhs are a part of Hindus, then you should write Hindus as extremists." When they want to abuse us or use foul language towards us it is exclusively towards people with turbans, but when we ask for our rights, we are told: "You are part of us." they say: "You are born out of us." I humbly submit that the whole world is born of Sikhs. In a Pundit's home, in a Sikh's home, or in a Muslim's home, no one is born without hair. If all people stayed as they were born of their parents and kept the appearance given them by God, they would not be called Chhalli Ram or Gulli Ram. Everyone would address them as Sardar Ji. Tell me who is born? Who is created by Nature? Don't get into misunderstandings over this.

#### BEING A SMALL MINORITY IS NO REASON TO LOSE OUR IDENTITY

One thought being rubbed into the minds of our young brothers is that we [Sikhs] are like salt in the dough [that we are so few]. But if the [lump of] salt in the dough is a little too much, the dough is hard to eat. Don't let this worry you. Our Father<sup>38</sup> said:

ਸਦਾ ਲਾਖ ਸੇ ਏਕ ਲੜਾਉ ਤਭੈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਮ ਕਹਾਉ॥

'I shall make each of them fight 125,000. Only then shall I deserve to be called Gobind Singh.' He told us to fight 125,000. Now that is a far off thing. At this time we are [sort of] sitting low<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>39</sup> The ratio of our enemies to us is far less than 125,000.

## APPEAL

### Unite To Seek Justice

I appeal to the entire congregation. March together. Regarding the pledge, I said at that time too and, I shall say this again now; only those of my brothers should make a pledge here who have bid their final farewell to their mothers and fathers, who have given up all attachment to property and the world; who are steadfast in their resolve to seek justice for the dishonor of our sisters, for the blood of innocent persons that has been drunk, and for insult to Satguru Granth Sahib. Only such of my brothers, my elders, my mothers and sisters should raise their arms here and make the pledge. Anyone who is still thinking about selling a trolleyful of wheat, who is considering the good price of melons, should go about his business over the next six months and register his name later. Here, there is no promise of seventy-two *houris*, or of wine made from grapes, or of other comforts of heaven; the tradition here is:

ਜਉ ਤਉ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਖੇਲਣ ਕਾ ਚਾਉ॥ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰਿ ਤਲੀ ਗਲੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਉ॥

'If you wish to play the game of love, come to my place with your head in the palm of your hand.' This is not my way, it is the Guru's. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. So, I welcome with great respect all those of you who have come with this attitude; I respect the rest of the congregation too and request you to be prepared to develop the same attitude.

### Bear Arms As Required By The Sikh Religion

Also you should acquire weapons. There is going to be no deliverance without weapons. Subramaniam asked me: "Why do you keep weapons, you are a *sant*<sup>40</sup>?" I replied: "I am not the son of a eunuch. I am a son of Guru Gobind Singh Sahib." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. I am not saying this myself. It is written:

ਵਹ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿਓ ਮਰਦ ਅਗੰਮੜਾ ਵਰਿਆਮ ਇਕੇਲਾ॥ ਵਹ ਵਹ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਪੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਚੇਲਾ॥

'The Distinguished Man, the Unique Warrior manifested himself. Wonderful is Gobind Singh; himself the Guru as well as the Disciple.' I have a tape-recording of the meeting with him [Subramaniam]. He left convinced that it is right for a Sikh to keep any weapons he might like to. He indeed said this, I have a tape-recording. You may listen to it in a gathering of a million. Further, it is a sin for a Sikh to keep weapons to hurt an innocent person, to rob anyone's home, to dishonor anyone or to oppress anyone. But there is no greater sin for a Sikh than keeping weapons and not protecting his Faith.

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<sup>40</sup> A *sant* is a holy man.



## Government Propaganda: "Sikhs Are Extremists." Are We?

In closing, I wish to ask you to raise your arms before Sant Ji<sup>41</sup> does. It is not for this pledge [for which Sant Ji is going to ask you]. It is for another pledge. The Government and the *Mahasha* press have started saying that all of us who are assembled here are extremists. I might as well make extremists of some of you too. One who receives *amrit* and helps others take it; who reads the *Gurbani*<sup>42</sup> and teaches others to do the same; who avoids intoxicants and helps others to do likewise; who urges all to get together and work in cooperation; who preaches Hindu-Sikh unity and asks for peaceful coexistence; who says: "If you are a Muslim be a devout Muslim, if you are a Sikh be a devout Sikh, respect your *Isht*, unite under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>43</sup>, stoutly support the *Panth*, and be attached to Satguru's Throne and Guru's Darbar;" persons who preach like this are now all being called extremists by this Government and by the *Mahasha* press. In particular, I have been given a big title. They call me the 'leader of the extremists.' I am a true extremist, but of the type which has the characteristics I have described to you. If you too are ready to become extremists of this type, raise your arms when I say the *Jaikaara*. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. Not before I say the *Jaikaara*, only after I say it. First listen as to what type of extremist you are going to become: one who is a Sikh of the Guru; who seeks justice for the martyrs; who seeks to support the *Panth* until his last breath; who, until his death, will stand under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*; who will follow the *Hukamnamas*<sup>44</sup>, this too - carrying out the *Hukamnamas* - that's where it started; who is desirous of seeking justice for the lost honor of our daughters and sisters, for the blood of innocent persons that has been drunk. He, who is an extremist of this type, for him alone I shall say this. He who is a Sikh of the spinning wheel and the goat<sup>45</sup>, or of Radhaswamis or *Narkdharis*<sup>46</sup> - firstly such a Sikh would not have come to this congregation but if there is any of these who has disguised himself and come to this congregation - let him hear too. He, who is their Sikh, he who sprinkles vermilion on a *Jand* [tree] or waters a *Pipal* tree; such Sikhs should not, even by mistake, raise their arms. He, who is a Sikh of the Guru; who is a son of the Sikhs; who is desirous of getting justice; should surely raise his arms. You will become extremists and will not be able to go back on this. The pledge you make here will not be forgiven. [*Sant Bhindranwale shouts the Jaikaara*]:

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<sup>41</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>42</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>43</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>44</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

<sup>45</sup> A follower of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule. Mr. Gandhi used to drink goat's milk.

<sup>46</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

*Bolay so Nihaal*  
'Whoever says will be blest.'

[*The congregation responds*];

*Sat Sri Akal*  
'Eternal Lord is the Reality.'

With this I heartily thank all those workers who have come to make the pledge.

#### SACRIFICE FOR THE FAITH: A STORY FROM SIKH HISTORY

One day from this stage, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal said: "I don't know what has happened to Jarnail Singh. He no longer leads people in shouting the slogan:

*Dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa, Dharam sir dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa,*  
'Without sacrifice it will not survive; the Faith will not survive without sacrifice of our lives'.

Perhaps his cough has flared up." I had been ill for several days. Sant Ji<sup>47</sup> knew about this. He thought my cough had worsened. Actually, I did not have much of a cough but I had caught cold. However, the *Singhs* have said this [that I should lead the shouting of this slogan]. My body [physical condition] does not permit [me to do it]; please accept it whatever way I am able to say it. You can shout the slogan aloud yourselves.

When the caps, the knots of people's hair, and the *Janeoo*<sup>48</sup> of the Hindu society were being piled up at the end of Nauranga's<sup>49</sup> cot, they [the Hindus] went to Mathura, Kidaarnath, Badrinarayan, Vaishnodevi, Komakhyadevi and Shiv-Ling<sup>50</sup> and offered prayers. No one heard their cries. At that time, it is said, a divine letter arrived. According to history, this letter was from Shiv Ji. Kashmiri Pundits came with that letter to our Beloved Guru, Protector of the Faith<sup>51</sup> at Anandpur Sahib. Upon arrival there, they appealed to him. They had bits of grass in their mouths; they were sighing in sadness; they had dry lips, tattered clothes, worn out shoes and were without proper covering for their heads. [Without cover, and shorn of their hair] their heads looked like

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<sup>47</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>48</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>49</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>50</sup> Various Hindu holy places and deities.

<sup>51</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

watermelons. They came to the Guru Sahib and said: "Beloved [Guru], have mercy upon us. In earlier forms<sup>52</sup> you have spoken the words:

ਜੋ ਸਰਣਿ ਆਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਕੰਠਿ ਲਾਵੈ ਇਹੁ ਬਿਰਦੁ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਸੰਦਾ॥

'He embraces whoever seeks His protection. This is the Master's Way.' We are oppressed; in your mercy protect our honor, hold our hand." A wise man has said about Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib:

ਚਿਤ ਚਰਨਕਮਲ ਕਾ ਆਸਰਾ ਚਿਤ ਚਰਨਕਮਲ ਸੰਗ ਜੋੜੀਐ।  
ਮਨ ਲੋਚੈ ਬੁਰਿਆਈਆ ਗੁਰਪਰਸਾਦੀ ਏਹ ਮਨ ਹੋੜੀਐ।  
ਬਾਹ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਕੜੀਐ ਸਿਰ ਦੀਜੈ ਬਾਹ ਨ ਛੋੜੀਐ।  
ਗੁਰ ਤੇਗ ਬਹਾਦਰ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਧਰ ਪਈਐ ਧਰਮ ਨਾ ਛੋੜੀਐ।

'The only support is at the Feet of God; we should attach our minds to God's Feet [the Divine Word]. The mind is prone to evil, through Guru's instruction we should turn our minds from evil. If we hold someone by the arm, we must not let go even if we have to sacrifice our life. Guru Tegh Bahaadar spoke: we must not give up our Faith even if it means death.' Thus, our Beloved Guru held their hand. The Kashmiri Pundits were overjoyed as a hungry man is when he is given bread; as a thirsty man is when given water; as one rescued from the jaws of death, from the jaws of a tiger, from a fire. Taking them along, he started on his way to Delhi. Our Beloved Guru readied himself and started off for Delhi. Preaching God's message to all on his way, meeting Ajari and fulfilling his prayers, our Beloved Guru reached Delhi. There were questions and answers with Nauranga. Here schemes were concocted for the martyrdom of Satguru Ji, Supporter of the humble. Bhai Mati Das<sup>53</sup> was told: "If you smoke tobacco, take a sip of liquor, chew tobacco, say once that you are not the Guru's Sikh, I shall give you my daughter's hand in marriage." Bhai Mati Das contemptuously spurned the offer of Nauranga's daughter in marriage. This was the reply he gave at that time. Bhai Mati Das went to Satguru. *Maharaj*<sup>54</sup> asked him: "My brave man, how are you doing?" He replied: "God is merciful, all is well. I am facing a tough test. I do not want to score 99 percent. I want 100 percent. Have mercy on me. May I pass this test of being a Sikh. Of the Guru's family, the very first martyr was the Fifth King<sup>55</sup>. Of Sikhs, the first martyrdom for the Faith is going to be mine. Have mercy so I may succeed, the coming generation may then receive guidance from it and be prepared for sacrifices." My throat does not permit me to recite aloud the sermon Satguru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji, sitting in a cage, in Chandni Chowk, gave to Bhai Mati Das

<sup>52</sup> Sikh Gurus preceding Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>53</sup> A companion of Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>54</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>55</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, the fifth Guru.

for the protection of the Faith. However, I shall do the best I can, you can repeat it more vigorously. What is it that Satguru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib, sitting in a cage in Chandni Chowk, is telling Bhai Mati Das regarding his dear Faith?

*Dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa, Dharam sir dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa*  
'Without sacrifice it will not survive; the Faith will not survive without  
sacrifice of our lives'

*Dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa, Dharam sir dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa*  
'Without sacrifice it will not survive; the Faith will not survive without  
sacrifice of our lives'

Repeat after me. [*The congregation repeats the verse*].

It [the Faith] won't be kept with that much. How many of you are here? Why are you speaking in bird-like chirps. If a slogan has to be shouted for a leader or for a holy man, you make the place resound. It is a matter of the Faith. I hope you have not fallen asleep. Is it too warm here? Speak aloud. Here, M.I.S.A.<sup>56</sup> won't apply, this is Guru's *Darbar*. It applies there, in Gandhi's *Darbar*. In Guru Hargobind Sahib's *Darbar* the M.I.S.A. of fifty two; yes, fifty two; is destroyed<sup>57</sup>.

*Dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa, Dharam sir dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa*  
'Without sacrifice it will not survive; the Faith will not survive without  
sacrifice of our lives.'

*Dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa, Dharam sir dityaan baajh nahin rehnaa*  
'Without sacrifice it will not survive; the Faith will not survive without  
sacrifice of our lives.'

[*The congregation repeats the verse*]

## CLOSING REMARKS

*Khalsa Ji*, this was the slogan that was shouted. Today, the same situation has arisen. Bhai Mati Das had said: "Even if I have to give my life, may I never lose my love for the Sikh faith." I am sorry to note that some people who hanker after a chair say instead: "Even if I lose my Faith, may I never lose my chair." And our younger generation has started saying this: "Even if I lose my Faith, may a beard never grow on my face." On whose face do you want it to

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<sup>56</sup> Maintenance of Internal Security Act under which the Government carried out arbitrary arrests and even killings of any real or perceived opposition.

<sup>57</sup> Reference is to the fifty two Hindu princes for whom Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib is said to have secured release from jail simultaneously with His own release.

grow? I shall say this to my young brothers who have cut their beards. You have come here today. Resolve that you will keep beards, give up drug addictions, and receive *amrit*. If you find the beard too heavy, [note that] at this place [Harmandar Sahib] God fulfills prayers very quickly. Pray to God saying: "The True King, you were kind to us and made us men and gave us birth in Sikh homes. But we do not like this Sikhism and manhood. Have mercy on us. Make us into women and make women into men. Make this exchange." Some say I consider women to be inferior. I do not consider them inferior. I say this only to shame these young men, not to imply that women are inferior. Some of our sisters also object: "Sant Ji, why don't you give the *parshad* of the Five Beloved Ones to us. Why don't you include women among the Five Beloved Ones?" I shall humbly say this to [our] mothers: "Mothers, no Sikh is jealous of you. There is no discrimination. But this is your own weakness. It is not in my control. When our Beloved Guru<sup>58</sup>, in 1756<sup>59</sup>, asked for heads, he did not say he needed the head of a man or woman. At that time, He only said he needed a head. Of the gathering of 80,000 no woman got up to have her head cut off by the sword. Only those will get *parshad* who had their heads cut off. How can others get it? For this reason, there is no discrimination in our mind. If someone does have it, it is his business." [Some persons shout the *Jaikaara*]. Now, at this time you men shout the *Jaikaara* about women being mentioned in this manner, but note that in this protest movement the share of our mothers has not been less than ours. It is true that there is this accusation [of not volunteering when Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib asked for a head] but keep in mind that *Bhagats*, including Kabir, Farid, Ravidas, Dhanna, Sain, Tirlochan, Namdev, Jaidev and others some of whose writings are included in Siri Guru Granth Sahib; people called Gurus; and those who were Divine Incarnations were born of them.

Stay united. If, in the course of my speech, I uttered a harsh word, I implore the entire congregation to forgive me regarding me as a humble servant of the congregation and an uneducated fallible person. Once again, in concluding, I implore you to receive *amrit* and be prepared. Keep weapons and whatever orders are given by the *Panth*, obey them. Work to remove the [yoke of] slavery from our necks. To those who ask me what is in my mind, I say that Guru Sahib knows this and when the time comes, it will become known. We all have to work together. Don't fall prey to misgivings.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>58</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>59</sup> Bikrami calendar, equivalent to 1699 C.E.

## SPEECH #12

18 MAY 1983

Seated in the sacred presence of Satguru<sup>1</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib the True King<sup>2</sup>, *Khalsa Ji*:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

### SIKH PROTEST MOVEMENT IS PEACEFUL

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: Assembled in the sacred lap of Satguru Ji, you have listened to the nice thoughts expressed by beloved devotees of the Guru. Listening to the views of Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal, worthy of respect, President of the Shromani Akali Dal, you must have understood, with respect to the time to come, that this movement for protection of the rights of Punjab, for assistance to the oppressed, and for securing our rights, has been going on peacefully for quite some time. We have heard even now that our policy, our program, is peaceful. The Sikh has always been peace-loving, is peaceful, and will try to remain peaceful.

However, when extreme oppression comes to be practiced against peaceful people, some among the younger generation who adopt the way of Satguru Hargobind Sahib, the True King, desire to abandon the path of peacefulness. When all methods including persuasion, legal recourse, and appeal have been tried and found to be of no avail a Sikh of the Guru has, of necessity, to adopt that way. The *Singhs* have shown tremendous peacefulness. They have been peaceful and we have orders<sup>4</sup> to stay peaceful and will stay so. However, considering the methods the Government has begun to adopt, it is possible that these may result in the future becoming very murky. It is possible that, contrary to the intentions of the Sikhs, circumstances may force the future to become even more terrible<sup>5</sup> than 1947.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> From Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President Shromani Akali Dal and Dictator for the struggle.

<sup>5</sup> Reference is to massacre of Sikhs in Pakistan and of Muslims in Indian Punjab leading to a large-scale exchange of population.

## GOVERNMENT PLANS TO KILL OR KIDNAP SIKH LEADERS

### Entry Into Harmandar Sahib Will Be Resisted

The Sikh has never in the past hesitated in sacrificing his wealth, his body, and all he has for maintaining the sanctity of the sacred Harmandar Sahib, and the Sikh does not hesitate now nor will he in the future. I do consider it worth mentioning to the people in the Government regarding these schemes. Sitting in the safety of their quarters, in their bungalows, they have started to adumbrate ways to kill or kidnap Bhindranwale and Longowal. Government people: listen carefully. Many powerful Governments in the past have tried to capture even the Gurus. We are sons of that Father<sup>6</sup> who, surrounded by a million, thwarted them with the help of only forty *Singhs*. You may not even have the manpower for that type of siege. We too might be weaker than the besieged at that time. He was our Omnipotent Guru and we are only his sons. However, do remember that, even though we have no such intention at this time, anyone who comes for the kidnapping should come with his *kafan*<sup>7</sup> tied around his head. No one is to return empty-handed. Remember this about this Harmandar Sahib that whether one is a woman, or a child, or a *Singh* of the Guru, he/she will be cut to pieces rather than tolerate insult to Harmandar Sahib.

### Sikhs Have A History Of Suffering While Being Peaceful

I also beseech the young people. We must stay peaceful, but there are limits to peacefulness. Sitting on a heated metal plate<sup>8</sup> is peacefulness. Being caged and then being beheaded<sup>9</sup> is peacefulness. However, now they have set fire to our Guru<sup>10</sup> and we have been peaceful. How can one be more peaceful than that?

### If Siri Harmandar Sahib Is Attacked, We Must Defend It

Every day the President<sup>11</sup> and other people declare from this stage, that these people [in the Government] have started to concoct schemes. They say: "Let so many men stand at such and such spot and so many at such and such."

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<sup>6</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. Reference here is to the battle of Chamkaur, 1704 C.E.

<sup>7</sup> *Kafan* is clothing for final rites.

<sup>8</sup> Reference is to Siri Guru Arjan Sahib's martyrdom. He was made to sit on a heated plate during torture.

<sup>9</sup> Reference is to Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib's martyrdom. He was arrested, taken in a cage to Delhi and beheaded there.

<sup>10</sup> Reference here is to burning of copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib by the police during their raid on Chando- Kalan in September 1981.

<sup>11</sup> Of the Shromani Akali Dal, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

Guru's *Singhs*, I shall humbly say this much to the entire congregation, [and] to those who are gathered outside, that when you go to your villages alert everyone that no *Singh* in any village should hold back on the day that some greedy person, seeking to hold on to his position in the Government by force of arms, forces his way into the boundary of Harmandar Sahib in order to destroy the Sikh Nation. Do not commit any excesses, do not be unfair to anyone but just as for a Muslim there is only wilderness after Mecca, for a Sikh of the Guru, there is nothing but wilderness beyond Harmandar Sahib.

We do not go to anyone's home, we do not loot anybody's shop, nor do we lay siege to any place. However, if someone intoxicated by his power as a ruler attacks our home, we are not sitting here wearing bangles that we shall continue to suffer as eunuchs and as lifeless people. The Sacrificer of his Sons<sup>12</sup> got each person to fight one hundred and twenty-five thousand of the enemy. They say they will lay siege and carry us away. I do not know whether after my death the police will pick me up or the public, but I shall certainly say this to the people in the police, especially to those who are sons of the Sikhs: If you have any sense of honor, any self-respect, any decency left in you, if you have any faith in Sikhism, if you think you have a claim to be called sons of the Guru and of Sikhs, your face should not be towards this side. Send these cap-wearers<sup>13</sup> over here, then we shall do the counting and shall see what happens. So, love your Sikh faith. We have to stay completely peaceful. However, I shall humbly say this to all the young men, to the entire congregation assembled here, and to anyone staying for the night. *Singhs*, do not panic. The fort at Chamkaur<sup>14</sup> is very small. It is built of mud; I have seen it myself. *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>15</sup> fought there. The gurdwara was built later on. I have seen the walls wherefrom our Beloved Master shot his arrows while sitting in the upper dome. That small fortress was besieged by a million men. This one [Harmandar Sahib] is big. How many can they encircle? If forty *Singhs* sitting in the tiny fortress at Chamkaur can fight a million, note that we number in thousands. How many of them will come? Also note that ninety percent, ninety percent of the rifles of the police and the military will be pointed the other way when there is any trouble here. Do not worry that we are too few, like salt in the flour. Remember that if the salt is a little too much, it is hard to swallow even a bite<sup>16</sup>. The entire [mix] of flour is wasted.

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<sup>12</sup> Sikhs often refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in this manner recalling that all of his four sons became martyrs for the faith.

<sup>13</sup> The Hindus.

<sup>14</sup> Chamkaur is the village where Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib along with forty Sikhs held out against multitudes of Government troops who had laid siege.

<sup>15</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>16</sup> Of bread made from that flour.



We have no personal enmity with anyone; we are not jealous of anybody. However, if someone tries to destroy our religion, we must be steadfast in securing our rights. Sant Ji<sup>17</sup> spoke about this just yesterday. Even today some newspaper people came to see me. A man came to see me yesterday too. I do not know him but he had earlier been to Sant Baba Longowal Ji. He asked Sant Longowal: "Sant Ji, what is the extent of difference of opinion between you and Bhindranwale?" He [Longowal] told him. Then he came to me and asked: "How much do you squabble?" I said: "Only time will tell. There are no differences between us. We fight those who strip our sisters naked, we fight those who dishonor our sisters, and we fight those who insult our Satguru Granth Sahib. This fight will go on and no power in the world can stop us until these things are stopped." So, seek Satguru's shelter, receive *amrit*<sup>18</sup>, observe the Sikh *Rehit*<sup>19</sup>, and be fully prepared. Regarding this fear that they will enter, that they have spring-operated ladders that can be set up in a minute and men can climb up these ladders, remember that it is eventually men who have to climb with their legs. Ahead at the top of the ladder, the defenders are not sitting wearing bangles. May Satguru have mercy. Let the time come. I cannot say that I cannot die or that Longowal Ji cannot die or that our companions cannot die. We can all be killed, but I can emphatically say that anyone who comes in here will not return walking. He will be taken in a truck.

## ADVICE

### Stay Peaceful But Be Prepared

I definitely ask the people in the villages that all the young men should be fully prepared. The Government is trying very hard to start Hindu-Sikh riots. Avoid this as long as you can. However, if the Hindus also get into the Government's boat and start to dishonor the daughters and sisters of the Sikhs and to take off the Sikhs' turbans, then, in order to save our turban, we shall take what steps the *Khalsa*<sup>20</sup>, following the path shown by Guru Gobind Singh Ji, has always taken in the past. We might have to adopt those methods, but we shall do so only when we are forced. We shall not resort to those methods on our own. We have to be peaceful. This is all that I had to humbly say to you. I beg you to forgive me. I congratulate the *Jatha*<sup>21</sup> that is going.

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<sup>17</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>18</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>19</sup> *Sikh Rehit* or *Sikh Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

<sup>20</sup> *Khalsa* here is used for the *Panth*, i.e., the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>21</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

## Keep Weapons

Attach yourself to Satguru, the True King. Be firm in observing the Sikh *Rehit*. Receive *amrit*. Bear arms. Some people say they cannot get licenses for weapons. If Pawan Kumar can keep two hundred and thirty bombs, do you have a special need for licenses? There are those whose leader tells them to keep weapons during battle and after that to wear the *janeoo*<sup>22</sup> to which they tie their keys, and keep a balance and some weights. If Pawan Kumar, the follower of such a leader, can keep two hundred and thirty grenades, what is the problem if a son, whose Father<sup>23</sup> has told him that if he does not keep weapons he is like a sheep using the words:

ਬਿਨਾ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਨਰੈ ਭੇਡ ਜਾਨੇ॥

‘Without weapons and hair, a man is but a sheep,’ keeps weapons? If we are small in numbers and he can keep two hundred and thirty, you may forego the thirty, just keep two hundred for each person. If they do not issue licenses and are canceling existing ones, and if you take your rifles and weapons and surrender these to them, what will you do and what will you say to anyone when those who are in power legally or illegally try to overpower you? You must keep weapons. Regarding the Anandpur Resolution that we must get accepted, many persons tell me that if we have to get the Anandpur Resolution accepted, we should also read the sixth paragraph in it. Why do you shut your eyes while reading it. In it is written about this 12 bore, .303 Springfield rifle, though the word ‘rifle’ is not in it and the word ‘gun’ has been used. I say to you that you do not need a license to own a carbine. Wear it in your *gaatra*<sup>24</sup>. You do not need a license. If someone asks where your license is, tell him it is in the Anandpur Resolution. That will do.

## Have Faith: Stay United

Love being a Sikh. All this that is being said, what you have been hearing, and I too have been hearing, just wait for what all this will lead to. Do not worry that so and so will give up, so and so will surrender, and that so and so might lose enthusiasm. If someone lies down, sits down or falls asleep, remember that there are only ten or fifteen [leaders] who can fall asleep. We are twenty million to awaken them. We shall wake them up at that time. So, be prepared. Do not throw mud at each other. Do not say so and so did this to me and another one said this to me. Forgetting all these things, remember only that

<sup>22</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>23</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

we liberated the cap and the *janeoo*<sup>25</sup> in 1947 and now we have to liberate our turban. We are not going to let it stay under slavery. Remember that we can accomplish this only when we first become Guru's Sikhs. We regularly recite the lines: ਰਾਜ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ 'The *Khalsa* shall rule.' Even today when we say the *Ardaas*<sup>26</sup>, we are going to recite: ਰਾਜ ਕਰੇ ਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਕੀ ਰਹੇ ਨ ਕੋਇ 'The *Khalsa* shall rule; no one will remain hostile' However, if someone asks: "How about your *kirpaan*<sup>27</sup>?" The reply is: "Baba Ji, we have never worn that."

#### NIRANKARIS MOCK OUR TRADITIONS

At some places, hypocrites are again gathering strength. I have a photograph but I left it there [at my camp]. I shall bring it in the morning. I shall show it to you after consulting with Sant Ji. I feel greatly hurt. The son<sup>28</sup> of the *Narkdhari* - whom someone had, with great difficulty, killed - has taken over. We don't know what is going to befall the Sikhs in the future but at this time this new *Narkdharia* has been installed. He has his wife sitting next to him. On the one hand, he says that he administers *amrit*, and that he initiates *Singhs*. We do not know where he got hold of this bird that hunts sparrow and quail. He has found one and perched it on his wife's head. Sitting by her side, he says: "I am *Bajaanwala*<sup>29</sup> because of the hawk sitting on my wife's head. Earlier, a hawk used to adorn the wrist of The Master of hawks<sup>30</sup>. Now one sits on my wife's head." It is a sad thing, it is not something to laugh about. *Singhs*, think over it. See what is happening, what the Government is having done to us. Getting his people to wear *gaatra* and *kirpaan*, getting them to wear the *kachhera*, he styles himself as Master of hawks? How could anyone other than the Sacrificer of his Sons have the courage to style himself as Master of hawks in Punjab? You quietly laughed upon hearing this. How dare anyone style himself as Master of hawks? Only *Kalgidhar* can be so called. He has perched a bird on his wife's head and says he is Master of hawks. We have to be careful about such people. I could not bring it [the photograph] today because I wanted to consult with Sant Ji. Tomorrow, I shall bring the photograph and place it before you. Attend to these matters too. Just as we are fighting the Government, we shall have to watch over these pets [of the Government], these false hypocritical gurus who are cropping up. Only then shall we be able to protect

<sup>25</sup> Reference here is to the role of the Sikhs in India's struggle for freedom from British rule.

<sup>26</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly.

<sup>27</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>28</sup> Hardev Singh, son of Baba Gurbachan Singh Nirankari. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>29</sup> Master of the hawks: a description reverently used by Sikhs for Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib who kept a white hawk.

<sup>30</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

our turban and our *kirpaan*, not otherwise. Cooperate with one another and be prepared for [resisting] the Government. Do not let up in your efforts in any way. Anyone who hesitates or acts as a traitor will be answerable to the Guru. May Satguru, the True King, have mercy on us. Let us make obeisance at the feet of our Guru and ask that he give us strength. Just as he had the Sikhs come out of the tiny fortress at Chamkaur singly, each to chop up one hundred and twenty-five thousand [of the enemy], may he give us similar courage. May he bless us that we, taking shelter and support from his house and at his door, steadfastly nurture the Sikh faith he gave us.

With this, I ask you to excuse me. If I have done anything wrong during my speech, please forgive me.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

## SPEECH #13

MAY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>: the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

### GOVERNMENT IS ADAMANT DESPITE SIKH SACRIFICES

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: You have listened to some views regarding the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>4</sup> spoken by various speakers from this stage. This struggle for securing our rights was started quite some time back. There have been innumerable arrests and martyrdoms [in this connection]. When we speak from this stage, all of us, each one, have the same message that the Government should understand that it would be responsible [for the consequences of its repressive policy]. But we have been saying this for the last ten months. The Government that has no ears, the Government that has no brains, to make that Government understand, we shall have to do something.

I had a great desire to speak at length today but keeping in view an incident that has taken place I feel it is not proper to say anything beyond a greeting until such time as we have secured justice in that case. From my side I [thank] Jathedar Lehna Singh Ji Tur, the good son of our dear Guru's devotee, the late Jathedar Mohan Singh Ji Tur, the other *Jathas*<sup>5</sup> and especially the city-dwellers. This is because they have always provided financial help to the *Panth*<sup>6</sup> and provided other services but today they have taken a significant part in physically offering themselves for imprisonment. It will take much time to name all the *Jathedars*<sup>7</sup> separately. Therefore, on my behalf, I collectively express my immense indebtedness and thanks to the city-dwellers.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>5</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>6</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>7</sup> *Jathedar* means leader of a *Jatha*.

## GANG-RAPE OF A CHILD BY SOME POLICEMEN

This incident took place on 19 April 1983. *Havaldar*<sup>8</sup> Balkaar Singh, *Havaldar* Mohinder Singh, and *Thanedar*<sup>9</sup> Sardool Singh - one wonders how they were named *Singhs* - the barbarity that these three men have perpetrated is such that one feels shame in even mentioning it from the stage. It has grieved my heart greatly. I shall finish my speech at this point but I shall request the worthy of respect, dear *Gurmukh*, Dictator Sahib Ji<sup>10</sup> that, even though it is the duty of all of us, as the principal leader it becomes his special responsibility. All of us, together, will have to think seriously about what we have to do now. You must have understood from my just mentioning this [incident] the way these three men maltreated Bhai Harbans Singh Ji's daughter, eleven and a half years of age, after taking her to the police station. They have committed a great sin. After dishonoring her, they have still not returned the child to her family. They caught hold of her father and beat him up at the police station over five days. They have released him after five days warning him that if he took this matter to Amritsar he along with his daughter would be killed. But a person who has been so dishonored would prefer death [to quietly accepting dishonor]. Today, Bhai Harbans Singh, the father of that young girl, and her maternal uncle were on their way to see Sukhjinder Singh. For some reason, on the way, the girl's father alighted [from the vehicle]. After he [the uncle] had gone a short distance, the police stopped the scooter and took the girl's uncle away. We don't know whether they will kill him or let him go. Only Satguru knows that. This happened at the Kartarpur police station. So, I shall certainly request our young men that we have to definitely maintain peace but I believe that when our girls are being stripped and dishonored, we might be forced to think of something or another. And these three persons who have dishonored [the young girl] should pay attention to their own lives. I can say no more from this stage. For the family whose honor has been defiled I humbly pray that Satguru, the True King, may have mercy and give the family the strength to secure justice for the dishonor to their child. I shall say nothing more than this. May Satguru, in his mercy, give us and the entire congregation wisdom so that we may secure justice.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>8</sup> A police official of the rank of sergeant.

<sup>9</sup> *Thanedar* is the Station House Officer at a police station with the rank of an Inspector or Sub-inspector.

<sup>10</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

## SPEECH #14

MAY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>: the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: Sitting in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, you have listened to the pure ideas of the speakers from this stage.

BE RESPECTFUL IN THE PRESENCE OF SIRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB

There is great satisfaction in my mind seeing the assembling of the *Jatha*<sup>4</sup>, the great enthusiasm among the young people, the readiness of the women - young and old, in attendance upon Satguru - for sacrifice, and at the resounding of *Jaikaaras*<sup>5</sup>. But, at the same time, there is great anguish. The satisfaction is upon seeing the unity and the enthusiasm of the congregation. The anguish is because we have come to regard this place, where we are sitting, as a playground. We act playfully as if this were an arena. It hurts me to see this happen. Little children do not know better but I note the way our young brothers and ladies are wandering all around. I appeal to the congregation; whenever any speaker speaks, we should listen to the views of the speaker. I am not saying we should not listen attentively [to the speakers]. We should listen to the speakers but we should pay even more attention to the reverence for Satguru Granth Sahib. When we pay attention to the reverence for Satguru, the atmosphere will become peaceful. The words of the speaker will reach the ears of each one of us and we shall be able to benefit from listening. However, the conditions we are seeing at this time, the atmosphere that we are creating here, is it the behavior of a *Satsangat*<sup>6</sup>? On how many days has the Secretary spoken from this stage [about this]? How many times have other speakers spoken from this stage [about this]? I request my young brothers; whenever, at any time, you

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<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>5</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: Congregation of the True.

come into the presence of Guru Granth Sahib, make obeisance. If you have some important business to attend to, you should quietly, patiently, and in seriousness go past the Darbar Sahib and having made obeisance go about your business. If you have to join the congregation, having touched the ground with your forehead, you should sit wherever you can find a place. I have observed here that some people arrive last of all and try to find a place in front of everyone. They look for a spot in front of all others. Why? So that they can somehow get their picture in the camera even if it means losing their turban in the presence of *Maharaj Ji*<sup>7</sup>. Is that what our love [for the Guru] has come to? Is there any sin worse than this that we can commit? On the one hand, we are showing our readiness to die, our readiness for martyrdom; we are marching for the fulfillment of the Anandpur Resolution and for heightening the glory of the Sikh Nation; and on the other hand, we ourselves show irreverence for our own *Isht*<sup>8</sup>, Siri Guru Granth Sahib. It is my humble request that whenever you come here you should sit patiently and peacefully. If your mind wanders and you find it difficult to concentrate or you have difficulty sitting down, you should sit in the open grounds outside. Maintain full reverence for the Guru, only then shall we be able to get our rights. But if wearing the Sikh appearance, putting on airs, imitating someone, falling prey to mischievousness, we show disrespect to the Guru, we shall not get what is our due in full. So, with humility, I request the entire assembly of God's worshippers that, in the future, whenever we come to Guru Sahib's presence, we should make obeisance and sit down.

#### GREETINGS TO THE *JATHA*

I shall not name one or two persons but, from my side, I collectively thank all the leaders of *Jathas* and the Sikhs of the Guru, mothers, brothers, and sisters who are going with them [to peacefully court arrest].

#### WE HAVE TO BE WATCHFUL

At this critical moment [in our movement] we shall have to act with great awareness. We are not being attacked from just one side. We have to be careful about the followers of human gurus, the sycophants of *Bibi Indira*<sup>9</sup>, those greedy of chairs<sup>10</sup>, those who have their own ax to grind and wish to enhance their claim to fame and those who are under the spell of worldly riches. We have to be watchful against all of these. The Government is going to use all means to create defections from the Akali Dal; by offering money to some,

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<sup>7</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>8</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>9</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>10</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.



public office to others. They are going to figure out ways to get the organizations, Sikh religious organizations, societies, and associations that have aligned themselves with the Akali Dal to fall prey to dissension so that schisms can be created. The Government is going to use all of these means in its efforts. To make this [effort by the Government] unsuccessful and fruitless, how do we show our steadfastness? How do we prove our solidarity? If a *Singh* abuses another *Singh*, a Sikh abuses another Sikh, do not respond by abusing him back. Say to him: "O *Gurmukh*<sup>11</sup>, go ahead; abuse me again a couple of times if that's what satisfies you. If abusing or using foul language satisfies you, use it some more." If a Sikh slaps another Sikh, turn the other cheek. Say to him: "Hit me again if you wish." But do not do this to the *Narkdharis*<sup>12</sup> or to the police. No, only to a Sikh. Say to him: "Hit me more." He will not have the courage [to do that]. If someone utters a word that hurts and we respond by saying: "Brother, say a couple more." His head will automatically hang in shame. But what is the habit we have gotten into? If one lights one matchstick, the other says that he will be better than the first person only if he can light the entire matchbox. This habit is bad for us.

#### GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO CREATE DISSENSION

With folded hands, with great humility, I shall request the entire congregation. From time to time, the Government has been plotting and will continue to plot in the future as well to discredit and defeat the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>13</sup> which Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal is controlling and directing as its Dictator. To protect ourselves we must not fall prey to disunity by listening to the talk of communalism. Many times it is said: "There is a soft group and a hot group [among us]. These ones don't speak, these ones do. We do not get an [agreed] answer." One day I appealed from the Akal Takhat Sahib. Sant Ji<sup>14</sup> also said this, that the newspapers that are opposed to us will say many things, especially the *Mahasha*<sup>15</sup> Press. They are going to do their utmost to find a way to get us to take off each other's turbans. Until a decision is announced, do not pay any heed to whatever anyone keeps saying. We should keep advancing towards our objective.

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<sup>11</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

<sup>12</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>13</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. This was the name given to the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>14</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>15</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

## SIKHS ARE A SEPARATE NATION

### Sikhs Are Different

All kinds of stories are circulating regarding the Sikhs being a separate nation. There are certain weaknesses among us too. These weaknesses have to be corrected by Guru's congregation. Many times we hesitate to talk from this stage about the Sikhs being a separate nation [wondering] what bomb would explode, what cannon fire, or what mountain fall. There are such strong proofs of the Sikhs being a separate nation that when those who were considered big shots of the Center<sup>16</sup> were presented these arguments, they had no answer. With downcast eyes, they said: "We have no answer." I said: "If there is no answer, make a public statement [to that effect]." They said: "We shall think over it." Having accepted the arguments, having been convinced, they still say they will think it over!

### Meeting With Editors

A few days back some leading newspaper editors came to see me. They went to see Sant Ji<sup>17</sup> and then came to see me as well. There were discussions. I have a tape-recording of these. Upon leaving, they reported: "There is no logic in Bhindranwale's talk." Logic means reasoning. [They reported]: "[Bhindranwale] keeps going straight in one direction whatever that might be. He does not know how to turn." In the tape-recording I have, they, all the twelve of them, went away saying: "We are extremists of the type you are." If there is no logic in what I say, why did they call themselves extremists?"

### Sikhs Are A Separate Nation

I consider it important to make a few submissions regarding the Sikh Nation because all of you who are going [to peacefully court arrest] are educated people. How are we Sikhs a separate nation? The first question I had asked them [the editors] was: "Tell me who is born, who takes birth, except as a Sikh?" In this world everyone is born a Sikh at first. Later, he is made a Hindu by making his *bodi*<sup>18</sup> and through circumcision, he is made a Muslim. If he is not circumcised, he is called an infidel. If also, he does not have his *choti*<sup>19</sup> he will be called a Sikh. Who is born except as a Sikh?" They said: "Yes, a person

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<sup>16</sup> The Central Government.

<sup>17</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>18</sup> Hindus perform the *Mundan* ceremony in which the child's head is shaved clean but for a tuft of hair left in place. This tuft of hair is called *bodi* or *choti*.

<sup>19</sup> *Choti* is another name for *bodi*.

is born as a Sikh." Subramaniam said this. He said: "When the Emergency<sup>20</sup> was declared, I grew a beard, put on a turban, and changed my [last] name to Singh." I asked him: "Why?" He said: "To hide [from oppression]." He said he had changed his name in order to hide. I replied: "Sikhism is *Kalgidhar Ji's*<sup>21</sup> jungle. In it there are tigers and leopards. Jackals also hide in it. If a jackal like yourself also found an excuse [to join it] in order to hide, it is not our fault." He said: "I accept defeat." I asked them about the Sikhs being a separate nation. The very first point is that no one is born except as a Sikh. Only a Sikh is born. The second point is that when in recent history, in 1947, the country was partitioned, the tricolor flag was designed. The tricolor flag was made after three nations. White was the color on top, green was in the middle and saffron at the bottom. The British set up machine guns. At that time all the cap-wearers<sup>22</sup> sat together to discuss. Now they say we are not going to listen but then the likes of Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal and Patel all got together and said: "Now we have to march with the flag. Who should be in the front?" They decided that other than the Sikhs no one can face death, and other than the Sikhs no one can get justice quickly. They decided to ask Baba Kharak Singh if he would agree to lead the march. They had thought that he was a simple man who would not understand. According to their thinking he was perhaps not well educated. When they came to Baba Kharak Singh and asked him to lead [the march]. He said: "I am ready but let the flag decide. Whose color is at the top should be in front, those whose color is in the middle should be in the middle and those whose color is at the bottom should be the last." All were speechless. They said: "We shall change the colors." Baba Ji said: "Change the flag." The saffron color was placed at the top and Baba Kharak Singh Ji led the march with the flag. When [bullets] had to pass through the chests and the sides, the Sikh Nation was brave and Baba Kharak Singh Ji was in front, but when the chair has to be occupied Talli Ram<sup>23</sup> should be in the front! This is symbolic of the Sikhs being a distinct nation. The flag of Hindostan is indicative of the Sikh distinctiveness. The other answer I gave them was: "The *Isht* of the Sikhs is different. The *Bhagats* - Kabir, Farid, Ravidas, Dhanna, Sain, Tirlochan, Namdev, Jaidev and others, some of whose writings are included in Siri Guru Granth Sahib - including [the castes] washerman, barber, jat, water-carrier, untouchable, potter, saini, have place in Satguru Granth Sahib. There is no Hindu in the Qura'n and no Muslim in the Geeta. This is how we are different. Also, everyone has the right to make obeisance to God in Darbar Sahib but no Hindu has the right to pray in a mosque nor any Muslim

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<sup>20</sup> Indira Gandhi's declaration of state of national emergency in India during 1975-1977.

<sup>21</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>22</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often refers to Hindus as cap-wearers as distinct from Sikhs who are turban wearers.

<sup>23</sup> Talli Ram is a fictitious Hindu name contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Talli literally means a bell.

in a Hindu temple. This is how we are a different nation. Not only in India, you may go around the entire world, you will not find free meals anywhere. If you get it, it will only be at the Guru's Darbar not from anywhere else. For this reason too we are different. Of all those who believe in a religious text, none gives their women the right to make obeisance in the presence of their *Isht*, or the right to wear the symbols of their Faith. A Hindu's wife cannot keep the *bodi*. Many Hindu brothers are sitting here, you can ask them. A Hindu's wife cannot wear the *bodi*, she cannot wear the *janeoo*<sup>24</sup>, and a Hindu's wife cannot wear the twelve *tilaks*<sup>25</sup>. A Muslim's wife cannot go to Mecca for pilgrimage, a Muslim's wife cannot say the *Namaaz*<sup>26</sup> in a mosque without a veil. If she has to say the *Namaaz*, she has to be behind a veil. But the principle with the Sikhs is that if the *Singh* has made obeisance here, the *Bibi*<sup>27</sup> too has made obeisance here. If the *Singh* has a *kirpaan*<sup>28</sup> in his *gaatra*<sup>29</sup>, his wife has the *kirpaan* in her *gaatra* too. If a *Singh* is an *Akhand-paathi*<sup>30</sup>, the *Bibi* too can take a turn during the reading. If a Sikh does *kirtan*<sup>31</sup>, the *Bibi* can do *kirtan* as well. Our entire set-up is different from yours. Then how can you say that Sikhs are not a separate nation?" They said: "There is no answer." They say there is no answer and [at the same time] they say they are not going to accept Sikh Nation as distinct. You will have to think about convincing them. Ram Jethamalani, Subramaniam, and the editors asked me these questions. They asked: "Are you a *sant*?" I replied: "No, I am a *Singh*." They said: "People call you *Sant*." I said: "Ask the congregation [why they call me *Sant*]." They said: "Sants do not keep weapons and you keep weapons." I replied: I am not a eunuch nor a son of a eunuch. My Father is a Man. Bhai Gurdas Ji has written:

ਵਹ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿਓ ਮਰਦ ਅਗੰਮਤਾ ਵਰਿਆਮ ਅਕੇਲਾ। ਵਹ ਵਹ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਪੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਚੇਲਾ॥

'The Distinguished Man, the Unique Warrior manifested himself. Wonderful is Gobind Singh, himself the Guru as well as the Disciple.' [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. I am his son. They said to me: "Weapons disrupt the peace." This peacefulness that is talked about; I shall not say much about it, only a couple of words about peacefulness. They say that if a Sikh keeps weapons, peace is destroyed. On going outside they say there is no logic in

<sup>24</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>25</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

<sup>26</sup> *Namaaz* is the Muslim prayer.

<sup>27</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here a Sikh woman.

<sup>28</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>29</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>30</sup> Reader during complete uninterrupted reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>31</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

Bhindranwale's talk. I gave them the argument saying: "You are twelve editors and I like to ask you this. If keeping weapons destroys the peace, then why are guns, stens, machine-guns set up on the borders [of the country]? Are these deployed for destroying peace or for maintaining it?" They said: "They have been put up to maintain peace." I said: "If peace is not disturbed by cannon would it be disturbed by a .315 or Springfield [rifle]?" They said: "Your weapons are legitimate." They said this to me. It was tape-recorded. [They said]: "We are extremists [like you], we are with you, your weapons are legitimate." Then they go out and say in the papers that Bhindranwale is very dangerous. On the one hand, they say there is no logic [in what I say] and, on the other, say they have no answer [to my questions]. We should be careful about such people.

## APPEAL

### Stay United; Avoid Mutual Recrimination

I appeal to the entire Sikh congregation. If we have to achieve success in this struggle and get our full rights; if we have to get our full due disregarding the confusion that is circulating regarding the Anandpur Resolution; if we have to score 100 percent in this test, we shall have to stay united. At the time of action there should not be a row over leadership. I make this request of persons in positions of responsibility. It is not because I am suspicious. It becomes my responsibility too as a preacher. All of us leaders should act with caution. If you doubt someone, call him and you should question each other. Making such outrageous statements like 'truckloads of money have been amassed'; 'he has received bales and bales of cloth'; 'he is getting people to make obeisance to him'; 'he is getting people to worship him'; 'the Federation<sup>32</sup> is not part of the *Panth*'; [is not right]. The Federation, which has been in existence for fifty or fifty-one years, is working shoulder to shoulder with the *Panth*; the leaders of the Federation have, because of their reverence for Satguru Granth Sahib, had their legs tied with ropes and were hung upside down. They have suffered bullets in their chests, have had their spines broken, had their homes set on fire; and today, instead of everyone joining cause with those young men, they are being insulted [by saying] that they are not even part of the *Panth*. Are those people, who sold the [Sikh] Nation for their chair, part of the *Panth*? Are those people, who having made solemn vows in the presence of the Guru<sup>33</sup> have returned empty-handed, part of the *Panth*? Are those people, who tell the volunteers of the *Jatha* not to go [to peacefully court arrest], part of the *Panth*? All of us should desist from such actions.

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<sup>32</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>33</sup> Reference here is to the Akali leaders who had vowed at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib on 4 August 1982 not to rest until all their demands were met. In contradiction of these vows, they had been constantly negotiating with the Government and repeatedly returning empty-handed.

## I Support Longowal

Regarding rumors that are being whispered into everybody's ears that Bhindranwala and Longowal are at the point of splitting up, don't ever, even in your dreams, give credence to these. No one in the world can do that. Neither he nor I are looking for a chair. About him, Sant Ji<sup>34</sup> will himself provide clarification. In the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>35</sup>, I would like to say one thing - even though it was not my intention to do so - but because of my not speaking in public for about a month, some people started saying again and again: "He is sitting like a dumb fellow. Let us push him into a corner." I would like to give a warning to these people. If ever in my life I become President of the Shromani Akali Dal, President of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, M.L.A.<sup>36</sup> or a Minister [in the Government], and if you see me sitting in any of these positions, I shall be deserving of a shoe-beating by the congregation. But if in spite of living such a life free of greed, in spite of providing such proof of selflessness, in spite of providing such clarification in the congregation, in spite of not only hinting at but firmly declaring my willingness to be cut into pieces and to be bled to the last drop for the *Panth*, these few people do not desist from their designs; I have been requesting with folded hands right from the start and if in spite of such humble requests with folded hands they do not desist from their mean antics and from their efforts to create rifts within the *Panth*, it is possible that this may have unforeseen results. They should desist. Of course, if I have said something to someone, if anyone has heard me say anything, come out and tell this to my face, in the congregation. I shall wear a garland of shoes and beg forgiveness [if I am guilty]. But who is saying this? Do not imagine it is any of the leaders. These are from people who, having with great difficulty secured a chair, derive pleasure from getting a photograph published in the newspapers to brighten their image. It must be these people. But persons who have love of the Sikh way of life, the *Panth*, the [Sikh] Nation, and the Faith in their hearts, can never utter such words. I thank the entire congregation from the bottom of my heart.

## Is Victory Possible?

Regarding the *Panthak Morcha*<sup>37</sup> that is going on, many persons ask me: "Are we going to win or not?" You are sons of *Kalgidhar* and in your hearts [you have doubts] whether we shall win or not. The *Bhai*<sup>38</sup>, the *Granthi*<sup>39</sup>, is going to say this line in the prayer - he regularly says this line:

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<sup>34</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>35</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>36</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>37</sup> Struggle of the Khalsa Brotherhood.

<sup>38</sup> A *bhai* means a brother. This term is often used for caretakers at gurdwaras.

'Resolutely may I ensure my victory.' For whom was this written? [Was it written] for the *Granthi*, for Bhindranwale, for Longowal? Isn't this line written for you? Certainly, we shall achieve victory. Under all circumstances we shall win. Of course, the day [of victory] might be sooner or it might be later. No date can be set for victory even though the President has indicated the 17th as the date. Let us see what happens after the 17th. God is the Protector.

### Keep Weapons

I definitely request you to keep weapons. I have been saying this for six years and especially for the last ten months. Acquire weapons and bear arms. Being armed, you must not rob businesses, nor kill anyone, nor injure or hurt anyone. But if you are seeking your rights, you are raising your voice in support of your rights, and someone says he is going to shut your mouth, it is then that you should use [your weapons]. They must not be used against anyone who acts with decency.

### CLOSING REMARKS

On my behalf, I thank the *Singhs*, the women - young and old - who are going with the *Jatha* [to peacefully court arrest] and all the leaders, and congratulate them all. May Satguru have mercy and give all of us good sense so that we follow the Sikh way and demonstrate unity, by living accordance with the Sikh faith.

There was some talk about leaders. If we are steadfast, all is well but, if at certain times we take a sip of what some call 'the five-jeweled one'<sup>40</sup>, we should give it up. Here is Pritam Singh Bhatti, sitting on the dais. I received many complaints about him from the city. [They said]: "Sant Ji, he does not desist from drinking." One day he ran into me. I asked him: "Brother, how much do you drink?" He said: "I won't lie to you. I do drink some times." I asked him: "Are you ready to give it up today?" He said: "I give it up." [I told him]: "Don't lie to me, don't pretend. If you are giving it up for good say yes or else go home and never see me again." If a *granthi* does not stop drinking, if a *sant* does not stop drinking, if a president does not stop drinking, if a stage secretary does not stop drinking, especially if the *jathedar* of a circle or a district or a *raagi*<sup>41</sup> does not stop drinking, how can we have the courage to tell you to quit? How can we have the courage to ask you? I thank him [for his resolve]. I might also tell the

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<sup>39</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>40</sup> A description often applied to alcohol in rural Punjab.

<sup>41</sup> A *raagi* is a professional singer of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

congregation how he has given it up. He has made a pledge. He has twelve companions. Out of the twelve, five have pledged to me and the other seven have pledged to him [that they will give up drinking]. He has himself said to me: "If I ever drink alcohol in the future and someone brings me to you in that state, you may pour a can of kerosene over me and set me afire. I shall not tell anyone to bring charges against you for this after me [my death]." He has taken such a firm stand. And I have told him too: "It is not mere talk. If you drink and get caught, I shall certainly burn you. Remember this." He has made a pledge. I appeal to the other *jathedars* too. I do not know if anyone drinks or not. If we do not drink, we can boldly request the congregation [to give up drug addictions]. But if anyone secretly eats .... [inaudible] .... and to clear his throat uses it, he should give it up. If anyone does not voluntarily desist from sin, the Guru has decided:

ਪਹਿਲਾ ਫਾਹਾ ਪਾਇਆ ਪਾਪੇ ਪਿਛੋ ਦੇ ਗਲਿ ਚਾਟੜਿਆ॥

First the noose was placed around the teacher's [neck] and later around the [necks] of the disciples.' The noose will be put around the necks of the *jathedars*, the *sants*<sup>42</sup>, the leaders, and people in responsible positions; and around the necks of such among them who abuse drugs. I appeal to the entire congregation. I thank those who have given up intoxicants. Those who abuse them should make a pledge that you will not do so in the future, that you will receive *Khande da amrit*<sup>43</sup>, and that you will always stoutly support the *Panth*. I especially thank the city-dwellers. Financially, and in the form of clothing, soap, and oil you have provided assistance in all the *Morchas*. But this time you have provided support in the form of arrests and are willing to do so in the future as well. Possibly, this is your first instance [of doing so] since 1947. So, in the future, you should continue to actively participate. I thank all the city-dwellers. If I said anything wrong while speaking, please forgive me.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>42</sup> A *sant* is a holy man.

<sup>43</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.



**SPEECH #15**  
**23 MAY 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>2</sup>.*

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Sitting in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King<sup>3</sup>, you have listened to nice views, regarding the present times, expressed by speakers who have spoken from this stage. You are fortunate.

### FALSE ACCUSATIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT

#### Charge Of Pakistan Connection

In this struggle that has been going on for quite some time, there have been many arrests and martyrdoms. The Ministers of the Government of the time have started giving ever-new statements. We should pay attention to all of these. Also, we have to be very alert to the attempts that are being made to alienate the public from the Akali Dal. These attempts include going to various places, denying the separateness of the Sikh Nation, and denying the Sikh demands. Especially, this statement that *Bibi Indira*<sup>4</sup> has made that Pakistan has a hand in this struggle. Prior to this, Charan Choudhary<sup>5</sup> had made a statement that persons from Pakistan come to visit Bhindranwale in Nanak Niwas and return after discussions and making programs. [In doing this] that man showed the bankruptcy of his mind and the death of his brain. [One might ask them]: "If you know that persons from Pakistan come here to see me, you have so large a C.I.D.<sup>6</sup>, why are those persons not arrested on their way? If they return from here, why are they not apprehended at that time? If you [the leaders of the Government] know that they come to see me, then you must be in league with them and they must be coming, getting out and returning with your

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>5</sup> Charan Singh, former Prime Minister of India.

<sup>6</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

permission." To this they have not given any reply in the newspapers. Sant Ji<sup>7</sup> issued a very strongly worded statement today. [He said]: "I shall resign the presidentship and even from the Akali Dal [if these accusations are proven to be true]." Although it has been said from this stage that Indira should resign her office, perhaps I am right when I say that only such persons do this [resign their office] who have some sense of dignity. But what is the use of saying anything to those who have no sense of shame at all? Occupying such high office, having become the Prime Minister of Hindostan, without thinking, she has herself started to accuse leading personalities. Which court will you turn to for justice? So, we have to keep our concentration to face these people. Work together. Without unity, we cannot face the oppression that is being perpetrated at various places.

### Indira Gandhi Says A Handful Of 'Extremists' Is Making Trouble In Punjab

Indira Gandhi has given a statement that the trouble in Punjab is caused by a handful of people. She has labeled them as extremists. At first she used to say that the Akali Dal is causing the trouble and extremists are doing it with the encouragement of the Akali Dal. When that formula did not succeed, she gave up one approach and took another, i.e., a handful of persons is responsible for it. Perhaps she has forgotten that a Sikh does not believe in violence. Sikhs do not believe in destroying life. A Sikh always upholds the principle:

ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਭਾਲੇ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ

'Nanak says: God's Name is glorious; there is good for all in accepting Your Will.' The Sikh follows this path. She has started to say that we are extremists in order to give us a bad name. Either her C.I.D. has given her this impression or she is deliberately being clever. There has been an announcement from the Akal Takhat that 115,000 volunteers are ready to die. I too have joined them on the stage on two occasions. I too have come to the Guru's presence. I have preached at length to all the mothers and brothers who have come there to the presence of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King; and got them to make a pledge to become extremists. She [Indira Gandhi] says there is a handful of people. She should carefully note that 115,000 raised their arms.

### Government Calls Devout Sikhs 'Extremists'

We are true extremists but of what type? The type who act the way the Government says an extremist does. Whom does the Government call extremists? A person who receives *amrit*<sup>8</sup> and administers it to others; who

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<sup>7</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>8</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

reads *Baani*<sup>9</sup> and teaches others to read it; who preaches unity and exhorts people to work together; who turns people towards cooperation; who unites them under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>10</sup>; who unites them with Akal Takhat Sahib and Harmandar Sahib; who is desirous of seeking justice for the dishonor to our daughters and sisters, for the spilt blood of innocent people, for the irreverence shown towards Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, and exhorts others to do the same - and we have to get these rights - the present Government has started calling such people extremists.

### Only Sikhs Of The Guru Have Volunteered; They Are More Than A Handful

I had said these things when I asked people to raise their arms. He who is a Sikh of the spinning wheel and the goat<sup>11</sup>, a Sikh of the Radhaswamis and *Narkdharias*<sup>12</sup> a Sikh who waters the *Pipal* tree and sprinkles vermilion on the *Jand* [tree], should not raise his arm in the presence of our Master<sup>13</sup>. He who is a Sikh of Satguru Granth Sahib, is a friend of the *Panth*<sup>14</sup>, has respect for the honor of daughters and sisters, has respect for the spilt blood of the innocent and the brave, should raise his arms. This was the pledge I got from the stage. They were 115,000. She should think it over. They were 115,000. [One might say to her]: "You are not the form of Guru Nanak that you can include all of them in your fist. Your fist could not even contain Jagjiwan Ram<sup>15</sup>, not even Vajpayee<sup>16</sup> and others. They left you and departed. How will you hold 115,000 Sikhs in your fist through mere talk?" She says there is only a handful! From one point of view it is even a good thing. So long as the fist is closed, the fist is formed; it is there. When we open the hand, it becomes a slap. Fingers cannot hurt as much as a fist can. When the fingers are closed they call it a fist. You know, in our language, what the fist can do. So, *Khalsa Ji*, so long as our fist is closed, we are together. We desist from mutual criticism. We are Guru's *Singhs* and work together. Let us stop saying "I am a congressite<sup>17</sup>, I am an akali, I am Bhindranwala, I am so and so." Giving these up, one thing should penetrate the Sikh's mind: "I am a Sikh, I want to live in Hindostan as a Sikh and not as a

<sup>9</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>10</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>11</sup> A follower of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule. Mr. Gandhi used to drink goat's milk.

<sup>12</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a without a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>13</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>14</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>15</sup> A former Minister in the Government of India.

<sup>16</sup> A prominent leader of the Bhartiya Janata Party; Prime Minister of India 1998 onwards.

<sup>17</sup> Member of Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

*kesdhari* Hindu<sup>18</sup>." When this thing enters our mind [we shall succeed]. She says "they are just a handful." One hundred and fifteen thousand have made the pledge here. Some friends have registered their names with me too. Some ask "Why have they registered their names with you?" Some brothers talk like this too. I do not wish to name them, may God give them good sense. I pray to the Guru. I am not angry with them. That's all the wisdom they have. Friends have registered their names with me too. Who are the people who have done so? These were those who said: "We are not going anywhere without you." The President, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal, was asked. A request was made to him: "Baba Ji, some *Singhs* think like this. You should tell us [what to do]. If tomorrow there is going to be a talk that [Bhindranwale is] forming his own Akali Dal, then I shall request these people to go home. But if you so order, I can register them." He said: "Get them registered." Persons between sixteen and forty years of age have been registered. We have registered older persons as well, but that [list] is separate. In this age group, the count with me is thirty thousand. She says they are a handful! Garja Singh and Bota Singh<sup>19</sup> were only two. It will be good if the Guru has mercy, if Satguru is benevolent, and the job gets completed in peace. We definitely are supporters of peace, but if the chain of events once starts it will become apparent whether there is a mere handful or perhaps too many for comfort.

## APPEAL TO SIKHS

### Stay Peaceful But Prepared

We have to be peaceful. We have orders to stay peaceful but peacefulness alone is not enough. Stay prepared as well. Carry weapons. Work in cooperation. Give up drug addictions. Today I make a request of the young men. Some are going in the group of protestors and some had come to see them off. Out of them, about sixty *Singhs* have today [pledged to] keep beards and to give up alcohol. I thank them and shall ask them again: "Don't let things revert to what they were. Let it not happen that tomorrow you get out of jail and the day after you sit in front of a barber. You have made this pledge in Guru's presence. You have been to the [Akali] Takhat Sahib. Keep your word." May Satguru have mercy and give us wisdom."

### We Have No Dissension

In conclusion, I would like to address those persons who under someone's instigation and to show the strengths of their brains have taken the position that perhaps this all is Bhindranwale's job. I like to warn those people that in

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<sup>18</sup> Hindu with uncut hair, i.e., a Sikh only to the extent of keeping hair uncut but, in practice, a Hindu.

<sup>19</sup> Sikh heroes from 18th century who defied the Imperial rulers.

*gurmat*<sup>20</sup> such an attitude is not good. I shall only say this much. They will understand. Those who have sin on their minds start shivering of their own. Standing on this stage, I tell them again: "Try as hard as you wish to, there are not going to be any differences between the two of us - I and Longowal." Those people who have concocted these plans over cups of tea and over cookies, sitting in their chairs, should ponder and desist from such mischief. Times are very critical. Whichever of the two parties [to the conflict] - the Akali Dal and the Government - wavers, will be routed. But the Sacrificer of his Sons<sup>21</sup> will have mercy. The *Panth* will never flinch. We have to follow the path of:

ਨਿਸ਼ਚੈ ਕਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਜੀਤ ਕਰੋ

'Resolutely may I ensure my victory'.

## GOVERNMENT BRUTALITY AGAINST SIKHS

### Confiscation Of Balwant Singh's Property

Today I have also learnt about the property belonging to the family of Balwant Singh of Mukerian. Members of the Congress party<sup>22</sup> who listen to Kewal Krishan - not all but those who have become his touts just as they did at the time of [the case of] the Babbar Akalis - have harvested five acres of wheat that had been sown [by Balwant Singh and his family] and taken it to their homes. The field has been ploughed. I did not make much mention of it, thinking that from five acres perhaps they got 150 *maunds* [about 6 tons] and when the time comes we shall get it back. But today I have learnt that Kewal Krishan, in his pride and to assert his influence in the area, has had advertisements issued for auction of [Balwant Singh's] house and the household effects. Perhaps after a couple of days bids will be accepted. I shall request the newspapermen too to try to publish this information. If they do not, then the *Singhs* who have come from there should definitely let people in that area know: "God's men, we have no enmity with any of you, with any Punjabi; it is out of the question with any Sikh; not with any other group either. But I like to say this. Lakhpat and Jaspat were among people who had put a price on the heads [of Sikhs]; they were from among the ancestors of the present day [tyrant] Kewal Krishan. They had resolved that they would completely exterminate the Sikhs from the world. Kewal Krishan is acting the same way in the region around Mukerian - that he is not going to let even a brick remain in the foundations of Balwant Singh's property. But he should remember. Who does he think he is? Lakhpat and Jaspat made a pledge. The time came.

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<sup>20</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>21</sup> Sikhs often refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in this manner recalling that all of his four sons became martyrs for the faith.

<sup>22</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Satguru had mercy. Those who nowadays are contemptuously described as backward classes, from among these harijans, Bhai Nibhahoo Singh was motivated by Satguru Ji. When circumstances permitted, *Khalsa Ji*, holding on the elephant's tail, climbing from the rear onto the elephant, he beheaded the oppressor of the times just as a gourd is cut from its vine. He did not think .... [inaudible] .... whatever happened to the property .... [inaudible] .... I like to tell Kewal Krishan especially and those of his touts who are getting ready to bid and I also humbly request those who have the Sikh appearance: "Don't poke your hand into the .... [inaudible] .... of this Faith. You won't be able to take it out. Love the Sikh appearance. Talk about Sikhi. Have faith in Satguru and give up greed. But if, surrendering to the power of the Government, you bid at the auction of the homes of the *Singhs* and try to take over their property, I give you this warning: only such a brother should make a bid who was born with two heads. If anyone with one head makes a bid, he can think for himself."

### Systematic Police Brutality Directed At Sikhs

Some people say I am speaking in anger. No, this is not anger. I say this with hurt in my heart. The Government has never stripped any Hindu's daughter or sister, only those of us Sikhs are stripped; no daughter of a Hindu has been stripped and her father laid on her, only those of us Sikhs were subjected to this humiliation; no Hindu's *Isht*<sup>23</sup> has been set on fire, if there has been such a fire in this regime, it has been set to only our *Isht*; no son of a Hindu has been detained or hung upside down, only Sikh students have been so hung; no shop belonging to any Hindu has been set on fire by the Government, only the homes of the Sikhs have been burnt down. [I speak] keeping all these things in mind. No Government official has forced cow's bones into the mouth of a son of a Hindu, tobacco has been sprinkled and cigarettes forced and tobacco spat into the mouths of only Sikh young men; if police officials have shaved off beards, only Sikh boys were shaved and sent to Amritsar saying: "Go and tell Bhindranwale to do what he can." First they have been sent and later when they reached here there are efforts to get someone to intercede.

### Detention And Harassment Of Sikhs

I have learnt today about our Bhai Bua Singh and Narinder Singh. The sentence for both was one year in detention. They were to be released on the 20th. On the 19th they were taken out of jail and taken to the police station and again detained for another year. They have been detained and have been assigned to the grindstone mills<sup>24</sup>. If they have to get out of the grindstones then, *Khalsa Ji*, what is the restriction? We shall have to think about it. It is a

<sup>23</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence; here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> In Indian jails prisoners sentenced to hard labor are required to grind grain in manually driven grindstones.

challenge to us. During British times it was said that a Sikh could not keep his turban. There is one Gajjan Singh, I do not know this friend. Only Satguru knows the sort of temperament he has. He has used such bad words towards both of them that I cannot repeat them from this stage. Why did he use them? He said: "Why do you have saffron colored scarves on your heads? If you wish to stay here in comfort, you will have to take off the saffron colored scarves. If you wish to wear saffron colored scarves, orange scarves, then you will be confined to the grindstones." So, [I like to say to him]: "My friend, this regime is not going to last forever. I shall only say that you are a son of the Sikhs - I have learnt this - you should not attack the turban and the beard and the hair. The punishment for this will be very heavy. The Government may last two days, four days, or ten days. These people have to step aside some day. But keep in mind that if you think that destroying Bua Singh and Narinder Singh, or my associates, or Longowal and Bhindranwale or another few leaders will rid you of problems, it is never going to be so. So long as slavery is not shaken off the neck of our Sikh Nation, this struggle will continue."

#### Khalistan Issue. Sikhs Are Labeled As Communalists

Yesterday four or five persons came to me. They asked: "Sant Ji, if Jagjit Singh Chauhan attacks Hindostan with assistance from England, America, and Canada, who will you help?" I asked them: "Why do you have doubts?" They said: "Our business is to ask questions." I replied: "We shall support the Sikh appearance and the victim." He had thought that I would say "Jagjit Singh Chauhan or Hindostan." I had replied: "We shall support the Sikh appearance and the victim. Whoever is the victim, we shall certainly embrace him. Whoever is the oppressor, we shall destroy." Emergency was proclaimed [during 1975-1977]. During the emergency, Hindus who were in power<sup>25</sup> arrested and jailed those who were victims and were just going about their ordinary business. Not even a single one of the Akali workers had been arrested. But what transpired? Hindu-Sikh unity has taken deep roots in our minds, perhaps with time it will go away. But [at that time] it was very strong. With that in view, or may I say, not with that in view but following

ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਭਾਣੇ ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ

'Nanak says: God's Name is glorious; there is good for all in accepting Your Will', a struggle was launched from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib that we are not going to let any victim remain under oppression. No Sikh had been arrested. Only Hindus had been arrested by [other] Hindus. But starting the struggle from here, we got Hindus out of jail. Those whom we got out of jail, we even

<sup>25</sup> Reference is to Indira Gandhi and her party.

made into Prime Minister<sup>26</sup>. Our leaders also gave him cars and bags [of money] because we considered them our brothers. Today, people like Charan Chaudhary and others who are his associates say that Akali Dal should be banned. Guru's men: think it over. Who is a communalist, we or they? Their people arrested them and, considering them to be your own, you went to jail to get them out of jails. Today, the Sikhs, and may I say especially the Akali Dal, have started this struggle for all Punjabis, tell me how many Hindus have gone to jail? Have even forty hundred, out of a count of 660 million gone to jail? Forty thousand of you out of a total of 17.5 million went to jail during the emergency. And they call you communalists!

#### APPEAL FOR UNITY

So, I humbly submit that we have to march together, stay together, give up drug addictions and stoutly, fearlessly support the *Panth*. All these things that are secretly going on, don't let them create doubts in your minds. Beware of these. We are together and all of us have to march together.

#### DETRACTORS WITHIN THE AKALI DAL

In conclusion, I like to say once again to these people who, on their own, link various things with me and have made up their minds that Bhindranwale has done this and someone else has done that. [The damage done by this] will be known when the consequences of this have to be faced. In 1979<sup>27</sup>, besides Longowal, who is there that did not call me a lecher, a vagabond, a bad character, a debauch, a congressite and Indira's henchman? Has [anybody] made me one? Has anyone succeeded in making me [a henchman of Indira Gandhi]? Even today I shall ask these foolish people to desist from such acts. I shall never in my life seek a chair<sup>28</sup>. I haven't sought it in the past and am not desirous of it in the future. I desire but one thing that those who have 'Singh' as their name should have beards on their face and [uncut] hair and *kirpaan*<sup>29</sup> in their *gaatras*<sup>30</sup>. The ladies too should have *kirpaans* in their *gaatras*. You should be perfect in Sikhi, should abstain from intoxicants, believe in the *Panth's* glory, and maintain reverence for the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*. If you engage in the kind of things I have mentioned earlier, you will be the losers. I

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<sup>26</sup> Reference is to Chaudhary Charan Singh.

<sup>27</sup> Sant Bhindranwale opposed the Akali party in Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee elections in 1979.

<sup>28</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>29</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>30</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.



lose nothing. [I am like] a bird without a tail that has no fixed home. I can pick up my *kachhera* and move on. Our business is preaching Sikh faith. If you do not stop making accusations, no harm will come to me. But if you don't stop, someday, sitting on the stage, I shall hold you by the ear and make you stand up [and answer]. At that time you will not be able to escape punishment. I do not take tea, I do not eat meat. There is no question of my taking alcohol or *Kuttha*<sup>31</sup>. Of what will you accuse me on the stage? I haven't said this off-handedly. I say this with a sense of responsibility. I have said this after thinking it over for ten months. Don't get into similar things again.

I offer my heartfelt thanks to Bibi Jaswant Kaur and Bibi Joginder Kaur Ji and all the *Singhs*, all the friends, in the *Jatha*<sup>32</sup> that is going. Upon reading false information in the newspapers, don't fall victims to doubts. The *Panth* is united. Sometimes it is asked: "What is the need to say the *Panth* is united?" It arises when, from amongst us, some brothers falling victims to the newspapers, consider them to be a divine voice, and start thinking along wrong lines. It is then that we have to say [that the *Panth* is united]. I must also request our workers - not only mine but of the *Panth* - and our elders and brothers, and our speakers regarding this feeling that is creeping into our minds; that we shall give further clarification. We do not have a contract that ever since the Sikh Nation came into being until the end of the universe, we should keep providing clarifications to these people. We should now stop doing this. Any cap-wearer<sup>33</sup> who comes to us, we should ask him: "Are you with us or not." Now we should not say: "We are with you." Now we should start asking this of everyone: "Do you wish to keep us with you or not? If you want to keep us with you give us our equal rights. If you do not want to keep us with you, give us our land. We have given 93 heads and you have given seven. If there is some hillock corresponding to the seven, keep it for yourselves, and leave the rest for us.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>31</sup> Meat prepared by slow killing of animals, forbidden to Sikhs.

<sup>32</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>33</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often refers to Hindus as cap-wearers as distinct from Sikhs who are turban wearers.

## SPEECH #16

31 MAY 1983

[The first part of this speech is not available].

### DISCRIMINATION

#### Government Sympathy For Hindu Victims But Not For Sikhs

*Singhs* should not be in any doubt regarding .... [inaudible] .... what is being stated by the Prime Minister of Hindostan, especially about Punjab. Some time back, on 14 September 1981, in Chando-Kalaan, two busses belonging to the *Jatha*<sup>1</sup> and containing books and volumes of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King<sup>2</sup>, were burnt down and goods worth three hundred thousand rupees were looted from the village. After that, at the time of my arrest on September 20, one and a half dozen *Singhs* were martyred and in Madhuban, *Singhs* sacrificed their lives. They were victims of police bullets. No Minister from Punjab, let alone the Center, had the time to tour the sites [of these brutalities]. But in Patiala - no *Singh* has said that what happened was good, they have either kept quiet and whoever has spoken has expressed sympathy [for the victim] - Ashok Kumar fell victim to [police] bullets. Sethi, the Home Minister of Hindostan, remembered and Chaturvedi remembered [to visit]. But, when his family was not satisfied with their [the officials'] expression of sympathy and cooperation, the Prime Minister of Hindostan also remembered. They tell the Sikhs that Sikhs are communal-minded. If three dozen Sikhs are killed, the *Isht*<sup>3</sup> is set on fire, if the articles collected by the congregation are set on fire and destroyed, there is no inquiry. Ashok Kumar was hit by a bullet and died. His body was subjected to a post-mortem examination and handed over to his next of kin. The next day, he was cremated and on the morning of the third day, the Sikhs and all mankind, all the people, read in the newspapers that a judicial inquiry will be held and that a judge had been appointed [for this purpose]. However, when the *Isht* of the Sikhs was set on fire in Chando-Kalaan, a judge was appointed [to hold an inquiry] but, managing to get a Government officer to file a writ petition, the inquiry was stopped. Why? Because respect and reverence for the *Isht* of the Sikhs is no longer even as much as for a son of the Hindus or for *Bibi* Indira Gandhi of the Hindus.

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<sup>1</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

## Hindus And Sikhs Are Punished Differently

*Khalsa Ji*: In 1977, for what she had done, Indira Gandhi had been sentenced to a few days [in jail] by a Judge of the Supreme Court. To serve [the sentence] she went to Tihar Jail. Upon that, her co-workers Pandey and others, wearers of the *janeoo*<sup>4</sup>, hijacked a plane. For this, they were rewarded with tickets for [election to a seat in]the Assembly<sup>5</sup>, one in U.P.<sup>6</sup> and the other in Bihar. But if Sikhs have hijacked a plane for their *Isht*, Gajinder Singh and others are in exile and [receive] threats of being hanged. If a plane is hijacked for the *Bibi*, there is the residential suite in the Assembly; but if a Sikh hijacks a plane for his *Isht* and for Sikh rights, he is given an injection to cripple his leg<sup>7</sup>. When a Sikh, Manjeet Singh alias Muscebat Singh, hijacked a plane, he was shot to death on 20 August 1982 at Raja Sansi airport. However, if a plane is hijacked for a *Bibi* of the Pundits<sup>8</sup>; it is patriotism.

## Sikhs Are Misrepresented In The Press And The Media

If some such statement is made from the stage, [they say]: "Longowal should issue a retraction. Bhindranwale speaks harshly." Today, television people from Jalandhar came to me. They said: "We would like to broadcast your message to the public on television." I said: "Do you have the heart to broadcast it; do you have the life and the breath to broadcast Bhindranwale's message on television?" They said: "We do have them, but aren't sure they will be there after we have heard you." Standing here in the presence of the Guru<sup>9</sup>, I am not telling lies. This conversation with them did take place. They said: "Give us your thoughts once for two and a quarter minutes and again for ten minutes but confine them to a discussion of *Gurbani*<sup>10</sup>. We would prefer that you tell us [about the message] before we do the recording." I said: "Alright, first listen [to my message]. If you record it, it is fine but if you don't, we shall regard it as a discussion of *Gurmat*<sup>11</sup>." They said: "Speak to us of the *Gurbani* of those who did not bear arms." I said: "Listen to their [words]. Bhagat Kabir Ji did not carry any weapon. I have been to Kashi [Varanasi]. There is Kabir Ji's tower near Karvat in Kashi. There is a long rosary, but that does not count as a weapon. Bhagat Kabir Ji's words occur in *Gurbani*:"

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<sup>4</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>5</sup> Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>6</sup> The state of Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>7</sup> Reference is to Gurbakhsh Singh's hijacking of an airplane.

<sup>8</sup> Indira Gandhi.

<sup>9</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>10</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>11</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

ਗਗਨ ਦਮਾਮਾ ਬਾਜਿਓ ਪਰਿਓ ਨੀਸਾਨੇ ਘਾਉ॥ ਖੇਤੁ ਜੁ ਮੀਂਡਿਓ ਸੁਰਮਾ ਅਬ ਜੁਝਨ ਕੋ ਦਾਉ॥ ੧ ॥  
 ਸੁਰਾ ਸੋ ਪਹਿਚਾਨੀਐ ਜੋ ਲਰੈ ਈਨ ਕੇ ਹੇਤ॥ ਪੁਰਜਾ ਪੁਰਜਾ ਕਟਿ ਮਰੈ ਕਬਹੂ ਨ ਛਾਡੈ ਖੇਤੁ॥ ੨ ॥ ੨ ॥

'In the Tenth Door the kettledrum [of divine instruction] was struck and it pierced the target [heart]. As the warrior has taken the field, now is the occasion to fight [the evils of lust, anger, greed, attachment and ego]. Only he who fights in behalf of the poor is recognized as a valorous man. He may be cut up limb by limb but will not leave the battlefield.' I said: "Do you wish me to discuss this verse, as to what it means?" They said: "This business is sort of hot." I said: "I can recite to you Guru Nanak's words from *Varaan ton Vadheek*<sup>12</sup>." They said: "Recite those, they will lead to peace." I humbly submitted:

ਜਉ ਤਉ ਪੇਮ ਖੇਲਣ ਕਾ ਚਾਉ॥ ਸਿਰੁ ਧਰਿ ਤਲੀ ਗਲੀ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਉ॥੧੯॥  
 ਇਤੁ ਮਾਰਗਿ ਪੈਰੁ ਧਰੀਜੈ॥ ਸਿਰੁ ਈਜੈ ਕਾਣਿ ਨ ਕੀਜੈ॥੨੦॥  
 ਨਾਲਿ ਕਿਰਾੜਾ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਕੂੜੈ ਕੂੜੀ ਪਾਇ॥ ਮਰਣੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੈ ਮੁਲਿਆ ਆਵੈ ਕਿਤੈ ਥਾਇ॥੨੧॥

'If you wish to play the game of love, come to my place with your head on the palm of your hand. Stepping along this path, even if it costs you your life, do it ungrudgingly. Friendship with a greedy person is worthless because of his love of false objects. O Moola, [a greedy person] does not understand that death may come any time and at any place.'

ਪਹਲਾ ਮਰਣੁ ਕਬੂਲਿ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਛਿਡਿ ਆਸ॥ ਹੋਹੁ ਸਭਨਾ ਕੀ ਰੇਣੁਕਾ ਤਉ ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪਾਸਿ॥ ੧ ॥

'First accept death, give up the desire of [worldly] living; be the dust of everyone's feet [acquire humility]; only then come to Me [God].' These people say: "We should be safe from dying even if the country is ruined." *Gurbani* is saying: "First accept death as inevitable, give up attachment to life, be the dust of the feet of all and then come to me." The last line that our Beloved Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib has given us is his own prayer to God and also the gift that he got from God for his Sikhs:

ਜਬ ਆਵ ਕੀ ਅਉਧ ਨਿਦਾਨ ਬਨੈ ਅਤ ਹੀ ਰਣ ਮੈ ਤਬ ਜੁਝ ਮਰੋ॥

'When death is certain, may I die fighting in the thick of battle.' I said: "Shall I tell you what this means?" They said: "This is fiery stuff." Then I said: "Well, something soft? But with weapons it has to be hot." They said: "[Give us] something or the other." Out of the two minutes they allowed, I used one and three-quarter minutes. I told them that we want to maintain the integrity of the country, we want unity, we should march together, if the Government wants peace, it should announce [acceptance of] the Anandpur Resolution. There can never be peace until the announcement regarding Anandpur Resolution is made. It is the responsibility of the Government to maintain peace or disrupt it.

<sup>12</sup> Title of a collection of verses towards the end in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

I am often asked: "Sant Ji, are you a supporter of Khalistan or not?" To this, I have replied: "We are neither supporters of Khalistan nor are we opposed to it. We wish to live in the country. The Central Government should tell us whether it wants to keep us with it or not. If Khalistan is offered to us this time, we shall take it gladly with beat of drums, we shall not repeat the mistake of 1947. We shall certainly take it. We do not ask for it, but if given, we shall not decline it." They said: "We shall report the first couple of statements in the news but the latter part is difficult [to report]." [Some in the congregation start to laugh]. This is not something to laugh about, it is something to think about. If one talks about those occupying chairs<sup>13</sup>, if one talks about cap-wearers<sup>14</sup>, if one talks about those who wear turbans made of *khaddar*<sup>15</sup> then there is peace and they say they can report it in the news. I asked: "What is the reason, why don't you include it [Bhindranwale's statements] in the news?" They said they were much afraid of Bibi Indira Gandhi. I felt it at that time and said to them too: "*Gurmukhs*<sup>16</sup>, I was mistaken." They said: "What?" I said: "I did not know that you are subordinate to *Bibi*<sup>17</sup>. For a person who follows a Man<sup>18</sup>, it is foolish to talk to one who believes in following the *Bibi*. We are in service of Guru Gobind Singh Sahib - the Man - and are not followers of *Bibi* like you are." They looked down in shame. They said: "We did not know." Later, when they gave me eight minutes time, they asked me to give them some views regarding the Sikhs being a nation. I said: "I shall give you my thoughts but will you present them on television." They said: "If it is not inflammatory." I said: "It is not inflammatory. I shall talk on the basis of what your leaders have done. The words spoken on the basis of *Kalgidhar*<sup>19</sup> won't be to your liking." I said that we Sikhs are a separate nation even though Sendal Sahib has spoken [about it] and I respect him. He is old and wise and since childhood he has worked shoulder to shoulder with the Akali Dal. He hinted that there is no need to get this declared. Indeed, there is no need [to emphasize the separatness of the Sikh Nation] and I told the television man too: "You are asking us this but you should also ask us why has the need arisen for us to say Sikhs are a separate nation? You should ask us this question as well and then we shall tell you." Sikhs are certainly a separate nation. The tricolor flag has been designed on the basis of the division created by political people. Three colors were included in it, one of the *Khalsa*, another of the Muslims and the third one for those with

<sup>13</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>14</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often refers to Hindus as cap-wearers as distinct from Sikhs who are turban wearers.

<sup>15</sup> Coarse cotton yarn worn by Sikh members of the Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>16</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

<sup>17</sup> Indira Gandhi.

<sup>18</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>19</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

the white sheet, if I may say. Of the three colors, white was on top. The British set up machine guns and said: "If anyone marches to this side, there will be firing." Motilal<sup>20</sup>, Mahatma Gandhi and Patel<sup>21</sup> got together and started whispering as to who should lead. [They thought] it would be nice if Baba Kharak Singh would lead. They came to Baba Kharak Singh Ji and said to him: "Baba Ji, you should be in the front." He said: "I am ready but ask the flag to do justice; whose color is on top should go first, and whose color is at the bottom should be in the back." They said: "Your color is at the bottom." [He said]: "Then I shall come at the third spot. Two of you should go first." They said: "Baba Ji, this is hard for us. We shall change the flag and put your color at the top." The color was moved to the top and Baba Kharak Singh Ji placed himself in the front. If bullets in the chest have to be risked, Sikhs are a separate nation and the color is placed at the top but if it is a matter of sitting on chairs, the nation with the saffron flag is below and the white color is on top. This is a dance of communalism. On 10 October 1947, we were declared to be a criminal people. I asked those brothers: "If the Sikhs are not a separate nation or you don't accept their being separate, why were the Hindus not declared to be criminal people?" They said: "We have no answer." So, I have given some ten or fifteen such points in that [recording]. While departing they said with folded hands: "Pardon us but we shall not be able to announce [the part] about Sikhs being a separate nation but we shall announce the part relating to maintaining the unity and integrity of the country. We shall again come after two or three days and record some more." I said to them: "If you are going to televise all of it [the interview], I shall record it right away when you come but if you are not going to televise all of it and you too are going to do the dance of communalism with the Sikhs, then it is better that you sit quietly. If not, someone is going to snatch this box [camera] of yours and then you will curse me."

## APPEAL

### Stay Peaceful But There Are Limits To Peacefulness

So, *Khalsa Ji*, stay united, march together, and be armed. Declarations of peace are being directed at us. I too support peacefulness. But I am not at all in favor of such peacefulness that daughters of Sikhs are stripped and dishonored and yet we are lectured to about peace.

### Listen To The Last Speakers Patiently

Regarding the *Singhs* who are getting up, I shall not say much. I shall only show you a picture. When I speak from the stage, they [get tired and] say:

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<sup>20</sup> Motilal Nehru, a leader of the Indian National Congress at the time.

<sup>21</sup> Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, a leader of the Indian National Congress at the time.

"Baba Ji, our armpits are sweating. Our pants are wet with sweat." But when I am sitting on my seat [in my room], they do not even let me eat my food. [They say]: "Sant Ji, give us orders." Is the order from there sweet and the one from here - from the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>22</sup> - bitter? The only difference is that the pledge made here has to be fulfilled, but the one from there with Bhindranwale can be betrayed. Is that why you are going away?

### Romesh Has Insulted Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib

Humbly, I like to challenge you. All of us have tied turbans on our heads. We like to be called sons of the Guru whether any of us has cut his beard or has kept it. If we ask anyone, he says "I am a *Singh*. I am a Sikh. I am a son of the Guru." I like to speak to the Government and also to the Prime Minister. Some say "You speak here but she does not listen." She will definitely listen. When such things happen, they listen very quickly. Sikhs are being called communal, extremists, separatists, and militants. But my turbaned brothers, our existence is accursed; our life as humans is futile. The worthless Lala, Lala Jagat Narain, died. His body was given to his son Romesh. Why did he die? The case is still going on. Some say [my speaking] will affect the proceedings. Be it so, it does not matter. Both [the accused] will be hanged. Let that be. Why did Lala Jagat Narain die? He published in the newspapers that Guru Gobind Singh Ji lived his life as a prince, that he was very fun-loving; even worse language was used. Jathedar Gurdial Singh Ajnaha, now in heavenly abode, went abroad. Lala Jagat Narain said: "The passport issued to the *Jathedar* should be withdrawn; it should be cancelled because *Jathedar Ji* is a traitor to the country. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is a traitor." No Sikh took notice. No government noticed this. No Hindu brother noticed this. Students belonging to the Federation<sup>23</sup> set fire to some sheets from newspapers. M.I.S.A.<sup>24</sup> was invoked against them. They suffered beatings. Some Guru's beloved could not take it any more. Seeing his Father being insulted, someone with a sense of honor, taking support from the Guru, put him<sup>25</sup> on the train [of death]. They have said: "Bhindranwale had him eliminated, had him killed." They kept me too for twenty-five days and then, taking note of the large congregations that assembled, begged forgiveness and released me. *Singhs*, it is not proper for me to speak much because Sant Ji<sup>26</sup> has to speak. I appeal to the congregation to listen to his sermon before leaving. I

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<sup>22</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>23</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>24</sup> Maintenance of Internal Security Act under which the Government carried out arbitrary arrests and even killings of any real or perceived opposition.

<sup>25</sup> Lala Jagat Narain.

<sup>26</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

must appeal to the *Pardhan Sahib*<sup>27</sup> because he is sagacious, he is old, and he has been through many political tests and trials, his name too is Sant and he follows *Gurmat* too. It does not behoove me to say much to him because I am younger than him. But at times, with hurt in one's heart, one may plead with his elders. How far are we going to hold on to this peacefulness? Here is a picture of Lala Jagat Narain with Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. On the right is Lala Jagat Narain and this is the photo of the Tenth King, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. A worthless person, without mother and father, without any background nor anything else, and his son Romesh should print his picture alongside that of our Father, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib! How many Sikhs are sitting here? Has any Sikh ever had the audacity to print a picture alongside Bhagwan Krishan or Ramchandra Ji? I like to say this to Romesh and to the Government as well: it will be good if, within the next three or four days, he asks the Sikh Nation for forgiveness in writing. If Romesh, the son of the Lala, does not realize his error and does not ask the Sikh Nation for forgiveness, then if someone puts him on the train [of death], it will be the responsibility of Romesh and the Government. It won't be mine or the Sikh Nation's. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>28</sup>]. We have been very peaceful. But fine salt is being sprinkled over our wounds. We are not sons of eunuchs nor, as is being said about us, are we Hindus with hair. The Brahmins had said to our Father, to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib: "You are from among us." Our Father, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, raised his arm and said: "I am a the son of *Kshatri* and not of a Brahmin." *Maharaj*<sup>29</sup> says: "I am the son of a *Kshatri*, not of any Brahmin." So, we like to tell these people, "Don't throw fistfuls of salt into our wounds." Though *Pardhan Ji* is saying: "Peace, peace." But if the time comes, and things stay as they are, even if I, sitting in Nanak Niwas, keep saying this, there is bound to be some Guru's Beloved [son] who will be unable to control himself. I shall certainly say that if some son of the Guru metes out punishment to someone who does such deeds [insulting the Sikh faith], I shall definitely embrace him. The President will himself talk about his responsibility from the stage.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> The President, Sant Longowal.

<sup>28</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>29</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>30</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."



**SPEECH #17**  
**10 JUNE 1983**

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*, the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>1</sup>.

It is getting quite late. From this stage, this struggle to secure our rights has been going on for a long time. Every day, Guru's beloved men, coming from various places, bringing *Jathas*<sup>2</sup> with them, have presented themselves for going to jail. Today too [they have done the same].

#### RECALLING BHAJ KULWANT SINGH NAGOKE'S MARTYRDOM

[Regarding] Bhai Kulwant Singh Ji of Nagoke; the cruel Government and its officials - especially Makhan Singh, *Havaldar*<sup>3</sup> of the S.S.P.<sup>4</sup> Surjit Singh, and Bur Singh, constable; these three men and Kehar Singh, brother of the *Narkdharia*<sup>5</sup> Mehma Singh, and the D.S.P.<sup>6</sup> Gurbachan Singh whom we call Bachna, whom everyone remembers as Bachna - these men have martyred that *Singh*<sup>7</sup> with mercilessness and shamelessness. The day Bhai Kulwant Singh was cremated, I was present there in the village. When his body was bathed, there was no part of his body - not a single one -, which was not broken. The entire body had been broken and crushed. Heated steel rods were put through his body. His skull at the forehead, at this spot, was burnt with heated rods. Especially, I learnt from a friend that one day before the day he was martyred, these people tied six bricks - three on one side and three on the other - next to his lungs and hung him upside down with his head nine inches above the ground. The weight of the bricks was tied to him to cause additional pull. At that time, one of the enemies, one with a bad temperament, taunted him: "Show me where is your Guru Gobind Singh Sahib." *Khalsa Ji*, one may be a tiger cub but when in a cage, he is helpless. But Guru Sahib's devotee did get one of them to see [Guru Sahib]. His arms were tied and his hands were down. At that time, swinging his body, he gave a sharp slap on this man's face. His turban fell off. After this they started to torture him further. They tried to get him to say

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>2</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>3</sup> *Havaldar* is equivalent to sergeant - lower in rank than the Assistant Sub-Inspector but higher than a head constable.

<sup>4</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>5</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>6</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Police.

<sup>7</sup> Bhai Kulwant Singh Nagoke.

what an earlier speaker had said: "Say that Jarnail Singh gave me all the material and sent me to various places; if you say this much you will be spared more trouble." His associate, Bhai Balwinder Singh Ji of Khojkipur, who has been acquitted in that case some time back and is here in the *Jatha* today, *Khalsa Ji*, he too was taken out and an attempt was made to shoot him dead. But through Satguru's<sup>8</sup> mercy he has been saved. When Kulwant Singh was beaten up and tortured he did say this one thing: may Satguru have mercy and keep his merciful hand on his *Panth's*<sup>9</sup> head. When he was being coerced and tortured into confessing he replied: "Today I am in your grip. You can do your worst. If Guru Sahib so wills and my physical life allows me, and I am a true son of my parents, I shall seek vengeance against all the six of you. Otherwise, if I go to the Region of Truth<sup>10</sup>, after me [there will be] the Sikh Nation which has never left any debt unpaid." The time [for such repayment] has, of necessity, varied. Keep in mind what the *Sahibzadas*<sup>11</sup> told Wazira<sup>12</sup>. They were very young. They were about as old as Sukhdev Singh here, no more. He is seven years [of age], Baba Fateh Singh was seven too. At that time Baba Ji<sup>13</sup> said to him: "Wazira, keep this in mind. At this time, intoxicated by power, you can torture us as you wish. But note that the time will come when the *Panth's* horses will ride over your chest." So, *Khalsa Ji*, Banda Singh Bahaadar Ji extracted that debt. At that time the family of Sucha Nand, who had assisted in getting the *Sahibzadas* martyred, was also captured. He had a young daughter. When she was to be beheaded under Banda Singh Ji's orders, some of his close associates said: "*Singh Sahib*: a *Singh* never attacks a woman or a child." His eyes reddened, he got into a valorous mood. He said at that time: "*Singhs*, in the form of Five<sup>14</sup> you have said this to me, I shall desist now. But I like to ask you how much older than her was Baba Fateh Singh Sahib Ji?" Sucha Nand's daughter was eight years old. Baba Fateh Singh Ji was seven. So, she was

<sup>8</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>9</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>10</sup> *Sach Khand* is the abode of Formless God, The Eternal Truth. Sikhs often refer to the deceased as 'living in Sach Khand' or 'living in the Region of Truth', i.e., being with God. Going to the Region of Truth means dying.

<sup>11</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two youngest sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> Wazir Khan, the Faujdar at Sirhind in the year 1704.

<sup>13</sup> Sahibzadah Fateh Singh Ji.

<sup>14</sup> Reference is to the Five Beloved Ones of the Guru. In 1699, Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib administered *Khande da Pahul* to five Sikhs who, responding to the Guru's call, volunteered to lay down their lives. Then, he asked them to administer the *Pahul* to him and make him their Sikh. Thus he acknowledged the assembly of Five to be his own Guru. After his passing, Sikhs have traditionally deferred to decisions handed down by an assembly of five *amritdhari* Sikhs acting in the presence of Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, are authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith. Guru's *Parshad* is distributed to the congregation after it is offered to *Panj Pyaare*, any five of the *amritdhari* Sikhs who might be present.

spared death but his [Sucha Nand's] daughter was married to an outcaste. Some people are like this. It is true that a *Singh* does not dishonor anyone but he also never gives up the right [to justice] for the dishonor done to him. It is a sin for a Sikh to kill anyone but not seeking justice is also a sin. It is meritorious to seek justice. So, let us pray to Satguru. May *Maharaj*<sup>15</sup> give us strength. As Satguru Ji gives opportunity to some friend, the Sikh Nation will certainly secure justice for the martyrs. Let no one think .... [inaudible] .... What congratulations can I offer this family? Even though the entire *Panth* is indebted to them but I feel that the debt of blood of those who have become martyrs in this struggle is my special burden. Until my last breath I shall be indebted to those families. Let's pray to Guru so the King [the Guru] has mercy and the debt can be repaid with interest and the Sikh Nation can feel relieved.

#### DON'T REFER TO ME AS *BRAHM GIANI*

I especially appeal to the speakers, the spokespersons, and poets. I have appealed to them before, but I don't know, maybe they think: "This fellow is a youngster. He keeps saying such things. He doesn't matter." But I feel hurt. When we speak about someone, we say things to please him. But, in my opinion, saying words that hurt the person [concerned] in the extreme is fruitless. Whichever friend gets up on the stage, be he a poet, or a singer, [or anyone else], whenever they speak they use the words "Sant Jarnail Singh Ji *Brahm Giani*<sup>16</sup>." How am I a *Brahm Giani*? With folded hands, with a *palla*<sup>17</sup> around my neck, I implore you never to use the words *Brahm Giani* in reference to me. Of course, through your prayers, do get me that [status]. Guru's congregation can do that. But it is not proper to call me *Brahm Giani* in empty boasts. There is a short story about *Brahm Gianis*. I shall not take too much time as Sant Ji has to speak and it is getting quite late. There was a *Raja* and there was a village he owned. A *mahatma*<sup>18</sup> went to the village to collect alms. He asked for a donation. The village people were capricious. At that time, the young men [of the village] made fun of the *Mahatma*. Wise men have said: "Mocking saints is the way to destroy your tribe." When they made fun of the *Mahatma*, they said: "Sant Ji, we never give charity." He asked: "Why?" They replied: "One practices charity to go to heaven. Sinning leads to hell. We commit no sin and have no need for heaven. That's why we are not going to give." The *Mahatma* understood that these people were wayward, that they were ignorant and needed to be delivered [from ignorance]. The *Raja* was suffering from palpitations. When that *Mahatma* went to the *Raja*, the *Raja*

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<sup>15</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>16</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

<sup>17</sup> A piece of cloth draped around the neck and held in front with both hands as a mark of humility while standing before authority.

<sup>18</sup> A *mahatma* is a great soul, a holy man.

asked him: "Sant Ji, say something to cure my illness." The *Mahatma* said: "Brother, I shall not just say something, I shall tell you the remedy. Your illness will be cured." He said: "Tell me." He [the *Mahatma*] said: "Get hold of a *Brahm Giani*. Put him through an oil mill to extract his blood. Then massage your body with his blood. This will cure you of your illness." The *Raja* said: "I do not know about *Brahm Gianis*." [The *Mahatma*] said: "I shall tell you. There is a village in such and such town you own. In that village no boy or girl is born except *Brahm Gianis*. They are all *Brahm Gianis*. You can go and bring them here." If one whom not even a night watchman would invite, gets an invitation from the Prime Minister, he is bound to feel proud. When the *Raja* sent the message, those people, who must have had heads like watermelons, applied oil to their heads and, riding all kinds of conveyances, rushed to the *Raja*. The *Raja* treated them well. After this reception they asked: "For what have you summoned us?" He said: "Brothers, you are *Brahm Gianis*?" Those who would be gods with cap, clothes and shoes on said "Yes." *Gurbani's* decision is this: "O Kabir say: The empty pot speaks. The one that is full does not shake." Those who are empty say such things. When they said: "Yes sir, we are all *Brahm Gianis*," he said: "A *Brahm Giani* has no attachment for his body, nor for any other worldly things. They are unsullied by attachment. I am a man of the world, a politician. Have mercy on me. Let one of you *Brahm Gianis* get up and enter the oil mill so I can extract his blood and apply it on my body. I have been so advised by a doctor." He kept the *Mahatma's* [involvement] a secret. The *Raja* kept his [the *Mahatma's*] secret. They said: "We are not those who would be *majnus*<sup>19</sup>, we are the *majnus* of sweetmeats. Go and get that sort of *Brahm Giani* elsewhere." The *Raja* again called the *Mahatma*: "Sant Ji, they were hypocrites." The *Mahatma* said: "Brother, if they were any good why would I send them to you? I sent them to you because they are hypocrites, so that you could punish them and they would not do this again." The *Raja* said: "Sant Ji, you have done your job but I am still in the same state. Do something for me too." The *Mahatma* said: "In such and such town there is a *mahatma* who wears homespun cloth, and weeds a field of corn. He won't come easily." The Great Man<sup>20</sup>, now abiding in the Region of Truth, used to say: "Brother, when the politicians have to get votes, they call a donkey their father and once they are in the chair<sup>21</sup>, they start calling their father a donkey. One never knows which way they will go. What do I have to do with them?" The *Raja* sent a servant. With folded hands, he begged [the *Mahatma*] and got him to agree [to come to the *Raja*]. Upon coming [to the *Raja*] the *Mahatma* said: "O *Raja*, what can I do for you." [The *Raja*] said: "Are you a *Brahm Giani*?" The great man, in a mood of detachment, said: "O *Raja*, I am a dog of the Guru's home", and spoke the following lines:

<sup>19</sup> Reference is to *Majnu* who loved *Laila* and lost his mind over her.

<sup>20</sup> Sant Kartar Singh Bhindranwale, Sant Jarnail Singh's predecessor and teacher.

<sup>21</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

ਹਮ ਕੁਕਰ ਤੇਰੇ ਦਰਬਾਰਿ॥ ਭਉਕਹਿ ਆਗੈ ਬਦਨੁ ਪਸਾਰਿ॥ ੧ ॥

'We are dogs at your [God's] *Darbar*, we bark with our necks stretched forward.' He said these words:

ਕਬੀਰ ਕੁਕਰ ਰਾਮ ਕੋ ਮੁਤੀਆ ਮੇਰੋ ਨਾਉ॥ ਗਲੇ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਜੇਵਰੀ ਜਹ ਖਿਚੈ ਤਹ ਜਾਉ॥ ੨੪ ॥

'O Kabir, I am a dog of God, my name is Moti. Around my neck is a rope and I go the way He pulls.' He said these words: "I am a dog of the Guru's home, of the Guru's congregation. But you should tell me what business do you have with me?" He [*Raja*] said: "You are a great man. You should get into the oil mill. I need to extract your blood." The *Mahatma* asked: "Why?" He said: "Someone has told me that if I extract a *Brahm Giani's* blood and apply it to my body, I shall get well." The *Mahatma* said: "I am not a *Brahm Giani* but if taking my blood will cure you, my body is at your service. You can chop it up and put it in the mill for extraction of blood. But if you just wish to be cured of your ailment, this we can do by just a glance." [As is written in *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*]

ਬ੍ਰਹਮਗਿਆਨੀ ਕੀ ਦਿਸਟਿ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਬਰਸੀ॥

'*Brahm Giani's* glance is the rain of [immortalizing] nectar.' Such a person, *Khalsa Ji*, is called a *Brahm Giani*. As for me, for the last two months, the doctors have been giving me injections. No medicine seems to help. Are *Brahm Gianis* this kind [of people]? Regard me just as an ordinary Sikh of the Guru. Elevating a man by giving him titles [is not right]; one does not know when you might pull the ladder away and drop him. Regarding a *Brahm Giani*, it has been written: "Cut with sharp weapons, he is not angry. He still serves their [those who cut] purpose and does not blame anyone." Such a person is a *Brahm Giani*. The reason I have spent so much time on this is that whenever I come, whoever is the musician, [I like to say this]: "You will get five rupees in any case, will you get more if you call me *Brahm Giani*?" The Great Man, now abiding in the Region of Truth, Sant Baba Gurbachan Singh Ji Khalsa was a *Brahm Giani*. All his life was spent in prayer and praise of God. Did anyone ever call him an extremist? I get abused all the time. Even among ourselves many friends keep abusing me. In my presence they make obeisance but behind my back they abuse me. For this reason, pray to the Guru that the True King<sup>22</sup> give me the opportunity to dust the shoes of the congregation; that he give me faith in *Guru Granth Sahib*, his own form; so that, living as a Sikh, keeping the five k's, I can serve the *Panth*. You should just say this prayer for me. Just

<sup>22</sup> Sikhs refer to *Guru Nanak* and each of his successors including *Siri Guru Granth Sahib* as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*.

saying empty words [of praise] causes me a lot of hurt. With folded hands, with this *palla* around my neck, prostrating myself on the ground, I appeal to the spokesperson that it is not a sin to say this about a great man who might come to the stage but it is not proper to use these words for a mean person like me.

#### GREETINGS TO THE JATHA

On my behalf I congratulate and thank the *Singhs* who are going [to peacefully court arrest] along with their *Jathas* and Bibi Jasbir Kaur Ji, and all the other friends who are going. May Satguru have mercy. May he give us the strength and the wisdom to follow the path shown by great men.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

## SPEECH #18

2 JULY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King<sup>1</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Sitting in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King, you have listened to nice views, regarding the present times, expressed by speakers who have spoken from this stage.

### GOVERNMENT OPPRESSION

We have received information about the way the cruel Government is determined to practice oppression. Regarding the incidents that have occurred in Baba Bakala Sahib and before that in Tarn Taran Sahib, all of us speakers have to condemn them and are doing so. But I humbly submit that merely speaking the word 'condemnation' is not going to suffice now. It is almost complete twelve months [since the movement was started], it is only a few days short. We have, with cooperation from the congregation, following the orders of the President<sup>3</sup>, worked peacefully. We have suffered severe beatings, achieved martyrdoms through arrest, suffered torture, some of our associates have had to go hungry and thirsty in jails, innocent children have had to face many hardships. But, in spite of all this, those Guru's men, those *taksaals*<sup>4</sup> have started to be attacked even though their sole mission is to build temples, build gurdwaras, construct *parkarmas*<sup>5</sup>, construct POOLS, build shelters, build *langars*<sup>6</sup>, prepare and distribute food to the Congregations, and themselves to eat two, three or four days old bread dipped in water. *Khalsa Ji*, even people living such lives are being subjected to oppression today. [This is because] all these organizations, - the *Kar Seva*<sup>7</sup> people, the *Nihang*<sup>8</sup> associations, people

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>4</sup> A *taksaal* is a Sikh religious school.

<sup>5</sup> A *parkarma* is a walkway around a gurdwara.

<sup>6</sup> *Langar* is a kitchen and dining hall adjoining a gurdwara.

<sup>7</sup> *Kar Seva* is voluntary labor at gurdwaras.

<sup>8</sup> *Nihangs* are a sect of the Sikhs.

who do *katha*<sup>9</sup> and *kirtan*<sup>10</sup>, and other *mahatmas*<sup>11</sup> and *sadhus*<sup>12</sup> in whichever dress, all of them in the name of Sikhi, to maintain reverence for Siri Guru Granth Sahib, have united on one platform to participate in the struggle that is going on under the name of *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>13</sup> for removing the yoke of slavery from the necks of the Sikhs and for securing benefits for all Punjabis. The Government does not like this. To destroy this [unity], to destroy the Sikh appearance, the Government has adopted such mean tactics. In Tarn Taran Sahib [the victims were], the perfect great man now abiding in the Region of Truth<sup>14</sup>, *Brahm Giani*<sup>15</sup> Sant Baba Biram Das Ji and then his descendent Sant Baba Gurmukh Singh Ji - who is known as Patiale Wale, Baba Sadhu Singh Ji, Baba Jhanda Singh Ji, Baba Jeewan Singh Ji and associated Guru's beloved persons, organizations of people who remember God's Name and work for the comfort of people by carrying baskets upon their heads for the construction of places of worship, Baba Kharak Singh Ji, and Baba Uttam Singh Ji. Those who were attacked today were associated with the name of Baba Hari Singh Ji who has himself gone to the Region of Truth [but] after him Baba Jagtar Singh Ji, Baba Seesa Singh Ji, and other Guru's beloved men - all of them together - are continuing the service. *Khalsa Ji*, today these people who carry baskets [in service to people] have been fired upon and killed. Many times there is suspicion about me that I keep weapons. Somebody can be suspicious of me but what [weapons] did these basket-carriers fire? According to the report which has been received, there is one Sharma, a *Thanedar*<sup>16</sup>. He started firing immediately upon arrival [on the scene]. The S.D.M.<sup>17</sup> came later. When he [the SDM] came, he asked as to who ordered the firing. Everyone kept quiet. They had baskets with them. Those with baskets could have been arrested too. Or else, they could have been seated and the wise men questioned. But it is not the intention of the Government that matters be settled peacefully in consultation with someone. The Government has adopted the policy that in order to hurt the ongoing movement and to fulfil personal ambition, the [Sikh] Nation be frightened, browbeaten, and made a victim of internal strife and dissension through dirty tricks, terror and torture. *Khalsa Ji*, we have to protect ourselves against this. The most distressing news is from Baba Bakala Sahib.

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<sup>9</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>10</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>11</sup> A *mahatma* is a great soul, a holy man.

<sup>12</sup> A *sadhu* is an ascetic.

<sup>13</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>14</sup> *Sach Khand* is the abode of Formless God, The Eternal Truth. Sikhs often refer to the deceased as 'living in Sach Khand' or 'living in the Region of Truth', i.e., being with God.

<sup>15</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

<sup>16</sup> *Thanedar* is the Station House Officer at a police station with the rank of an Inspector or Sub-inspector.

<sup>17</sup> Sub-Divisional Magistrate.



Earlier too, at the death of the eighty-year old Lala<sup>18</sup>, in order to create Hindu-Sikh tension, to destroy the *Damdami Taksaal*<sup>19</sup>, the Government besieged the village of Chando-Kalan. That effort was unsuccessful. They caused physical damage too. From our religious point of view, even [copies of] our *Isht*<sup>20</sup>, Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, were set on fire. The police officials looted three hundred thousand [rupees] worth of goods, but we suffered that peacefully. The Sikh Congregations waited patiently for the judicial inquiry into that [incident] even though it [the inquiry] is still stalled. Afterwards, 15,000 [policemen] encircled Mehta. The Government tried to make mischief, but with Guru's grace, they did not fully succeed. I offered myself for arrest and departed [in police custody]. In spite of the peacefulness, eighteen *Singhs* were put to death. The *Singhs* had to achieve martyrdom. Still we maintained peacefulness. I was arrested and even released. There is difference between national unity and ....

[The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available].

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<sup>18</sup> Lala Jagat Narain.

<sup>19</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>20</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

## SPEECH #19

2 JULY 1983

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>1</sup>.

### POLICE BRUTALITY IN BABA BAKALA

#### The Incident

Through Mina Masand, Satguru Ji<sup>2</sup> was fired upon. It is recorded in history. The story has been read. After that, now once again, *Khalsa Ji*, at the very same place which is the location of the sacred place of the Ninth King<sup>3</sup>, where he did penance for 26 or 27 years and next to it, with a common wall, is the place sanctified by the feet of our Beloved, the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>4</sup>, Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji; at that place [is the camp of] Baba Bishan Singh Sahib the Chief *Jathedar* of the *Tarun Dal*<sup>5</sup>, who is very old, unable to walk very far, and whose body has become very weak due to age. *Khalsa Ji*, this Government of *Nauranga*<sup>6</sup>, this cruel Government, surrounded that camp and took it into its possession. They have dyed their hands in the blood of the *Singhs* and have killed [their] horses as well.

#### Issuing Condemnation Statements Is Not Enough

We all condemn this and I am using the same word too. I shall again humbly state that condemnation alone is not going to be effective. [Considering] the type of acts the Government has started to indulge in, until we answer them with jaw-breaking response they are not going to let these turbans stay on our heads. To keep these turbans on our heads, to keep our hair and beards intact, to maintain the sanctity of the land touched by the feet of Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib and Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the True Kings<sup>7</sup>, *Khalsa Ji*, we, all of us, should forget politics. We should give up our jealousies and argumentation and, uniting on one platform, stoutly resist these people. Let

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>2</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib, the ninth Guru.

<sup>3</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>4</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>5</sup> *Tarun Dal* is one of the groups of *Nihangs*. *Nihangs* are a sect of the Sikhs. *Jathedar* means leader.

<sup>6</sup> Reference is to Darbara Singh, Chief Minister of Punjab. Sant Bhindranwale is addressing him as *Nauranga*, a Punjabi vernacular form of the name of the mughal emperor Aurangzeb.

<sup>7</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false.

us not worry as to what can we do empty-handed. When we march together, weapons too will become available from some source or another. We can even snatch these [weapons] from them. But when shall we snatch them? Only when all of us resolve in our hearts that we have lived as long as we had to and now the remaining periods [of our life] we have to sacrifice, to become martyrs, in order to maintain the reverence for Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King. Whenever martyrdom comes we shall not postpone it. Only then shall we achieve success. I appeal to the entire congregation and especially to the young men and the *mar-jeevras*<sup>8</sup> too: "You have had your names registered, you have made pledges. *Singhs* have registered their names in the office of the Shromani Akali Dal, and some dear ones have registered their names with me." At that time they, those young men and older men as well, were told: "*Singhs*, only those among you should register their names among *mar-jeevras* who are to enforce our rights against those people [who are guilty of the crimes of] dishonor of our daughters and sisters, drinking of the blood [killing] of innocent people, disrespect of gurdwaras, and disrupting the reverence for Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji; and who have no attachment to their homes. Those who think "I might get a ticket for becoming an M.L.A.<sup>9</sup>, my son will become chairman, I might get a chair<sup>10</sup>" should not register. Here we have nothing to do with chairs. We shall see when the time for chairs comes. Right now, it is time for giving our heads, to get our rights, to take the heads of those who have insulted our *Isht*<sup>11</sup>." This was said when the pledges were asked for. But I have to say with very great sadness that if we continue to sleep forever, as at present, no one is going to spare us. I appeal with folded hands and shall certainly appeal to the young people that to get our rights we should start marching towards Baba Bakala starting tonight and early morning tomorrow. *Khalsa Ji*, we should not sleep in comfort, we should not rest until such time as the police vacate Baba Bishan Singh's camp, the place associated with the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*; until they vacate Baba Bakala; until they return the weapons of the *Singhs*; until they return the bodies of the *Singhs*; until they return the injured whom they took into custody. Gather at Baba Bakala in as large numbers as possible starting tomorrow; starting tomorrow, as many as possible - young men and old, there is no restriction. If any other gathering is needed, Baba Ji<sup>12</sup> will think it over and tell you at the appropriate time. Young men should go and so too should women. Have a large gathering and, to get our rights, let us pray to Satguru. We should be ready to get our rights whichever way we can but we shall use those means only when our organizational leaders tell us to. Sant

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<sup>8</sup> *Mar-jeevras* are those who have resolved to sacrifice their lives.

<sup>9</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>10</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>11</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

Ji<sup>13</sup> will himself tell you about those leaders, which leaders have been instructed, which of them have received the message or will receive it by tomorrow, Sant Ji will himself tell us. I plead that there should be no slackness of any sort. Be careful and do not think this is a trouble confined to that place only. It is possible the Government might be unreasonable here too. But do not worry too much about this place. May God have mercy. It is not going to be like their rapid entry into the camp [at Baba Bakala]. You will see how pole-high piles [of bodies] are made here. Once let them come in.

#### WE GET EMPTY MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY

Overpowered by the greed for chairs, they transfer one person or another<sup>14</sup> and come to Sant Ji and tell him: "We are in agreement with you." I shall make one submission to our elders and spokespersons. Don't take it ill. I am saying this keeping everyone's good in view, not to hurt anyone. Ramoowalia Ji was saying that seventeen opposition parties have supported us. It is not a bad thing. It is very good because if anyone joins you in an effort, it strengthens your hands, it makes you strong. Some of those leader friends have met me too and there have been mutual discussions. They say: "Sant Ji, things here are very different from what appears in the newspapers." I said: "Only you and your newspapers know this. You have seen with your own eyes. You should tell." They said: "We do not see anything like the newspapers say. The newspapers write this only to create trouble." I said; "Now you go outside and propagate it. I cannot go yet. But do answer one question before you go." They said: "What?" I Said: "You are two Hindus and [suppose] there are two Sikhs and I am the cook. I seat you all in a row, place plates in front of all of you and start to serve you. I fill the plates of the *Singhs* with *kheer*<sup>15</sup> and *parshad*<sup>16</sup> and just pass you by and go back to the kitchen. The *Singhs* recite a verse and start eating. They keep eating and at the same time keep saying: "Pundit Ji, it is very unfair to you. We are in agreement with you. You should be given your rights." But they do not share even one bite and keep eating all themselves. Having eaten, when their stomachs are full, the *Singhs* who were sitting stand up. Knowing that the cook is not going to come again, yet bound by etiquette, the two Pundit Ji's also stand up. The entire line stands up, they all go to the water tap and deposit the plates there. They wash their hands, rinse their mouths and the *Singhs* say once again: "Pundit Ji, we are in agreement with you. You should be given your rights." They did not get anything. Then another line was set up. The Hindu brothers again sat down. The cook again filled the plates of

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<sup>13</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>14</sup> Reference is to transfer of Government employees from one station to another.

<sup>15</sup> *Kheer* is rice pudding.

<sup>16</sup> *Parshad* is the same as *Karah Parshad* - a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, - distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

the Sikhs and again skipped the Hindus. But the Sikhs who are sitting, take a handful of food from their plates and place it in the plates of the Hindus and say: "We are not in agreement with you but go ahead eat this." You tell me, would they come forth with agreement or would they come forth without agreement. Which way will they come forth? Would they come forth when they gave a fistful of food to eat or would they be in agreement when they merely talk?" All of the [leaders] voice agreement. I have to ask all these leaders one thing: "All of you say Sikhs are communal. When the protest against the Emergency<sup>17</sup> was launched, Sant Ji<sup>18</sup> was the Dictator as he is now. When the people in Government imprisoned persons from the 660 million strong [Hindu community], to get them released was there any struggle launched from Vaishno Devi, from Komakhya Devi, from Shiv Ling, from Mathra, from Kidaarnaath, from Badrinarayan, from Kashi? Was any struggle started to liberate you?" They said: "No, there was none." I said: "Those you call 'communal', the same communal people started the struggle from here, from Akal Takhat Sahib. This was when no one touched us. With folded hands, Indira<sup>19</sup> was saying: "You shouldn't speak. Take whatever you want but let me crush them thoroughly." At that time, to liberate you, those who number 17.5 million sent 40,000 to court arrest. But when the struggle was started for all Punjabis, out of the count of 660 million not even forty hundred courted arrest? When [this topic of discussion] comes up on the stage: [they say]: "Longowal Ji, your demands are true." If they are true, then bring a *Jatha*<sup>20</sup> of 10,000 and let us go to jail. Then we shall know that there is Hindu-Sikh unity. Standing on the stage and making declarations and writing on paper and giving it to us but not sending even one person [to peacefully court arrest with us]; what use do we have for such agreement? When we started the protest, not even a single party was in agreement with us. The struggle went on even then. If today seventeen parties have agreed why have two gurdwaras been attacked? Why is this happening? On the outside they are playing this drama that there are some Hindus who support us. Internally, they all speak the same language, sing to the same tune; that of finding some way of totally insulting *Singhs* with 'Singh' in their name and women with 'Kaur' in their name and, having completely humiliated them and misled them, to absorb them, integrate them, within the Hindu fold forever. But *Khalsa Ji*, we shall not let this policy succeed. To overcome it, to protect ourselves from it, what is the way? There is only one way: that we look up to Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji for protection. Obey the people who have responsibility, stay united and bear arms. I have been saying this not for six months but for six years. Now that there is fighting at various places, they ask me: "Baba Ji, how many do you have?" I have as many as the

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<sup>17</sup> Indira Gandhi's declaration of state of national emergency in India during 1975-1977.

<sup>18</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>19</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at that time.

<sup>20</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons.

number of factories that have been set up [I have none]. All these newspapermen that come [ask me]: "How many factories do you have? How many bombs do you have?" All of you who are sitting here are my bombs. This is the only factory we possess. *Khalsa Ji*, don't just laugh it away. Think what the situation is. Don't imagine that with [the happenings at] Baba Bakala, we are done. It is not known as to how many more martyrdoms we shall have to suffer. But we must not be afraid of these martyrdoms. [It is said]:

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਇ ਜੁ ਚੜੈ ਤੁਰੰਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਇ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗਾ

'*Khalsa* is he who rides a horse; *Khalsa* is he who is always ready to fight.' Whatever we get is gotten through fighting. Sitting, we get nothing. We are following the path of peacefulness. We have to keep it up. But don't let it happen that we are stuck with peacefulness while they beat us up with rods and set Guru Granth Sahib on fire. At that time we shall have to think. If they do not insult Satguru [Siri Guru Granth Sahib], then all the time we have to stay peaceful but we have to get our full rights.

## APPEAL

### Let Us Have A Massive Protest At Baba Bakala

We must assemble in as large numbers as possible. So long as the police do not leave that place [Baba Bakala] and return to its lines and do not return the injured and the bodies of the martyrs to us, do not return the weapons of the members of the *Tarun Dal*, we should stoutly oppose them. Baba Ji<sup>21</sup> will himself speak about the leaders who have to be assigned duties. Listen to him for the rest of the program too.

### Listen To All Speakers

I appeal to the congregation. Many times, after you have heard [me], you run back to your homes. The later speakers are not here to dance or sing. They too preach Guru's instruction. Take the trouble of listening before you go. When you come to me, you say: "Baba Ji, say something." When we start to say something, you say: "It is getting late, we have to go home." When shall we speak to you? For this reason, with folded hands, I appeal to the entire congregation to take the trouble of listening before going away.

On my behalf, I thank the members of the Federation, my city-dwelling brothers, my brothers from villages, all the *Jathedars* who are leading the *Jathas* and the members of the *Jathas*.

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<sup>21</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

## A NEW DEVELOPMENT: APPREHENSION AND TORTURE OF STUDENTS

The police have started a new program. They pick up members of the Federation<sup>22</sup> and others who are associated with them, from various places. For example, the current President of the Federation - perhaps his name is Satinderpal Singh - both of his brothers have been picked up and it is not known where the police have taken them. Just now Baba Ji<sup>23</sup> told me that those who had been arrested earlier at Muktsar have been released. I had hardly heard this [with one ear] that with the other ear I heard that two more have been arrested from there. The *Narkdharias*<sup>24</sup> for whose sake they are arresting [the Sikhs] say: "We have no quarrel. The *Singhs* have not thrown any bomb at us. It was a firecracker." But the police say: "No, it was a bomb." The one at whose home the bomb is thrown says it was not thrown but the police insist it was thrown. Under this pretext they are picking up students and torturing them. But there is no need to get excited. It is also not necessary to repeatedly issue condemnation. Get ready to give up the path of issuing condemnations and get ready to secure justice.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>22</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>23</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal and Dictator of the struggle.

<sup>24</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

## SPEECH #20

4 JULY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest .... [inaudible] .... the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>1</sup>.

I humbly say this. Regarding the dear persons who speak and give their views, may Satguru<sup>2</sup> have mercy and give us all the wisdom to work in unison. From my side I thank the friends who are going in the *Jatha*<sup>3</sup>, the leaders of groups and the women, young and old.

### ABOUT HINDU-SIKH UNITY

#### Sikhs Refused Entry Into Durgiana Mandar

Today I have received some news concerning Hindu-Sikh unity. Since 1947, even up to the present time, in our discussions we have expressed the same thought. Yesterday an incident occurred in Durgiana Mandar in Amritsar. There is one Banarsi Das, a Hindu resident of the city. His son's name is Roshan Lal. Roshan Lal was getting married and the ceremony was to be held in Durgiana Mandar. Banarsi Das had personal affection for some *amritdhari*<sup>4</sup> *Singhs*, residents of this city. He wished to take them along to his son's marriage. When they reached the gate of the temple, the gatekeeper/guard said at that time: "*Singhs*, if you have to go inside the temple, you should take off your *kirpaans*<sup>5</sup>." I have this note with me in my pocket. Those five *Singhs* are residents of this city. They have written and given this note to me.

#### Government Refuses To Accept Sikh Identity

They<sup>6</sup> are spreading this propaganda at various places. It is being written in the newspapers and broadcast over the radio. When I was coming here, I heard the news that the President of India was speaking in Calcutta. He has

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>2</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>4</sup> *Amritdhari* means a person who has been formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>5</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>6</sup> The Government.



said over the radio that the congregations or the people of India should not be misled by the name 'Sikh Nation,' that these are personal words and stories of a few persons. I shall not address this today because there is very little time and it would perhaps be nice if those friends who have not had time to speak are invited to speak for a couple of minutes.

### More About The Durgiana Incident

Roshan Lal son of Banarsi Das, and his father Banarsi Das, took along Surinderpal Singh Bhatia, Kuldip Singh Bhatia, Mohinder Singh Bhatia, Tarlok Singh Bhatia and Surjit Singh. When he took these five *Singhs* with him, the guard at the gate said: "If you wish to go in you should take off your *kirpaans* and hang them on a hook or leave them with me. Only then can you go in." Banarsi Das said: "These people have come with me. They are my friends. My son is getting married and I have brought them with me. Therefore, they should be allowed to go in." At this the guard said: "These people have beards on their faces and *kirpaans* in their *gaatras*<sup>7</sup>. Even though they are your friends, no one wearing a *kirpaan* is permitted to enter the Durgiana Mandar." Has any Hindu, any Muslim, any Christian, any member of any faith, ever been prevented from coming and going at Siri Darbar Sahib? Has there ever been any restriction? In the newspapers they say the Akalis don't let people enter even when there is no hindrance for anyone. And [there are] those who say that it<sup>8</sup> should be given a holy status along with Darbar Sahib, that if a transmitter is installed in Darbar Sahib, one should be installed in Durgiana Mandar as well. This is a story from only yesterday, it is not an old one. The restriction was applied to the five *Singhs* requiring them to take off their *kirpaans*. But those *Singhs* were well served. They had come to complain to me but I congratulated them. They asked me: "Why do you say this?" I said: "I am thankful that something has happened which has opened your eyes."

### Hindus Are Ungrateful

I have been saying this from here for a year now. The one who got the Fifth King<sup>9</sup> tortured on a heated plate was from among them; the one who administered poison to the Sixth King<sup>10</sup> was from among them; the one responsible for the martyrdom of the *Sahibzadas*<sup>11</sup> was from among them. For

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<sup>7</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>8</sup> The Durgiana Mandar.

<sup>9</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, the fifth Guru.

<sup>10</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>11</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two youngest sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

the sake of all of them, for the sake of their *janeoo*<sup>12</sup> and *tilak*<sup>13</sup> the Ninth King<sup>14</sup> sacrificed his life and now these people have had books published claiming that Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji gave his head for some personal feuds and he did no service to the Hindus. What can we expect from the nation, the people, into whom such ingratitude has crept in.

#### MASS DEMONSTRATION CALLED AT BABA BAKALA

Regarding the incidents that have occurred at Baba Bakala Sahib, and at Tarn Taran Sahib, you heard from the President<sup>15</sup> himself yesterday and he will present his views to you today as well. You have read about these in the newspapers too. I humbly say that we ought to maintain an upbeat attitude, and [you should] bear arms. Today, in the evening news, it was being said over the radio that in connection with the incident at Baba Bakala Sahib the President of the Shromani Akali Dal appealed to the congregation but the appeal had no effect at all on the congregation because only three hundred persons showed up. Why are they saying this over the radio? This is to create a false impression in the minds of the people at large that perhaps people have stopped visiting Darbar Sahib or have stopped listening to orders [of the President]. This is the principle reason for the radio broadcasts. But those people are not aware that the appeal was made at this time of the day [evening]. The news reached the people at 8 o'clock in the morning. How many could assemble by noon? These people at the radio [stations] who say there was no gathering there should listen and keep their C.I.D.<sup>16</sup> ready on the eighth. The *Bhog*<sup>17</sup> is on the eighth. On that day they should send their C.I.D. to that place and, upon reaching there, ask if there has been a gathering or not. Satguru, the True King<sup>18</sup>, will have mercy and time will tell. I do not wish to say anything more than this today.

#### APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN

In conclusion I appeal to the young men. About one hundred and fifty *Singhs*, young men whom I can also see are sitting here, came to me at my place and I appealed to them. They made pledges to keep their hair and beards and to give up alcohol. I appealed to you there and though you agreed but here

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<sup>12</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>13</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

<sup>14</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> President of Shromani Akali Dal, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>16</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

<sup>17</sup> Completion of the reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>18</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

we are seated in Guru's presence. Having made the pledge, never go back on it. Never shave your hair or beard, never take alcohol, and never hesitate in receiving *amrit*<sup>19</sup>, and never take weapons off your *gaatras*. Having said this I seek your forgiveness and thank the *Jatha* that is going [to peacefully court arrest].

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>19</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

## SPEECH #21

6 JULY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King<sup>1</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>2</sup>.*

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: You have listened to nice views expressed by speakers who have spoken from this stage.

### WE HAVE TO PROTECT OURSELVES

Times are critical and passing through these times, it is very important that we, each one of us, realize our responsibilities. To protect our turban against people who are not only making efforts to get their hands on our turbans but have actually got them there, we shall have to get ready. The great man, now abiding in the Region of Truth<sup>3</sup>, Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa of Bhindran-Mehta used to say this. Seven days before his passing away, for some reason, he went to Rode, the place of my birth. He visited. That day, the great man said these words: "*Singhs*, we should never completely trust any politicians because at the time of voting, to secure a chair<sup>4</sup>, they do not hesitate in calling a donkey their father, and sitting on their chair, they do not desist from calling their father a donkey." This thing has come up prominently in the newspapers and today came up before us on this stage as well. What is it?

### GIANI ZAIL SINGH

Giani Zail Singh, who is the President of India, was born and raised among us - all the men and women who are sitting here today - and is a man who earned his livelihood playing the drums and eating here [in the congregation]. I heard about this yesterday or the day before from the speakers here. Even though I had not come to the stage, one can hear very well over the loudspeakers. Ramoowalia<sup>5</sup> was saying that if we speak the truth, we are

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Sach Khand* is the abode of Formless God, The Eternal Truth. Sikhs often refer to the deceased as 'living in Sach Khand' or 'living in the Region of Truth', i.e., being with God.

<sup>4</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>5</sup> Balwant Singh Ramoowalia.

violating the Constitution [of India], and if we tell a lie it is a violation of our soul. It is sad that we act as if we had an exclusive contract to uphold the Constitution. I shall not say much about that man today. Perhaps, if time permits, I shall present you some thoughts tomorrow.

## ORIGIN OF THE SIKH FAITH

When we say that *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>6</sup> created the *Panth*<sup>7</sup>, no Sikh can deny it. But I shall humbly submit through *Kalgidhar Ji's* own words. *Kalgidhar Ji* did not create the *Panth* on his own. He created it following a command from The Timeless Omnipresent [God]. At the time when from Hemkunt Sahib, from *Sacch Khand*, Satguru Ji<sup>8</sup> stood before God and made his appeal, when he was reluctant to come [to the mortal world], The Timeless Omnipresent [God] commanded: "I have appointed you My Son. I have created you to propagate the *Panth*."

ਮੈ ਅਪਨਾ ਸੁਤ ਤੋਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਜਾ। ਪੰਥ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰ ਕਰਬੇ ਕਹ ਸਾਜਾ।

"I have given you the honor of being my son. I have created you for the propagation of the *Panth*.' The Timeless Omnipresent [God] before whose power without enmity the entire world bows, accepting the command from that Power. Even though

ਨਿਰਗੁਨੁ ਆਪਿ ਸਰਗੁਨੁ ਭੀ ਓਹੀ॥ ਕਲਾਧਾਰਿ ਜਿਨਿ ਸਗਲੀ ਮੋਹੀ॥

'He is Manifest and Unmanifest as well, through His power he has bewitched all [creation].' Even though the form is the same, *Kalgidhar Ji* has written in *Bacchitar Naatak* with his own pen that he was sent to the mortal world by The Timeless Omnipresent [God] after making him, appointing him, glorifying him, as his own son, [telling him] that he was to create the *Panth*. And what type of *Panth* has he established? He did not select only from among the rich. Satguru Ji cast a benevolent eye and placed his hand [of mercy] upon those who were humiliated by being called *Shudras*<sup>9</sup> and untouchables and made his selection of the Five<sup>10</sup>. And he received the gift of *amrit* from the Five and

<sup>6</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>7</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>8</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>9</sup> *Shudras* are people belonging to the lowest caste among the Hindus.

<sup>10</sup> Reference is to the Five Beloved Ones of the Guru. In 1699, Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib administered *Khande da Pahul* to five Sikhs who, responding to the Guru's call, volunteered to lay down their lives. Then, he asked them to administer the *Pahul* to him and make him their Sikh. Thus he acknowledged the assembly of Five to be his own Guru.

pledged to sacrifice his entire family. It is sad that the sacrifices made by such a Guru - Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, who sacrificed his sons, indeed his entire family in physical life going from Patna Sahib to Anandpur, and starting from Anandpur Sahib traveling through various places fulfilling [the lives of] beings and reaching Hazoor Sahib where, having provided enlightenment to many, he passed on to *Sacch Khand* and established Guru Granth Sahib as the Guru - [have been forgotten].

#### MORE ABOUT GIANI ZAIL SINGH

When that man was the Chief Minister of Punjab, in order to get these turbaned brothers on his side, he adopted the way of Guru Gobind Singh Marg as an excuse and ....[inaudible] .... for building roads. Today, when he has become the President [of India] on the strength of [Indira Gandhi's] sandals, he says Sikhs are not a separate nation. *Khalsa Ji*, these words occur in the *Rehitnama*:

ਰਹਿਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਨਹਿ ਸਿਖ ਕਹਾਵੈ। ਰਹਿਤ ਬਿਨਾ ਦਰ ਚੋਟਾ ਖਾਵੈ।

'Without *Rehit*, one should not call himself a Sikh.' Bhai Sahib, an earlier speaker, a friend, had said: "He should declare that he is not a son of the Sikhs." Satguru's command is: "Without *Rehit*<sup>11</sup> he should not call himself a Sikh; without *Rehit* he receives punishment at the door [of God]; without *Rehit*, he never finds comfort; this is why one should be firm in *Rehit*." How big is this pledge?

ਯਾ ਮਹਿ ਰੰਚ ਨ ਮਿਥਿਆ ਭਾਖੀ। ਨਾਨਕ ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਭਏ ਸਾਖੀ।

'God and Guru Nanak are my witnesses, I have said nothing false in this.' Just as a man swears, pledges and says as a matter of principle, the Tenth King<sup>12</sup> is saying as a pledge, as a principle, with faith and determination, and with Guru Nanak Sahib and The Timeless Omnipresent God himself as witnesses that he is not saying anything false or ambiguous in the least, that he does not like any Sikh who does not keep *Rehit*. And, *Khalsa Ji*, in this world, the face of a person is blackened if he has committed some horrible sin, if he has dishonored a daughter or a sister. Such a man's face is blackened. But it has become a habit with some people that when old age comes and "The hair becomes white and even without soap looks clean"; at that time to hide that graying, to bring darkness back to their faces; some people blacken their faces. But I like to ask those people: "When your face shrivels up and becomes like a dried radish, which father will you go to to get the light of youth, even if you have blackened your beard?" I am not saying this from this stage only. Some brothers say: "He

<sup>11</sup> *Sikh Rehit* or *Sikh Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

<sup>12</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

stands on the stage and says [these things].” When Santokh Singh<sup>13</sup> passed away, I, your servant, went to his *Bhog*<sup>14</sup>. At that time the [present] President [of India] was the Home Minister [of India]. He was seated opposite [me]. The *Hukamnama*<sup>15</sup> that came from the stage was:

ਜਿਸਕਾ ਮਨੁ ਤਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਭੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਸੋਈ ਸੁਖੜੁ ਸੁਜਾਨੀ॥  
ਤਿਨ ਹੀ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਦੁਖੁ ਸੁਖ ਮੇਰਾ ਤਉ ਬਿਧਿ ਨੀਕੀ ਖਟਾਨੀ॥ ੧ ॥

‘[God], who owns our body and mind and all our wealth, He alone has all the skills and is Omniscient. He is the One who heard of my sorrow and my joy and that is how [my] condition became good.’ Thirty minutes were allowed for discourse on this [verse]. It was completed in twenty-nine and one-half minutes. When the discussion came to this point he got up and, going to his home, said to Santokh Singh's son: “If someone has to speak at Rakabganj, either take the Sant or me.” His [Santokh Singh's] son said: “You stay here, the Sant will certainly go to the stage.” I am not saying this because of any jealousy or to insult anyone. Satguru *Kalgidhar Ji*, the True King<sup>16</sup>, has written very succinctly in *Bacchitar Naatak*. Today it had been commanded that there be some discourse. I have given a brief one. Tomorrow, if Satguru is merciful and time permits, [I shall say more] at that time taking examples from *Bacchitar Naatak*, the *Rehitnamas*, speeches of people of the present times like Mahatma Gandhi and Patel, statements of .... [inaudible] .... and from the case of completion of the tricolor flag, all of these.

## SIKHS ARE A DISTINCT NATION

### Tendulkar's Book And Subhash Chander Bose's Writings

There is someone [named] ‘Ten .... [inaudible] ....’ who has written a book in fifty-two chapters. It is in English. This friend's name is Tendulkar. The heading of the book is *Mahatma*. It has twenty-two parts. In the seventh part, on page 374, [it is stated that] Mahatma Gandhi himself said: “In Hindostan I recognize only Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs; I do not recognize any other.” Subhash Chander Bose too has written a book. On page 309 of this book, *Khalsa Ji*, Subhash Chander Bose has accepted that the Sikh Nation, Hindu Nation and Muslim Nation are the three nations and there is no other nation [in India].

<sup>13</sup> President, Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, who was assassinated in December 1981.

<sup>14</sup> Completion of the reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> Command from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>16</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

## DON'T EXPECT HINDUS TO BE FAIR

I have said many times earlier too; the person who does not show kindness to his mother cannot be kind to anyone. All of us who are sitting here regard the cow as a gentle animal, but we are not worshippers of the cow, nor is the cow our mother. Our Mother is Sahib Kaur and our Father is Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji. Our *Isht*<sup>17</sup> is Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji. We are its admirers, its followers. But those people who worship the cow as their mother, none of them dare to speak when thousands of *maunds* [1 *maund* = 82 pounds] of fat from that mother is lying packed in drums. It is right that our anger is aroused when these people are unfair, when they do mischief. Do not expect that people who have no mercy for their mother will be kind to us. To permanently preserve our success and to preserve our Sikh appearance, we should mobilize.

### Hindu Violence In Karnal

I read in the newspapers about the incident in Karnal and I had learned about it earlier as well. Some time back, I had gone to Karnal with the *Jatha*<sup>18</sup>. When I went there the first day for *katha*<sup>19</sup>, these people said at that time too. Some friends, [including] Baba Harbans Singh Ji, said : "Well, before holding a religious discourse there, consider this [carefully]. It might be better to do it at our place. Hindus throw stones." Which gurdwara is it? When Guru Sahib<sup>20</sup> bestowing salvation on people reached Karnal, at that time it occurred to Mardana: "All the people make obeisance to the True King, it would be so nice if they did so to me too sometime." Satguru Ji, who knows what goes on in everyone's mind, was sitting outside. He called Mardana and said to him: "Mardana, go to the village and get [yourself] some food and drink." Mardana left wearing a white gown. Guru Sahib had mercy - Satguru himself is the motivator for all. Mardana sat cross-legged and people came bowing to him bringing him clothes, money and other things. Mardana was very happy and could not contain his joy. When he returned, he brought bags full of things to Guru Sahib. *Maharaj*<sup>21</sup> said: "Mardana: has your wish been fulfilled?" [He replied]: "True King, it is all your mercy." *Maharaj* said: "Mardana: what you have done is not right. You have not done right. I took you to the mountain of gold. There you showed no desire but here, you have been caught up in these little clothes. These are the cause of birth in awkward species.

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<sup>17</sup> *Isht* is Beloved; object of reverence.

<sup>18</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>19</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>20</sup> Siri Guru Nanak Sahib.

<sup>21</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Nanak Sahib.



ਅੰਤ ਕਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਲਛਮੀ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਮਹਿ ਜੇ ਮਰੈ॥ ਸਰਪ ਜੋਨਿ ਵਲਿ ਵਲਿ ਅਉਤਰੈ॥ ੧ ॥

'The person who remembers wealth at the time of death and dies thinking such thoughts is reborn again and again as a snake.' You should give it up." This is the place where [Siri Guru Nanak Sahib] got [Mardana] to give up [pursuit of worldly objects]. I asked [these friends who were afraid of Hindu reaction]: "What is the reason for this fear?" They said: "The population [of Hindus] is large." I said: "That does not matter. Pray to the Guru."

### Response With Love Is Effective

The first day the *katha* was held there, I said very gently to these *Gurmukhs*<sup>22</sup>: "We like to say this to you. We are not going to throw stones at your temple nor are we going to stand any stone thrown at us here. If you wish to deliberately look for trouble, and when we are doing the *katha* here and as long as the *Jatha* is here, throw the least little stone, we shall respond." The *Jatha* stayed there five days and up to six thousand Hindus would come to listen. They passed by us as well. People would carry religious texts too. No one made any trouble. What is the reason [for trouble] today? The reason is this and only this - forgive me; let no friend be angry, - we have transgressed Guru's orders and are doing so even today. *Maharaj's* words are:

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਆਰਾ॥ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਤੇਜ ਚੀਉ ਮੈ ਸਾਰਾ॥  
ਜਬ ਇਹ ਗਹੈ ਬਿਪਰਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਤਾ॥ ਮੈ ਨ ਕਰੋ ਇਨ ਕੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤਾ॥

'So long as *Khalsa* stays distinct, I shall give it all the glory. When it adopts the ways of the Brahmins, I shall not recognize it.' What are we doing nowadays? During the day we wear the *kirpaan* and at night it is hanging from a peg. We win by getting your votes and then take oath [of allegiance] on Gandhi's cremation spot<sup>23</sup>. How can Guru Sahib Ji trust us? Even though many times, hearing about certain things, each of us feels [a certain way], *Khalsa Ji*, this is the truth.

### ADVICE: KEEP WEAPONS

With folded hands, I appeal to the entire congregation. We shall have to face the things that are going on. I have been saying this for six years. But, because I am young, the elders sometimes do not agree. Thinking of me as a mere child, they say: "He keeps talking for no reason." It is not that this ever means disagreement with me. They wait for the proper time. For six years I have been requesting you to get weapons, and saying that without weapons we

<sup>22</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee. Here, the Hindus.

<sup>23</sup> Reference is to Zail Singh's taking oath of office of the President of India at the place where Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was cremated.

cannot succeed. Today too I repeat the request. But do not acquire just any weapons. Get good weapons. Ammunition should also be new. Don't get weapons such that, when the police come, we lock up our homes and run to this place. Not only gurdwaras, when the police enter the home of any *Kesdhari*<sup>24</sup> Sikh - permit me to leave out the word *Kesdhari* - any man with name 'Singh' and any woman with name 'Kaur', [it is wrong]. Do not think that something is wrong only when the police enter some gurdwara; don't we have to act if they snatch our daughters and sisters from our homes? If they enter the gurdwaras, we have to resist. And if they enter your homes, keep weapons with you. Be on guard. Prefer to leave your homes. I have appealed many times earlier too; *Khalsa Ji*, if you live in *pucca*<sup>25</sup> homes, accept living in *kutchha*<sup>26</sup> homes; if you are living in *kutchha* homes, accept living in huts; if you are living in huts, accept living in the open; start eating one meal a day; but every *Singh* should have the best possible weapon on his *gaatra*. Some of my brothers ask me: "Sant Ji, you are sitting here and keep saying [these things]. Outside, they take these [weapons] away." That's why I say: "Make sure that no one can take them away." If Pawan Kumar can keep 230 grenades, why can a son of a Sikh not keep them? Our heritage is very unusual. The Guru is saying this to the Sikh: "Without weapons you are like sheep, like sheep. You are not my Sikh. If you wish to see me, you should be wearing weapons." [The Guru said]:

ਬਿਨਾ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੀ ਨਰੈ ਭੇਡ ਜਾਨੇ ॥ ਗਹੇ ਕਾਨ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਕਿਤੈ ਲੈ ਸਿਧਾਨੇ॥  
ਇਹੈ ਮੋਰ ਆਗਿਆ ਸੁਨੋ ਹੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ॥ ਬਿਨਾ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੀ ਦਿਵੇ ਨ ਚੀਦਾਰੇ॥

'Without weapons and hair, a man is but a sheep. Held by the ear, he can be taken anywhere. Listen, my beloved Sikh, this is my command: Without weapons and hair, do not come to my presence.' On the one side is this order of our Guide to his follower and what is there on the other side, [on the side of] those whom we today fear; Murli Ram<sup>27</sup> and the like? On their side, the follower addresses the Guide [as explained in the following story]. He [a Hindu] worshipped *Bhagwan*. *Bhagwan* appeared to him. The follower is standing nearby but does not make obeisance. *Bhagwan* asked: "What is the matter? Are you cross?" [The follower] says: "I am not cross but you are not the One." [*Bhagwan* said]: "I appeared because you so much wished me to." [The follower said]: "Maybe you are *Bhagwan* but I cannot bow to you until you appear just as I saw you." [*Bhagwan*] asked: "What is that [form]?" Read Tulsi Ramayan. Tulsi Ji addresses Ram Chandra:

ਤੁਲਸੀ ਸੀਸ ਤਉ ਨਿਵੈ ਧਨਸ ਬਾਨ ਹੋਏ ਹਾਥਿ॥

<sup>24</sup> One who has his hair uncut.

<sup>25</sup> *Pucca* means built of brick and mortar.

<sup>26</sup> *Kutchha* means built of sun-dried mud bricks.

<sup>27</sup> Murli Ram is a fictitious Hindu name contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Murli literally means a flute.

'Tulsi says, my forehead will bow only when there is the bow in [*Bhagwan's*] hand.' [Tulsi Ji says]: "*Bhagwan Ji*, when you have the bow in your hand, when the arrow is strung, only then will Tulsi's forehead touch your feet. But if you are wearing a loincloth and are sitting with a saffron mark on forehead, I am not going to bow to you even if you are *Bhagwan*." Today, we are afraid of those people. I am sorry, *Khalsa Ji*. So I appeal to the entire congregation. Even though all the time, from this place, we ask that you keep weapons, you say: "Don't worry, we shall raise the rafters;" and then you come here each time after you are beaten up. They say: "Sant Ji, you don't make an announcement from here." Brothers, who is holding our arm? Sant's<sup>28</sup> statement has been published in newspapers, mine too has been published. Today again I appeal to you. Anyone who insults Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji; who insults the residence of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the Gurdwara Sahibs; who strips our daughters and sisters naked and dishonors them; no matter who that person is, put him on the train [of death] and come here. We, both of us, shall take care of you. What other announcement do you want? Does anyone have the courage? Any of you can come, but there is this condition: it should not happen that you have a worldly dispute and make [our announcement] an excuse for killing. There should be proof. We shall certainly take care of you. If not even an ant's leg is broken [i.e., for no reason at all], you get beaten up and come to us, sitting here, how can we take care of your turban? Yes, if we do not hold your hand, if we do not cooperate with you, then you can say: "Sant Ji is sitting having eaten *Karah Parshad*<sup>29</sup>, what can we do?" It is right that when there is no one to back a person up, there is some difficulty. However, if the entire body of the [Sikh] Nation says that the wrongdoer should be punished; that they are with you; and then you say we do not make an announcement, it would be my understanding that you do not trust us. Don't come here after losing your turbans. Whoever comes to remove your turban, take off his cap and bring it. A Sikh of the Guru does not insult anyone. But why did I have to say this today? We saved the caps, we saved the *janeos*<sup>30</sup>, we preserved their *tilaks*<sup>31</sup> but today these ungrateful people [Hindus] have attacked the sacrifice of our Beloved<sup>32</sup>. This thing has hurt me deeply. I have asked a friend about this book. If I get it, I shall show it to you from this stage tomorrow. If I cannot get it, perhaps I shall get it after a few days. A Hindu brother has published this book in Meerut. He has written that the Fifth, the Sixth, and the Ninth Kings<sup>33</sup> were servants of the Muslims. When the Muslims did not pay them their wages,

<sup>28</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal's.

<sup>29</sup> *Karah Parshad* is a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>30</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>31</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

<sup>32</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib. Reference here is to the claim by several Hindu writers that Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar's death had nothing to do with the protection of the Hindus.

<sup>33</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, and Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

they asked for their dues. It resulted in confrontation and it is in this manner that the three Gurus were martyred. These are the people with whom we say we have the same relationship as fingernails with the flesh [of the fingers]!

So, I appeal to the young men. Stay united, keep weapons, and keeping weapons no one should come here after being beaten up. If you wish to come after getting beaten up, then just stay out. If you beat [those who attack you] then *Maharaj* [God] will have mercy. Do not hurt an unarmed person or an innocent person. Give full attention to one who dishonors daughters and sisters. Those persons who, under official pressure or intoxicated by their being officers, proud of their chairs, are removing [peoples'] turbans, keep them in mind too. They are not going to mend their ways. Time will come, it will come at the right moment.

I have learnt about this Iqbal Singh. I did not at first realize that he was this person. I know this Iqbal Singh very well, not just a little but very well. I do not know how this man had the courage to go there and open fire. But we need not be worried about these people. Without strong hands, the enemy does not become a friend. Just now, Pandhi read a poem in the same vein that *Khalsa Ji*, you get everything from the sword. The sword must not be used against victims of cruelty, but one has to be prepared to destroy the oppressor. But we shall be able to do this only when all of us have received *amrit*. If our heads and faces are [bald] like watermelons and our mustache and beard are in the barber's drain, we cannot achieve anything. Have *kirpaan* in your *gaatra*, keep weapons and love Satguru. Making this submission, I thank and congratulate all the leaders of the groups that are going [to peacefully court arrest] as well as all the volunteers going in these groups. If during my speech I have erred, forgive me considering me younger than you.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**SPEECH #22**  
**16 JULY 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup> - the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: You have listened to the nice views of the speakers from this stage. You have been fortunate. The *Jatha*<sup>4</sup> that has come to peacefully court arrest today is going seeking support and protection of Satguru Ji. The leaders of this *Jatha* have presented their views.

**RECALLING THE VISIT TO SIRSA**

In the Sirsa area some man-worshippers<sup>5</sup> had a lot of influence. When I arrived there in response to a call from Baba Pritam Singh Ji of the *Kar Seva*<sup>6</sup>, they had jeeps follow the persons who took part in making the arrangements. Some of those dear ones are present among us here today. Attempts were made to frighten them by display of weapons. It was also said that Bhindranwale should not be allowed to visit this area because he is a dangerous person. Upon reaching there I visited the place of the Satguru. I had an exchange of ideas with these *Singhs*, even though I was seeing them for the first time. Many friends suggested that we should desist from going to the cities of Karniwala and Amrasar - where Namdhari<sup>7</sup> brothers have considerable personal influence - because their [the Namdharis'] intentions were not good, and they did not look favorably at the preaching of *gurmat*<sup>8</sup>. I humbly said: "Whoever is afraid of death or of leaving his body should stay comfortably in the gurdwara." I have never said anything on my own. The great man, the *Brahm Giani*<sup>9</sup>, Sant Baba

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>5</sup> Persons believing in a human guru.

<sup>6</sup> *Kar Seva* is voluntary labor at gurdwaras.

<sup>7</sup> A group of people who believe in a living guru but claim to be Sikhs.

<sup>8</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>9</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa, now abiding in the True Region<sup>10</sup>, and whose anniversary is due on the first day of *Bhadron*<sup>11</sup>; that great man gave me this instruction. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>12</sup>]. I shall request the *Jaikaara* people that time is short and my voice too is not very good today – [my mouth] is too sore. It is only because these *Singhs* are sitting here before me that I have had to speak for a couple of minutes about this topic. That great man told me: “*Singh*: when you preach, do not think your body is doing it. Imagine that your head is on the palm of your left hand and the remaining body is dusting the shoes of [serving] the congregation by speaking. Only then will the Guru's Faith be preached not otherwise.” I had to do just like that there [in Karniwala area]. The congregation proved their love by going to the places where they [the Namdharis] had considerable personal influence. There was a discourse on *Gurbani*<sup>13</sup> for an hour or [perhaps] an hour and a quarter. These people had created a serious doubt in the minds of the public in that area. This has been largely removed and whatever little remains of it will be cleared in another visit. What was that doubt? These friends who are sitting near me know this especially well. They [the Namdharis] were saying that the blue color is the blood of the cow. One should not wear blue. If someone, out of affection or as a test, were to place a [blue] thread [on a cloth] - I have not seen myself but only heard from people of that area - they would consider the cloth to be polluted. The *Singhs* told me [about this]. I humbly said to them: “My Namdhari brothers, you have come armed with rifles and shotguns to prevent Bhindranwale from entering. If you assemble a hundred thousand persons and visit Mehta<sup>14</sup>, we shall give you *Saropao*<sup>15</sup> if you do *kirtan*<sup>16</sup>. But it does not behoove the son of a man or of a Sikh that being a Sikh, seeing the Sikh appearance, he hates it. This is the way of a coward. Regarding your hatred of the blue color, I have to ask you one question. You hate the blue colored thread and blue colored cloth, but is the sky blue or white? They said: “The sky is blue.” I said: “Then why are you living under the sky? You should move aside and live elsewhere.” The sky is all blue, that does not hurt them but if someone puts on blue clothes it gives them a fever. When this was discussed for an hour or an hour and a quarter, some of the respectable people among them got up and said: “We did not know you were this type. We had learnt from the Lala's<sup>17</sup> newspaper that all of you are dangerous men, that you follow your own

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<sup>10</sup> *Sach Khand* is the abode of Formless God, The Eternal Truth. Sikhs often refer to the deceased as ‘living in Sach Khand’ or ‘living in the Region of Truth’, i.e., being with God.

<sup>11</sup> *Bhadron* is the fifth month of Bikrami calendar beginning middle of August.

<sup>12</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>13</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>14</sup> Chowk Mehta, the village in which Sant Bhindranwale had his headquarters.

<sup>15</sup> *Saropao* is robes of honor.

<sup>16</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>17</sup> Lala Jagat Narain.

inclinations and do not listen to anyone." I said: "This is true. I listen only to the Guru Sahib's orders and to those of the congregation. I have never listened to hypocritical human gurus, I do not listen to them and am not going to do so [in the future]." They said: "Visit us for a seven-day period some time in the future." However, circumstances have changed since then. In that area, at that time, some Namdhari brothers even received *amrit*<sup>18</sup> of the *khandaa*<sup>19</sup> and *baataa*<sup>20</sup>, and sought refuge with Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. Some of the respectable leaders among them are sitting with us today. They too are courting arrest with this *Jatha*. They are the ones carefully watched by them [the Namdharis] who resented their getting Bhindranwale to come and preach there. So much so that, perhaps the stage secretary and the other leaders are also aware of this, when a preacher went to that area, those people did not let him speak. They told him to go back. He had to sheepishly return after speaking for one or perhaps two days. What was the reason for this? It is that while preaching we are attached to this body. If we accept death and start living according to the Faith and Truth, then no one will have the courage to stop us. But if we speak to someone with hatred and try to assert our superiority, it will create hatred in the minds of everyone. So long as we have the spirit of love, so long as we have the support of Satguru Hargobind Sahib, the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>21</sup>, is there any power on earth that can subdue us?

#### GOVERNMENT PLANS TO KILL MEMBERS OF BHINDRANWALE JATHA AND ATTACK GURDWARAS

There is news from Gurdaspur appearing on the front page of today's Akali Patrika. [I would say to these people from the Intelligence Division]: "It is partly your misfortune and partly our Sikh Nation's. Having listened to the sermon here, why don't you report it when you go back? They published the news [which says] that Bhindranwale's associates should be caught and killed; that the camps of the *Nihangs*<sup>22</sup> should be taken over. They have written this with ink and it has also been published in the newspaper. It would have been nice if they had given the name of the officer as well, we would not have to search for it. Now someone will have to be sent [to find out]. He [the reporter] has said that some senior officer has said that this takeover has to be carried out. When did we say you should not do this? Anandpur Sahib was seized. My Most Beloved, the Sacrificer of his Sons<sup>23</sup>, consigned all his belongings to the

<sup>18</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>19</sup> Double-edged sword.

<sup>20</sup> *Baataa* is an iron vessel used for preparation of *amrit* in the initiation ceremony.

<sup>21</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>22</sup> *Nihangs* are a sect of the Sikhs.

<sup>23</sup> Sikhs often refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in this manner recalling that all of his four sons became martyrs for the faith.

river. The place we are standing today, this too was once seized by the political people, the Mughals. When the Mughals first came here, Satguru sent a group of twenty-five Sikhs from here to Lohgarh Fort which is inside the city now, but at that time it was outside. The city has grown since that time. Our Beloved [Master], sent the twenty-five Sikhs and with his entire family went to Ram Sarovar. *Bibi Veero*<sup>24</sup> was left behind. The family realized this upon reaching [the destination]. Singha Purohit and Balmik Raagi were sent back [to rescue *Bibi Veero Ji*]. They were passing this spot - accompanied by *Bibi Veero Ji*, having rescued her and brought her along - and there were two Mughals standing in the gate of the *Darshani Deorhi*<sup>25</sup>. Hearing the sound of horses' hoofs and the noise, both the *Turks*<sup>26</sup> challenged the Sikhs. The Sikhs, however, were not weaklings. They had no greed whatsoever. They did not love their life and were devoted only to Sikhi and their Guru's feet. *Khalsa Ji*, at that time, Balmik Raagi rode ahead on horseback with *Bibi Veero Ji*. Singha Purohit cut them down with bullets. He let each have one [bullet] and put them to eternal sleep. They [the Mughal forces] had captured this place but when Satguru's beloved Sikhs were challenged here, the Sikhs left this place only after putting their challengers to eternal sleep. They escorted *Bibi Veero Ji* and united her with the family at Ramsar. From there the family proceeded to Jhabaal. My Beloved Satguru Ji, in whose throne we are today witnessing [his glory] and enjoying ourselves, prayed to the Eternal God and got ready wearing the two swords of *Miri* and *Piri* in his *gaatra*<sup>27</sup>, proceeded on horseback to the place where Khalsa College is [now located]. It took only three hours. Muflis Khan had come with an army of seven thousand. In three hours they were all put to eternal sleep. Now these people say: "We shall occupy Mehta and the camps of the *Nihangs* too. First let us take these places under our control, then we shall gradually move on to Darbar Sahib." Some senior officer has taken this decision. O men of the C.I.D.<sup>28</sup>: tell these people not to spare any effort.

#### JUSTICE AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR STATE TERRORISM

If I live and come out [of Darbar Sahib], I am not going to spare them. I shall certainly seek justice against those who have dishonored our sisters; set fire to our *Isht*<sup>29</sup>, Guru Granth Sahib Ji; sucked the blood of innocent people; those who pierced the body of Kulwant Singh of Nagoke with heated steel rods;

<sup>24</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. *Bibi Veero Ji* was Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib's daughter.

<sup>25</sup> *Darshani Deorhi* is the entrance to the walkway leading to Harmandar Sahib situated at the middle of the pool.

<sup>26</sup> The word *Turk* has been used, in many Sikh texts, for any Muslim; here the mughal guards.

<sup>27</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>28</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the police.

<sup>29</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.



those who pulled the nails off the hands of Gurmeet Singh of Dhulkot and, *Khalsa Ji*, having poured salt over the wounds bound them with cloth; those who put chillies in the eyes of an army-man like Sital Singh - even though they say he was from among *harijan*<sup>30</sup> Sikhs - inserted chillies in his eyes and in his body, cut up his arms and poured salt over the wounds, and subjected such *gursikhs*<sup>31</sup> to innumerable other forms of torture. One Mehta and a few camps [being captured by the Government] do not matter. Above all may God have mercy. There is a saying that a blind man once happened to step on a quail. He said: "Now onwards we shall have meat at every meal." They have found an opportunity to forcibly take over one camp [of *Nihangs*]. Now they think they can go and grab any gurdwara wherever they like. [I like to tell them]: "You will understand when somebody resists you." But, *Khalsa Ji*, mere talk is not going to accomplish this. All the Guru's Sikhs who are sitting here: just think which [place] this is. Here, you have raised your arms many times and I have asked you to do so. You raise your arms here but on going there [outside] you start dusting the shoes [of Indira Gandhi]. Is this acting with self-respect? This business of dusting Indira's *chappals*<sup>32</sup> that you have started to do with your talk, does not behoove Sikhs. A Sikh's way is to maintain his self-respect, to live with dignity, to seek his right and not to take away anyone else's, to have mercy upon the oppressed, and to punish the oppressor. We are Sikhs of that Guru [at whose place we are gathered today] and then we say one thing here and something else outside! This is why our protest has no effect on the Government. Young men, it becomes your duty too. I spoke yesterday too about this letter that has been received. For several days I have not been able to come to the stage. It is possible that, worthy of respect, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal has already spoken about it from the stage, but I too have learnt that in Makrana in District Nadaur in Rajasthan, the Jats in collusion with the police, have placed restrictions on vehicles belonging to Sikhs. They do not permit the Sikhs to load any goods of any sort from that place. How long are you going to think about it? Who are you going to consult about it? Who do you want to issue the orders?

#### HINDUS JOIN THE GOVERNMENT IN ATROCITIES AGAINST SIKHS

Over 150 of our men have been martyred. Has any Sikh ever dragged any Hindu out of a train or a bus, or caught one going his way and beat him up? We do not know who did it [planting a bomb], Guru only knows. A bomb exploded in Virender's<sup>33</sup> office. Two Hindus died there. They died in his office, no one

<sup>30</sup> Sikh converts from low caste Hindus. The word 'harijan' was coined by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi to describe the low-caste Hindus.

<sup>31</sup> *Gursikh* means Sikh of the Guru.

<sup>32</sup> *Chappals* means sandals. Here Sant Bhindranwale is using this phrase to describe subservience to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>33</sup> Virender was editor of a Hindu newspaper published from Jalandhar.

knows who committed this crime, but trains were stopped and Sikh passengers were singled out and beaten up. They were beaten up, lost their turbans, and came to me and said: "Sant Ji, they beat us up." I said: "It is good. You should have had some more beating." A son of a Sikh who gets kicked by sheep and comes to us, does he have the right to be called a Sikh? That you cannot fight the police is a different matter. But if these people who hawk goods should come out of their shops and strip *amritdhari*<sup>34</sup> Sikhs of their swords, what worth is our life? We have no right to be called Sikhs. Guru's *Singhs*, carefully consider what the situation is. And this gossip that has appeared in the newspapers, you should not worry about it; pray to Satguru that *Maharaj*<sup>35</sup> bless us with faith and determination and keep his hand of mercy on our heads.

## APPEAL TO SIKHS

### Sikhs In Services Should Realize Their Duty To Their Faith

They certainly are saying that they will do this and that they will do that. Yes, there is one thing I would like to say to the C.I.D. people, yes, to the C.I.D. people. I want it to reach every Sikh in the military, the police, the P.A.P.<sup>36</sup>, the C.R.P.<sup>37</sup>, and in any other department. Those who are sons of Sikhs should carefully consider this. When any gurdwara is attacked, those of you whose name is 'Singh', wherever you are serving, let your self-respect guide you. *Khalsa Ji*, a son of a Sikh, a Sikh of the Guru who remembers Nanak's name, a *gursikh* who believes in Satguru Granth Sahib Ji, must not face this way. As for these cap-wearers<sup>38</sup> who say "We shall dishonor the Sikhs; Sikhs are not a separate nation; Sikhs are born out of us; we shall crush the Sikhs and place them at our [Hindus'] feet"; even if an army of 100,000 of these people comes, may the Guru Sahib have mercy [upon us], just watch how they will be piled up like melons.

### Sikhs In Government Service Are Being Used To Destroy Sikhs

It is our misfortune that if a person comes to spy on us, he is from among those who wear turbans. One came yesterday. I did not beat him up. I let him go. I did not scold him beyond saying: "You are not a father's [son]. You wear a beard and turban and come to spy on Sikhs! Why don't you ask some clean-shaven person to do the espionage?" Our misfortune is that when they attack

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<sup>34</sup> *Amritdhari* means a person who has been formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>35</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>36</sup> Punjab Armed Police.

<sup>37</sup> Central Reserve Police Force.

<sup>38</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often used the term cap-wearers for Hindus. Sikhs were the turban-wearers.

and someone on this [our] side is killed, it is a Sikh. And when [something is] done from this side and someone on their side dies, it is again a Sikh. What do these cap-wearers lose? In the army it is the Sikh who dies; in the police it is the Sikh who gets killed, in the P.A.P. it is the Sikh who gets killed, in the C.R.P. it is the Sikh who gets killed, and even in the troops of the Border Security Force, it is the Sikh who gets killed but when it comes to recruitment, 98.5% is for them and 1.5% for you. Are you suffering from a certain itch that you must fight among yourselves? Being a Sikh myself and considering their Sikh appearance, I like to say this to those [Sikhs] who are in the police and in the military: "It is correct that you are serving the Government; do so, the country must be defended." Sikhs too believe in the indivisibility of the country but we do not have a contract that every time [there is a question] the Sikh should clarify his position. Now the Hindus and the Government should give us a clarification. Do they want to keep us with them or not? If they want to keep us with them, they should treat us as equal citizens. If not, they should give us what area they wish to, and then we shall see how to proceed in the future. So, all of you should work in cooperation and be alert to the discrimination that is being practiced [against us] in various places.

#### Sikhs Are Not Reacting To Atrocities Against Them

You have adopted a daily routine of saying: "Baba Ji, we shall raise the rafters. We shall fulfill all that the Dictator<sup>39</sup> orders." Nobody does anything like it. What is said here is just lies. I too am one of you, but *Maharaj* has been merciful. Until today, though there might have been some delay, Guru Sahib has been merciful and has not let me down in fulfilling whatever I have said from this stage. To those brothers who ask me to give them orders, [I ask]: "Brothers, what kind of orders do you need?" How many times have I appealed to you? There is a tape-recorded statement by Dictator Sahib. It has appeared in the newspapers too. The person who dishonors our daughters and sisters; the person who dishonors Siri Guru Granth Sahib; regardless of the party he belongs to, put him on the train [of death] and come [to us], we shall take care [of the consequences]. I say this today too: "We shall take care [of you]." At how many places have they set Guru's pages on fire? At how many places have they burnt the books? At how many places have they buried copies [of Guru Granth Sahib] in cowdung? At how many places have they thrown [Siri Guru Granth Sahib] on the road? Tell me if any Sikh has punished them. Everyone comes here and says nobody gives any orders. I have given mine, though we never order the congregation but rather humbly request it. I used the word only in response to its use by the congregation. How many times have I requested

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<sup>39</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha*. *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. This was the name given to the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

this of you? Whoever sets fire to our *Isht* put him on the train [of death] and come here. I shall take care of you. I shall suffer whatever punishment I have to.

## ATROCITIES AGAINST SIKHS

### The Case of Bhupinder Singh Bhuppi

The Government has adopted this [new] policy. There is this Bhupinder Singh [alias] Bhuppi of this city. They have caught him and registered ten or twelve cases against him. I have learnt this today. I did not wish to name [the police official in this matter] but I have no choice. He is one Kulwant Singh of B Division. He is perhaps an Inspector or has some other position. He has started tormenting people a lot. This new mushroom has [suddenly] cropped up, we do not know from where. He was asked by the S.S.P.<sup>40</sup>: "Did the young man say in your presence that he set the fire at Pipli Sahib Gurdwara?" He replied: "Yes, he did say [this]." You tell me: [Isn't it amazing] that he is the son of a Sikh, he is an *amritdhari*; and they are registering cases against him [for crimes] that *Narkdharis*<sup>41</sup> commit; they are accusing him of [planting] bombs, of looting and robbery, of dacoity, and at the extreme, they also accuse him of setting fire to the pedestal of Guru Granth Sahib!

### The Case Against Bhai Amrik Singh

Today they have initiated a new case against him [Bhai Amrik Singh]. They had arrested him. They could not find any proof [for the accusation they leveled against him]. It was apparent that he would be acquitted. Now they have written up charges against him under the date of the 16th. I have got a copy of the F.I.R.<sup>42</sup> on this case. In it, it is said that Amrik Singh shouted Khalistan slogans. The case has been registered but the arrest under this case is not being made. They say that they will arrest him when he is released.

## PEACEFUL PROTEST AND SUFFERING - HOW LONG?

How long will this [policy of] peace last? It is right that we must listen to the orders of Dictator Sahib. We have to fulfill what he says from the stage. But how long can we be peaceful? Turban wearers: [tell me] do we have the contract [sole responsibility] for this? I appeal to you in great humility that without strength an enemy will not become a friend. But we can get the

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<sup>40</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>41</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>42</sup> First Information Report.

[required] strength only if [we keep in mind] the appeal an earlier speaker made and I wish to make as well.

#### APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN TO RETURN TO THE FAITH

I must appeal to young men who have cut their beards, who, regardless of the party they belong to, are sons of Sikhs. I shall address them and ask them. If a son does not resemble his father people may not say anything in his presence because of fear but, behind his back, in groups and assemblies of people, there is talk. "There is something fishy, he does not look like his father," they say. Our Father<sup>43</sup> carried arms. Our Father wore his hair uncut, followed the rule of keeping the five k's. That Father has joined us with Eternal God. Those who have cut their beards should think it over. Does their appearance match that of Guru Gobind Singh? If we are like him then we certainly are his sons. And if we are not like him, from this stage I am not going to use the word that we villagers use. You can decide for yourselves as to what we are. You have come here. Return only after making a promise that in the future you will not use any intoxicants. If you must have an intoxicant, let it be only *Gurbani*. This is an intoxicant, through the use of which you do not feel any pain when you are chopped joint by joint<sup>44</sup>, nor when a saw is placed on the head<sup>45</sup>; there is no pain even when the head is cut off and placed on the palm of a hand and the body is cut up<sup>46</sup>; if we are placed in a cauldron of boiling water, even then there is no pain<sup>47</sup>. Use this intoxicant. Why do you use other intoxicants and get the dogs to spray your faces and waste your hard-earned money? Guard against this and unite with Satguru Hargobind Sahib.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

I thank the *Dhadi Sabha*<sup>48</sup> that has outlined this program. I also beg their forgiveness. They had asked me to come in the morning. But my body became too unwell and I could not reach here. I ask the *Dhadis* to forgive me. Also, I request Secretary Sahib to forgive me if I have used up too much time. I thank the congregation.

I like to humbly say this to the people from Sirsa. When I was visiting there, they had said: "Sant Ji, you fleece us like sheep and then abandon us. We

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<sup>43</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>44</sup> Reference is to Bhai Mani Singh Ji's martyrdom.

<sup>45</sup> Reference is to Bhai Mati Das Ji's martyrdom.

<sup>46</sup> Reference is to Baba Deep Singh Ji's martyrdom.

<sup>47</sup> Reference is to Bhai Dayala Ji's martyrdom.

<sup>48</sup> A class of Sikh musicians who sing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument called *Dhad Sarangi*.

give you money; we also court arrest and go to jail. But when we need water<sup>49</sup>, then [you say] our boundary is up to this point. Do keep us in mind." I had told them: "Brothers, I do not know about other matters, but whatever is written in the Anandpur Resolution, if Satguru wills, we shall definitely get that accepted [by the Government]. If any of us becomes soft on this, I shall not spare him nor do I ask any leader to spare me [if I should retract]." Whatever is written in the Anandpur Resolution, whenever a settlement is arrived at - Sant Ji, Dictator Sahib, has also said this - it will be before you. I too have been given a copy of the Anandpur Resolution. I do not know whether it has been given intentionally or by mistake. Only Guru knows. But I have been given a copy. If whatever is written in it is agreed to, then we have to accept it. It is not necessary to fight. But if there is anything short of that it will be my duty, as your watchdog, to tell you. I shall keep this watch, after that it will be up to you to raise the issue. Telling you is my duty, but getting [the Government] to accept it will be yours. If I fail to tell you, do not forgive me and if you do not protect your rights, Guru will not forgive you.

On my behalf I thank you and congratulate you. May Satguru have mercy and give us all wisdom. Stay firm in the *Rehit*<sup>50</sup>, and give up bad habits. Support the *Panth*<sup>51</sup>, unite under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>52</sup>, accept Guru Granth Sahib as Guru, keep new weapons and good ammunition, and if anyone oppresses Sikhism, put him on the train [of death].

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>49</sup> Reference is to the river waters issue. Sirsa is in Haryana and, therefore, their interest clashes with that of the Punjab Sikhs.

<sup>50</sup> *Sikh Rehit* or *Sikh Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

<sup>51</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh Faith.

<sup>52</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

**SPEECH #23**  
**19 JULY 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers; seated in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji the True King<sup>1</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

**BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE**

This struggle has been going on for some time now under the name *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>3</sup>. You have listened to the very good views of many speakers on the subject. Bhai Harminder Singh Ji Sandhu has given you detailed information about the situation.

July 1982 Arrests

Even though this struggle has been going on for quite some time, its foundation in the form of a unified struggle collectively by the *Panth*<sup>4</sup>, as far as I can see, was perhaps laid on 17 July [1982]. Mahant Jagir Singh Ji and driver Ajaib Singh along with their associate Bhai Narinder Singh, the three of them traveling in a jeep belonging to the *Jatha*<sup>5</sup> were arrested on the 17th. At the time of arrest, when the vehicle was stopped, all the three *Singhs* were taken off [the jeep]. The official on duty at that time told them: "The officer higher than us [in rank] has called you. Come with us to see him." Because there was no malice in their minds, the three *Singhs* left the vehicle and went up to him. They were handcuffed. The *Singhs* asked what the reason for this was. They [the police] said: "Are you going to Mehta?" The *Singhs* replied: "Yes. We are going to Mehta." The *Singhs* had a licensed .455 [bore] weapon. That too was confiscated. Subsequent to that - the case is still going on in the court - during the early stages when the investigation was continuing, the three *Singhs* appeared in court. Those officials of the Government also appeared. At that time they were asked: "How did you arrest these people?" [One of] those lying officials replied: "These people had a .455 revolver. When they fired in the

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>4</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh Faith.

<sup>5</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

direction of my ear I went up and held their hand. The bullet went upwards and I was saved." If a *Singh* belongs to the *Jatha*, has received *amrit*<sup>6</sup>, and has a new .455 revolver, what good is it [his belonging to the *Jatha*] if his hand shakes. *Khalsa Ji*, it was a total lie. They certainly had a revolver, but it is licensed. The *Singh* did not look at him or raise it [the weapon] towards him but to firm up their case this scenario was concocted.

### Bhai Amrik Singh Arrested

The day after that, I sent Bhai Amrik Singh and the venerable Baba Thara Singh Ji - who performed great service at Gurdwara Sahib at Mehta, during the time of the great man Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa, in a spirit of service and responsibility - to the court here. This was because I could not come myself. I was very ill and was receiving glucose intravenously. So they were sent instead. A Minister of the present Government [of Punjab], perhaps his name is Harcharan Singh from Ajnala, and the previous Governor who has been transferred but was visiting, were here. The *Singhs* wished to reach him [the previous governor] to give him information [regarding the situation]. However, that person, burnt with envy, instead of receiving the information [they were trying to convey], when leaving, instructed the Minister that these two *Singhs* [Amrik Singh and Thara Singh] should be arrested. What was the reason? At that time, the Minister told Amrik Singh: "You should come to Chandigarh." Bhai Amrik Singh replied: "We are not some servants. We have been waiting outside here for an hour and a half. Do you wish that like coolies we should stand outside your door everywhere? Tell us what our fault is. If we are guilty, arrest us. But what [kind of] justice is this? A man comes to tell you something and you say you don't have time and you are not going to listen to him, and later you tell him to come to Chandigarh?" Stung by this, *Khalsa Ji*, the next day when Amrik Singh was handcuffed - I do not wish to go too much into this, perhaps time for that may come by Satguru's<sup>7</sup> grace - this man, sitting in his office in the Circuit House, instructed the then S.S.P.<sup>8</sup> Bains, who I have learnt has since been transferred. Upon his instructions, Amrik Singh was arrested when he had gone to the court to follow up on the case.

### The Demonstration Of 19 July 1982

Bhai Manjit Singh, Amrik Singh's younger brother is sitting here. From him I learnt that Amrik Singh had been arrested. Despite the fact that the doctors had prohibited my walking even twenty paces to go anywhere, circumstances forced me to come here. When I came I saw the situation. Some

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<sup>6</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>7</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>8</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.



leaders asked me if I had consultations with anyone. I humbly tell these people that I do not have much knowledge. I did hold consultations. However, after discussion one day, the Secretary Sahib went back on his word the very next day. I have sought the advice, before all, the first day with all my heart, of the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>9</sup>, having gone to the Akal Takhat Sahib. I have had that consultation and prayed: "My True King: if this struggle is for my personal ambition or personal fame we should fail. If it is for our Faith, for the Sikh Nation, for the oppressed, then my Satguru, my True King, at your door the wishes of all have been granted. Have mercy, give us success in this mission." Having said this prayer - I had reached this place at 2:30 p.m. - at exactly five o'clock, having said the prayer at Akal Takhat Sahib, *Khalsa Ji*, the *Jatha*<sup>10</sup> was sent from here. Leaving here at five o'clock, the *Singhs* sat on the road in front of the D.C.'s<sup>11</sup> residence until 1:15 a.m. That day it rained all night too. Not a single cyclist was allowed to go on that street, nor any vehicle. Finally, at 1:15 a.m. they were arrested.

### United Sikh Protest

The third day after that [demonstration], worthy of respect, Guru's follower, our dear, President Sahib, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal arrived. We had an exchange of views. After this discussion, because we had not been able to see other leaders, Sant Ji thought that at that time consultations with others should be held for a few days. However, the struggle should continue and no change should be made in it. Later, messages were sent to the leaders on behalf of Baba Ji<sup>12</sup> inviting them. A meeting was held. There was unity. The 4th of August was fixed. On that day, all of us together in the form of the *Panth*, after *Ardaas*<sup>13</sup> seeking the protection and support of Satguru Granth Sahib Ji, from this place, sent a very large *Jatha* numbering in the thousands to jail. Some time after that Jathedar Jagdev Singh Ji Talwandi [also arrived] from Delhi. Even though visiting Delhi - when a ten-day visit was planned - I had met him twice. In those meetings too I had submitted that at this time we should be united like a fist instead of an open hand so that we are strong and the Nation can achieve something. So, *Khalsa Ji*, a message was sent from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib Ji. Accepting it, he<sup>14</sup> came and presented himself before Satguru Granth Sahib and we moved forward firmly as a *Panth*.

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<sup>9</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>10</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>11</sup> Deputy Commissioner: the administrative head and chief magistrate of a district.

<sup>12</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>13</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly.

<sup>14</sup> Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi.

Even though until then I had not personally met Bhai Sukhjinder Singh Ji, we had been acquainted through correspondence. He too was requested. I welcomed him too. United on one platform, assembled under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>15</sup>, under the protection and grace of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, all Sikhs assembled as a *Panth*, as workers, in service, and worked together. This has had some results.

#### Government Propaganda Of Sikh Disunity And Of Sikh Hatred Of Hindus

The Government keeps saying many things like: "Akalis have started fighting [with each other]", "There are cracks appearing between Longowal and Bhindranwale," etc. I have just come from a meeting with the Sant [Harchand Singh Longowal]. I was with him for an hour or an hour and a quarter. I was teasing him that these people have now remembered to call him on the phone. There is a well-wisher here; I shall call him a well-wisher but in the opposite sense. He telephoned [Sant Harchand Singh Longowal] to say: "Baba Ji, I want to talk to you [about certain matters]." Baba Ji said: "We can talk on the telephone." He asked: "How is this thing about Bhindranwale?" Baba Ji said: "He [Bhindranwale] is sitting here with me. I can tell you this. The responsibility for all this fire you have ignited rests with you or with the Government." He [the questioner] was surprised as to how Sant Ji had spoken today. He [Sant Harchand Singh Longowal] replied: "I shall tell you something new about the person whom you believe to be an extremist, a militant, a separatist, and an inveterate enemy of Hindus. Even though I had known it earlier too, but now Jarnail Singh is sitting with me and it is properly confirmed." He was one Sharma of this place. He said: "Please tell me." Baba Ji said: "The person you criticize so much and there is so much fear in your minds that you cannot sleep at night; if a cat knocks down a box, you cry out 'Bhindranwala has come'; his associates Bhai Amrik Singh and respected Baba Thara Singh, while they built a splendid and sacred building for a Gurdwara Sahib for the *Parkash*<sup>16</sup> of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, in Gurdaspur jail, they also had a temple built there for the ringing of bells for your *Shiv Bhagwan*. You can go and see it." He asked: "When should I go." Baba Ji said: "You can go whenever you wish. If you are short of money we can arrange for some modest transportation as well, we can arrange for your fare. You should go see it." He then said: "I shall bring a photograph." I like to tell him this: "You will bring a photograph but you will not be able to give it to the newspapers." Even if he does, those above him won't. Why won't they give it? The chief reason for this is that the temple has been built by the Bhindranwale group; when Bhindranwale's name came up that the temple was built in the jail along with the gurdwara. How was it built? When the gurdwara was built,

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<sup>15</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>16</sup> *Parkash* of Siri Guru Granth Sahib means the open presence of the Guru.

pretty, nice and splendid, the prisoners grew their beards long, gave up cigarettes and alcohol, started wearing *kachhera*<sup>17</sup> and became ready to wear *kirpaans*. The few who used to go to ring the bells also turned to the side where they would get more benefits. Isn't that what people in jails do? I have seen that myself during my stay for about fifteen days in jail. The *Pujari*<sup>18</sup> saw that he was left alone. He went up to Baba Thara Singh and said: "Baba Ji, you are a saint. Have mercy on me. To protect our [right to wear the] *janeoo*<sup>19</sup> your elders sacrificed their lives<sup>20</sup>. Now you might get a few bricks laid for us." There they say these things with such humility but outside they abuse us. Day after tomorrow he [Sharma, the reporter] is going there to see it.

### Carrying Of Weapons

So, *Khalsa Ji*, this *Morcha* first [started] with the three *Singhs* I mentioned. After that Bhai Amrik Singh, who had come to pursue the case and the next day after him Baba Thara Singh were arrested by these officials. Some brothers ask: "You go around carrying weapons. How can your business be peaceful? How have you started going to jails [as part of peaceful protest]?" *Khalsa Ji*, there are two paths. The first path is of peace and the other is of the sword. If we had taken this step [of the sword] the very first day many brothers, even though they say other things today, their first answer to us would have been: "Sant Ji, you should have waited a few days. Maybe they [the Government] would have agreed [to stop the atrocities against Sikhs]." Now one year has passed. Today, it is exactly one year. At this time, the *Jatha* was sitting in front of the courts, in front of the D.C.'s residence. So, *Khalsa Ji*, I shall not go into much detail. Time is limited. Sandhu Sahib [Bhai Harminder Singh Sandhu] has already told you a lot.

### The Confiscated Jeep

The jeep belonging to the *Jatha* [Bhindranwale's group] was taken [by the police] on 17 July. Today, it is one year and two days. Who is driving it now? One is Gurbachna<sup>21</sup> D.S.P.<sup>22</sup>, who swims in the blood of *Singhs*. He has done that in the past and is still doing it. As for the future, we shall see. Another is Iqbal Singh of Beas. I like to tell these friends something. There are others too but I won't name them yet. [I like to tell them]: "You are welcome to use the

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<sup>17</sup> *Kachhera* and *kirpaan* are two of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, *kachhera* is a special type of shorts. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>18</sup> Hindu priest.

<sup>19</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>20</sup> Reference to Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib's martyrdom.

<sup>21</sup> Gurbachan Singh.

<sup>22</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Police.

jeep. The jeep makes no difference to us. But the fact that you have challenged us, you should remember and tell your families as well. If I stay alive, we have to retrieve this jeep and if I die this *Jatha* was not started by a cap-wearer<sup>23</sup>. It is a *Taksaal*<sup>24</sup> started by Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, one who gave his sons [to the *Panth*], one who sacrificed all his family. The first leader of this *Taksaal* was Baba Deep Singh Ji, fourteenth before me in succession. He, at the age of eighty years, held his head in the palm of his hand and reached here after piling up heaps of dead bodies. So, drive this jeep with pleasure, take off its tires if you so desire, take out its radiator or any other parts that you need, but do remember that we shall take two jeeps in lieu of one - and we shall take new ones. Some say: "What have you said? They might kill you or get you murdered." I do not consider death of the body to be death. I consider the death of conscience to be death. A Sikh dies when he puts his conscience under *Bibi* Indira's<sup>25</sup> shoes and wearing a full beard, says that he does not consider Sikhs to be a nation. That man is dead<sup>26</sup>. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. I appeal to those who shout *Jaikaaras*<sup>27</sup>. I understand their enthusiasm, but time is short and I have to say a few important things. Why have I named these friends today? Five or six times previously I heard this but kept quiet. I have been forced to speak out today. These persons have said many kinds of things. They say: "Bhindranwale styles himself like this; the congregation loves him so much; let us see if he can take the jeep back." Let the time come I shall certainly take it and I shall take two because of the interest [that has accrued]. The jeep is not mine. It belongs to the congregation and the congregation's rate of interest is higher. So, *Khalsa Ji*, work together.

## POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST INNOCENT SIKHS

### The Case Of Fattu DHINGA Village

Just now I have been handed a note. There is a village, Fattu DHINGA by name. I am not pleased at the death of the police officials who have been killed. I am quiet about the incident because all those killed were Sikhs. It is not that I would be pleased if the dead were some other people and that is why I mention their being Sikhs. I am not saying this, the Government is getting this said. That's why I said this. The Secretary told us a short while back that over 140 Sikhs have achieved martyrdom. When one Ashok Kumar, of these cap-wearers, was killed in Patiala [during a police firing], Home Minister Sethi's

<sup>23</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often used the term cap-wearers for Hindus. Sikhs were the turban-wearers.

<sup>24</sup> Sant Bhindranwale identifies his *Jatha* with the *Damdami Taksaal* - the religious school of which he was the head at that time.

<sup>25</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>26</sup> Reference here is to Giani Zail Singh, the President of India.

<sup>27</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

chair moved [he was disturbed], Secretary Chaturvedi's chair too moved, and the queen Indira<sup>28</sup> could not sleep all night. Even though Patiala was excluded [from her trip], she sent her officials and close associates to Punjab to find out if any other cap-wearer had been killed. For him the Center has intervened, but over 140 of our people have been killed. Have any of you, my friends, ever read in any newspapers about any of the Center's Ministers having come to inquire about it? There was an inquiry into the Mehta affair<sup>29</sup>. Amrik Singh and others were working in connection with that. They were arrested and put in jail. The inquiry was completed but now they are not making it public. This is because according to its findings many big leaders will have to be punished. They are sitting on it. This is all right but how long can they do it? This position of power is not going to last forever. It has to go sooner or later. As yet we are getting enough to eat. [In our history] *Singhs* have suffered hunger for up to eight months at a time, [for instance] in the Anandpur Sahib Fort. How long will they suppress these lists? Some day these are bound to come to the attention of the [Sikh] Nation.

### State Terrorism In Fattu Dhinga

Today I have learnt of another mischief they have started. I appeal to our young brothers. I have appealed many times earlier as well. You do say that you will do what I tell you but when you are told to do something, you act as if you had not heard anything. [I say this] especially to the young men. I wish to say this to the young men with special emphasis upon this new mischief that has been started. The mischief must be responded to. We must not carry this debt on our heads for too long. To him who asks as to who should respond to this mischief, I say: one who is a Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, who was nursed on the pure milk of his mother, and who has self-respect. Such a Sikh should respond and he who is a Sikh of the *sandals*<sup>30</sup> can sleep over it. You can figure out for yourselves the direction in which to go. What is this mischief? Someone killed some policemen. Regarding this we learn from the newspapers that not a single person was apprehended at the scene of the crime. One hundred and fifty-one Sikhs have been arrested in connection with this. What is the course that the Government has adopted? They arrest one person, beat him up and extract a bribe of five hundred, three hundred, two hundred and fifty, two hundred or at least one hundred and twenty-five rupees and let him go. Then they arrest another. The *Singhs* have suffered enough beatings, but I have learnt today that in the village Fattu Dhinga, the police have removed the motors from the tube-wells owned by the Sikhs who wear *kirpaans*. I am

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<sup>28</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>29</sup> The massacre of 18 peaceful Sikhs by the police on 20 September 1981 in Mehta on the occasion of Sant Bhindranwale's arrest.

<sup>30</sup> Indira Gandhi's shoes: reference here is to people who called themselves Sikhs and towed Mrs. Gandhi's line.

referring to the motors on water pipes. They have taken even these so that the crop should wither. They are also interfering with the cattle. In this respect, I appeal firstly to all the families so that their minds do not waver. *Singhs*, make lists of all your household possessions. I cannot say anything more because in the presence of Satguru a Sikh should only make such promises as he can keep. I give this assurance to those of you whose houses the Government is burning, looting or getting looted, make lists of your possessions and somehow get these sent to us. If I live long enough, I shall definitely get those people [the officials] to make good your loss with their own hands. And if I die, do not hold me to account for them in the next world. Secondly, if you cherish your Sikh faith and wish to firmly follow Sikhi, then remember Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, one who sacrificed his sons. *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>31</sup>, in order to maintain the turbans of the [Sikh] Nation and to keep their beards intact, had kicked bundles of diamonds and rubies into the river. Singing the praises of the Eternal, All-Pervading, Supreme God, our Beloved Guru passed by the dead body of his dear son, the fifteen years old Baba Ajit Singh Ji who had the rosy face of an adolescent. He did not have the time to cover his son's body. The Sacrificer<sup>32</sup> of sons, to protect the [Sikh] Nation, did not shed any tears [for his son]. If we are sons of that Guru, let us give up attachment to our homes and remember only one thing: while we live, we shall live with dignity; when we die, it shall be for the Faith. Hold these mottoes close to your heart. Beyond this, I cannot say anything to you, nor can I provide you any help. If I ever come out [of Darbar Sahib Complex], if I live and circumstances permit, I shall make good everyone's loss, be it five thousand [rupees], fifty thousand [rupees], one hundred thousand or a million [rupees]. But do tell me the correct figure. It shouldn't be that now this man has given his word, he has to make good on his promise and in this belief enter fifteen thousand where it should be five hundred. Don't do this. Keep record of the exact damage that the Government is doing to you. Suffer it with patience. Definitely, keep lists of the policemen who are doing it, because it is hard to remember the names of all of them. There are too many of them now. At times our memory fails us. If they are written down some place, it is possible to see them [in the list]. It is said that I have already made a list. I haven't made any so far, but the way these people are forcing us, it is quite possible that the youth may have to start such a list. I have not made any.

### Sikhs Have Been Peaceful

What else can I say? Stay in readiness. Today one year has passed [since the first arrests of innocent Sikhs]. We have been peaceful all through this

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<sup>31</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>32</sup> Sikhs often refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in this manner recalling that all of his four sons became martyrs for the faith.

entire year. We shall be peaceful in the future too as far as is possible. We have to go by the orders [of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal] the best we know how to.

### Hindu Atrocities And Government Collusion

We all have to work together; none of us should adopt separate ways. All the Hindus of India are assembled on one platform to take off the Sikh's turban. I refer to the manner in which, in Karnal, the turbans of the Sikhs were taken off and their beards shaved. *Singhs* from that place came to me. I used rather strong words towards them. I told them that they should not have come to me with shaved beards. They should have come to me with caps or it would have been good if they had died there. If everybody is going to keep coming to me after getting their turbans taken off and beards shaved, I do not have the cannon of the Bhangis<sup>33</sup> that I can fire. All I can do is beseech you. Would it be bad to seek justice on the spot?

### Sikhs Are United

Unite on one platform. Regarding this news about differences among us, I like to appeal to our ladies too because their 'radio-station' is unique. They get some little news from some source and make a big deal out of it. I appeal to the *Singhs* too, whether someone is a city-dweller or a villager. Do not trust any newspaper reports that tell you that the *Panthak*<sup>34</sup> leaders are at each other's turbans and are fighting among themselves, in particular between Longowal and myself. This is because he has already reached the chair<sup>35</sup> he had to. He has become President of the Shromani Akali Dal, of the martial [Sikh] Nation and I am not looking for any chair. How can there be trouble between us? People seeking chairs may sometimes quarrel on who got the small ministry and who the big one. This is not the problem with us. He<sup>36</sup> does not have any sons and daughters to marry and I do not have any to marry that way either even though I have officiated at the marriage of some twenty or twenty-two [men and women]. But this is no cause for worry.

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<sup>33</sup> A famed field gun used in early nineteenth century in Punjab and now kept in a museum.

<sup>34</sup> *Panthak* is an adjective means pertaining to the *Panth*; associated with or belonging to the *Panth*.

<sup>35</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>36</sup> Reference is to the fact that Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was not married and had no children to see married. Sant Bhindranwale did have children but they were very young at the time of this statement and not ready for marriage in the near future. He had however, officiated at several marriages.

## THE ANANDPUR RESOLUTION AND KHALISTAN

We have to stay firm on all that is written in the Anandpur Resolution. Some brothers have fears, especially those from Ganganagar. I appeal to the spokespersons too. I don't know the reason, Guru only knows. Ganganagar's name is mentioned very infrequently from the stage. We do somehow manage to talk about all the others. It is written in it [the Anandpur Resolution] that six *tehsils*<sup>37</sup> of the Ganganagar District in Rajasthan, and adjoining Punjabi-speaking areas should be forthwith restored [to Punjab]. We shall see whatever else happens in Rajasthan, but we have to have the six *tehsils* of Ganganagar in any case. And whatever is written in the Anandpur Resolution, we shall not give up any of it. However, if we get anything in addition, it is another matter. These brothers tell me that they [the Government] are going to detain Bhai Amrik Singh on the Khalistan issue. I say it will be good if they do. If they detain him for one year in the name of Khalistan, it will be very good. At present we are silent and restrained. If they make a false case against him in the name of Khalistan and call him Khalistani, whereas it was going to take years it will now be created in months. What else do we want? What else do we want in this? How many times have statements been issued by me, by Sant Ji and by other leaders as well? The cap-wearers also ask: "Sant Ji, what are your thoughts regarding Khalistan?" I have expressed my views and Sant Ji will give his himself. I have given my opinion that we do not oppose Khalistan nor do we support it. We are quiet on the subject. This is our decision. We wish to live in Hindostan but as equal citizens, not as slaves. We are not going to live stuck under the *chappals*. We have to live in freedom and with the support of *Kalghidhar*. We wish to live in Hindostan itself. It is the Central Government's business to decide whether it wants to keep the turbaned people with it or not. We want to stay. If it [the Central Government] wants to keep [Sikhs] with it, it should accept the Anandpur Resolution and say that the Sikhs are a separate nation. It has been said that we have no need for this, and the leaders who say this are right. I do not criticize them. However, until we get them [the Central Government] to yield this element and get them to insert this in the Constitution [of India], it doesn't work either. We have, under all circumstances, to get it written [in the Constitution] that the Sikhs are a separate nation. If they forcibly give us Khalistan, we shall take it without reservations. We shall not refuse it. We shall not make the same mistake that Baldev Singh and others made in 1947 and ruined the [Sikh] Nation. If they accept us as equal citizens and give us our rights, it is well and good. If this is not done and they say: "Take Khalistan", then we shall certainly take it and not refuse it. Some people say they will give us a small one [Khalistan] and others say it will be big. They say about the Sikh: "Give him space enough to stand and he will then make himself enough room to sit." Let them give something.

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<sup>37</sup> A *tehsil* is a sub-division of a district.



however little, somewhere. Later, in the future, whatever is possible will happen.

## CLOSING REMARKS

I congratulate you, members of the *Jatha* that is ready to go [to peacefully court arrest], and the leaders and the volunteers. I appeal to the young men especially to those who have given me their word today. *Singhs*, people do not trust a man who goes back on his promise. If a person does not resemble his father, out of fear people might say nothing in his presence but later fingers are pointed at him [and it is said] that something is not quite right. For this reason, people are suspicious of him who calls himself a Sikh of the Guru but does not resemble *Kalgidhar Ji*. Abandoning mutual suspicions, sewn together by the thread of unity, we should assemble under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*. Give up drug addictions, and keep the best weapons that, when the occasion arises, won't miss their mark.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

## SPEECH #24

21 JULY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers seated in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King<sup>1</sup>:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

Assembled in the sacred lap of Satguru<sup>3</sup> Ji, you have listened to the nice views of Guru's men who are going with the *Jatha*<sup>4</sup>. On my own behalf, I thank and congratulate all the mothers and brothers, Guru's people, Guru's Sikhs, going with the *Jatha*, whether as leaders of the *Jatha* or as volunteers.

### INCARCERATION OF SIKHS ON FALSE CHARGES

The Government has adopted a policy whereby a large number of *Singhs* have been charged with various offences and detained in prisons. As the scheduled court hearings are held, the *Singhs* are being acquitted and released. Simultaneously, to destroy the [Sikh] Nation, the Government has initiated several mean tactics. At various places, students are raided and *Singhs'* homes set on fire and destroyed. Numerous other efforts are made to terrorize the people. You might have read in the newspapers about Bhai Amrik Singh Ji. He has been acquitted in some of the cases brought against him by the Government. When they [the Government] realized that he could no longer be kept in jail, that is, there would be no charges left outstanding against him and they would be forced to release him, they made up another excuse to keep him in jail. This is the charge of Khalistan they have made against Bhai Amrik Singh. The official at site, perhaps his name is Jagir Singh, driven by some greed, has registered an F.I.R.<sup>5</sup> It has been declared many times from this stage that Sikhs do not want Khalistan, nor do they oppose it, but we certainly are quiet about it; in view of the manner in which they have concocted this scheme to keep Bhai Amrik Singh under detention in the time to come by accusing him of this offense, let us pray to Satguru: "True King, give us the capacity to endure suffering and the courage." We only desire this from the

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>4</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>5</sup> First Information Report.

True King, that he give us the motivation and the desire with which the first head of this *Taksaal*<sup>6</sup>, Baba Deep Singh Sahib Ji, sacrificed his life to maintain the sanctity of the religious place [Harmandar Sahib], and raise the [Sikh] Nation's dignity.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

Even though I wished to say many things, because of shortage of time, I shall stop here and pray to our Guru that Satguru give all of us wisdom; that protecting us from envy over little things he bless us with the love of his Feet. Making this humble submission, I beg forgiveness of the entire congregation.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>6</sup> *Taksaal* is a religious school. Here, the *Damdami Taksaal* - the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

**SPEECH #25**  
**POSSIBLY JULY 30, 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers seated in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King<sup>1</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>2</sup>.*

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Assembled in the sacred lap of the True King you have listened to the nice views of Guru's devotees.

### HOW SHOULD SIKHS RESPOND TO STATE TERRORISM?

#### Government Continues To Kill Innocent Sikhs

A period of over a year has passed since this struggle started. There have been massive arrests and many martyrdoms. As this struggle has started and gone on, we don't know how we shall come through these times nor how many more martyrdoms will be required in the days to come. Note the views of the Government that have appeared in the newspapers and the unbecoming schemes that are being hatched to destroy the Sikh Nation. Be alert to these views. In order to preserve our Sikh appearance, each one of us, man and woman, should seek the support of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King, and following the orders of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, the True King, we ought to bear arms and be prepared.

#### We Continue To Issue Condemnations

Daily, repeatedly, we hear about martyrdoms of *Singhs* and whichever friend speaks from any platform, whether he speaks under the appellation of a holy man, or has the name of a leader, or speaks in the name of an organization, or as a worker, it appears to me that all of us have adopted a sort of routine of issuing strongly-worded condemnation that this will lead to serious consequences and that the responsibility for these will lie with the Government. We do nothing beyond this.

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

## Sikhs May Be Forced To Take The Next Step Following Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's Teachings

Because of the daily printing, reading and hearing of the same words, those who read them, listen to them and speak them, have started to feel that there is no next step. So, we should abandon what we have been saying for a long time; that the Government should understand this, that the Government should understand that. These things are to be said once, twice, four, or ten times. After that those who say these words will have to think as to how to get them [the other party] to understand. It should be understood that it is a right to give a warning. But if someone does not understand even after being told hundreds of times, then *Khalsa Ji*, those who say will be forced to get the [other party] to understand. Such a time has come upon us.

## ATROCITIES AGAINST SIKHS

### False Charges Against Sikhs And No Records Kept

Brothers, Professor Sahib has told you about the telegram that I have received last night. They say some weapons were stolen in Meerut. In this connection, one Bhai Piara Singh Ji of that place was caught hold of and beaten up. Some people came to see me today at my residence. I discussed this with them too. I like to humbly present this to the congregation so that all of you get this information. Ever since this struggle started, wherever the police has recovered any weapon, whether the allegations were correct or false, has anyone seen anything in writing in the newspapers, or has an F.I.R.<sup>3</sup> been filed in connection with a court case that a Sikh was caught in possession of any military equipment, any bomb, any gun, any sten<sup>4</sup>, any bren<sup>5</sup>. Has anyone ever heard about it?

### Hindus Are Not Punished For Crimes They Commit But Innocent Sikhs Are Tortured And Killed

Not only in the newspapers, but also in an F.I.R., on television and radio, and in many speeches in many places you must have heard that two hundred and thirty grenades were recovered from Pawan Kumar, who was President of the *Hindu Surakhya Samiti*<sup>6</sup> in Patiala District and now is the President for all of Punjab. No military weapon whatsoever has been recovered from any Sikh. Even then, while they were in the service, two men with the name 'Singh', one

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<sup>3</sup> First Information Report.

<sup>4</sup> Sten gun.

<sup>5</sup> Bren gun, a type of light machine gun.

<sup>6</sup> A militant Hindu organization.

is Sital Singh and the other whose [name] is written in the telegram, Piara Singh, both have been put to death. Earlier I had learnt that Bir Singh too [had been killed] but later I learnt that he perhaps survived. They say he survived. However, he was treated very badly. Feces were inserted in his mouth. Chillies were put in his eyes. His fingernails were pulled out, the wounds were sprinkled with salt, and a bandage was tied around them. His arms were cut with a razor and the wounds filled with salt. Why was this done? [It was done] because he is son of a Sikh. No military weapon was recovered from any son of a Sikh. They were killed merely on suspicion. But for the son of a Hindu, even if 230 grenades - for which a license can never be issued - were recovered from him, what was the punishment? They said he was a good man; he was the president of a district; now he has been made president of the *State Hindu Surakhya Samiti*. What greater discrimination, what greater proof, *Khalsa Ji*, can I place before you?

### MANY SIKHS ARE UNCONCERNED

I also like to appeal to those educated persons who have Sikh names, who have 'Singh' in their name; who merely sit eating a cracker, holding a small cup of tea and taking two sips; whose thinking is limited to getting their salary sitting on their chair. These people must realize what is happening to us. There [from work] they take their salary and go home, from home they come and sit on their chair. Then when they meet [me], they say: "Baba Ji, it shouldn't be like this." If we ask how should it be; [they say]: "There should be peace." If we ask: "Has any of your relatives died?" [The reply is]: "No, none of mine has died." [If we ask]: "Has any of your daughters, sisters, or daughters-in-law been stripped naked?" [The reply is]: "No, none of mine have been." [If we ask] "Have you been injured?" [They say]: "No, Sir." [If we say]: "Ask the sisters who have become widows, the mothers whose sons have been killed, find out what they have to say." Then they say: "Has all this happened?" It is sad that in India, you are residents of Punjab and, living in Punjab, you know nothing beyond your little cup of tea! Where [in what dreamland] are you living? All of us have to direct our attention to this.

So, I humbly submit that you should keep as many weapons as you can. Peace is good. This is the directive from responsible leaders. I am only your little watchdog. But regarding this peace, it is possible that now we might be forced to cross the line.

### LAW-ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES HAVE BECOME PUBLIC ENEMIES

#### The Police Create Trouble To Blame Sikhs

The police force is set up for protection of the public but today's police have taken on the form of robbers to loot the public. There are innumerable

examples of this - not one, two, or four. During an investigation into a bank [robbery] case, names of police officials came up. The culprits were caught red-handed placing bombs in a city and it was proved that they were employees of the police. When dogs were used [to track criminals], they got into the car of the S.D.M.<sup>7</sup>, they went into the home of a *Narkdhari*<sup>8</sup>, and they entered a police station. They caught the dogs, tied up the legs of the poor creatures, and threw them into a jeep and took them away. They [the police] said that the dogs had lost their minds. I have made this humble submission from this stage on a couple of earlier occasions too. *Khalsa Ji*, what assurance, what justice, what fairness can you expect from a Government, from courts, which no longer trust people, which have lost all faith in men and trust only dogs? How can you expect justice from them? Those who have no faith in men, those who have no faith in any *vakeel*<sup>9</sup>, *daleel*<sup>10</sup>, appeal<sup>11</sup>; those who only trust dogs, but if the dogs point to their home they don't even trust the dogs; they will only do dogs' deeds. How can they behave like men? At how many places have these 'dogs' so behaved?

#### SIKHS COMPLAIN MY SPEECHES ARE INFLAMMATORY

Some brothers feel hurt by my statements regarding the police having started to suck the blood [of people]. [They say:] "He speaks fiery language; he will get us all killed; he does not let us live in peace." As for me, it is possibly fifteen days since I issued a statement. Today some *Singhs* from Sirsa had come. I thank them as well as those from Sangrur and from various other places - Sahnewal, etc., and many other places I don't remember the names of - who have come to go with the *Jatha*<sup>12</sup>. They forced me, saying: "You should once address the congregation." Some brothers say even this: "He [Bhindranwale] issues very strong statements; but for these [statements] negotiations might lead to something." Brothers, I have not given any statement for fifteen days. Make what settlement you can but this time the settlement will not be [on the basis] of chairs<sup>13</sup> nor will it be that of drinking

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<sup>7</sup> Sub-Divisional Magistrate.

<sup>8</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>9</sup> *Vakeel* is a lawyer. Sant Bhindranwale is referring to the Government not following legal procedures.

<sup>10</sup> Daleel is reasoning. Sant Bhindranwale is referring to the Government not listening to reason.

<sup>11</sup> Appeal to conscience of the perpetrators or before a court of law.

<sup>12</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>13</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

juice<sup>14</sup>. The settlement, when it comes, will be on the basis of the turban, keeping uncut hair and beard, and wearing a *kirpaan*<sup>15</sup> in the *gaatra*<sup>16</sup>.

WE DO NOT SEEK SEPARATE STATE BUT EQUAL STATUS IN INDIA

### Sikhs Are A Separate Nation

Sikhs are a separate nation. Many times it is said: "Why is it necessary for us to be called a separate nation? It is evident that we are different." If we are distinct, then why do you complain that you are second class citizens? Why do you wail like this all the time from here? In that case [if being classed a separate nation is not necessary], go on suffering the beatings you are getting.

### Need For Being Accepted As Distinct

There are a few important reasons why we need to be called a separate nation. For those reasons we have to be called separate nation. There is no doubt that Sikhs are a separate nation. This is certainly true. There are many proofs for this in the written literature. Historically, in recent times, in connection with the partition [of India] in 1947, even these cap-wearers<sup>17</sup> have written that Sikhs are a separate nation. The cap-wearers have stated it, they have preached this, and they have even promised separate regions. However, if the Dictator<sup>18</sup> or Bhindranwale or some other of our leaders says the same thing, it is said that they [the Sikhs] want Khalistan. We have many times issued statements about Khalistan. I have not personally said much but the leaders have expressed their views that this is not our demand. I have never said whether it is our demand or not. I have given only one answer; that we wish to live as free people, as equal citizens, not as slaves. For thirty-six years we have suffered in slavery. This is enough. Now, no matter how many lives we have to sacrifice we have to be free. The Center has to tell us about this.

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<sup>14</sup> Reference is to the breaking of fasts, without achieving anything, by some Sikh leaders of past agitations.

<sup>15</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>16</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>17</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often used the term cap-wearers for Hindus. Sikhs were the turban-wearers.

<sup>18</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha*. *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. This was the name given to the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.



## Why Are Sikhs Always Asked To Clarify Their Position?

Many brothers from the C.I.D.<sup>19</sup> and newspapermen who are *Mahashas*<sup>20</sup>, keep asking others all the time they don't ask me directly: "What is Bhindranwale's opinion?" We turban-wearers - and even those who cut their beards but have 'Singh' as their name - do not have a contract [to give our views]. For thirty-six years we have given clarifications. The President has visited Delhi three times to give clarifications. Others among our leaders have only recently given clarifications nine times. No one has given in writing, and we were not born with this written for us that ever since the universe was created and as long as it stays in existence, the turban-wearers must go on giving clarifications regarding what they are going to do. Now, from this stage, we wish to ask [the Government a question]. The Center and these cap-wearers should tell us, the turban-wearers, whether they are going to keep us with them in Hindostan or not. Now they should give us a clarification. We are not going to give any clarification as to what we are going to do and what we are not going to do. We have already given whatever clarification we had to. We have endured slavery for thirty-six years. They should tell us whether they want to keep us with them or not. Yes, if they ask us, [our reply is that] we wish to live with them but not as second class citizens. We shall live as equal partners. If they wish to keep us with them, we are ready to live with them but if they give us Khalistan - though the *Singhs* have still not asked for it, even though some brothers have started to - we shall accept it gladly. The rocks that Baldev Singh placed in the boats [of the Sikh Nation to cause it to sink] during 1947 have become much soaked. They have sunk. We should let them stay sunk. Getting into a new boat, we have to live with a liberated conscience.

## We Do Not Want Khalistan But Equality

We do not seek [Khalistan], but if it is given us we shall not refuse. If they keep us with them, among them, we shall not accept living as second class citizens. We shall live as first class citizens and work as equal partners. Whatever concessions are available to others, [for example] the convenience that Pawan Kumar has - of keeping two hundred and thirty grenades, [should as well be available to] any person with 'Singh' in his name. Why only 230, we have to go by a [proper] count. We have given ninety-three<sup>21</sup> heads to their seven<sup>22</sup>. If those who gave seven heads are permitted to have 230 grenades, I think we would perhaps be entitled to over a thousand each according to the

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<sup>19</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

<sup>20</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

<sup>21</sup> Reference is to 93 Sikhs having been hanged to death by the British during India's struggle for freedom.

<sup>22</sup> The actual number was twenty-eight. Sant Bhindranwale is mistakenly stating the number of Sikhs killed as the percentage killed.

count. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>23</sup>]. I am not a well-read man. Professor Sahib has said that the number would be about 2600. Well, let us not ask for the full 2,600, but use a round figure. Each one of you should keep 2,000 grenades.

### The Issue Of Licenses For Weapons

Some brothers say: "We do not have licenses." What do you have to do with licenses? Are we under some contract that the turban-wearers should have licenses and the clean-shaven people can go about [doing] as they please? I appeal to everyone with the name 'Singh', even if he cuts his beard, not to wait for licenses. Get weapons from wherever you can. Some brothers say: "They do not let us keep weapons. They take them [weapons] away from us." A son of a lion lives in a forest. If the animals and birds in the forest get together and ask the lion to get out of the forest, and the son of a lion tucks his tail between his hind legs and runs away, does he deserve to be called the son of a lion? If the name of a person is 'Singh', and he has a superior weapon in his possession, along with new rounds [of ammunition], and he, with his own two hands, throws them into the lap of an oncoming cap-wearer why was he born in the home of a Sikh? You are sons of lions. Of course, keeping weapons and dishonoring any daughter or sister, burning anyone's home, misleading anyone and tormenting him, surrounding anyone's house and attacking him, insulting anyone are cardinal sins for a Sikh. However, keeping weapons and getting oneself dishonored is an even greater sin.

### PROTECT YOUR HONOR AND SELF-RESPECT

Who are you waiting for? A friend came [to visit me] today. Another came the day before yesterday. He said: "Sant Ji, nobody provides us leadership. You should not worry, we shall raise the rafters." He had a big body. He was three or four times my size. I am only a skinny fellow. I asked him humbly: "Do you have self-respect, any sense of honor? Are you the son of some mother or father?" He said: "You are very tough." I said: "Yes, I am. But what did you say?" He said: "You tell me." I replied: "Go, and put those who set fire to copies of Guru Granth Sahib, those who stripped our sisters naked and dishonored the Sikhs, on the train [of death]. Return after accomplishing this and I shall take care [of you]. I declare this from this stage." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. It is all right you shout the *Jaikaara*. I do not believe in *Jaikaaras* alone, show me some deeds. Every day messages reach here. Now this telegram has arrived. I am not the Prime Minister, nor your *Rashtarpati*<sup>24</sup>. I am only your watchman, your inferior servant for cleaning your shoes. They

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<sup>23</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>24</sup> *Rashtarpati* means head of the nation; President of India.

sent this telegram saying we should do something about it. It is the duty of all of us to do something about it. Don't imagine that the Dictator or Bhindranwale only will do anything. Wherever you are located, each Sikh has to stand up and accept responsibility for protecting his own dignity and self-respect and for maintaining his honor and his Faith. Only then shall we achieve anything. You keep waiting [and say]; "Baba Ji, this happened here." All of you who come [to me] - it is sad to say - do so after getting beat up by clean-shaven people. Why don't you die on the spot? I can understand that if your attacker is the police, you are helpless or they have more weapons or their army comes and oppresses you, terrorizes you. If after getting a thrashing from a cap-wearer, a shopkeeper; if upon being kicked by a sheep, a son of a lion [comes to me], he should have died of shame. *Singhs*, is that all the self-respect left in us? Just think about it.

### KEEP WEAPONS

It is correct that the leaders have said that they will announce a new program by the fifteenth. I do not remember the date, perhaps it is the fifteenth. At this time I have no knowledge what this program will be. We should all wait. Not only for the last six months, but generally for the last six years and especially for the last one year, I have humbly submitted that every man and woman should have a good weapon in their *gaatra*. Many persons say: "He does not give a new program [of action]." You are right. A program should be given. But when any such program is given out from here saying that you should do such and such thing, they say: "Please get us the weapons." Who will get you the weapons at that time? You must collect them beforehand. And stay united. [Remember] the salt they poured on his wounds. During the post-mortem examination of Sital Singh they found half a kilogram of chillies inside him, there was half a kilogram of chillies inside the Sikh's body. He was tortured so much.

### CONDUCT YOURSELF WITH DIGNITY IN JAILS

I also appeal to the *Jathas* that are going [to peacefully court arrest]. Earlier, I have received one complaint. In that connection, with folded hands, I request the leaders of the *Jathas* and the volunteers in the *Jatha* that is going. You are going in the *Jatha*. Upon going to jail, playing cards, abusing intoxicants, or singing lewd songs is the mark of hardened criminals, not of Sikhs. If we are sons of the Guru, if we love the blood of our martyrs, if we are Sikhs of Satguru<sup>25</sup>, you should read the *Baani*<sup>26</sup>, and stoutly preach the Truth, not falsehood. Do not throw mud on anyone. And if we are not Sikhs of the

<sup>25</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>26</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

Guru and we are not sons of Sikhs, then I shall not say anything from this stage. You will know yourself whatever you do.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

Until we seek martyrdom, we shall not be able to shake slavery off our necks. Until we shake off slavery, [it does not matter] how much you say: "We give a warning. We condemn it. This will have serious consequences. The Government should think it over." What should the Government think? It is for us to think. The Government continues to think that they should dishonor us and humiliate us. It is we who have to consider how to save ourselves from this humiliation.

So, all of you should stay united. Don't be unfair to anyone and don't let anyone dishonor you. Give up alcohol. Give up use of intoxicants. Keep your hair and beard uncut. Receive *amrit*<sup>27</sup>, pray for the well-being of the *Panth*<sup>28</sup>, and keep the best weapon. If anyone comes to dishonor you, put him on the train [of death] and pray to the Guru.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>27</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>28</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

## SPEECH #26

31 JULY 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers seated in the sacred lap of Satguru - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>1</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>2</sup>.*

Image of the Guru, *Khalsa Ji*; you have listened to the sacred views expressed by the speakers from the stage. [You] have assembled the young people going with the *Jatha*<sup>3</sup> motivating them about the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>4</sup>, and they are in an upbeat mood and, coming into the presence of Satguru Ji, have prepared themselves for sacrifice. I pray to Satguru, may Satguru, the True King, have mercy upon us; may the [Sikh] Nation continue to always have this spirit of courage.

### SIKHS ARE A SEPARATE NATION

#### Giani Zail Singh Is Distorting Guru's Words

Many types of discussions are going on in the newspapers regarding the Sikhs being a separate nation. Some people, sitting in their chairs<sup>5</sup>, in order to advertise the strength of their intellect in the world, are using all kinds of language. Regarding the Sikhs being a separate nation, as we heard just now, these people have interpreted the word *niyaara* in a peculiar way. This is because they have accepted the philosophy of the first lines [of a couplet attributed to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib] only. Even that they have not done correctly. They have completely ignored the concluding lines. Satguru said:

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਆਰਾ॥ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਤੇਜ ਦੀਉ ਮੈਂ ਸਾਰਾ॥

'So long as *Khalsa* stays distinct, I shall give it all the glory.' How long shall [the *Khalsa*] get all the glory? So long as it stays distinct. If it is not distinct,

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The *Khalsa* belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>5</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

ਜਬ ਇਹ ਗਹੈ ਬਿਪਰਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਤ॥ ਮੈ ਨ ਕਰੋ ਇਨ ਕੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ॥

'when it adopts the ways of the Brahmins', [then what]? How will he, Giani Zail Singh<sup>6</sup> who is occupying a high public office, interpret the word *bipran*? He twisted [the meaning of] the word *niyaara* but what is the word *bipran* going to mean? Satguru Ji is saying: 'When it adopts the ways of the Brahmins, I shall not recognize it.' He may style himself the greatest *Giani*<sup>7</sup>, get himself addressed as *Sant*<sup>8</sup>, a leader, or occupy any other position; when he adopts the practices of Pundits [Satguru Ji says]: 'I shall not trust him.'

### Sikhs Are Different

So, *Khalsa Ji*, Satguru Ji has given us the lifestyle of being distinct. [He has given us] *Baani*<sup>9</sup> and *Baana*<sup>10</sup>. We are to read *Gurbani* written by the Guru. The *Baana* is the way of the five k's<sup>11</sup> that Satguru Ji, Supporter of the poor, the True King, has bestowed upon us. What is that appearance?

ਸਾਬਤ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਦਸਤਾਰ ਸਿਰਾ

'Complete form with *dastaar*<sup>12</sup> on the head.' There should be a turban and hair tied in a nice knot on the head. In the writings of the Tenth [Guru] there are words regarding goddesses or others:

ਰੰਮਕਪ੍ਰਦਨ ਮਹਖਾਸੁਰਿ ਮਰਦਨ ਆਦਿ ਬ੍ਰਿਤੇ॥

'The destroyer of Mahkhasur, from the beginning like this, the one with a beautiful knot of hair.' The goddess is described therein. In her case too, her hair is described: that the lady is beautiful with the pretty knot of hair. *Pardan* is a Persian word for the knot of hair. *Ramuk pardan Mahkhaasur mardan*, the one who killed the demon *Mahkhaasur*; *aad brite* [means] whose attitude it is since the beginning; about her there is mention of hair. And *Gurbani*<sup>13</sup> has said the following words about the *Khalsa* or the Sikh appearance, about the lifestyle of a person, about giving [us] a life of hope and confidence:

ਸਾਬਤ ਸੁਰਤਿ ਦਸਤਾਰ ਸਿਰਾ

<sup>6</sup> Giani Zail Singh was President of India at the time.

<sup>7</sup> *Giani* means learned man, one who has knowledge.

<sup>8</sup> A *sant* is a holy man.

<sup>9</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>10</sup> *Baana* literally means the dress; here it implies the unique Sikh appearance.

<sup>11</sup> The five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear include *kirpaan* (the Sikh sword), *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>12</sup> *Dastaar* means turban.

<sup>13</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

'Complete form with *dastaar* on the head.' We have to maintain complete appearance, we have to keep the *dastaar* on our heads. What are the k's?

ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਣ ਪਾਣ ਧਾਰੀਯੈ। ਕਰੋਰ ਖਾਪ ਟਾਰੀਯੈ।

'I wielded the sword in my hand, I turned away ten million sins.' We should keep the *kirpaan* in our hand. It has been said that on the body shall be the *kachh*<sup>14</sup> of abstinence and, in hand, weapons.

#### Giani Zail Singh Uses Hair-Color On His Beard

Very strong words have been used for those who transgress these. Satguru's orders, in *Sau Saakhi*, are:

ਸਾਬਤ ਸੂਰਤ ਰੱਬ ਦੀ ਭੱਠੇ ਬੇਈਮਾਨ। ਦਰਗਹ ਦੋਈ ਨ ਮਿਲੈ ਕਾਫ਼ਰ ਕੁੱਤਾ ਸੈਤਾਨ।

'It is one without morals who breaks the complete appearance given by God; he does not find acceptance at God's court; he is an infidel, a dog, the devil.' Such harsh words have been used! The one who damages the appearance as given by God is an infidel, a dog, and the devil. Who is going to say these words are false? It is said:

ਸਾਬਤ ਸੂਰਤ ਰੱਬ ਬਨਾਈ ਬੇਈਮਾਨ ਨੇ ਭੱਠ ਗਵਾਈ।

'God made the complete appearance, the faithless one infringed upon and lost it.' The word *baeeman* is used for as very low man, one who lives a bad life. Such harsh words are used. We have to complain about certain persons from the stage to convince people, though I must say we should not have the need to do it. I am doing it too and, for this reason, am saying at the same time that we should not do it. The man who, getting under Indira's<sup>15</sup> sandals, sitting on a chair, refuses to accept the Sikh appearance and has considered the chair to be preferable [is Giani Zail Singh]. You must be aware of whose face is blackened? *Khalsa Ji*, the face of a person is blackened if he has committed some great sin, of one who has dishonored a daughter or a sister. Such man's face is blackened; he is made to ride a donkey through the village in a procession [to show the public] that this is the man who has committed such a sin. The person who, with his own hands, colors his beard and sits on a chair, what right does he have to speak about the Sikh Nation, of saying that the Sikhs are not a separate nation? Giani Zail Singh colors his face [beard]. I said this once in Delhi. The face of a sinner is blackened. [In the case of] those who do it now, when they have the Sikh appearance; it is possible that they had sinned a lot in their previous lives. Some of the sins were accounted for by God,

<sup>14</sup> *Kachh* or *kachhera* is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>15</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

and for the remaining ones, God is getting them to account for them by getting them to blacken their faces with their own hands.

So, *Khalsa Ji*, Sikhs are definitely a separate nation. Because of shortage of time, I am not going to address this issue. If Satguru so wills, sometime in the near future, in a large gathering, we shall discuss this in some detail.

#### GOVERNMENT OPPRESSION CONTINUES

I appeal to the congregation to remain steadfast. What Baba Kesar Singh Ji said was not said impulsively. Daily we issue this warning from here. We daily say that the Government will have to accept this; that the Government should carefully consider this. It is correct that so long as it was our duty, we should have said this. Now it is over a year [since the struggle was started]. Even though it is being said that it is going to be a year in two or four days, I shall say that it is twelve days over a year or perhaps it is three or four days short of that<sup>16</sup>. It is a year and twelve days since the start of the struggle, since we started giving this warning that the Government should understand. One tells a person once, twice, four times, ten times. But if one has been telling someone for three hundred and sixty-eight or three hundred and seventy days, and still they don't understand, we shall have to think as to how to get them to understand it [the situation]. If they have not understood, how are we now going to get them to understand? This responsibility also rests with all the *Panth*<sup>17</sup>, with all the leaders. The entire [Sikh] Nation will have to sit and think about it.

Regarding what an earlier speaker said about motorcycles: When I was arrested, when these people arrested me upon the Lala's<sup>18</sup> death, Indira Gandhi was on a foreign tour. She cut it short and returned [to India]. Now when we go [to see her], she goes away to Assam. At that time, we were sitting here and she would come running to Chandigarh. There was some reason for that. What was the reason? The Sikh Nation had decided to face death; they had decided that they would die or be liberated. When she learnt of this approach, she came running to tour this area. At that time, the leaders met here and the matter was resolved.

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<sup>16</sup> Bhai Amrik Singh was arrested on July 19, 1982. Formal launch of the movement by the Shromani Akali Dal and other Sikh organizations under the direction of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal was on August 4, 1982.

<sup>17</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>18</sup> Lala Jagat Narain.



## REPORTS OF NIRANKARI SIT-IN

Now they have started a new confrontation. The newspapermen ask and some *gurmukh*<sup>19</sup> friends in the congregation ask too. [They say]: "Sant Ji, these *Narkdharis*<sup>20</sup> have started a new program. They say that they will form groups of twenty-one persons each. Some say they will go from Chandigarh to Delhi and from Delhi come back to Amritsar. Others say they will go from Bathinda to Delhi and then come to Amritsar. Some say they will come directly from Delhi. Having come here they would hold a 'sit-in'." I say: "Thank God. It is good that they will come. It is not bad, it will be good." Some people wonder what would happen if they hold a sit-in here. I do not wish to say much about this. Time will tell. But, does any Sikh, any son of his mother, have the courage to go against the *Hukamnama*<sup>21</sup> and greet the *Narkdharis* when they are here? Does any Sikh have the strength? Secretly, some Sikhs do talk to them. They can go ahead and do so but if any Sikh greets them while we are sitting here, only time will tell what transpires. Some brothers think that if they come here, maybe some agreement might be reached with them through mutual greetings. Let anyone go a few steps that way in defiance of the *Hukamnama* and see. Some brothers ask [what would happen] if they come inside? Today, newspapermen were asking me: "What if they enter Nanak Niwas? What are your views?" I read a line from the Guru<sup>22</sup>. I live by Guru's support. Satguru's words are:

ਇਕਾ ਪੂਰਕੁ ਸਰਬ ਸੁਖ ਦਾਤਾ ਹਰਿ ਜਾ ਕੈ ਵਸਿ ਹੈ ਕਾਮਧੇਨਾ॥

'The Giver of all comfort, the Fulfiller of all desires, is God who controls *Kamdhena*<sup>23</sup>.' If it is their desire that they wish to offer themselves in sacrifice, and the Sikhs desire that they [the *Nirankaris*] should pay off the debt [owed the Sikhs] and be relieved of this burden, they can keep coming and the Sikhs will go on accepting their sacrifice. Let them make some move. They have started to make efforts, with Government complicity, to create confusion. This is because they are not Guru's Sikhs, they are Government's Sikhs. They are Government touts. They are thinking of sending them in on some pretext, believing that some Sikhs would join them and others would go and tell Bhindranwale. They believe what appears daily in the newspapers that the [Sikhs] fight [among themselves]. They will learn [the truth] when they come

<sup>19</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

<sup>20</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>21</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris.

<sup>22</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>23</sup> The mythical cow which, according to Hindu belief, provides all that one might desire.

here. It is possible that I may not even know and someone from the Akali Dal might wipe them off. But I shall be blamed anyway.

So, *Singhs of the Guru*, hearing about such things, such tricks, do not let yourselves become victims of confusion. Do not trust them. Stay united. It is right that someone might have some grouse. Those issues can be sorted out in due course but Guru's congregation should remain united. Unite under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>24</sup>. Have unshakable faith in Satguru Granth Sahib. Do not look to any man for support. Satguru's instructions are:

ਮਾਨੁਖ ਕੀ ਟੇਕ ਬਿਥੀ ਸਭ ਜਾਨੁ॥ ਦੇਵਨ ਕਉ ਏਕੈ ਭਗਵਾਨੁ॥

'Know the support of man to be futile. Only the One God can give anything' and:

ਅਵਰ ਓਟ ਮੈ ਸਗਲੀ ਦੇਖੀ ਇਕ ਤੇਰੀ ਓਟ ਰਹਾਈਐ॥ ੩ ॥

'I have tried all other support, I can live only under Your protection.' Let the Eternal God be your support. We have to stoutly go with the *Panth*; seek the support of Satguru, the Eternal God; and maintain the reverence for *Nishaan Sahib*.

#### BODIES OF SIKHS IN CANALS GOING TO RAJASTHAN

Regarding various happenings at several places and the new tactics the police have adopted. It has started to appear in the newspapers too. The D.I.G.<sup>25</sup> of Ganganagar has said: We have another problem on our hands. Dead bodies have started to arrive from Punjab. Daily we have to get the post-mortem examinations done on these and then cremate them. Our workload has increased too much." We shall have to pay some attention to this [statement]. Mere talk is not going to suffice. I have learnt [of this situation] only today. I have been quiet for several days. I read the news. I have been quiet because we wanted to learn what the matter really was. A friend has told me today that all the dead bodies that have gone [to Ganganagar in Rajasthan State] were of Sikhs. *Singhs*; we shall have to think: "If the bodies of *Singhs* are going that way, how are we going to return [trade] them?" You should think about it, I shall too. My mind is pretty much made up. You need .... [inaudible] .... and the leaders need it. We have to live by Satguru's support. We shall not bow to anyone. We shall not frighten anyone nor be frightened. Guru Sahib's orders are:

ਭੈ ਕਾਹੁ ਕਉ ਦੇਤ ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਭੈ ਮਾਨਤ ਆਨ

<sup>24</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>25</sup> Deputy Inspector General of Police.

'He does not frighten anyone nor does he have any fear.' We have to live by this principle. Stay united and be fully armed. Every day these announcements are made here, but the visitors are totally unconcerned. When they get beaten up they say: "Baba Ji, if we had listened to you at that time, it would have been good." If you didn't agree earlier, you should accept it now. Keep as many weapons as you can. Some people keep asking: "What do we have to do? When do we do it?" If Bhagat Singh<sup>26</sup> consulted Gandhi<sup>27</sup> before going or Udham Singh<sup>28</sup> sought somebody's views before going then you too may ask and we have already even told you. Nobody ever told them while I have so many times declared from this stage that I shall take care of anyone who comes here after killing anyone who set fire to a copy of Siri Guru Granth Sahib or one who dishonored sisters and daughters. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>29</sup>]. No one said this to Bhagat Singh. All of you merely talk every day. Has anyone come to me after doing it? Pay attention to this. Mere talk is not going to lead to the desired conclusion. It will need to be sweetened by action. So, stay together.

#### THANKS AND CONGRATULATIONS TO THE JATHA

On my behalf, I thank Bhai Baldev Singh Ji of Nishaanpur who is going [to peacefully court arrest] even though he has cut his beard. Some people wonder at his going as leader. *Singhs*, If a man, because of bad company, falls victim to some error you should not interpret it this way. If he has given up the bad company and has steeped himself in the ways of the congregation, we should give up the suspicion that he is still the same.

[*The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available*].

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<sup>26</sup> Bhagat Singh became a martyr during India's freedom movement. He was hanged by the British.

<sup>27</sup> Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule.

<sup>28</sup> Udham Singh shot and killed Michael O'Dwyer, former Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, for his role in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 13 April 1919.

<sup>29</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

**SPEECH #27**  
**6 AUGUST 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers; seated in the sacred lap of Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Seated in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King, you have listened to the sacred views of the speakers from the stage. You have enjoyed yourself and are fortunate. Due to paucity of time, I shall not take up too much time and shall only thank the brothers who are visiting. After me, the President of the Shromani Akali Dal, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal, will present his views and he will also share some thoughts in connection with the [program for the] day of the new moon. Do be kind enough to listen to him before leaving.

**START OF THE SIKH STRUGGLE IN 1982**

Arrest Of Bhai Amrik Singh And Baba Thara Singh

Baba Thara Singh Ji has lived in the *Taksaal*<sup>4</sup> from the time of the Beloved *Gurmukh, Brahm Giani*<sup>5</sup>, Sant Baba Gurbachan Singh Ji Khalsa, to the present time and has served there as a worker, very wisely as in-charge at Mehta, and as Chief Executive. Not only recently, but even before the elder great man<sup>6</sup> passed away, he [Baba Thara Singh] stayed with him and spent his time in prayer and worship. After the passing away [of Sant Gurbachan Singh Ji Khalsa], he assisted Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa. He was responsible for looking after construction of the building of the Gurdwara Sahib and the rooms, etc., which were built there, management of *Langar*<sup>7</sup>, receiving to the visitors. At the time when I was arrested, as Bhai Bhan Singh Ji has told you in detail,

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Taksaal* is a religious school. Here, the *Damdami Taksaal* - the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>5</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

<sup>6</sup> Sant Gurbachan Singh Ji Khalsa.

<sup>7</sup> *Langar* is a kitchen and dining hall adjoining a gurdwara.

after my arrest *Singhs* were killed. In connection with the martyrdom of the *Singhs*, the Akali Dal demanded a judicial inquiry. It appeared that high-ranking officials would be blamed. These two *Gurmukhs*<sup>8</sup>, Baba Thara Singh and Bhai Amrik Singh, were assigned the duty of following up on this inquiry. When they [the officials] found out that they were pursuing the matter, an attempt was made to involve them [in some false cases]. Before their arrest three men, who were later honored with *Saropaos*<sup>9</sup> in the form of garlands, viz., Bhai Ajaib Singh Ji the driver, Bhai Jagir Singh Ji and Bhai Narinder Singh were returning after dropping Sant Baba Uttam Singh Ji off in Khadoor Sahib. On the way, the police surrounded them and signaled them to stop their jeep. If they had any bad intent, they would have accelerated their jeep and tried to run away from there. But having only truth on their minds, *Khalsa Ji*, they stopped their jeep. The Police [Officer] signaled to them. They asked: "What is the matter?" The Police Officer replied: "Our officer wants to see you." They came out and went towards him. As they got close the police arrested these people. After their arrest, when I came to know about it, Bhai Amrik Singh, Baba Thara Singh and other members of the *Jatha*<sup>10</sup> were sitting with me holding some discussions. Upon learning about the jeep, they [Baba Thara Singh and Bhai Amrik Singh] were sent. Here, in Nanak Niwas, on the 18 [July 1982], as Sandhu has told you, there was a consideration [of the issue]. After that, they went to the court. May God have mercy and give us all strength and wisdom. There was also some discussion with Harcharan Singh Ajnala who is currently a Minister. He told them that they should come to Chandigarh. At that time these friends, Bhai Amrik Singh and others, replied: "We are not your servants that we stand at your every door. If we have committed a crime, let us know what it is?" Power is such. It is called *Kursi*<sup>11</sup> but the older Sant<sup>12</sup> used to call it *Khrusi* meaning something that takes one to bad ways. To get votes, they will call a donkey their father but later they call their father a donkey. That's what greed for power can lead you to. When they said this, spoke about truth, he did not say anything to their face but before leaving, he whispered in the ear of the then Governor who has since been transferred from here: "These people are rude to us, they reprimand us, they do not hesitate in telling the truth." While leaving, he issued instructions that these persons be arrested. At that time, they did not have the courage to do so. Later, when on the next day I told them to go and pursue the matter of the people in the jeep because I was very ill and was on intravenous glucose - not because the jeep was picked up but because I had been very sick for five to seven days prior to this - they were arrested when they got there.

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<sup>8</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

<sup>9</sup> *Saropao* is robes of honor.

<sup>10</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>11</sup> *Kursi* is Punjabi for chair.

<sup>12</sup> Baba Gurbachan Singh Ji Khalsa.

## Arrival In Amritsar And The First Protest Demonstrations

I did not see a watch but my estimate is that the arrest was made at 12:30. I came to know at one o'clock that Amrik Singh had been arrested. The doctors had told me not to move but exigencies of the time forced me to come here [from Mehta]. Upon coming here, *Khalsa Ji*, I saw the situation. Neither the President of the Shromani Akali Dal nor any other prominent leader of the [Sikh] Nation was here at that time. *Khalsa Ji*, I thought over it in my own mind and sought counsel with the Sixth King<sup>13</sup>, not counsel but orders of the Sixth King - one seeks counsel from some leader, from a brother, from the Guru we seek orders, not counsel. I prayed at the feet of the Sixth King: "My Most Beloved, if I am starting something for my own fame, I should fail, I should meet defeat. But if I am getting ready for the glory of the *Panth*<sup>14</sup> and the [Sikh] Nation, for the blossoming of the Faith, then have mercy. Bless us, the *Panth* and the Nation, with glory and give us victory." My Most Beloved, the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>15</sup>, has been merciful. After Bhai Amrik Singh's arrest, I learnt about it at one o'clock and reached here at 2.30. At five o'clock, after praying at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib - my estimate could be wrong, I am not well-read, those who read history may know better, but as far as I have been able to learn with whatever understanding and wisdom I possess, it has never happened any place or at any time that an protest against the Government has been launched in two and one-half hours - learning about it at 2.30, a *Jatha*<sup>16</sup> was sent from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib at five o'clock. That night, at about 1 A.M. the *Singhs* were arrested. It rained all night. *Khalsa Ji*, by 4th August, sixteen groups [of demonstrators] had been sent from here. On the 4 August, the entire *Panth* assembled and, accepting the leadership of Sant Baba Harchand Singh Longowal as its Dictator, started this united struggle. It is still going on.

## Welcome Release Of The Prisoners

Today, members of the *Jatha*<sup>17</sup>, members of the Federation<sup>18</sup> - may I say the flower of the Sikh world - Guru's beloved, worthy of respect Baba Thara Singh Ji, and Bhai Amrik Singh Ji, President of the Federation, beloved son of the great man, the deceased great man whose anniversary will be observed on

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<sup>13</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>14</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>15</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>16</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>17</sup> Here reference is to Sant Bhindranwale's group.

<sup>18</sup> The All India Sikh Students Federation.

the first day of the month of *Bhadron*<sup>19</sup> who, from the depth of his heart in a mysterious way, bestowed upon me, a useless insect and a bag of filth, the opportunity to dust the shoes of the congregation - and with them Amarjit Singh Chawla, Surinder Singh and Bhai Harminder Singh Gill, these four and the three I named earlier, have arrived after their release.

### All Innocent Detainees Must Be Released

In this connection, I certainly consider it proper to make a humble statement. I especially appeal to the dear newspapermen and give a warning and challenge the Government. Some brothers think I come here and challenge but those who have listened to tapes [of my speeches] will not say this because this has happened many times earlier. People in the Government and the C.I.D.<sup>20</sup> should remember what is said here and never say that these four, five, seven or eight have returned and the job is finished. It is not so. I give full assurance to those brothers who are living in jails, those who are [in exile] in Pakistan, those detained in Madhya Pradesh, those in whose name warrants have been issued in the name of Gurbachna *Narkdhari*<sup>21</sup> and who have been declared absconders, those who have been implicated in the Daheru incident, and similarly in connection with incidents at Patti, Tarn Taran, Moga, Bathinda. I have learnt that the Government, under its crooked policy, has embarked upon roping in numerous students of the Federation and *gurmukhs* connected with all the organizations. Until all those *Singhs* are released and get to touch the feet of the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>22</sup> and be fulfilled, let the Government not think that this [struggle] will stop. Until complete release of all the *Singhs* and complete implementation of the Anandpur Resolution is achieved, let them not think that Bhindranwale's involvement was only limited and that now he will pick up his *kachhera*<sup>23</sup> and move away some place leaving Longowal alone with other leaders on trips abroad. Until this job is completed, we are both here. I respect the other leaders. I do not insult anyone. Anyone who wants to go on trips may do so. It is a matter of their choice. I have no quarrel with anyone over this. Government people: this struggle will continue until all the demands are met regardless of the sacrifices that we might have to make. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*].

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<sup>19</sup> *Bhadron* is the fifth month of Bikrami calendar beginning middle of August.

<sup>20</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

<sup>21</sup> Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell. Gurbachan Singh was the Nirankari guru murdered in 1980.

<sup>22</sup> That is, visit Siri Akal Takhat Sahib raised by Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib.

<sup>23</sup> *Kachh* or *kachhera* is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. Here Sant Bhindranwale means he is not going to abandon Sant Longowal.

## GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE TAKSAAL

I have received this information today concerning Sant Baba Hakam Singh Ji of Matsuana *Bunga*<sup>24</sup> at Damdama Sahib. I shall certainly request these newspapermen to definitely publish this news item from me. Even if they economize on words, they should use strong language. At first they launched an attack at Chando-Kalan to destroy the *Taksaal*, it was not destroyed; then they made an attempt at Mehta, it was not destroyed; then they laid siege with thirty thousand men in Bombay, they could not subdue the *Taksaal*. After this they tried again and arrested Bhai Amrik Singh and others. The Master of *Miri* and *Piri* had mercy;

ਜਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਾਰਜ ਤਿਨ ਹੀ ਕੀਆ ਮਾਣਸੁ ਕਿਆ ਵੇਚਾਰਾ ਰਾਮ॥

'He [God] whose business it is does it, what can a poor human being do.' He [God] had mercy and the Government was unsuccessful even in this attempt. They again tried and in this context, let the congregation forgive me, because of the internal problems of us Sikhs, they have had a little success - not complete success, only a little. That too was because of our slackness, because we stayed asleep. After that, they have made this attempt. *Bunga* Matsuana is at Damdama Sahib, Guru's Kashi, Talwandi Sabo, where this *Taksaal* was founded, where Baba Deep Singh Ji having received instruction placed his head on the palm of his hand in order to preserve the sanctity of this place [Siri Harmandar Sahib]. I have learnt just today while sitting on the stage that the S.S.P.<sup>25</sup> of that region has had warrants issued for the arrest of the Baba Ji who lives in that *Bunga* along with the elder Baba Ji whose name is Mitha Singh. They along with the students studying there have been arrested and the police have adopted the policy of showing them those dark chambers. So, I like to tell the Government, although I am not of that bent of mind and do not place much faith in saying "we like to tell you, we challenge you, it will have dire consequences." However, sometimes keeping the [style of the] stage in view one has to speak like that. This attempt that is being made to attack *hungas*, gurdwaras and camps, and from this stage I like to tell the S.S.P. of Bathinda that I am the same person whom his relatives saw five days back at this place and begged saying: "Tell Bhindranwale that we are his and he is ours; he should be kind to us." And so far I have not said anything to anyone. Thara Singh is sitting here with me. Sant Baba Longowal has spoken about him and will do so today as well. If I was to say something people might think this is because he is my colleague. The official who sat on his [Thara Singh's] chest,

<sup>24</sup> Place for stay.

<sup>25</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.



took off his *kirpaan*<sup>26</sup>, and beat him up, he probably is known to them. They have been released today and yesterday they sent some people saying: "You may ask Baba Thara Singh, we did not do anything." They [Baba Thara Singh and Amrik Singh] haven't yet come to me, I would like to ask [the police] why they are getting so worried already? So, people in the Government, we like to tell you this. Sometimes you look at the *bungas*, sometimes at the camps, sometimes at gurdwaras, and sometimes you look towards Nanak Niwas. Now, on the 15th, a group of 21 *Narkdharis* is arriving. This is a conspiracy hatched by the Government. In 1978 too, they came here and created trouble. *Khalsa Ji*, now too, the Government sees the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>27</sup> going on with enthusiasm and in support of which the entire Sikh Nation is united. It [the Government] is looking for ways to malign the Akali Dal, the Taksaals and other organization through crafting confrontational situation by sending them here. I like to tell the *Narkdharis* that when we stayed in Delhi for ten days, I challenged you that if you have any pride, courage, and self-respect, show if you can open even one of your *Bhavans*<sup>28</sup> in Delhi. Their boy<sup>29</sup> at that time left for Mussourie. Gurbachna has taken the train [of death] and he [the son] did not stay there. I like to tell the *Narkdharis*. Today all is quiet; *Singhs* are not paying much attention towards this, [they think about it] only occasionally and then only a little bit. If you wish to maintain the peace, it is fine. However, if all of you are determined that you want to go the way Gurbachna went, you are welcome to come here. The congregation here will pay its full respects to you. And if you wish to save yourselves from this, then do not play into the hands of the Government and do not face this way. If you must follow this path, [let me tell you what] the Master of *Miri* and *Piri* had said to Rai Jodh. When Hasan Khan came as a messenger, *Maharaj*<sup>30</sup> said: "Rai Jodh, release him." Upon this Rai Jodh said: "True King, this man is a spy." *Maharaj* said: "If he comes to our protection, he will gain something and if he does something unbecoming, where thirty five thousand have to be delivered, he too can also pass along with them." I mentioned this to Baba Ji<sup>31</sup>. He said this [stand] is somewhat soft. It is his opinion. We have no enmity with anyone. Anyone who comes to us we shall not let him go away offended. But, if playing into Government's hands, they wish to look for confrontation, let them come. I like to appeal to all Sikhs collectively. Don't initiate quarrel with anybody but if the *Narkdharis* come from Delhi with the intention of confrontation with us, for fighting us, to stand

<sup>26</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>27</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>28</sup> Nirankari places of worship.

<sup>29</sup> Reference is to Hardev Singh, the young Nirankari Guru, son of Gurbachan Singh.

<sup>30</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib.

<sup>31</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

in the way of the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*, then fully follow the *Hukamnama*<sup>32</sup> that has been issued.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

From my side, I thank the Shromani Akali Dal - first of all, please pardon my error - I thank Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji with each breath, then the Shromani Akal Dal, collectively the entire Sikh world and I especially thank and congratulate all organizations and above all the plane-hijackers and the motorcycle men.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>32</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris.

**SPEECH #28**  
**8 AUGUST 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers seated in the sacred lap of Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: Through the mercy of the Master of *Miri*<sup>4</sup> and *Piri*, Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib Ji, the True King, assembled today at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, the sacred place created by Satguru Ji, we are enjoying the warmth of the sacred lap of Guru Sahib Ji. We are all very fortunate.

### AMRIK SINGH'S RELEASE

#### Amrik Singh's Release Is Not The End Of The Road

In the effort we had started after praying at the feet of Guru Sahib, Guru Sahib Ji has bestowed upon us some part of it in the form of fulfillment. Regarding the innumerable *Singhs* who are suffering torture in jails, some people might be having other thoughts that, perhaps, after Bhai Amrik Singh's and Thara Singh's release this *Morcha*<sup>5</sup>, or Bhindranwala - who has been going along - might quietly sit down, go to sleep, and not cooperate. The congregation should have no such doubts in their minds. For my part I am, with every breath, indebted to and thankful to Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King, that He accepted the prayers of the congregation and has blest them with joy. I offer a million congratulations collectively to the entire Sikh world, the Shromani Akali Dal, all the organizations, the plane hijackers, the motorcycle riders and the martyrs who have shed their blood. Thanks to their efforts and in fear of them, *Khalsa Ji*, the Government has had to think about how to act. Those officials of the Government who have committed crimes are thinking too.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>5</sup> A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

## We Should Turn To The Guru

We have been forced to consider how it has come to the point that we go about in the world with uncut hair and beards. There is only one way to live with these intact. It is that all the mothers and brothers who have come to this place but have not yet gotten rid of the dirt of being without a Guru, who have not received *amrit*<sup>6</sup>, who have not got onto the Guru's ship [of salvation], should make a pledge before going. I shall only then consider my felicitations to have been fruitful. Those who have not received the *amrit* of *khandaa* and *baataa*<sup>7</sup> should pledge to do so. Here, at the place of Satguru, *amrit* of *khandaa* and *baataa* is prepared every Sunday and Wednesday. On the *Sangraand*<sup>8</sup> it is prepared at Mehta. Wherever the congregation wishes it can receive it. There should be no ifs or buts. At both places *amrit* is prepared reading the same *Gurbani*<sup>9</sup>. In my mind, I feel that if we wish to be recipients of Guru Sahib's pleasure and secure our happiness, we shall achieve success very soon if we follow this path.

## We Are Indebted To The Martyrs And To Those Who Suffered Torture

All of us, the entire [Sikh] Nation will, of course, always be indebted to the *Singhs* who have become martyrs but also to those who have returned after suffering torture. Because it is too hot [a subject] I do not wish to go into that. I have received information about all the torture that these people have been subjected to. If described in congregation it would take too much time and might cause pain to many. We should only offer this prayer before Satguru:

ਜਬੈ ਬਾਣ ਲਾਗਯੋ। ਤਬੈ ਰੋਸ ਜਾਗਯੋ। ....  
ਭਈ ਜੀਤ ਮੇਰੀ। ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਾਲ ਕੇਰੀ।  
ਰਣੈ ਜੀਤਿ ਆਏ। ਜਯੋ ਗੀਤ ਗਾਏ।

'When the arrow hit me, only then the need to respond was aroused. .... I was victorious. This was God's mercy. I returned having won in battle and all sang songs of victory.' Acting according to this we ought to be engaged in securing our rights. May Satguru have mercy and bless us all with [the necessary] capability. With every breath, with each hair on my body, I thank all the brothers who have returned from jail; who, seeking support from Satguru and keeping the Sikh honor aloft, suffered physical torture but did not bow before the Government, did not accept any type of defeat. I am not naming them because that would take too much time and innumerable *Singhs* have already

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<sup>6</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>7</sup> *Khandaa* is a double-edged sword and *Baataa* an iron vessel. These are used in the initiation ceremony.

<sup>8</sup> *Sangraand* is the first day of the month in the Bikrami Calendar.

<sup>9</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

named them. Satguru has been merciful. The [Sikh] Nation has sided with them. With every hair of my body I am especially thankful to and indebted to the entire Sikh world. May Satguru have mercy upon us and bless us all with unity.

## OBSERVANCE OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF SANT KARTAR SINGH KHALSA BHINDRANWALE'S DEATH

### The Program Of Kirtan And Assembly

Finally, in connection with what you just heard from the musicians, the *Dhadhi Singhs*<sup>10</sup>, I consider it appropriate to make a humble submission. The great man in his heavenly abode, Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa of Bhindran-Mehta, that great man's anniversary [will be observed] on the 16th, 17th and the 18th. On the 16th there will be *Rein-sabhaee Kirtan*<sup>11</sup>. On the 17th, the day of the *Sangraand*, there will be a very large gathering in the Manji Sahib Diwan Hall. I appeal to the *Dhadhis* who are to speak at that place. On that day, with Satguru Ji's great mercy, anyone who reads a good poem concerning Sikh philosophy and the ongoing *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>12</sup> in line with the Sikh tradition, according to Guru Sahib Ji's viewpoint, along Guru's teachings, will be honored. But it is necessary to say this about it. No matter how good the poem only such a person from among the *Dhadhis* will be especially honored as will recite at least the five *Baanis*<sup>13</sup>. Also, those who drink must get up on the stage and pledge to give up alcohol, those who do not drink are already all right. And those who have not received *amrit* should do so. Those who are wearing *kirpaans*<sup>14</sup> for mere show and have not received *amrit*, I shall appeal to them to do so. Those who having received *amrit* have become lax should present themselves before the Five Beloved Ones<sup>15</sup> at Akal Takhat Sahib and request forgiveness for their trespasses. He who recites a good poem and reads the five *Baanis* will be honored with a *Saropao*<sup>16</sup>. If it pleases Guru Sahib, the congregation might also reward him well monetarily.

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<sup>10</sup> A class of Sikh musicians who sing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument called *Dhad Sarangi*.

<sup>11</sup> *Rein-sabhaee Kirtan* is all-night singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>13</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Five *Baanis* are specified as the minimum daily Sikh prayer.

<sup>14</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>15</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, are authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith. They are referred to as the Five Beloved Ones of the Guru.

<sup>16</sup> *Saropao* is robes of honor.

[The congregation shouts the *Jaikaara*<sup>17</sup>]. I was instructed to definitely announce this. I always do say this that this assistance will also be given.

### People Don't Receive *Amrit* Because Preachers Are Bad

The desire to pay attention to this aspect came to my mind today for this reason. Once I had a discussion with the great man<sup>18</sup>. If lawyers, professors, principals, *granthis*<sup>19</sup>, *sant mahatmas*<sup>20</sup>, *raagis*<sup>21</sup> and those who perform *kirtan*<sup>22</sup>, and preachers were reformed and were to avoid intoxicants, desist from taking off their *kirpaans*, live steadfastly, read the *Baani* and remember God, if this area is reformed, I can stand here at the *Takhat*<sup>23</sup> and say with conviction that Guru's beloved congregation sitting here would not have the courage not to receive *amrit* after an appeal. What is the principal reason for this [hesitation of the congregation in receiving *amrit*]? We sharpen the rod a lot and preach with great fervor, but at night when we have to go to sleep, we say: "My throat is bad, it won't clear up without a drink of alcohol." Those who are listening also say that they cannot do without it. For this reason I appeal to the poet *Singhs* and the *Dhadhis* that on that day those singers and *Dhadhis* who will recite good poems which follow *gurmat*<sup>24</sup>, in which there are thoughts of great praise for Satguru Granth Sahib Ji, which are in line with Sikh principles, and are concerning the *Dharam Yudh Morcha* and the atrocities perpetrated upon Sikhs, will be honored.

### APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN

Keeping in view the constraints of time, if I have used an extra minute, I request Secretary Sahib to forgive me. In closing I heartily thank the entire congregation. Those *Singhs* who have cut their beards, make a pledge not to cut them again before you go. Those of you who drink alcohol make a pledge before leaving that you will not drink after today. The one hundred *Singhs* who came to me at my place and made the pledge: I can see some of them seated here. I appeal to them to stay firm on their pledge. If you find the beard too heavy, we are sitting today at this place where the Bhai Sahib mentioned one head but the great man in heavenly abode [Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa

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<sup>17</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>18</sup> Reference is to Sant Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindranwale, who was Sant Jarnail Singh's mentor and predecessor as head of the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>19</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>20</sup> A *sant* is a holy man, *mahatma* is a great soul.

<sup>21</sup> A *raagi* is a professional singer of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>22</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>23</sup> Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

Bhindranwale] was convinced that each one foot slab has the heads of a hundred martyrs under it - so many have sacrificed their lives to preserve the sanctity of this sacred place - those who find the beards too heavy, those who do not like their manhood, should pray here: "True King, have mercy upon us. You gave us our manhood, but we cannot take care of it. Kill us and make us into women and make women into men." Pray for this exchange.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**SPEECH #29**  
**9 AUGUST 1983**

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: Seated in the sacred lap of Satguru Ji, you have listened to nice views. Airing their views regarding the present struggle, the speakers have given you satisfaction.

**GOVERNMENT CONTINUES THE OPPRESSION**

Sikhs Are Killed In Fake Encounters: Innocent People Arrested And Tortured

There is no need for the congregation to be worried over the attempts by the Government to spread terror among Sikhs by oppression. In line with the views expressed by dear *Gurmukh*<sup>4</sup> Bhai Inderjit Singh Ji who is going with the *Jatha*<sup>5</sup>, in every village, in every place, the young people ought to unite in organized way and be conscious of their responsibility. Wherever these people are making attempts to arrest *Singhs* by making up fake encounters and false charges, in order to give them a befitting reply, we ought to unite in strength on one platform. However, unity alone will not suffice to give them a reply. To give them a befitting reply, along with unity we need to have another thing - I mean every *Singh* should possess weapons. I have come to know today that at some place in the vicinity of Muktsar Sahib, one or two firecrackers went off. There was no damage. There is a doctor - Gill Sahib. He has beliefs of a Sikh of the Guru. He treats people with great respect and love and helps the poor. He has been arrested simply and solely for the reason that he served the *Panth*<sup>6</sup> by reaching Darbar Sahib and, from Diwan Hall Manji Sahib, courted arrest. [The

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

<sup>5</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>6</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood including all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.



officials told him]: "Regardless of whether you are guilty of any crime or not, you have to be arrested because you have joined the Akalis." I have also learnt that Sansi<sup>7</sup> has taken him away and does not allow anyone to see him. There are three other workers at that place and three or four *Singhs* of the Federation<sup>8</sup> have been arrested. I have received report about eight *Singhs* from that place who are being harassed. There is one 'Karianwala.' I have forgotten his name. He is known as 'Karianwala.' He has arrested the *Singhs* and is severely torturing them. The *Singhs* are also being beset with many different thoughts. They wonder as to what they should do if the Government keeps up its policies. I like to appeal to the youth and assure them that there is no need to be impatient.

## SIKHS HAVE FACED OPPRESSION IN THE PAST AND OVERCOME

### A Story From Sikh History

We have come through the times when the Government declared that wherever a Sikh was encountered, his head should be brought to them for a reward. We were not finished when it was decided to exterminate the Sikhs. It is true that the *Khalsa* had to disappear for a while in order to survive. A challenging situation once arose. Troops of the Mughal army were passing by talking among themselves that the *Khalsa* had been completely wiped out from the earth as of that day. At that time, Bhai Garja Singh and Bota Singh heard this and, in their minds, thought over this challenge. They also felt that if, while living, they had to listen to this talk that the Sikh had been completely wiped out of the country, life itself was not worthwhile. The two of them discussed as to what they ought to do. After discussion they took the decision that they should set up *Khalsa Raj*<sup>9</sup>. At present our numbers are large. It is correct that as long as things are going peacefully, we should be peaceful but we must be ready for matters heating up. It should not be that there is some announcement for 'hot action' and you go climbing up trees to cut sticks [for fighting]. That does not work. You should cut them and clean them up beforehand. So, *Khalsa Ji*, on that very occasion because there were only the two of them sitting at one place and they did not need a lengthy meeting of the cabinet [as happens nowadays for taking decisions], they decided that they had to establish *Khalsa Raj*. There was a discussion as to where the parliament should be located, what offices will be there, what sort of barrier will be set up, what items need to be taxed and how much? They sat together and decided. They found a rock, a stone, and made that their chair. They placed a piece of cloth around the tip of a spear and raised their flag. They set up the *Khalsa Raj*.

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<sup>7</sup> Gurcharan Singh Sansi, an Inspector of Police.

<sup>8</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>9</sup> *Khalsa Raj* means 'Rule of the *Khalsa*.'

They started collecting tax - an *anna*<sup>10</sup> for the cart and a *takaa*<sup>11</sup> for a donkey [load of goods]. At that time the Muslims came to know about it. Those who were coming by and from whom the tax was collected asked: "Brother, whose barrier is it? Whose excise post is it?" They replied: "This is *Khalsa Raj*." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>12</sup>]. People were amazed. People in the Government of that time were amazed that there were no Sikhs to be found anywhere in the country and these persons have set up their rooms, their residences, their parliament house. The *Khalsa* is unique. So, Satguru, the True King had mercy. Even though that *Raj* lasted only about seven days, two *Singhs* had established it under a regime in which it was difficult even to speak of a Sikh. If they set it up, it should be no problem today. You need to have patience.

### Sikhs Will Eventually Punish The Oppressors

Those who are doing these things [committing atrocities against innocent Sikhs] have not read the history of the Sikhs. Jani Khan and Mani Khan used to say: "No Sikh can raise his eyes up to us, cannot hold his head up." But when the time of the Sikhs came, they hid in a house and locked it from inside. The *Singhs* thought of pouring oil and burning the house down. Then, before torching the house they thought that burning them would not do, they must be caught alive. *Khalsa Ji*, they climbed on the roof, pulled the roof out and took them alive. Then what transpired with them must be known to them or to the brave warriors who did it to them.

### WE SHALL OVERCOME

### Don't Be Afraid; Have Faith

Today a plane was flying around here. Someone said they are taking pictures. He said they were taking pictures with that plane, that helicopter. We should not be worried over it. Don't they already have photographs of us, of Nanak Niwas, of this hall? And those who have made these photographs, don't they know what sort of a thing a photograph is? So there is no need to worry about photographs and stuff. Everyone's body is made of flesh. None of us is made out of steel. If a fellow who has his hair cut and is given to drink and gluttony does not hesitate in using firearms and can steel his heart, then, *Khalsa Ji*, should one whose Father's order to his son and also his promise is: "I shall get one to fight a hundred and twenty-five thousand; I shall get the sparrows to hunt the hawks; only then shall I be called Gobind Singh," who has

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<sup>10</sup> An *anna* was a coin worth one sixteenth of a rupee.

<sup>11</sup> A *takaa* was a coin worth one thirty-second of a rupee.

<sup>12</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

received his *amrit*<sup>13</sup> and has the *kirpaan*<sup>14</sup> in his *gaatra*<sup>15</sup> and the sword in hand along with other material be afraid of the hairless ones. Couldn't [we] snatch these [firearms] from them? However, these will be snatched only if the mind is strong. The mind will be strong if there is unshakable faith in Siri Guru Granth Sahib. But, if the faith is in Indira's shoes, it will be of no avail. Today I met some persons. They asked: "First you should convince us how the Sikhs are a separate nation; convince us." I said only one thing and they made a face like a broken earthen pot. They said: "These are strong words." I said: "One who is not willing to accept his Father, how will he respond to soft words?" What do we call a boy who does not resemble his father? He said: "A bad word is used to describe him." Then I said: "One who is a Sikh and blackens his face<sup>16</sup> with his own hands, what would you call him?" There was no answer. We are sons of Sikhs and we say Sikhs are not a separate nation! He has no right to call himself a Sikh. He should not call himself Zail 'Singh.'

### Sikh And Singh

A 'Singh' is made from a Sikh. The words 'Sikh' and 'Singh' are closely connected. *Maharaj*<sup>17</sup> has implanted a great secret in this. There is a deep philosophy behind this. At first there is the 'Sikh' and then there is a 'Singh'. If there is a 'Singh' only then is there a 'Sikh.' A Sikh is one who takes instruction. So, one who is not going to take instruction is not a Sikh. And if one has accepted the teaching he is a 'Singh.' One who has accepted the teaching has *kirpaan* in his *gaatra*. The words:

ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਣ ਪਾਣ ਧਰੀਯੈ। ਕਰੋਰ ਧਯ ਟਰੀਯੈ।

'I wielded the sword in my hand, I turned away ten million sins' have been said [by Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib]. One who has accepted the teaching will be wearing a *kachhera*<sup>18</sup>; 'Wearing the *kachh* of abstinence, wield the weapon.' One who is a Sikh will be wearing an iron *kara*<sup>19</sup> on his wrist. The words 'I protect all iron' have been said. 'I protect all gold' has not been written anywhere, only 'of iron' has been written. These are the words of Satguru

<sup>13</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>14</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>15</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>16</sup> Here, reference is to Zail Singh, then President of India, who used to dye his beard.

<sup>17</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>18</sup> *Kachh* or *kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>19</sup> *Kara* (an iron bangle) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

*Kalgidhar Ji*, the Tenth King, our Father. One who is a Sikh will have: 'complete appearance, straight beard; wooden *kangha*<sup>20</sup> in his hair.' Nowhere is it written as *kanghi*<sup>21</sup>, it is written as *kangha* not *kanghi*.

### Significance Of The 'K's'

A principal [of a school] went to Hemkunt a few days back. His name is Mohinder Singh Dhariwal. [He asked]: "Why is this letter 'k' attached to everything? Why not change it to some other?" He [the other person] replied: "Sir, I do not know." They came to me and asked me to explain. I asked him: "Up to what level is your education?" He said: "I have gone to school for fifteen or sixteen years but I do not know this [about the k's]." What is the reason that we, Sikhs, do not know this? [This is because ] we no longer have faith in Guru's word, we do not read the history of *gurmat*<sup>22</sup>, we keep on reading 'Gana, Mana, Shana'<sup>23</sup>. When we are socked on our ears, then we read:

ਦੇਹ ਸਿਵਾ ਬਰ ਮੋਹਿ ਇਹੈ

'O God, grant me this boon.' At that time even these people [the Government] also start broadcasting this on the radio. So, *Khalsa Ji*, the letter 'k' stands for happiness. For example, consider the word *katha*<sup>24</sup>. The letter 'k' stands for happiness and the letter 'th' is for place. The place where one can achieve happiness is called *katha*. The letter 'k' stands for happiness. This is why the letter 'k' is attached to all the five [symbols of the Sikh faith]. If the five 'k' symbols are there, so will spiritual happiness and comfort be. And if we are able to achieve spiritual comfort and happiness, we can then tell *Zakariya*<sup>25</sup>: "Intoxicated by power, you can scalp us if you wish to but do remember that being scalped does not cause us grief, we are in bliss, but we shall give you a shoebeating and drive you ahead [of us like cattle]." If we become wearers of the five 'k's,' and we acquire the form of spiritual happiness, then who will remain under the fear of *Bibi Indira's*<sup>26</sup> sandals? We are under the dread of Indira's sandals so long as we have blackened our beard. Naturally having a black beard is another matter; it is evidence of youth. Then there are some who dye their beard black as Giani [Zail Singh, President of India] has done. I have said this on several occasions. In old age they apply hair color to their faces. It

<sup>20</sup> *Kangha* (the Sikh comb) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>21</sup> *Kanghi* is the wide comb typically used by people who cut their hair.

<sup>22</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>23</sup> Sant Bhindranwale is parodying the Indian National Anthem.

<sup>24</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>25</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>26</sup> Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

is all right that they can make their faces black but when the face gets wrinkled and looks like a dried radish, which father will they turn to for the light of youth? Do not think that I am saying this only here. I said this in Delhi too. He was sitting in front of me only at this much distance. I said this there too.

### Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Created *Khalsa* Under God's Order As A Separate Nation

So, *Khalsa Ji*, we should not worry over the statements of such people. The President [of India] has given this statement, it is not an announcement by God. As far as God is concerned, He is the Creator of the Sikh Nation. It has been said:

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਅਕਾਲ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ਫੌਜ॥

'*Khalsa* is the army of the Timeless Immanent One.' Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji did not create [the *Khalsa*] of his own accord. Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji created the *Khalsa* Nation, the *Khalsa* Army, following God's order. For this reason, Sikhs are definitely a separate nation. It is correct that we have had to emphasize this at this time. The principle reason for this emphasis is that some of our greedy leaders, to protect their factories and plants, overcome by greed, have ruined the Sikh Nation. At that time [when India's freedom from British Rule was being negotiated] they became subservient to them [the Hindus]. They quietly went along and did not have the courage to speak up. If they had the spirit of sacrifice like Guru's beloveds, Guru's warriors who spurned offers of positions under the Government, as Bhai Nawab Kapur Singh had done, perhaps it would not have been necessary to launch this struggle in the name of the Sikh Nation with this intensity and we would not have to suffer torture.

### Be Steadfast. Do Not Doubt Success Of The Sikh Struggle

At some time in the past someone made a mistake. Even now many have their hearts palpitating [out of fear]. [They say]: "What if they do not accept that Sikhs are a separate nation? Would the struggle fizzle out?" It won't fizzle out, have no fear. If you do not give up, [the congregation shouts the *Jaikaara*] the struggle will not fizzle out, but if you give up, it certainly will. If the Sikh Nation does not waver, the struggle will not fizzle out. Some say such and such leader will give up. Some individual can definitely become weak and give up. If an individual, out of personal greed, to serve his own ends, does become derelict in this effort for the [Sikh] Nation and for the Faith, not much is lost. There are plenty of young men, some of them will come on board of their own accord. Have faith and self-confidence. Sikhs are a separate nation, definitely so. We have to bring them to heel and get them to document it. Don't think that they will just say something somewhere and we shall accept it. The leaders of the Nation will bring those documents to you and show them to you. Only then

will you be certain. Don't give in to doubts created by reports in the newspapers that so and so are fighting with their shoes, are having a fist fight, are at odds.

### Darbara Singh Is Indira's Slave

I have received a report today. *Zakariya* [Darbara Singh], the Chief Minister of Punjab says: "Groups of tribes are collectively called a nation." Also that we are all Hindostanis and Sikhs are not a separate nation. These people have lost their mind. It is not necessary to waste too much time over them. He should be asked: "Brother, you say tribes should be put together. Well, you are not from among the Sikhs. You are a hypocrite. God has naturally given the beard to men but you don't deserve to be called a man. But, anyway, because of the physical symbols, you may come along." [He says]: "Hindus and Muslims are two nations." They all live in one country, how are they two nations even if we leave out the remaining people? We should not worry too much over statements by people like him, because the person who is not free in respect of his conscience - we are physically slaves but some people are slaves of conscience, they are fond of dusting the sandals [of Indira Gandhi] and love a chair<sup>27</sup> - will seek his own good and not the good of the Nation. Those who seek the good of the Nation are never greedy. So, let us pray to the True King that he bless us with a life free of greed so that we can fulfill the mission what we set out on. We shall definitely accomplish it and Guru Sahib will get us to do that. By Guru's grace, we shall get the Anandpur Resolution in totality. Don't vacillate. We have to be wary of the innumerable types of propaganda that is being carried out at various places. I had forgotten all about this report that I received. He [Darbara Singh] has gone to Indira and said - they perhaps call her 'Madam' as we call her 'Bibi' - "Madam, don't worry. I have only one year left [in his term as Chief Minister], but if I don't get Longowal and Bhindranwala, and Tohra<sup>28</sup> and Talwandi<sup>29</sup> at each other's hair in Nanak Niwas and Samundri Hall<sup>30</sup>, do not consider me my father's son." [One might tell him]: "Sikhs already do not consider you as one. It is possible Indira considers you one but she will also stop doing so. Neither have we been nor shall we be [at each other's hair]. He has gone to Indira and said this there. I have learnt this from an especially reliable and responsible person. Now you have to decide whether you wish him to be called his father's son or not. If he is to be allowed to be called [his father's son], then we shall have to fight. And if we stay united, then we already are saying that he is not [his father's son]. If he were some father's son, why would he have his *Isht*<sup>31</sup> set on fire? No Muslim

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<sup>27</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>28</sup> Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

<sup>29</sup> Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi.

<sup>30</sup> Headquarters of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

<sup>31</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

has ever had the Qura'n set on fire during his rule. No Hindu has had the Geeta set on fire with his own hands in his rule. *Khalsa Ji*, there is only one; this man, an insult to the Sikh faith, who in his bigheadedness had his own *Isht* set on fire and still did not leave his chair; who had the daughters and sisters of Sikhs stripped naked and still, this shameless person, did not leave his chair. So, regarding such people when they threaten that they will do this and they will do that, let us pray to Satguru.

#### TORTURE BY POLICE

I learnt about this today. No one reported this to me for a year. But it is good I have come to know about this thing soon enough. There are a couple of officers lurking around. I am not going to name them, but the extremes they have gone to in torturing *Singhs* have, perhaps, never been exceeded by any other officer. Guru's congregation: pray to *Maharaj*<sup>32</sup> that the True King may fulfill the desire of the *Singhs* and bless the Sikh Nation with faith and confidence. One name that I am mentioning is already well known. One Sansi [Gurcharan Singh Sansi] has caused much aggravation. Another is Bhagwan Singh Karianwala. There are two other unnamed ones who have perpetrated the worst tortures upon *Singhs*, such as are difficult for *Singhs* to describe from this stage. That's how they have tortured *Singhs*. Let us pray to the Guru: "The True King, give us wisdom, the willingness to march in unity, the love of your sacred feet - the *Sabad*<sup>33</sup> - the strength to actively work towards living with the five k's, and the strength to secure justice for the spilt blood of the martyrs."

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, on my behalf, I thank the *Singhs* who are going [to peacefully court arrest] in the *Jatha*, especially Bhai Inderjit Singh *Jathedar*<sup>34</sup> who has spoken from here. He mentioned about *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>35</sup> and many young Sikhs also came to see me. They gave me their *darshan* [met me]. On an earlier occasion, when their associates took a *Jatha* from here, I asked them: "I have to send you off. What would you like me to say?" They said: "You may say what you wish regarding the rest, but do talk about our *Jatha*." I asked: "I speak about all the *Jathas*. What is new about yours?" They said: "Our *Jatha* is named *Sikh Naujawaan Akali Dal Wing Kadh* [Sikh Youth Akali Dal, Straightener of Twists]." I had once earlier talked about this. I asked them: "Why have you adopted this name different from the Akali Dal?" They said

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<sup>32</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>33</sup> *Sabad* is Word; the Word of God; the contents of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>34</sup> *Jathedar* means leader of a *Jatha*.

<sup>35</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

that they were, of course, Sikh Youth Akali Dal. The only new thing<sup>36</sup> was the 'Straightener of Twists.' Even 'Wing' is used with the 'Youth Wing' of the Akali Dal. The only new part of the name is 'Kadh.' I asked: "Whose warps are you going to take out?" They replied: "If you are found to have them, we shall take out yours, if not then someone else's who has them." They were having a laugh. They are all so young. It was a pleasure to meet them. The first day they took a *Jatha* of five hundred and twenty-five. Twenty-five had full beards and five hundred had theirs cut. That day they made a pledge that all the five hundred from that day would not cut their hair and beards and would not drink alcohol. If all of the young people move in this direction, it would take only four days or so [to achieve our goals]. I have appealed to today's *Jatha* as well, and they have accepted my appeal. For my part, I especially thank them and congratulate them. [I like to say this to them]: "You are, of course, physically participating in the *Dharam Yudh Morcha* but today Guru Sahib has pulled you out of the river of your fall from the Sikh appearance. I again appeal to you. Stay firm on your word. Sometimes you say that these *Karah-eaters*<sup>37</sup>, do not keep their pledges. But *Karah* has not touched you yet. We shall give it to you later when you return from jail. But do stay firm."

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>36</sup> Sant Bhindranwale is describing the pun on the word 'wing' which in Punjabi means a warp, twist or bend.

<sup>37</sup> Eaters of *Karah Parshad*. *Karah Parshad* is a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Sant Bhindranwale is referring to idlers who just eat at gurdwaras but do nothing useful.



**SPEECH #30**  
**10 AUGUST 1983**

Guru's Image, Assembly of God's worshippers; seated in the sacred lap of  
Satguru - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>1</sup>;

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

Seated in the lap of Satguru Ji, you have listened to the nice views of the speakers. You have been blest.

Regarding the struggle that is going on under the name *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>3</sup>, according to circumstances, at the time of each adversity, Guru Sahib, in his infinite mercy, has blessed the *Khalsa Panth*<sup>4</sup> with victory, and allowed the *Panth* to maintain its freedom. So, in the times to come, if we work with strength in unity and with steadfastness, we shall certainly receive Guru Sahib's blessings. On my behalf, I thank and congratulate all the leaders who have come to join the *Jatha*<sup>5</sup>, and the accompanying volunteer *Singhs* and ladies - mothers and sisters - all of you who are making this sacrifice. I especially thank the entire family of Bhai Karnail Singh Ji which is going with the *Jatha*. He is from the family of the sister of Sant Baba Inder Singh Ji - younger brother of the deceased great man, *Brahm Giani*<sup>6</sup> Sant Baba Sunder Singh Sahib Ji of Bhindranwale - who at this time is living in the village Vadhni Kalaan and is serving the congregation by preaching *gurmat*<sup>7</sup> through *kirtan*<sup>8</sup>. I also thank all the friends who have come from various places.

**DIRTY TRICKS CAMPAIGN TO MALIGN SIKHS: EXTORTION IN BHINDRANWALE'S NAME**

I like to make an appeal to the congregation and I like to inform the newspapermen so that they can definitely publish it. I have this letter in my

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>4</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>5</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>6</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

<sup>7</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>8</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

hand. Seven such letters have been received in the Qadian area. One has reached Pritam Singh Bhatia. In that letter too it is written about a Hindu that he should reach such and such place near the railway tracks, where Bhatia Sahib's sheller is located, on August 12, 1983 with 50,000 rupees. The person to whom that letter is addressed has been asked to arrive there at such and such time with 50,000 rupees and if he does not arrive there, he should make preparations because he will be killed in a few days. On the top is written:

ੴ ਖਾਲਿਸਤਾਨ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਾਬਾਦ

'There is one God, Eternal: Long live Khalistan.' At the end, at the bottom is written:

ਭਿੰਡਰਾਂਵਾਲਾ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਾਬਾਦ

'Long live Bhindranwala.' So, I appeal to the congregation that this is the product of the Government's black deeds. In the cases that they had registered against *Singhs*, false charges were concocted. But, the *Singhs* - seeking the support of Guru Sahib, in hope and confidence - are being acquitted and released. To hide this, to hide their own black actions, and to tarnish the brightening image of the *Jatha*<sup>9</sup>, to malign it, the Government has started these activities. Prodding some of its touts and followers, they have started to write letters addressed to Hindus.

#### SIKHS HAVE HELPED HINDUS BUT HINDUS DO NOT RECIPROCATE

It is another matter that Hindus are cooperating very little with the Sikhs even though, during the emergency [1975-1977], to liberate 600 million people, the minority of 20 million - especially the Akali Dal who have received the honor of Sikhi - started a struggle from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, *Khalsa Ji*, and were victorious. To liberate 600 million, out of their numbers of 20 million, forty thousand were arrested. And they, Chhalli Ram<sup>10</sup> etc., are probably aware of this too. But, if for the benefit of all Punjabis, for the glory of Punjab, for the comfort of all, Akali Dal has started a struggle, out of the count of 600 million, so far not even forty hundred have [been arrested]. Keeping [Hindu-Sikh] unity in mind we do keep saying: "Today five Hindu brothers came [to peacefully court arrest]; today ten came." But when emergency was imposed, forty thousand Sikhs went. Baba Ji<sup>11</sup> knows the count better, this is what I have heard. Baba Ji will tell you exactly what the count was. We, numbering 20 million, would send 40,000 and Chhalli Ram etc. out of 600 million would not

<sup>9</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>10</sup> Chhalli Ram is a fictitious Hindu name contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli means an ear of corn

<sup>11</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

even come up to forty hundred, not even a mere four thousand! What sort of unity is this? Someone asked me today: "Sant Ji, how can we have unity?" I said: "Forty thousand of us went [to jail], you should bring *Jathas* of a thousand each. Unity will come about by itself." They said: "This seems to be impossible." Then I said: "Who will bring about unity?"

#### GOVERNMENT TRICKERY TO MALIGN BHINDRANWALE

So, to frighten and scare those people, to malign the *Jatha*, they have started to send these letters to various places. I shall say to the people who write these letters: "You may mail these letters on whosoever's behest, things do gradually come out. When this becomes known, it will not be good. The consequences will be very bad because whosoever wishes to take off the *Jatha's* turban<sup>12</sup>, or wishes to malign the *Taksaal*<sup>13</sup> of the Tenth King<sup>14</sup>, if I ever get hold of him, I shall not be able to spare him. There are some names mentioned in this letter. One is Jag Mohan Lal, another is Tilak Raj, and there are Om Parkash, Subhash Chander, Mohinder Lal, and Brij Mohan. Their [Hindus'] names will, of course, be such. So, *Khalsa Ji*, letters have been sent addressed to these names. I also have another letter addressed to another person. There is one for a person with 'Singh' in his name too. This has been done because if all the letters were addressed to Hindus, it might have aroused suspicion. The manager of the Punjab & Sind Bank in Qadian is, I learn, a Sikh. In the letter to him it is written: "You should come to such and such place on August 11, 1983 with 300,000 rupees and you will be safe. Otherwise, I have Bhindranwala's permission to put you on the train [of death] on such and such date. You have the Sikh appearance; you should stoutly support us; bring a liberal amount." This is what is written in this letter. We have to guard ourselves against such people. To give a bad name, to place obstructions in the conduct of this ongoing struggle, the Government is going to use every possible trick. We ought to be fully alert to these. This *Taksaal* has never believed in robberies, thefts, and abusing drugs. It does not now nor will it ever. If anyone operating outside [of Darbar Sahib] does any of these things in my name, I humbly request the congregation to punish them thoroughly. And when, after this punishment, you bring them to me, I shall make up the balance. But let it not happen that you catch hold of a passerby and do it to him. Satisfy yourself completely about his guilt and then punish him.

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<sup>12</sup> That is, wishes to insult the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>13</sup> *Taksaal* is a religious school. Here, the *Damdami Taksaal* - the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>14</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

## THE NIRANKARI SIT-IN

I have been surprised to read in the newspaper about *Narkdharis*<sup>15</sup>, *Narkdharis* who recognize the tone must have understood but confusion can be caused in the mind of the general public; Bhindranwala has said that when the *Nirankaris* come to Darbar Sahib, they should be 'welcomed.' They should have explained that the 'welcome' shall be as is meted out to a detractor of the Guru. Then no one would have misunderstood. They only wrote the words that Bhindranwale said that *Nirankaris* should be 'welcomed.' How does anyone know what this 'welcome' is going to be? May Satguru have mercy. We shall not attack anyone but if someone forcibly enters and grapples with us we shall certainly get him off our back. They have concocted schemes that, on the side of the clock-tower, they will send groups of twenty-one persons each to satisfy the thirst of the Shromani Akali Dal and Bhindranwale and tell them: "If you want to drink our blood, go ahead and drink it." And if it leads to confrontation, they would say: "This is the work of the Akali Dal, of Bhindranwale." I shall submit to this congregation that no such accusation can be proved against us. If someone punishes them, do not worry. No harm will come. This is what they have taught us. If they come peacefully and someone hurts them, they say that a case will be filed. When our men went peacefully they killed<sup>16</sup> thirteen of them. Our *Singhs* did not go to fight at that time, in 1978. Didn't they go peacefully to request that they desist from criticizing our Guru? Then if they come peacefully we shall adopt the path [shown by them] and leave the rest to Guru's will.

## CLOSING REMARKS

On my behalf, I thank all the leaders, the mothers, brothers, *gurmukhs*<sup>17</sup> and young men going with the *Jatha*. I also appeal to those *Singhs* who have given up alcohol and promised to keep the beard and hair. *Singhs*, do not go back on your promise. Maintain the complete Sikh appearance. Read the *Baani*<sup>18</sup> and live according to *Rehit Maryada*<sup>19</sup>. Satguru will certainly have mercy and you will definitely feel confident. Always uniting under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*, support the *Panth* stoutly, without hesitation, not only surreptitiously. May Satguru have mercy and bless all of us with right effort.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>15</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>16</sup> Reference is to the massacre of Sikhs on April 13, 1978 when an unarmed group of 100 Sikhs went to the Nirankari meeting to protest their making fun of the Sikh faith.

<sup>17</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

<sup>18</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>19</sup> Sikh *Rehit* or *Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

**SPEECH #31**  
**August 14, 1983**

Seated in the sacred lap of Satguru<sup>1</sup> Ji - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>; Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa Ji*:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>3</sup>.*

Speakers who spoke before me have given their views. I had some other thoughts in my mind but having seen this note, I shall make only one statement and finish in a minute or a minute and a half.

**POLICE OPPRESSION CONTINUES TO ESCALATE**

Legal System Does Not Protect Sikhs

The speakers have just now told us that the Constitution<sup>4</sup> is not protecting us, that such a Constitution ought to be set on fire. In connection with this burning, whatever discussions the leaders are going to have, they will present their views to you tomorrow. Listening to this letter, perhaps it would become unavoidable [to reach the conclusion], that merely tearing up the Constitution may not be sufficient.

Police Have Murdered Four Innocent *Singhs*

Just now, sitting here, I received this note. The police have shot dead four *Singhs* near Gurdwara Rara Sahib in the Ludhiana District. Their names are: Sardar Raj Anmol Singh, son of Gurwant Singh of village Kila Raipur; Dalip Singh, son of Hazara Singh of village Payal; the third one is Nirmal Singh, son of Ajmer Singh of Barnala; and the fourth is a doctor from village Kutani Kalan - I do not know his name, we have heard of him only as 'doctor.' Just now a *Singh* told me this. He is sitting on this stage. He has given me the information that these four *Singhs* were tied to trees and shot to death.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> The Constitution of India.

## We Have To Seek Justice

So, I appeal to the congregation, even though daily we make such appeals, some are effective and others not. *Singhs*, so long as we do not take up weapons and face up to our responsibilities, we shall not be able to get rid of this slavery. I appeal to the congregation: Get ready wherever you are. We should not be lax in getting justice for the blood of martyrs that has been spilt. But, in connection with this laxity, let it not happen that you kill some hawker or rickshaw-operator. Don't do this. Regarding those persons who have started killing *Singhs* mercilessly through torture, so long as we do not pay attention - not for support but for the purpose of seeking justice - to their families, we shall not be delivered from this [slavery]. So, I appeal to you that if we have self-respect and a sense of honor, we should not be lax in any way in punishing these persons. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>5</sup>].

## GOVERNMENT WANTS TO DISMANTLE THE GURDWARAS ACT

In connection with the gurdwaras, we had been wishing for an All-India [legislation], but attempts are being made to dismantle the little one that already exists. Tohra Sahib<sup>6</sup> has received a letter. I too have received it. It is possible that Sant Ji<sup>7</sup> has also received one. We have received a sworn affidavit by one *Singh* under whose name an F.I.R.<sup>8</sup> has been filed. He has sent a handwritten letter signed by him saying that he has been forced to sign a blank sheet of paper. Perhaps, his name is Sher Singh. The Government has forced him to sign this sheet of paper and filling out the space above his signature with its own composition. The Government claims that this Sikh has requested the repeal of the existing [Gurdwaras] Act. It is possible .... [*inaudible*] .... the President Sahib [Tohra] will tell you about this shortly. The Government has come down to such acts. The young men shall have to be careful about these and not at all be lax in getting justice.

## PLANS FOR 15 AUGUST

Tomorrow is 15 August. From this stage you have been told that a new program will be announced. Sant Ji will tell you about it. I appeal to the congregation. The [death] anniversary of worthy of respect, living in heavenly abode, the great man, Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa, of Bhindran-Mehta, is being observed. Tomorrow, the *Paath*<sup>9</sup> will be started. On the 16th, there will

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<sup>5</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>6</sup> Jathedar Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

<sup>7</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>8</sup> First Information Report.

<sup>9</sup> *Paath* is reading from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

be all-night *kirtan*<sup>10</sup> at this place. On the 17th early in the morning, after completion of the *Paath*, there will be *kirtan* for half-an-hour followed by presentations of their views by *gurmukh*<sup>11</sup> friends, *sants*, *mahatmas*, leaders and *Singh Sahibs*<sup>12</sup> who might have come here. I appeal to the congregation. To remember the great man<sup>13</sup>, the congregation should please try to assemble in as large numbers as possible.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

For my part, I thank the respected leaders of the *Jatha*<sup>14</sup> that is going and all the workers, all the *gursikh*<sup>15</sup> mothers and brothers who are going with the *Jatha*. We are tired of daily saying that we warn that the consequences will be serious and the Government will have to face them, that the Government will be responsible. We keep on saying this and the newspapers keep on publishing these [warnings]. Those who write and those who hear all of this are getting tired. The congregation may know [what to do] about the four who have been killed today. Guru's *Singhs*, get ready and keep in mind whatever program the responsible leaders of the *Panth*<sup>16</sup> announce from this stage.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>10</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>11</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

<sup>12</sup> Sikh religious leaders.

<sup>13</sup> Sant Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindranwale.

<sup>14</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>15</sup> Sikhs of the Guru.

<sup>16</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

**SPEECH #32**  
**16 AUGUST 1983**

Seated in the sacred lap of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji - the True King<sup>1</sup>; Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa Ji*; all of you, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

**GOVERNMENT OPPRESSION CONTINUES**

We Have To Be Prepared

Seated in the sacred lap of Satguru<sup>3</sup> Ji, you have listened to the nice views of the speakers. You are fortunate. In the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>4</sup> that has been going on to get our demands fulfilled, there have been innumerable arrests and innumerable *Singhs* have achieved martyrdom. Daily, from this stage, we discuss the manner in which the Government has started its oppression. To stop it, we shall have to get organized and to be fully prepared by receiving *amrit*<sup>5</sup> and seeking guidance from Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Keeping weapons, we should give up laxity and laziness in order to fight for our rights and to face every eventuality.

The Government Is Trying To Destroy Sikh Organizations, Especially The *Damdami Taksaal*

At various places the Government has started killing young men. At the same time, it has initiated attempts to destroy [Sikh] organizations. First, in Chando-Kalan, the Government tried to destroy this *Damdami Taksaal*<sup>6</sup> which is also called the *Bhindranwali Taksaal*. Seven thousand police arrived there but they were unsuccessful. Through Satguru's mercy, I came out of there [unharmed]. Later, warrants for my arrest were issued. I received them on 16 [September 1981] and I announced that I would surrender for arrest on the 20th. But they thought: "It would be nice if this *Sadhu*<sup>7</sup> can somehow be

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>5</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>6</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>7</sup> A *sadhu* is an ascetic.



killed." They brought 15,000 policemen and positioned their stens<sup>8</sup> and brens<sup>9</sup> all around Mehta. Thanks to the mercifulness of Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, and Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, *Khalsa Ji*, the [Sikh] Nation assembled and on the 20th I surrendered for arrest. Hundreds of thousands [of people] had assembled. After about 25 days in police custody, I was released. As time passed after that, Satguru had mercy and the *Singhs* turned to receiving *amrit*. I had the good fortune to administer *amrit*<sup>10</sup> to up to 10,000 persons in a single day. I also visited Bombay. Upon reaching there, we started *katha*<sup>11</sup> and *kirtan*<sup>12</sup>. We preached to the congregation but this Government did not like the preaching of Guru's Word. *Zakariya*<sup>13</sup>, the Chief Minister of Punjab, got the papers prepared while sitting in some bungalow. I shall not give out the number of that bungalow at this time. When the time comes I shall disclose where the thing started. Bachna, the D.S.P.<sup>14</sup>, who is perhaps called Gurbachan Singh, traveled by air to bring these papers to Delhi. There, it was decided that Bhindranwale should be killed in the Bombay area. *Khalsa Ji*, 30,000 persons surrounded us there. There were ten thousand persons posted at each barrier. [The three roads barricaded were] the road to Nasik, the road to Pune, and the one coming this side to Rajasthan and Punjab. Satguru *Kalgiidhar*<sup>15</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji had mercy even though the police detained us for forty-five minutes for questioning. An officer asked me too: "Where is Bhindranwala?" At first I kept quiet. When the officer asked me a second time as to where Bhindranwale was, a wise *Singh* who was with me as the driver said: "Bhindranwale is still there." He meant we were still in Maharashtra. It was not a lie. For forty-five minutes they questioned us. Through Guru Sahib's mercy, we were released from there. The Government was very angry. The Chief Minister of that place said to the Sikhs of Bombay: "Bhindranwale and the Sikh congregation of Bombay have cut off my nose." He said such things.

#### Our Weapons Are Licensed But The Chief Minister Keeps Vilifying Us

There was a search for weapons. They checked the licenses for weapons. *Khalsa Ji*, all were licensed. He saw this and announced in the newspapers that they had checked and found Bhindranwale's weapons to be all duly licensed.

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<sup>8</sup> Sten guns.

<sup>9</sup> Bren guns. A Bren gun is a light machine gun.

<sup>10</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>11</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>12</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>13</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>14</sup> Deputy Superintendent of Police.

<sup>15</sup> *Kalgiidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

But the Chief Minister of Punjab, the *Zakariya*, is still harping on this. Even today it was in the newspapers. I shall refer to it towards the end [of my speech]. They have started saying: "These people go about with dangerous weapons." One might ask them: "Do you have rubber bullets? Aren't your weapons dangerous?"

### The Government Creates Communalism Through Selective Treatment

They [the Government] themselves make trouble, they create communalism, and then they say about the Akali Dal and the Sikhs that they are communal! I shall present a few examples briefly because it is getting late and the congregation, the *Jatha*<sup>16</sup> has to go. Who creates communalism? It is the *Mahasha*<sup>17</sup> Press and the Government and some apparently important persons with turbans who dust Indira's sandals<sup>18</sup>. How do they create it? Ashok Kumar was killed in Patiala. His body had not yet been cremated when a judicial inquiry was initiated, an order was issued that it [the death] would be investigated. But over one and a half dozen were killed at Mehta; books of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King, were burnt in Chando-Kalan; two busses were set afire, goods worth 300,000 rupees were looted from the village - from the people of Chando-Kalan; *Khalsa Ji*, the inquiry into the Chando-Kalan [incidents] is still held up. It has still not started. If Siri Guru Granth Sahib is insulted, inquiry is stopped; if busses are burnt, even then the inquiry is stopped; if the goods and property of the village are looted, the inquiry is stopped; but if one cap-wearer<sup>19</sup> is killed, an inquiry is instituted even before the final rites! Who creates communalism? Lala Jagat Narain was killed. Someone put him on the train [of death]. The motorcycle boys were mentioned in the newspapers [as suspects]. His body was subjected to a post-mortem examination and returned to Romesh, his son. But our young Sikh brothers, younger than me, returning to their homes in their trolleys after providing the congregation with food and milk were shot to death. First they would not start an inquiry into this. When the Akali Dal and other organizations and parties jointly insisted, an inquiry was started. To pursue that inquiry, I, on my behalf, deputed Bhai Thara Singh and Bhai Amrik Singh. When they started to make an earnest effort and it was found that senior officers would be implicated, they [the officials] could not think of anything else [and did this]. A jeep of the *Jatha*<sup>20</sup> had come to Khadoor Sahib and was returning from Khadoor Sahib. They stopped the jeep on the way. There were three *Singhs* in it. They were

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<sup>16</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>17</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

<sup>18</sup> Dusting her sandals means subservience to Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>19</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often used the term cap-wearers for Hindus. Sikhs were the turban-wearers.

<sup>20</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

arrested and charges were framed against them. To secure their release, to follow their case, I sent Amrik Singh. They arrested him and put him in jail. After that I sent Thara Singh. He, too, was arrested and put in jail.

### Two Paths: We Adopted The Way Of Peaceful Protest

Ultimately, there are only two ways open. One is that of peacefulness that we are following at this time and the other one you all know - the one of motorcycles. I did not consider it proper to adopt that path at first. [I thought] the Government is already putting this in peoples' minds and telling them: "This man is very excitable and acts in haste." [In view of this] we should follow the path of peacefulness. We started the struggle and the Ministers of the Government started saying: "This will end in five to seven days. No more than five thousand will court arrest." By Guru's grace, *Jathas* of up to 5,000 started going each day. The Government was proved false in that too.

### Government Campaign To Promote Hatred

Then they started the propaganda that we were killing Hindus, that we discriminate against Hindus, that we stifle Hindus. The Hindu *Mahasha* Press also did its worst. Upon insistence by the public, an inquiry into [the incidents at] Mehta was started. One might ask the Government: "It is two months since the inquiry was completed. If you are blameless, why don't you release it [the report]? Why don't you make it public? Why don't you publish in the newspapers as to who is at fault?" Two months have passed since the inquiry in this case was completed. The Government is sitting on it because senior officials are involved. So, *Khalsa Ji*, after this, the Government started killing *Singhs* at various places. As *Singhs* achieved martyrdom in that scheme, the blood of the young men too started to boil.

### Bhindranwale Is Blamed For All Crime

No matter who kills who, they say: "Bhindranwale has killed him." There was an accident in Madhya Pradesh involving Sucha Singh et al. He has come out of jail after acquittal. One of them still remains [in jail]. He too will come out in time. But they say: "This was done in conspiracy with Bhindranwale." In Anandpur someone made one Shadi Lal [a happy person] into Ghami Lal<sup>21</sup> [a sorrowful person]. They say: "Bhindranwale had this done." I was in jail when someone died in Tarn Taran. They said: "Bhindranwale had this done."

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<sup>21</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often coined such fictitious Hindu names to describe certain situations. Shadi Lal is, figuratively, a happy Hindu. Ghami Lal is figuratively, a sad Hindu.

## People Will Resist Illegal Killing By Police

In Daheru, the police went to someone's home to kill him. According to the law - I am not very educated, the educated ones will know better - to the best of my knowledge, when someone has to be arrested in a village, it is of the utmost importance that the police take along one out of the three, the *Lambardar*<sup>22</sup>, the *Sarpanch*<sup>23</sup>, or the *Chowkidar*<sup>24</sup> of the village to ensure that the property or goods of the homeowner are not looted. But when you enter someone's home with rifles to kill him, he will do something to save himself.

## False Stories Of Police Encounters

They tell of encounters with the police at various places. So far there has been only one. There was another involving a car when the police ran away. There was an encounter in the Daheru incident. They numbered about thirty or thirty-two. According to newspapers there were two [*Singhs*]. Some have stated that there were eight, others have mentioned two. If there were two *Singhs* and they were thirty-two, why did they have to hide under piles of cowdung, stacks of wheat-chaff, and string beds? If they had faced the daredevils they would have learnt a lesson. When they catch hold of a *Singh*, they tie him up, they beat him, pull out his nails, pour salt over his wounds, place burning candles under his hands like this and burn his hands; and then the S.S.P.<sup>25</sup> of Jalandhar sends a wireless message to the Chief Minister of Punjab that Bhai Gurmeet Singh of Dhulkot does not name anyone except God and Guru and what should be done next. The Chief Minister, who says he is a Sikh, replies: "Shoot him dead." This is how Bhai from Dhulkot was killed.

## Sikh And Hindu Hijackers

I have asked: "Who creates communalism and who is blamed for it, who is criticized for it, against what nation are false accusations made?" The girl who was born in the house of Pundits, getting the votes of the public, became Prime Minister of Hindostan. This is *Bibi*<sup>26</sup> Indira Gandhi. She was sentenced in 1977. Upon this, Pandey and another man hijacked a plane. Both of them got tickets for seats in the Assembly [State Legislature] - one in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and the other in Bihar. But if Guru's sons, Gajinder Singh and his associates, unable to accept irreverence for Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, hijack a plane, the entire *Mahasha* Press, all those associated with the *Mahashas*, the

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<sup>22</sup> Village headman who assists in collection of revenue.

<sup>23</sup> Head of the elected village council.

<sup>24</sup> The village Watchman.

<sup>25</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>26</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name.

Ministers of the Hindu Government and the Queen<sup>27</sup> at the Center say: "The integrity of the country is threatened. Gajinder Singh and party should be returned and they should be hanged." Why, because you are much prettier than Guru Granth Sahib Ji? Is your worth greater? If a plane is hijacked for Satguru, an injection is given in Gurbakhsh Singh's leg on 4 August [1982] to cripple it, but if a plane is hijacked for a daughter of Pundits, there is a residential suite in the M.L.A.<sup>28</sup> flats. If a Guru's Sikh, Museebat Singh whose name earlier was Manjit Singh - Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh - hijacks a plane for Satguru, *Khalsa Ji*, he was shot to death at Raja Sansi airport on 20 August [1982]. If a plane is hijacked for a daughter of the Pundits, it is patriotism. If a plane is hijacked for the *Isht*<sup>29</sup> of the Sikhs, it is treason. [Tell me] who creates this communalism?

### Be Prepared

You have heard just now, before my speech, that they have surrounded the car of Baba Bishan Singh of Baba Bakala. I appeal to the congregation and especially to you young men. Where you are buying land, building homes, quit buying land and building homes and start buying one motorcycle and one superior revolver each. Don't you ask all the time: "What is to be done?" [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>30</sup>]. Don't get into shouting *Jaikaaras*. When you have bought these [motorcycles and revolvers] then we shall shout these. Empty *Jaikaaras* are not going to lead to anything. Shout them after you have bought [the motorcycle and the revolver]. Why is this [necessary]?

### The Case Of The Bus Sent To Jhindwala

The great man, the *Brahm Giani*<sup>31</sup>, who had Indira's head spinning in 1977 by taking out a procession, I mean Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindranwale who served this *Taksaal* before me, the venerable mother of this great man -

ਧਨੁ ਜਨਨੀ ਜਿਨਿ ਜਾਇਆ ਧੰਨੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਪਰਧਾਨੁ॥  
ਜਨਨੀ ਜਨੈ ਤਉ ਭਗਤੁ ਜਨੈ ਕੈ ਦਾਤਾ ਕੈ ਸੁਰੁ॥ ਨਾਹਿ ਤ ਜਨਨੀ ਬਾਝ ਰਹੈ ਕਾਹਿ ਗਵਾਢੈ ਨੁਰੁ॥

'Blessed is the mother who bore him, blessed and honored is the father. If a mother has to bear a son let him be a *bhagat*<sup>32</sup> who is a philanthropist and a

<sup>27</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>28</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>29</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>30</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>31</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

<sup>32</sup> *Bhagat* is a devotee of God.

warrior. Else, the mother should be sterile. For what should she lose her youth?' - the venerable mother of such a great man, Mata Labh Kaur Ji is living in Jhindwala beyond Muktsar. *Khalsa Ji*, yesterday we sent the bus of the *Jatha*, the bus of our *Jatha*, to that place. I learn from the newspapers that the evil person who has drunk the blood of the Sikhs, who is referred to as Sansi; Gurcharan Singh who had drunk a lot of *Singhs'* blood, was going on a motorcycle. Some other motorcyclist followed him and they met. He was going to board the train [of death], and the one who was following him put him on the train. I do not know how he got onto the train. He, Sansi, got onto the train at 1:15 p.m. The bus left here at 1:30 and reached Muktsar at 6 p.m. That *Singh*, the driver, was not aware that he [Sansi] had been killed. The *Singh* was checking the air in the tires when 500 policemen arrived. I like to tell the S.S.P. of Ferozepur - I do not know his name, I shall ask someone -: "It is correct that you have a rank. You can do as you wish, as much as you wish. But this is the Guru's Nation which [is such that] persons like Bhai Nibhaoo Singh cut off the heads of Lakhpat and Jaspat, who were mounted on elephants, just as a gourd is cut from its vine. Jani Khan and Mani Khan had attacked the *Sahibzadas*<sup>33</sup>. Guru's Sikh warriors pulled them out of houses poured oil on them and burnt them in little bits. If the cruel people come here to sully the sanctity of Harmandar Sahib, the Sikhs of the *Buddha Dal*<sup>34</sup> cut off their heads, made them into balls for playing stickball. Who do you think you are? We sent the bus to fetch the great man's mother because it is the anniversary of the great man and it would be proper for his venerable mother and the rest of the family to come here. But this mean S.S.P. of Ferozepur sent a wireless message: "Bhindranwale's bus is coming." It does not matter if the motorcycle men have gone but this bus should not be allowed to go from here. It should be apprehended." When those *Singhs* were checking the air [in the tires], they [the police] surrounded them. They [the *Singhs*] asked: "What's the matter." He said: "We don't know yet but Sansi has definitely been put on the train by Bhindranwale. From where have you come with the bus? You must have come to pick up the motorcyclist." He is killed at 1:15 and the bus leaves here at 1:30 and reaches Muktsar at 6 and they say: "You have come to pick up the motorcyclist!" I learnt about it this morning. I spoke about it with Sant Ji as well as with others I considered appropriate. At one place I gave a message: "If the bus is released by 5 o'clock it is fine. I don't know how to say things in a roundabout manner. If you release the bus by 5 o'clock it is good, but if it is not released I shall behead five thousand Hindus in one hour. Do keep this in mind." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. Some brothers say: "What is the reason for this? The police have stopped the bus and you go after the Hindus?" We don't have any enmity for the Hindus but who is behind the bus takeover? It is the *Mahasha* Press. Who is the S.S.P. there? Go and ask him. If

<sup>33</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two youngest sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>34</sup> *Buddha Dal* is a section of the Nihang Sikhs.

one Hindu is killed the Central Government comes running to Punjab: the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, and Chaturvedi, the Secretary<sup>35</sup>. But if our brothers' turbans are taken off, their beards are shaved off in Karnal and they are sent to Punjab, it does not bother them. Four hundred dead bodies of Sikhs have been thrown in the water [the canal] and they say they haven't thrown any. So long as they do not feel the heat, how will they be brought around? We send the bus to assemble the congregation and they stop it and accuse us of murder! You well know that we only do *kirtan*, we do *katha*, we observe the anniversary of the great man, we serve the congregation, we help people give up *kurahits*<sup>36</sup>, we administer *amrit*, we will be accused of murder. Then why shouldn't each one of us put ten or fifteen on the train and deserve the label? Compelled, we shall have to think about it.

### The Government Considers All Sikhs Criminals

You might not have seen Baba Bishan Singh much. I have seen him. He is so old that one has to help him with even the basic bodily functions. He has to be carried; he is so old. His car was going. They say he is a bad character. Have all organizations become bad characters? Is the one Queen<sup>37</sup> the only patriot in the country?

### PROGRAM FOR THE ANNIVERSARY

So, *Khalsa Ji*, I appeal to the entire congregation. I thank the *Jatha* that is going [to peacefully court arrest] and make this one request of the congregation in connection with tomorrow. The anniversary of the great man, the Sant, is being observed. Today, the *Paath*<sup>38</sup> has reached the middle. Tomorrow by 9 o'clock it will be completed. There will be *kirtan* from 9:00 until 9:30. Then, from 9:30 to 10:30, I shall present the *katha*. After that, Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal, worthy of respect, beloved, Guru's man, President of the Shromani Akali Dal, and other leaders of organizations, other beloved Guru's men, great souls, Guru's Sikhs the *jathedars* from *tehsils*<sup>39</sup> and districts, whoever of the respectable persons arrive here will all offer their eulogies to the great man. I appeal to you today and shall say the same thing during the *katha*. I appeal to all those who have come from elsewhere and assembled here that, to my thinking, the best eulogy, the best expression of love that we can offer to the great man will be [to endorse] the words that the great man spoke after shouting thirty seven slogans that: "We do not wish to rule by giving our

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<sup>35</sup> Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

<sup>36</sup> Acts forbidden to Sikhs.

<sup>37</sup> Reference is to Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>38</sup> *Akhand Paath* is complete uninterrupted reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>39</sup> A *tehsil* is a sub-division of a district. *Jathedar* is leader of a *Jatha*.

daughters, by marrying our daughters<sup>40</sup> [to the rulers]. If we take over power, it will be the same way as *Khalsa* does it. Else we shall spend our days on the saddles of our horses." I appeal that we should remember the words he spoke. He used to shout a slogan during processions:

ਸਿਰ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਜਾਵੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਨ ਜਾਵੇ॥

'I might lose my life, but may I never lose my Faith as a Sikh.' I shall ask you to shout this slogan tomorrow. But it is sad that we have started to say: "Even if I lose my Faith, may I never lose my chair<sup>41</sup>." We submitted our resignations too. Pardon me, don't any responsible person be angry with me today, wait until tomorrow. We have submitted resignations and demonstrated a spirit of sacrifice. But it is sad that some selfish persons are still going and collecting allowances. Why should they agree to what we say? We go and say: "You are our mother and father." Our mother and father is Guru Granth Sahib and

ਸਾਚਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਛੋਡਿ ਕੇ ਹੋਇ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਬੰਦੇ ਦਾ ਬੰਦਾ।

'Giving up the True Satguru, the self-willed person becomes a servant of [another] man.' How will our mission be fulfilled? In old times Sikhs used to shout the slogan: "May I lose my life but not my Faith." We have started shouting: "May I lose my Faith but not my chair" and our young men have started to shout: "May I lose my Faith but may a beard never grow on my face." On whose face do you wish it to grow? Let us all ponder it and then withdraw our attention from some persons who talk like that and turn our minds to Guru Granth Sahib.

#### THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ME AND LONGOWAL

The *Jathedars* said from here: "May the affection between the Sants continue. That this is a good thing." But in my opinion, it is not necessary to say this. It is good to say this out of respect and affection. I shall say that there is not going to be any quarrel between the *Saadhs*<sup>42</sup> so long as you leaders and *jathedars* stay put at your places and do not make trouble. One man says: "I am the *Jathedar* of such and such," and the other says: "I am the *Jathedar* of such and such." [Be careful] about such things. If the *jathedars* of districts, *jathedars* of circles, responsible people, all of us march in close embrace, there will be no need to have any doubts about us. I have given assurances several times from this place. In my life, I shall not become President of the Shromani Akali Dal,

<sup>40</sup> Reference is to the Hindu Rajput kings marrying their daughters into mughal households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>41</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>42</sup> Ascetics - Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.



nor President of the Shromani Committee, nor M.L.A., nor M.P.<sup>43</sup> and Minister, nor shall I become a dues-paying member. Then if I do not have to take any chair, how will we ever get into a quarrel? We shall never have any quarrel. It is only mentioned in the newspapers. It can happen that we have a difference of opinion on some issue based on *gurmat*<sup>44</sup>. But this fighting that the newspapers write about that Bhindranwala is ready to kill Longowal and Longowal says: "Don't worry, I am ready too", it is merely the policy of those people who do not want to see a beard, who do not want to wear the *kachhera*<sup>45</sup>. This can be the thinking of those people but not of any who wear the *kirpaan*. So, let us pray to Satguru. March together. March in unity:

ਮਿਲਬੇ ਕੀ ਮਹਿਮਾ ਬਰਨਿ ਨ ਸਾਕਉ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਰੈ ਪਰੀਲਾ॥

'I cannot describe the greatness of the union [with God]. Nanak, it is beyond the Beyond.' Today I also like to warn those officers without naming them. First, they apprehended the bus and questioned the *Singhs* all night. Then, when they were to be released, they said: "Don't tell Baba Ji [Sant Bhindranwale] and, if you must, don't give our names." Why? Because you fed them on sweet rice pudding all night? Why wouldn't they name you to me? Why was the bus stopped? What sin had the bus committed? We like to tell those people: "It is true you hold the reins of Government. You may rule. Certainly, you may. But this is Guru's Nation." As I have said many times earlier, even though responsible brothers, Guru's men who are older than me, try to stop me, I cannot help speaking the truth. If I live - the *Morcha* will of course definitely be successful, it cannot be that it will not succeed, because it must succeed. Until today no *Morcha* launched from Akal Takhat Sahib has ever failed and none will in the future; this one will succeed too - but if my body is still there at the end of the *Morcha*, and I get an opportunity to come out and dust your shoes, I assure the congregation from this stage today as I have done earlier: "*Singhs*, do not lose heart; have faith. Those *Singhs* whose engines have been damaged and motors taken away by the Government, whose homes are being burnt down, whose beddings are being taken away; if I come out, within one month losses that any Sikh has suffered, up to a million rupees, we shall make up whether we give it out ourselves or force these people to return the loot. Don't lose heart." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. [I like to say to the] people in the police. You may take our vehicles, burn all of them. Guru's Sikhs have spent their days in the saddles of their horses, in forests, without food. But you should take care of yourselves throughout. I have said that if I live, I shall do all this but if I die - if that is God's will - then [I like to say]: "Members of the Police, don't imagine that the turbaned people

<sup>43</sup> Member of Parliament.

<sup>44</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>45</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) and *kirpaan* (the sikh sword) are two of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

will fall asleep." They know how to go to England<sup>46</sup> to seek justice; and if someone forcibly keeps horses in the Suman Burj, they do not quietly take out their horses and go [stealthily] but loudly proclaim<sup>47</sup>: "My name is Bidhi Chand, caste Chhina and I am going, Bhai Roopa, I am going to the door of the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>48</sup>, if you have the courage, come over." How he [the official] reached there and how he was defeated [is well known].

## CLOSING REMARKS

These young boys have come with Dayalpuri<sup>49</sup>. They recited poems to the congregations there. They will recite poems to you too. On my own behalf, I thank the *jathedars*, the men and women, young and old, the young *Singhs* and all the volunteers who are going with the *Jatha*. Everyone should be ready to fulfill the *Panthak* program<sup>50</sup>. Keep as many weapons as possible. [I like to say this] to those brothers who say that licenses are not issued. If Pawan Kumar, the son of a Hindu, can keep 230 grenades without license at his home, and the police can recover these from his home and does not punish him, if Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram<sup>51</sup> are permitted to keep weapons without license, I like to ask you as to how many licenses did the Sixth King<sup>52</sup> get from Jehangir<sup>53</sup>, and how many licenses did the Tenth King<sup>54</sup> receive from Aurangzeb<sup>55</sup>? If our Father did not get any license from anyone, why has the need arisen for you? If a son of Gulli Ram<sup>56</sup> can keep 230 grenades and you are very law-abiding and are in minority, do not keep 230; leave out the thirty. Each one of you should keep at least 200. Be fully prepared. We have to stay under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>57</sup> stoutly and openly support the *Panth* - not surreptitiously. Accept Satguru Granth Sahib as Guru and avoid the hypocritical living [gurus]. I have received a note today. I shall bring it tomorrow morning and show it to you.

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<sup>46</sup> Reference is to Udham Singh's killing of Michael O'Dwyer.

<sup>47</sup> Reference is to Bhai Bidhi Chand taking away horses from an official, challenging him in aloud voice, and then going to Darbar Sahib.

<sup>48</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>49</sup> Bhai Bakhshish Singh Dayalpuri.

<sup>50</sup> Plan of action jointly decided upon by the leaders of the Khalsa brotherhood.

<sup>51</sup> Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram are fictitious Hindu names contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn and Gulli is a wooden toy.

<sup>52</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>53</sup> Jehangir was the mughal emperor at Delhi during much of Siri Hargobind Sahib's reign.

<sup>54</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>55</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>56</sup> Here reference is to Pawan Kumar who was found in possession of 230 grenades and not punished.

<sup>57</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

One more *Narkdharia*<sup>58</sup> guru has set himself up in Gurdaspur. I have forgotten his name. I shall tell you in the morning after reading from it [the note]. He is another one newly born [as guru]. You will have to pay attention to such people. Stay united with Akal Takhat Sahib and Harmandar Sahib. No matter how much anyone hurls abuse at you, how much they malign you, do not distance yourself from the *Panth*. Do not abandon the saffron *Nishaan Sahib* or turn away from Satguru Granth Sahib. Be careful about anyone who, pleading in the name of Satguru Granth Sahib, appealing in the name of the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*, beating the drum of the name of the *Panth*, but in transgression of the *Hukamnama*<sup>59</sup>, having drunk the blood of the martyrs, calling the *Narkdharia*<sup>60</sup> his father to get their votes, desires to maintain his chair. Keep weapons. Be fully prepared. Thoroughly punish whoever insults Satguru Granth Sahib.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>58</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>59</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris.

<sup>60</sup> Reference here is to Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru.

SPEECH #33  
20 AUGUST 1983

Guru's Image, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> Ji - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>3</sup>.*

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: You have listened to the nice views expressed by speakers from this stage. You are fortunate.

ANNIVERSARY OF MARTYRDOM OF TWO BRAVE SIKHS

Manjit Singh Alias Museebat Singh

Innumerable *Singhs* as well as Sikh women, young and old, have courted arrest in the course of the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>4</sup> that has been going on for a long time. Many *Singhs* have shed their blood and made sacrifices to ensure success of this *Morcha*. Among these, on today's date - [*Aside to someone: Bhai, today is the 20th, isn't it*] - was Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh. The *Morcha* started in united fashion on 4 August [1982]. It started after the arrest of Bhai Amrik Singh on 19 July [1982]. A sequence of *Jathas*<sup>5</sup> continued to go [to peacefully court arrest]. Among the first few *Jathas*, Bhai Makhan Singh of Matlewal led one. He spent a lot of time at Ferozepur along with his companions. On 4 August when the entire Akali Dal, the entire congregation, assembled and sent the *Jatha*: the same day, Bhai Manjit Singh - whom the newspapers particularly refer to as Museebat Singh - that *Gurmukh*<sup>6</sup>, born in Mehta, in order to seek justice for the blood of *Singhs* that the Government had been drinking for quite some time, for the fulfillment of the Anandpur Resolution, to seek justice against the cruel persons who set fire to copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, for the glory of the Sikh Nation, to enhance the honor of the Sikhs and to see it flourish, placed himself in the jaws of death.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>5</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>6</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

He hijacked a plane. He did not hijack a plane because he wanted to create any trouble in Hindostan. Even though the Hindus, the rulers, in order to malign the Sikhs, have started the propaganda that Sikhs hijacked the plane and that the hijacking was anti-national action and amounted to treason. Such judgments have been expressed. But that brave man, that heroic man, following the steps taken by these people [the Hindus] in connection with expression of protest<sup>7</sup>, took this step to maintain the reverence for his *Isht*<sup>8</sup>. In 1977, at the time *Bibi* Indira<sup>9</sup> was sentenced, Pandey and others hijacked a plane. Then, brother, if a plane can be hijacked for a girl of the Pundits, why can a Sikh not hijack a plane for the *Isht* of the Sikhs, for the honor of the Sikh Nation, to open the ears of the Government? They should tell us if any excess has been committed. They were the first to hijack a plane for a woman, now a Sikh has done it for his *Isht*. How has the Sikh committed treason in this and how was it patriotism for them? That Sikh was arrested at Raja Sansi airport. First, he was assured [safety] but after he was arrested through trickery, on this date, *Khalsa Ji*, he was put to death with a bullet. That *Singh* achieved martyrdom. Blessed are his mother and father whose young son sacrificed himself for the Nation and for the country. The nation that has such jewels, such martyrs, can never be defeated. We are remembering that *Gursikh*<sup>10</sup>, that *Gurmukh* today as well.

#### Bhai Gurmeet Singh Of Dhulkot

We are observing the anniversary jointly for the two *Singhs*. The *Paath*<sup>11</sup> was commenced yesterday. Today the *Paath* has reached the halfway point. On today's date Bhai Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh gave his life. Tomorrow is the twenty-first. On night of the twenty-first, there was an explosion in Rahon. In connection with that [explosion], Bhai Gurmeet Singh of Dhulkot, the only son of his parents - there is now no continuation of that family - was caught hold of [by the police]. His nails were pulled out and salt was poured [over the wounds]; his hands were burnt by placing candles under the palms of his hands. Then Bhullar sent a wireless message to *Zakariya*<sup>12</sup>, the Chief Minister of Punjab, stating that his [Gurmeet Singh's] hands had been burnt, his nails pulled out and salt poured over them but he does not say anything except *Sat Siri Akal*<sup>13</sup> and *Vaheguru* [God]. Then, the words came out of this proud man's

<sup>7</sup> Reference is to the hijacking, by some Hindus, of a plane in 1977 to protest Indira Gandhi's imprisonment.

<sup>8</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>9</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name. Here the reference is to Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at the time.

<sup>10</sup> *Gursikh* means Sikh of the Guru.

<sup>11</sup> Reference is to *Akhand Paath*, i.e., complete uninterrupted reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>13</sup> Part of *Jaikaara*. *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

mouth that this man should be shot to death. That is how he was martyred. If the time comes, perhaps not today or tomorrow or the day after, but if circumstances allow [he will have to answer for his misdeeds]. Bhullar has confessed to this. Bhullar, the S.S.P.<sup>14</sup> of Jalandhar has confessed to a highly prominent person that when after so much torture he sent this wireless message, at that time the Chief Minister said that he [Gurmeet Singh] should be put to death and that it should be reported that he died in an encounter. He [Bhullar] confessed to this himself. There is a reason why I hesitate in giving out names. If the time comes, if Satguru pleases, these people will confess in public. If they do not, they will have to confess where [all sins] are confessed. So, *Khalsa Ji*, we are assembled in the memory of those brave men. I appeal to the congregation. Today is Saturday and there is a good gathering but tomorrow, in memory of the two martyrs, the *Paath* will be completed. There will be an assembly here from one o'clock until four o'clock. The congregation should be present in the largest numbers possible.

## GOVERNMENT AND HINDU PRESS PROPAGANDA

### A Scare Is Created By Quoting Me Out Of Context

Many types of news come in the newspapers to create dissensions among us. We should be watchful of these. Sometimes such arguments are presented that some brothers often start wondering. We should all pay attention to the background of these arguments. On the day we were observing the anniversary of the great man [Sant Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindranwale], during the discourse, I presented some of my views. Keeping those views in mind, the Government, and especially people belonging to the Hindu brotherhood, have raised a hue and cry about me. People like Pandey, perhaps his name is Juginder Pal Pandey, have appealed to Dictator Sahib<sup>15</sup>. They have said: "Stop these inflammatory statements; no one has the right [to say such things]; it is not right to say such things; Bhindranwale has used the word Hindu." In *Jap Ji Sahib*<sup>16</sup> there is a line

ਕੇਤੇ ਲੈ ਲੈ ਮੁਕਰੁ ਪਾਹਿ॥

'Innumerable are those who take and then deny having taken.' If we ask someone: "Why don't you read the next line." You know what answer they give? They answer: "Sant Ji, is all of *Jap Ji Sahib* for us? You can read the other line." [The other line is]:

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<sup>14</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>15</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha* - the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>16</sup> *Jap Ji Sahib* is one of the daily Sikh prayers.

'Innumerable are the fools who merely eat.' [They say]: "The first line 'Innumerable are those who take and then deny having taken' is for us and 'Innumerable are the fools who merely eat' is for you." These people are the same way. They also are not answerable. What I preached following [the statement under discussion] has been tape-recorded. Perhaps it has been recorded on television too. It has been recorded on other tapes as well. They do not give the context. They merely excerpted the phrase where Bhindranwale says he shall punish the Hindus. Why did I say this? Has anyone asked Bhindranwale: "Why did the need for you to say this from the stage arise?" Just now I was coming down the stairs. I do not remember the name of that brother but there were two Hindu businessmen of the city who had come with him and were sweating profusely. They had gone up to the second story when I came upon them. I asked them: "What is the matter?" They said: "We had come to have your *darshan*<sup>17</sup>." I asked: "Why are you soaked in sweat?" They said: "We were in some doubt whether we would return or not." Now they say that from tomorrow they will bring groups of Hindus and satisfy them [of our peaceful attitude]. The newspapers have painted such a picture. Now what is the use of talking about Hindu-Sikh unity, and saying that Hindus and Sikhs are brothers, to such newspapers and to people like Yash, Virender, Vijay Kumar, and Romesh<sup>18</sup> who criticize *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>19</sup>. People like them compare *Kalgidhar Ji* with Rana Pratap and Shiva Ji Marhatta! If we happen to warn the public about these people and the public warns them, is it wise for us to get feverish?

### The Government Labels Us As Murderers

I had given a statement regarding this when there was talk about use of the word 'Hindu' from this stage. In connection with our observing the anniversary of the passing of the deceased great man whom we regard as our father, our preceptor, we sent a bus to fetch the aged mother of the deceased *Brahm Giani*<sup>20</sup> and the rest of her family. They impounded the bus and took it to the police station. It was in connection with that event that I gave the statement and said that<sup>21</sup>. Why did I use this word? The reason for using it is that a person named Ashok Kumar died [by police gunfire]. The pillars of the Central Government shook; their walls shook; the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, came running; and Sethi, the Home Minister, came running. Chaturvedi couldn't wait; he also reached here. On the other hand, two hundred, perhaps a few less

<sup>17</sup> Having someone's *darshan* means seeing that person.

<sup>18</sup> Some of the editors of Hindu newspapers.

<sup>19</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>20</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge. Reference here is to Sant Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa.

<sup>21</sup> That is, used the word 'Hindu.'

than that, of our turban-wearing brothers have become martyrs. Has even a gatekeeper of the Central Government cared to come? If the death of a Sikh is not even as important as that of a dog and if when a son of a Hindu dies, the Central Government is all shaken up, then we have to touch them where they can feel it. If a son of a Hindu dies, the Central Government is moved. Then we should touch them where it moves them. What is the use of touching them where they don't even notice? Have we killed any Hindu? We only made a statement. The statement too was made because if we go to bring our old mother<sup>22</sup> we are labeled as murderers. If we go to administer *amrit*<sup>23</sup>, we are murderers. They caught hold of a boy from Buttar who had gone to preach. They broke his bones through beating. You can go see him in Faridkot Jail. He had gone to give a discourse in the village. His legs were broken because he went to a village to give a discourse. If we give discourses we are murderers; if we administer *amrit* we are murderers; going to fetch our mother, we are murderers; giving a discourse on *gurbani*<sup>24</sup> sitting here we are murderers; giving a shoulder to carry the remains of a martyr we are murderers.

#### The Government Loots Sikhs, Favors Hindus. We Must Claim What Is Ours

We shall have to consider that if we are falsely called murderers anyway, maybe we should show how we could become real murderers. I just gave a statement. How has the Government started wailing? How have Pandey and others been wailing? It is one day and thirteen months since this *Morcha* was started in the form of arrests. Today is the 20th. It started on the 19th. Thirteen months have passed, it is one day beyond that today. In thirteen months, have you ever read a statement by Pandey that it is too bad that Sikhs have been killed? Sikhs have offered so many for arrest, Pandey does not feel the pain; they have been martyred, there has been no pain; Sikh women have been widowed, there has been no pain; tractors in Kup Kalan were set on fire and destroyed, there was no pain; but I merely made a statement from the stage and have not yet hurt anyone but all of them are running a fever! Some say that it is against the traditions of the Gurus. From this stage I like to ask: "Would you, sons of Sikhs, call *Kalgidhar Ji* your Father? Won't your tongue be burnt?" My Beloved, the Sacrificer of his sons, is sitting at the entrance to Anandpur. The congregation appealed: "True King; the congregation has been looted, the Mughals have robbed us." *Maharaj*<sup>25</sup> said: "Stay quiet. It does not matter." The next day again the congregation came up and said that they had been looted. *Maharaj* said: "Have patience." A message came a third time: "*Maharaj*, the

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<sup>22</sup> Mother of Sant Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindranwale.

<sup>23</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>24</sup> *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, means the text of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>25</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.



congregation has been looted." The True King was very young. His beard had just started to grow. Satguru's countenance was as if light dawn had come on his face. At that time, getting into a valorous mood, *Maharaj* said: "*Khalsa Ji*, I do not wish to hear the congregation has been looted. From tomorrow I wish to hear whether Guru's *Khalsa* has recovered the loot; yes, recovered the loot." I have interpreted it according to what intellect I have. If the ideas we have are applied to the other situation then, to my thinking, the son of a Sikh will call the Guru a robber. Was the Guru's action good? Where did this talk begin and where have I applied it, have you understood the commentary? I appeal to the young men. Our ideal, our Faith, our principle, is that a son of a Sikh must never attack an unarmed person. Some people say that one who attacks in disguise cannot call himself a Sikh at all. Then may I ask if escaping in disguise is all right. What would you call Bhai Bidhi Chand, the brave man whom the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>26</sup> declared to be his own heart:

ਬਿਧੀਆ ਛੀਨਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਕਾ ਸੀਨਾ।

'Bidhi Chand Chhina is the breast of the Guru.' Chhina was his sub-caste and the heart is referred to as breast. What is the story of Patti He has a wrap around him. The policeman asks him: "Who is it?" He replies [affecting a woman's voice]: "I am a woman, an old woman." Then Bidhi Chand was lying and we are the only truthful sons left. He did not lift the veil from his face. He stayed wrapped around as he came out and jumped into the fired kiln. Then Bidhi Chand also told a lie. A woman of the Pundits came crying. With folded hands she said: "I have to marry my daughter off. Please get me some trinkets." He robbed the house of the richest moneylender in town. Where is it ordered for a Sikh to commit a robbery? But how was the money used? With the money taken [from the moneylender] the daughter of the Pundits, not of a Sikh, was married. Then Bidhi Chand was a very bad man?

I note with sorrow that we incessantly shout Hindu-Sikh, Hindu-Sikh [unity], and they strip our daughters naked and parade them. They are bent upon drinking our blood. They pull out and cut off the beards of the Sikhs and hand them over to the victims; they took off the turbans [of Sikhs] in Karnal and burnt them, and we keep cackling endlessly. Would you say these words to the Tenth King<sup>27</sup>? Would you say this to the Sixth King<sup>28</sup>? In Kiratpur Sahib, due to the robes<sup>29</sup> brushing against it, a branch was broken. [Guru Sahib] had pity on the flower. The Seventh King was addressed: "Why have you been so

<sup>26</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>27</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>28</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>29</sup> Robes of Siri Guru Har Rai Sahib, the seventh Guru, grandson of Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, and a child at the time of this story.

harsh. Why didn't you mind your robe?" My Most Beloved<sup>30</sup>, all the time he was Guru, would hold his robes with his hand, never leave them loose. There is mercy for the flower. There is hurt for the flower. But where was the mercy in the Sixth King when with one sweep of his sword he would cut through a horseman along with his horse and trappings and drive them into the ground? You turban wearers, tell me how many guns did you have in 1978<sup>31</sup>? Weren't you attacked when you were unarmed? Then if someone has made a formula and somebody else uses it against him why should we be annoyed, why should we be jumpy? [Why should we say] using this formula is not right for a Sikh? The Sikh way is not to attack anyone; the Sikh way is not to dishonor anyone's daughter or sister; the Sikh way is not to hurl abuse at anyone. It is not the Sikh way that a sister is being paraded naked and the brother looks down and just sits like a eunuch. This is not the way of a son of a Sikh.

## ADVICE TO SIKHS

### Stay United And Calm. Be Good Sikhs

So, I appeal to all the *Singhs*, all the young men to have confidence and faith. We have to stay under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>32</sup>. Regardless of anyone abusing another or using bad language for another, we have to hold on to the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*. We have to stoutly support the *Panth*<sup>33</sup>. We have to support it openly, not in a veiled manner. We must bow only to Satguru Granth Sahib and not to any hypocrite. Of course, if some leader, responsible person or *mahatma*<sup>34</sup> comes to you, you should say the *Fateh*<sup>35</sup> to him and not rush to touch his feet. Receive *amrit*<sup>36</sup> of *khandaa* and *baataa*<sup>37</sup>, stop shaving your hair and beards, and give up drug addictions.

### Do Not Trust Hypocrites

[If someone] in the name of the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*, invoking the support of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, beating the drum of the name of the *Panth*,

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<sup>30</sup> Siri Guru Har Rai Sahib, the Seventh Guru.

<sup>31</sup> On 13 April 1978, when a group of Sikhs went to protest a Nirankari convention.

<sup>32</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>33</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>34</sup> A *mahatma* is a great soul, a holy man.

<sup>35</sup> The Sikh greeting. Upon meeting, one Sikh says '*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa*', and the other responds with '*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*'

<sup>36</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>37</sup> *Khandaa* is a double-edged sword and *Baataa* an iron vessel. These are used in the initiation ceremony.

but in transgression of the *Hukamnama*<sup>38</sup>, having drunk the blood of martyrs, calling the *Narkdharia*<sup>39</sup> his father, and getting their votes is desirous of maintaining his chair<sup>40</sup>, regardless of how highly placed that person is or however low, never trust him. Remember this. I offer my congratulations to those who are going with the *Jatha* [to peacefully court arrest] and also request you young men that listening to a sermon, being influenced by it for a minute, and then moving away [is not right].

### Sikhs Must Not Honor Apostates

I appeal to all Sikhs collectively but especially to the Sikhs residing in Hindostan. You, having Sikh appearance, offer garlands and robes of honor to those who refuse to accept that Sikhs are a separate nation. Why don't we prefer death? You sons of the Sikhs, getting up on stages offer robes of honor to one who refuses to accept the teachings of Guru Granth Sahib and the appearance given us by Satguru *Kalgidhar*, to one who blackens his face<sup>41</sup>. Do you deserve to be called Sikhs? What calamity has befallen us? You give him robes of honor and he sends a message: "Go to such and such village and kill so many Sikhs." You go and cry to him [about the plight of the Sikhs] and he says [to the police officials] kill some more [Sikhs]. You give robes of honor to such persons!

### Keep Weapons. Be Prepared

I appeal to the entire congregation. We have to stay united. Don't get impatient upon reading news reported in any papers. We have to move calmly and with great patience. We have to keep a complete set of weapons. Carry weapons. We do not need any licenses. If the son of a Hindu does not need a license to keep grenades; if a son of the goat or the sheep does not need them for keeping weapons; why should the son of a lion go to them [the authorities] and stand there asking to be given weapons? Our life is accursed if, with turban on our head, with intact beard, when a cap-wearer<sup>42</sup> comes we pick up our rifles and say: "Good man with children, take this." Why were we born in the homes of Sikhs? Get ready and active. Fight for Satguru Granth Sahib, for the martyrs, for the Anandpur Resolution. Until this is achieved, do not worry about what words anyone uses for anybody. [Regarding] fulfillment of the

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<sup>38</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris.

<sup>39</sup> Here the reference is to Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru whom some of the Akali leaders (described by Sant Bhindranwale as hypocrites) approached for help in the elections to Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

<sup>40</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>41</sup> Reference here is to Giani Zail Singh, President of India who used to dye his beard black.

<sup>42</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often used the term cap-wearers for Hindus. Sikhs were the turban-wearers.

Anandpur Resolution, the Sikh Nation is decidedly separate. We have to get this accepted even if it means all twenty million of us having to sacrifice our lives. Until the Resolution is implemented, we shall not withdraw even an inch. You watch out for anyone who withdraws, I shall too. If I err, do not be lenient to me, do not look to any saintliness in me. And if anyone else errs, don't look for that in him either. But do not just listen to gossip and say so and so has sat down, so and so has fallen, this has happened. So long as the work is going on, whether it is slow or rapid, let it go on. The wheel hasn't locked yet, has it? If the wheel does get jammed, if something wrong happens, I am your little watchman and I shall not hesitate in telling you. I shall never fear anyone nor shall I frighten anybody. For a Sikh, his conduct has to be:

ਭੈ ਕਾਹੁ ਕਉ ਦੇਤ ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਭੈ ਮਾਨਤ ਆਨ

'He does not frighten anyone nor does he have any fear.' Don't worry too much about the news. I had given a statement that in every village there should be a motorcycle and three young men with three high quality revolvers. Opposition newspapers, the *Mahasha*<sup>43</sup> Press, have published this news: "Bhindranwala says, get these and kill Hindus." Have you ever heard me say that?

#### MORE ABOUT THE THREAT TO KILL HINDUS

I shall never deny where I used the word 'Hindu.' I uttered [this word] but in the context of all those things I have listed earlier. They released the bus. Did we as much as slap anyone? But may I ask something? They say it is not right [to make threats]. They have been holding a jeep for thirteen months. Has anyone got it released? We spent eighty thousand rupees on it. We had acquired a new jeep. They took it on the 17th. It happened last year. They have not released it and are still using it. The congregation had a bus built for me for three hundred thousand rupees. It too has been detained. Again we got a new, bigger bus. It cost three and a half to four hundred thousand [rupees]. [Busses] worth seven hundred thousand [rupees] were burnt at Chando-Kalan. How do we get the busses released so long as we do not hit back? If they [the officials] do not take away our busses, do not take away our jeeps, we can take care of the arrests they make. If tax has not been paid, we shall answer for it. But what does it mean that they grab busses belonging to the *Jatha*<sup>44</sup> whenever they feel like and keep them in police stations. Do these busses belong to eunuchs? If they do such things there will certainly be confrontation. Otherwise, we want peacefulness. Our *Morcha* is going on peacefully. Tell me which volunteer had set fire to anything anywhere where the *Jathas* go? If someone lights a fire outside [of our organization] we do not have a contract to be held responsible

<sup>43</sup> *Mahasha* is the term Sant Bhindranwale used for Arya Samajist Hindus.

<sup>44</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

sitting here? If they torment us while we are peaceful, if they create misunderstandings, consequences will definitely be serious. Otherwise, things are going on smoothly. You go there, are arrested and after meals they release you and you return. This will go on as long as it does.

## BE PREPARED FOR THE WORST

### Be Prepared. Matters Can Get Worse

But, young men, be active. Do not keep waiting for instructions from here. All the time you ask for some strong program. Don't let it happen that when some strong program is announced from here, you sit around asking for us to give you something. No one has that stuff in his pocket that he can take it out and give it to you. You have to create it with your hands, with your brains, with your own strength. March in unity. Give up drug addictions, stoutly support the *Panth*, remain alert about enemies, inflict total defeat upon the living human Gurus, and pay full attention to those who criticize the Guru. Those who dishonor our daughters and sisters, those who insult Satguru Granth Sahib, they have to be thoroughly punished. We have to follow the *Hukamnama* and we have to make every proper effort to stop the *Narkdharis* from growing and flourishing. I am not saying this on my own; this is written in the *Hukamnama*.

## GURCHARAN SINGH'S RELEASE

Regarding the students who had been arrested by the Government, many of the students have returned earlier with Bhai Amrik Singh and Thara Singh. Today, Bhai Gurcharan Singh Ji has come here. He was formerly an employee of the Committee and is also a student of the Federation. We share a deep mutual affection. When the Games were held in Delhi, this dear person rendered service [in connection with] posters. The Government arrested him, but so far they have not been able to present any charges against him. That dear person is here today. I congratulate the *Panth* and the entire congregation over this and would request that dear person to greet the congregation and to receive a *saropao*<sup>45</sup> in the form of a garland. [*Sant Bhindranwale calls aloud: Bhai Gurcharan Singh Ji*]. He received severe beating. [They said]: "Why have you ruined the atmosphere by distributing leaflets. Why have you caused a disturbance?" If the son of a Sikh drops a leaflet, it is communalism, but if a cap-wearer [Hindu] hijacks a plane it is still patriotism! You have to decide as to how you have to conduct yourself.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>45</sup> *Saropao* is robes of honor.

**SPEECH #34**  
**September 20, 1983**

Seated in the sacred presence of Satguru<sup>1</sup> Ji - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup> - Guru's Image, Guru *Khalsa Ji*, the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

**THE MARTYRDOM OF SIKHS AT MEHTA CHOWK**

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: Today we are assembled here in memory of the martyrs. What was the reason for their martyrdom? What was the need for the young men to spill their blood in Mehta?

Lala Jagat Narain's Malicious Campaign

Lala Jagat Narain used very bad language against the venerable, now abiding in the True Region<sup>4</sup>, *Singh Sahib* Giani Gurdial Singh Ji Ajnoha Sahib, *Jathedar* of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, and the current President of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Gurcharan Singh Ji Tohra. He even went to the extent of saying that both these *Singhs*, these Sikhs, were traitors to the nation and that the passports issued to enable them to travel abroad should be revoked; that they should be canceled. Young students, students of the Federation<sup>5</sup>, on whose special invitation we are here today touching the feet of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, got together and considering the paper on which these mischievous comments were written to be polluted, desired to burn it. Angered by this burnt piece of paper, intoxicated by power, overcome by the pride of being the rulers, [the Government] beat up these students up and cases were registered against them. However, no action was taken by us in a united, organized way. Personal differences might exist among people but, for the Sikhs, these two positions are of exalted status. One has to do with the management of the gurdwaras and even above it, at the first place, is Siri Akal

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Sach Khand* is the abode of Formless God, The Eternal Truth. Sikhs often refer to the deceased as 'living in Sach Khand' or 'living in the Region of Truth', i.e., being with God.

<sup>5</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

Takhat Sahib. A Lala<sup>6</sup>, hardly worth a dime or a nickel, should get up and call the chief official of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib and the President of the Shromani Committee, the religious organization, traitors to the country, and we do not even notice it! We must understand that, perhaps, we are burnt with jealousy. Time went by. Again, the news came that Lala Jagat Narain wrote in his newspaper that Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib used to live like a prince, and was very fashionable and fun-loving. We still slept over it<sup>7</sup>.

### Lala Jagat Narain's Murder And Government Harassment

When he started to repeatedly and maliciously attack the Gurus and *Singhs*, some son of his mother could stand it no longer and put him<sup>8</sup> on the train [of death]. After he was killed on 9 [September 1981], on 12 [September 1981], warrants for my arrest were issued. I came to know about it and, on the 14th, arrived here in Mehta at five o'clock, early in the morning. The cruel Government went into Chando-Kalan<sup>9</sup> and set fire to two busses that belonged not to me but to the congregation. I was a grass-cutter<sup>10</sup> at home; the Guru's congregation had given them to me for preaching and for travel. Both those busses were set on fire and burnt down. There were books of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, in them. The *Singhs* tried to take them out but were unable to do so because of the circumstances. The books were burnt and goods worth three hundred thousand rupees were looted from the village Chando-Kalan. In Mehta, on 16 [September 1981] at 4 p.m., I was served with the warrants. Upon receipt of warrants, I immediately announced that I would present myself for arrest on 20 September. These words have been tape-recorded. After that announcement, people started gathering there. The police too surrounded the Gurdwara Sahib<sup>11</sup> and set up positions for their sten-guns, bren-guns, and light machine-guns. In the course of time, responsible friends also arrived. They all came. The 20th day of [September], the date on which we are assembled here today, arrived. That day, the way I had dressed was somewhat different. Some brothers commented on it one way, some another way. The friends had each his own views. Some said that I had changed my dress out of fear. Others made other comments. Someone asked me: "What is the matter, why have you changed your manner of dress?" I humbly replied: "When someone goes to get a young man married he carries a piece of saffron cloth and wears a saffron turban. This is the normal practice in Punjab among

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<sup>6</sup> Lala is a term of respect in common use by Hindus for their elders. Here then reference is to Lala Jagat Narain and Sant Bhindranwale is using it in a derogatory sense.

<sup>7</sup> Failed to take note of it.

<sup>8</sup> Lala Jagat Narain.

<sup>9</sup> The place where Sant Bhindranwale was camping on the 12th.

<sup>10</sup> Sant Bhindranwale means he was a poor man in no position to buy vehicles for his own use.

<sup>11</sup> Gurdwara Gurdarshan Parkash at Chowk Mehta.

the Sikhs. I am going to wed my bride, Death. If the Chief Minister of Punjab, Zakariya<sup>12</sup>, and Indira<sup>13</sup>, the Queen of Hindostan have some *granthi*<sup>14</sup> to read the marriage prayer, they can send him to the jail where they are going to keep me. If they want the marriage solemnized, they should send him there, I am going there fully prepared for it." That day the gathering was many times larger than it is today. All the leaders and many other responsible friends had arrived there. After making a speech at midday, in the afternoon I offered myself for arrest.

### Police Massacre Innocent Sikhs

After the arrest, I went away from that place. A few minutes after I left the cruel Government - in order to ruin the peaceful atmosphere - fired upon the *Singhs*. Mud is thrown at me saying that I am too 'hot.' Mud is thrown at me saying that I am quarrelsome. Mud is thrown at me saying that I am an agent of the Congress<sup>15</sup>. It is very easy to say these [bad] things. One can only learn [the truth] when one is being broken on the wheel whether, at that time, one recites God's name or hurls abuse. On the 20th September, I went from that place. Some brothers say this too; our poet brothers have written poems as well. I have, on many occasions, humbly said this. Either we do not have enough reverence for the Guru or we are under some untoward influence. All say Jarnail Singh has done a lot. He has woken up the [Sikh] Nation. Many poets have also written poems about it. I humbly appeal to these poets. Instead of making poems in my name, you should first of all write poems in praise of Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Why should you do that? If the [Sikh] Nation is awake today it is because of the martyrdom of Siri Guru Granth Sahib. September 14 marks the awakening of this Nation. Guru Sahib offered himself to the fire. If the books had not been set on fire, if the volumes<sup>16</sup> had not been set on fire, I am prepared to say with confidence that we could not have achieved such an awakening. *Khalsa Ji*, to preserve reverence for Satguru, *Singhs* reached there and peacefully served the congregation, but the cruel Government shot and killed the *Singhs*. There is a *Singh*, an old man from Buttaran, Channan Singh by name. His son was a student in the twelfth grade. All day he served food and milk to the congregation. When he was going home, he passed in front of the police station. He was shot and killed while sitting in the trolley [of a tractor]. We do talk and rightly so, about our Hindu-Sikh unity. We have to live together. The young son of Kartar Singh of Dharde village was sitting in his

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<sup>12</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>13</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>14</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>16</sup> Copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.



trolley when he was shot. Another was from Bolewal - Bolewal is a village near Mehta - all these villages are near Mehta. He, too, was shot and killed. The time came. The dead bodies reached Amritsar. I was not here but all of you who are sitting here must have been. It is possible that you were not here but at Mehta Gurdwara. You were not at any other place. This happened about that time.

### Bodies Of Sikhs Were Not Returned To Their Families

The dead bodies were brought [to Amritsar]. You know how the post-mortem examinations<sup>17</sup> were conducted and how the bodies were disposed of by the Government. It is not proper for me to talk about it. It is more appropriate that you speak<sup>18</sup>.

### The First Hijacking To Protest Bhindranwale's Arbitrary Arrest

Time passed. I went to jail. The [Sikh] Nation came together. Guru Sahib had mercy. Bhai Gajinder Singh and others, sons of the Guru, hijacked a plane in protest.

### WE ARE SLAVES AND NEED TO BE FREE

I appeal to our young men. Last night you had a large gathering. You were asking what we are and what we have to do. The responsibility for taking decisions belongs to the *Panth*<sup>19</sup> but I shall certainly give my personal opinion. I shall not hesitate. Last night I humbly said to the young men that first I have to tell them that we are slaves. No matter how much we talk, no matter how much we boast, until it is ingrained in the mind of every son of a Sikh, of every old man, of every mother and sister, that we are slaves, we shall not be able to throw off the yoke of slavery and achieve freedom. Freedom from slavery is achieved only when a person starts to feel and understand that he would prefer death to life as a slave; when he does not consider living [as a slave] worthwhile. Only then does one get rid of slavery, never otherwise. How are we slaves? I shall devote only a small amount of time to this because it is getting quite late and the congregation has been patiently sitting since early morning. I shall tell you only the principle signs of slavery and not go into detail.

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<sup>17</sup> A post-mortem examination is an autopsy.

<sup>18</sup> This would be because Sant Bhindranwale was under arrest at the time and could not have first-hand knowledge.

<sup>19</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

## The Asian Games

You all read in the newspapers about the holding of the Asian Games in Hindostan and a line being drawn for the Sikh. The word 'Sikh' is used, be he one wearing the *kachhera*<sup>20</sup>, or a sheet, or even clean-shaven. If his name is 'Singh' he cannot cross the line and go to Delhi through Haryana. A cap-wearer<sup>21</sup> can.

## Refusal Of Entry Into India

If a Sikh comes here from America, he is sent back from the airport, but a Hindu travelling by the same plane can reach Delhi. This is a sign of slavery.

## Indira Gandhi Warns Punjab Sikhs Of Reprisals Against Sikhs Outside Punjab

[Consider] the Prime Minister of India. Didn't Balbir Ji<sup>22</sup> say that [criminal] cases have been registered? More will be registered. If the Prime Minister of India says that she wishes to tell the Akalis, or to tell the Sikhs of Punjab, that they have started this struggle and are making demands for such things, they should think of what might happen to Sikhs outside [Punjab]. No case is registered [against her]. This is because she is born in the home of Pundits. But if, from this stage or from Samundri Hall, Bhindranwala says: "Bibi Indira, intoxicated with power, there is so much pride in you that you warn Sikhs to think about what might happen to those outside [Punjab], you should remember too that there are only twenty Hindus to every Sikh and no more." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>23</sup>]. Singhs, don't shout the *Jaikaara*. I like to appeal to the friends who shout the *Jaikaara*: "What do you get out of it? You can shout the *Jaikaaras* after we are done and get up. First listen to all I have to say. We are slaves and are shouting slogans of victory! First get freedom. Do not cause distraction. Try to listen and understand how we are slaves." I am not speaking merely in anger. I have been accused [of many things]. They say: "He makes strong statements. He wishes to create trouble in the country. He wishes to destroy the relationship of nails to the flesh under the nails<sup>24</sup>." But I like to ask you today: what is our relationship? Is the Prime Minister's responsibility towards the country more or less than mine? I am an ordinary servant of the Sikhs. She has become [what she is] by your

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<sup>20</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>21</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often used the term cap-wearers for Hindus. Sikhs were the turban-wearers.

<sup>22</sup> Bharpur Singh Balbir, Editor, Akali Patrika, who had spoken before Sant Bhindranwale.

<sup>23</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>24</sup> Reference is to Hindu-Sikh relations. Many people liken the kinship between Hindus and Sikhs to that of the fingernails (the Sikhs) with the flesh of the finger (the Hindus), claiming that Sikhs have grown out of them, are an integral part of Hindu society and not a separate nation or religion at all.

votes. I have not become a *sant* by the votes of any of you. Thanks to the mercy of our Father, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji; thanks to the kindness of the great man, the late Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa; it is due to them that I have come today on this stage. She has become [the Prime Minister] by getting the votes of the Indian public. If she says that the President<sup>25</sup> and the leaders should think about the women who wear turban or *chuni*<sup>26</sup> or have 'Kaur' in their name, we are not eunuchs that we shall not respond.

### We Are Sons Of Guru Gobind Singh, The Unique Man

I am illiterate but you are many well-educated philosopher friends sitting here. If you have seen, in any book, in any historical text, in any writing, the word 'man' used with the name of any founder of a faith, show it to me. This word has been written solely in reference to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji:

ਵਹ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿਓ ਮਰਦ ਅਗੰਮੜਾ ਵਰਿਆਮ ਅਕੇਲਾ ਵਹ ਵਹ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਪੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਚੇਲਾ॥

'The Distinguished Man, the Unique Warrior manifested. Wonderful is Gobind Singh, himself the Guru and the Disciple.' If a boy is not like his father, what do people call him? You can figure that out for yourselves later. People suspect the boy who does not take after his father. If the father is Guru Gobind Singh Sahib and the boy is taunted, insults are hurled at him, and words full of hate are used for him, for example, that you are born out of us, you are born out of us<sup>27</sup>, that you are Brahmins. Our father has expressed himself very firmly telling the Brahmin not to say the wrong thing and:

ਛੜੀ ਕੋ ਪੁਤ ਹੋ ਬਾਮਨ ਕੋ ਨਹਿ

'I am the son of a *Kshatri*, not of a Brahmin.' They want to depict the Tenth King<sup>28</sup> as a Hindu with uncut hair. *Maharaj*<sup>29</sup> says this will never be.

### Laws Are Used To Restrain Sikhs, Not Hindus

If I say that there is a count of twenty for each of us, a case is registered [against me] under clause 506, but not against her because she is born in the house of the Pundits. If the Home Minister of Hindostan says: "Take this Bhindranwale out of Guru Nanak Niwas within eight days," no case is

<sup>25</sup> President, Shromani Akali Dal, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>26</sup> *Chuni* is the scarf worn by Sikh women to cover their heads.

<sup>27</sup> Reference is to Hindu-Sikh relations. Many Hindus contend that Sikhs are a sect within the Hindus and not a separate nation or religion at all.

<sup>28</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>29</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

registered because he is born in the house of a Brahmin. If Bhindranwala or any other [Sikh] leader says from this stage: "We are not wearing bangles. We shall make you eat iron gram<sup>30</sup>, you can come with all preparations," a case is registered. If Bhattacharya, born in the house of Hindus, makes a statement in the Parliament, while the case is being heard in the court in Ludhiana, that Nachhattar Singh should have been hanged, no case is registered against him. If Swami Adityavesh, a Hindu from Haryana, says: "Pick up your *kachhera* and towels and get out of here, you Sikhs have no business here," no case is registered against him. The Finance Minister of Punjab, Kewal Krishan, born in the house of Brahmins, says: "We shall destroy all organizations [of Sikhs]." Yet, no case is registered. This news is about six months old. I read it myself in the Akali Patrika. If it is said: "We shall crush the Sikhs, we shall grind them down, rub them out," no case is registered. If Harbans Lal Khanna says here, on the sacred soil of Amritsar:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni,  
kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*

‘We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not going to let a turban remain on any head; the shorts, the iron bangle, the sword, send these to Pakistan,’

no case is registered.

### Sikhs Are Harassed

A Sikh gave a jeep, which cost 80,000 rupees, for the use of the Five Beloved Ones<sup>31</sup>. On 17 July last year, the police forcibly seized it. The *Singhs* who were arrested in connection with that incident, Jagir Singh, Ajaib Singh, Mangal Singh, Amrik Singh and Thara Singh - those *Singhs* are here sitting on this stage, but the jeep is at the police station. The congregation gave a bus costing 300,000 rupees for use in preaching. We go to bring Mata Ji Labh Kaur Ji, revered mother of our respected father<sup>32</sup>, *Brahm Giani*, great man who left us [for his heavenly abode] in the prime of his life as was ordained, from Jhindwala in Muktsar; and the cruel Government seizes that new bus, brings it here from Muktsar, and keeps it for a year in the police station! I want to ask those of you who say: "He says wrong things. He is hot-tempered." It was after all these excesses that I said: "If our bus is not returned by five o'clock, I shall kill five thousand Hindus in one hour." It was said after we had suffered so much loss.

<sup>30</sup> A figure of speech meaning 'we shall offer strong resistance.'

<sup>31</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, are authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith. They are referred to as the Five Beloved Ones of the Guru. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>32</sup> Reference here is to Sant Bhindranwale's spiritual teacher, the late Sant Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa.

## I DO NOT HATE HINDUS

Why did I use the word 'Hindu'? Many [people] say the word 'Hindu' coming from the lips of a *sant* does not sound nice. To whom did I claim that I am a *sant*? Have I given in writing to anyone that I am a *sant*? I am Jarnail Singh and my pen-name is Khalsa. But why did I use the word 'Hindu'?

### The Case Of Hukam Chand's Daughter

I have no enmity with the Hindus as such. If I were their enemy, why would I rescue the daughter of a Hindu from Jalalabad? A young Hindu forcibly kidnapped the daughter of Hukam Chand, a Hindu. In an assembly of ten thousand persons, coming to the stage, he started crying and said: "Sant Ji, you are an official of the *Damdami Taksaal*<sup>33</sup>. In old times, Sikhs used to rescue the daughters of Hindus. A Hindu has kidnapped my young unmarried daughter." If I discriminated [against Hindus], I would have said: "Get off this stage. Go and tell the Hindus [to help you]." But no, the duty of a Guru's Sikh is [expressed by the phrase]:

ਨਾਨਕ ਨਾਮ ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ ਤੇਰੇ ਭਾਲੇ ਸਰਬਤ ਦਾ ਭਲਾ

'Nanak says: God's Name is glorious; there is good for all in accepting Your Will.' We have always followed this. It was about noon when I told him from the stage in Jalalabad, which is near Fazilka, that by five o'clock his daughter would reach his home, if his statements were true and there was no other confusion. I assigned this task to Mohinder Singh Sahianwala. *Khalsa Ji*, the girl was brought and handed over to the Hindu by quarter till five.

### Kailash Chander's Case

Kailash Chander owns a retail shop here. His shop was burnt down. The Retail Merchants Union asked him: "Name Bhindranwale." He refused. That Hindu along with two Sikhs - the three of them - came to see me in my room. He came and started to cry. I asked him: "What is the matter? Why are you crying?" He said: "My shop has been burnt down." I asked him what he wanted from me. He said: "If you give me about a hundred rupees, it will give me the excuse for making a collection." I gave him five hundred rupees.

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<sup>33</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

## The Burning Of Ramayan

In Kapurthala, a copy of the Ramayan<sup>34</sup> was burnt. The leaders of that place know about this. The *Jatha*<sup>35</sup> spent 5,000 rupees in litigation over that [to get the culprits punished].

## Compensation For Hindu Victims Of Police Brutality

On 4 [April 1983], two Hindus were martyred in connection with the *Rasta Roko* [Stop the Traffic] campaign. The Shromani Akali Dal and the Shromani Committee paid [their families] 10,000 rupees each and the *Jatha* gave another 5,000 to each family. If I was an enemy of all the Hindus, why do I need to pay all this money? But I challenge any Hindu, any son of his mother who might be present here today, to raise his hand if, out of the 600 million Hindu population of India, a single Hindu has gone to the home of any Sikh martyr and given a new five rupee bill to the family.

## DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SIKHS

### The Government Is Unconcerned About Sikh Deaths

What is our relationship [with the Hindus]? Why have I used the word 'Hindu'? I have not used it in anger. I shall convince you with arguments. Nearly two hundred *Singhs* have achieved martyrdom, perhaps the number is a few short [of that figure]; tell me if any servant of the Government has come to inquire. The President [of the Shromani Akali Dal] has given a statement. There had to be an inquiry at Mehta. I do not know whether it was one month or two after [the incident] that the orders for the inquiry were issued. The orders were issued and it is three months since it [the report on this inquiry] was received [by the Government]. They [the officials] do not release it because it goes against the police. An eighty-year-old *Lala* died. He died on the 9th [September 1981]. After [only] three days, on the 12th, warrants were issued for my arrest. [On the other hand] it is over two years since copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib were burnt, and the inquiry is still stymied. How long are we going to maintain unity? Why did I use the word 'Hindu'? Nearly two hundred *Singhs* have died, tell me if any Government official has come to any of you to inquire about it. All of them, our men, died at the hands of the police. Ashok Kumar, son of a Hindu, was killed by a police bullet in Patiala. The Home Minister came running, and Indira Rani<sup>36</sup> came running also. If she is so concerned about the death of one person in a count of six hundred million

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<sup>34</sup> Ramayan is a Hindu holy book.

<sup>35</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>36</sup> Rani means queen. Reference here is to Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

[Hindus], why is she not concerned over the death of two hundred in a count of twenty million [Sikhs]? Should one touch the place where it hurts or where you do not feel any pain? It was under these circumstances that I used these words 'five thousand Hindus'. You tell me, should I have used this or not? You, Guru's congregation, should give your decision. Then why do they say: "Bhindranwala speaks harsh words." Why do they say he causes division? This is what I have been saying. Mohinder Singh from Rode is sitting here. He is a member of the Shromani Committee. His daughter-in-law and her father were stripped in the police station Ghall Khurd in Ferozepur and forced to have sexual union. Who is going to wail? One who people go to and cry or one to whom they never go?

Jagir Singh, son of Tara Singh of village Ittanwali, has been here today. His thigh was cut up and [the wound] filled with salt. I am telling you that these are signs of slavery. I had said in the beginning [that I shall tell you] how we are slaves. If a Hindu dies, there is an inquiry, if a Sikh dies there is no inquiry. If a Hindu dies, the body is returned [to the family], if a Sikh dies, the body is not returned. If a Hindu dies, the Sikh is punished, if a Sikh dies, the inquiry is stopped.

#### Sikh Protest Is Punished As A Crime

A girl born in a house of Pundits, Bibi Indira Gandhi, having won the votes of the people, became the Prime Minister of India. In 1977 a court sentenced her [to jail]. She went to jail to serve time. Her associates, Pandey and others, hijacked a plane. One of them was given a ticket [to contest election] for [a seat in the] Assembly<sup>37</sup> in U.P.<sup>38</sup> and the other for a seat in Bihar. But if Guru's sons, Gajinder Singh and his companions hijacked a plane, they are exiled. And they say our<sup>39</sup> relationship is like that between the nails and the flesh under them. If a plane is hijacked for a daughter of the Pundits, a Hindu gets a room in an M.L.A.<sup>40</sup> flat. When a Sikh, Gurbakhsh Singh, hijacked a plane for the sake of his *Isht*<sup>41</sup>, at the time that the entire *Panth* had unitedly started a peaceful struggle on 4 August [1982]; he was given an injection to cripple his leg. He is still in jail. If a plane is hijacked for a girl of the Pundits, it is patriotism; but when a plane is hijacked for the *Isht* of the Sikhs [as was done] by Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh - whose mother is sitting here and who was born in village Mehta and lived here in Amritsar - he was shot and killed at the Raja Sansi airport. Tell me, Guru's Sikhs, if our *Isht*,

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<sup>37</sup> Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>38</sup> The state of Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>39</sup> Hindu-Sikh.

<sup>40</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>41</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

Guru Granth Sahib, does not have even as much respect as a daughter of the Pundits, what [sort of] faith do we have in our Guru? If a plane can be hijacked in protest for a daughter of the Pundits, why can one not be hijacked for the sake of the *Isht* of the Sikhs, for the Sikhs' beards, for the Sikhs' *kirpaan*, and for the Sikhs' Harmandar Sahib? Of course, if the plane is burnt, if the plane is damaged, if the plane is set on fire, if any passenger on the plane is killed, if any passenger has been robbed, then all of us are sinners. Our leaders too are sinners. If a Sikh boards a plane and hijacks it to demonstrate his grief, it is called treason; if a Hindu strips a Sikh woman naked, it is patriotism! Tell me how long are we going to endure slavery? How unjust is it? How many examples of slavery have I given you? The responsibility for [acting about] this is going to fall upon you.

#### ANANDPUR RESOLUTION: DO WE WANT IT?

I shall appeal to the young men here. In the beginning I used these words: "If a son does not take after his father, very bad words are used in referring to him, in remembering him." After I say one more thing, I am going to ask you to raise your arms. I shall have to ask you to raise your arms twice. Tell me, all of you who are assembled here, do we want the Anandpur Resolution in its entirety or not? [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara.*] That is enough. It will suffice for me. If you want the Anandpur Resolution, [tell me this]. If a Sikh, having been born in his home, never again steps in it, can his home ever stay lived in? All of us sitting here, where were we born? The birthplace of the *Khalsa* is Anandpur Sahib. It is not only the birthplace of the *Khalsa*, it is also the place where the Sacrificer of his Sons<sup>42</sup> gave his word to the Sikhs in return for the gift of *amrit*. He requested: "*Khalsa Ji*, give *amrit* to me as well." Blessed was the Guru's Sikh; he was no flatterer. What fearlessness has he given to his *Khalsa*! The son [spiritual son, Bhai Daya Singh, the first Sikh initiated by Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib] tells the Sacrificer of his Sons: "My Beloved Father, You are welcome to receive *amrit*. We do not refuse it to You. But kindly tell us, bless us with an answer. You gave us *amrit* in return for five heads, not for peanuts. What will You give us in return for the gift of *amrit*?" Wonderful is the Sacrificer of his Sons, the True King, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. *Maharaj* replied: "Bhai Daya Singh Ji, you have come from various places and given me five heads. If you give me the *amrit* of the *khandaa* and *baataa*<sup>43</sup>, the Timeless, Omnipresent [God] be my witness that I shall sacrifice all my family for you." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara.*] *Khalsa Ji*, a resolution has been passed at the place where the Sacrificer of his sons gave us his word, the promise, to sacrifice his biological children for the sake of his

<sup>42</sup> Sikhs often refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in this manner recalling that all of his four sons became martyrs for the faith.

<sup>43</sup> *Khandaa* is a double-edged sword and *Baataa* an iron vessel. These are used in the initiation ceremony.



spiritual ones. Then, all of us - I shall especially say this to all the young men assembled here - should feel our faces with our hands. Have we ever entered Anandpur, our home? Are our beards intact? Have we got our *kirpaans*? Do we remember Guru's Word<sup>44</sup> by heart? Do we avoid alcohol? If a person has never entered his home, how will anyone allow him to fit it up with boards, lay chips in the floor and install windows? If you want the Anandpur Resolution, first enter your home, Anandpur. Receive *amrit*, then you will certainly get it [the Anandpur Resolution].

#### MALICIOUS MISREPRESENTATION: MISCHIEVOUS LETTERS

Do not let the newspapers get you into doubts. I submit to you that many efforts are being made to malign the *Taksaal*. One trick has especially come to my attention. What is it? It is one of letters. Letters have been received in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Qadian, Mianwind, Tarn Taran Sahib, at all these places. Yesterday or perhaps it was the day before, Dilgir Singh Shah, and Hari Singh Arewala came to me in the form of a *Panchayat*<sup>45</sup>. They brought along one Dilaram, a Pundit. They said: "Sant Ji, he has said nothing." I said: "What have I said to him?" They said: "He received a letter." I asked: "What is the matter?" They said: "The letter came and nobody could eat after that." I asked: "Were there any signatures on it?" They said: "Long live Bhindranwale was written on it." *Khalsa Ji*, this is out and out a mischief. These are attempts to insult the *Taksaal*.

#### SOME CALL ME AN AGENT AND A TRAITOR

Who is it that keeps calling me an agent of the Congress, a traitor [to the Sikh Nation]? The Government has initiated these plots to create dissensions and divisions in the *Panth*, to make us fight among ourselves, in order to preserve their own chairs<sup>46</sup>. We have to guard against these [schemes]. Tell me if administering *amrit*<sup>47</sup>, teaching people to live by the *Rehit*<sup>48</sup>, teaching them to read Guru's Word, getting them to unite under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>49</sup>, uniting them with Siri Guru Granth Sahib, uniting them with Akal Takhat Sahib and Harmandar Sahib, to be desirous of demanding and urging the young men to demand justice - for the lost honor of our daughters and sisters, for the blood of the innocents and for insults against the Satguru - and declaring support for the *Panth*, not surreptitiously but openly; if all this is the work of an

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<sup>44</sup> The daily Sikh prayer.

<sup>45</sup> *Panchayat* is the group of village elders. Here a deputation of respectable persons.

<sup>46</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>47</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>48</sup> Sikh *Rehit* or *Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

<sup>49</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

agent of the Congress, then what is the business of the others? If this is the work of an agent, I am an agent. If this is the work of a bad man, then I am bad. If this is the work of a *Jan Sanghi*<sup>50</sup>, I am a *Jan Sanghi*. If this is the work of a *kali*, I am a *kali*. If this is the work of an akali, in that case, I am already an akali to start with. Joining the service of the Five Beloved Ones I have administered *amrit* to up to ten thousand persons in a single day, after getting them to make a pledge in the presence of Satguru. Even then they call me an agent. I felt deeply hurt last night. A person came from England. The man for whose sake we have been ready to lay down our lives, the man regarding whom I had stood on this stage and challenged the Government that if any official of the Government, of the Police, kills Jaswant Singh Thekedar on whose head the Government had placed a reward of fifty thousand rupees, the Sikh Nation is still alive and will avenge it. And today those people go to England and say that Bhindranwala has joined the Congress. Today, with folded hands, I appeal to you young men. If news is published in my name or in the name of leaders and other responsible persons, do not pay attention to the newspapers. Give up chasing the newspapers and seek protection and support from Siri Guru Granth Sahib –

ਕੁੜਿ ਨਿਖੁਟੇ ਨਾਨਕਾ ਓੜਕਿ ਸਚਿ ਰਹੀ॥

‘O Nanak, falsehood will be destroyed, in the end Truth will prevail.’ The Government will use many such tricks. It is going to try every which way, even by buying some of us over.

#### SIKHS ARE UNITED

Humbly, I shall say one more thing. I am not a proud person. In the presence of Satguru, begging your pardon, I wish to say this. May Guru Granth Sahib Ji protect me from pride. But do remember one thing. There have been many struggles by the Akali Dal. There have been many martyrdoms. The Akali Dal has represented the Sikh Nation, is doing it and will continue to do so. But keep one thing in mind. Sant Ji<sup>51</sup> is sitting here; he will tell you. Other leaders are sitting here too. They will also tell you. Let any Sikh tell me of any movement, ever since the Akali Dal came into existence, in which all organizations, all associations, have unitedly and completely supported the *Panth*. Individually, it is possible that a *Jatha* was sent from one place and another from another place. What has happened this time is that when the *Morcha*<sup>52</sup> was started, a meeting was held in Samundri Hall. Thirty great men,

<sup>50</sup> A member of the Jan Sangh, a radical Hindu political party.

<sup>51</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>52</sup> A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

leaders whom the world knows - leaders of *Kar Seva*<sup>53</sup>, *kirtanias*<sup>54</sup>, those who do *katha*<sup>55</sup>, and from other places, people with saffron clothes - all came. All made a pledge. Then why are we wavering? [Why do we think] that we might be bought, we might fall, we might be cheated. Don't we have faith in anyone? I had [on a previous occasion] humbly said this to you from Akal Takhat Sahib. I say that today as well. I have already made this pledge many times in my life. I do that again today. If I ever become President of the Shromani Akali Dal, if I ever become President of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee - I am talking about myself and not other *Singhs* - if I ever attain to these offices, if I ever become an M.L.A. or a Minister [in the Government], or I become an M.P.<sup>56</sup>, it will be your shoes and my head<sup>57</sup>. My sole business is to persuade those young men who cut their hair and beards, who follow those who themselves worship living human gurus, who take intoxicants, and who take to wrong ways; it is that with folded hands, making them my brothers, I try to unite them with Guru Granth Sahib and with the *Panth*. This is my job.

#### WE ARE UNITED ON THE ANANDPUR RESOLUTION

Regarding the Anandpur Resolution, I, Dictator Sahib<sup>58</sup>, Sukhjinder Singh, Tohra Sahib, Talwandi Sahib, and all other leaders have declared from this stage, it has been recorded for television too, that we shall not negotiate for anything even an iota less than the Anandpur Resolution. If things keep going all right, let them be. If anyone sits down or lies down or is bought over, I have already assured you that I fear no one nor do I frighten anyone. All responsible persons have also said that whatever decision is taken it will be taken here<sup>59</sup>. Then why do you fear? If, after making a statement here, someone goes back on it, I shall certainly be your watchdog because I eat your bread and salt. I shall certainly beat your drum to this extent. [I shall say]: "*Khalsa Ji*, here is a copy of the Anandpur Resolution; these are the things written in it; these are the people who passed this Resolution; this is what we have achieved; and so much remains to be done; you tell us what we should do." At that time the responsibility [for a decision] will be yours. Then why do you fear? A Lala<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Kar Seva* is voluntary labor at gurdwaras.

<sup>54</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib. A *Kirtania* is one who performs *kirtan*.

<sup>55</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>56</sup> Member of Parliament.

<sup>57</sup> I shall deserve a shoe-beating by you.

<sup>58</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha* - the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>59</sup> In this Congregation.

<sup>60</sup> Sant Bhindranwale refers to Hindus as Lala; here it means the Hindu newspaper editors, the *Mahasha* press.

gives a report that they<sup>61</sup> are exchanging kicks. Another reports something else. It is true there can be differences of opinion with someone on some points. However, where the Anandpur Resolution is involved, where the uncut hair and beards are involved, where the Sikh appearance is involved, do not have any worry. God will have mercy [upon us].

## APPEAL TO YOUTH

### Be Prepared

If we have to shake off slavery, and you always keep asking [me] for a program, I shall humbly make this submission. I am saying this as an individual; the *Panthak*<sup>62</sup> program will be given by the *Panthak* leaders. I am not consulted in those decisions. But I shall appeal to you. If you want to shake slavery from your necks, first enter your home, Anandpur. Then in each village, have one motorcycle, three riders, and three new revolvers. Whatever legal action is taken against me on this account, I shall bear it even if it means that I am skinned alive, chopped joint by joint, or burnt alive. One motorcycle, three new revolvers and three young men in each village. We are not going to do this to kill people. For a Sikh it is a great sin to keep weapons and kill anyone. However, *Khalsa Ji*, it is an even greater sin to have weapons but not to seek justice. Now you have to think over how to use these weapons. If you want to shake slavery off your necks, you have to adopt this way, whether you do it today or some time later. But do not do this: that having got a motorcycle, you go and rob a hawker, a rickshaw-puller, or a shopkeeper, or commit burglary. This is not Sikh principle. Some people say I should present a strong program. I give you this program. Take it. When you return after completing it I shall embrace the one who wins justice against those who set fire to copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, those who stripped our daughters naked and paraded them in bazaars and villages, those who pierced Kulwant Singh Nagok's body with heated steel rods and burnt him; him who gets justice for these martyrs. Getting away from there is your job, protecting you here is mine. Here is a 'program', take care of it. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. I gave this program at a meeting of intellectuals too and I have given it to you as well. Now any friend who wants to ask me for a new program, should first come back after completing this job and then ask me. The *Panthak* program that is common to all of us will be given to you by the *Panthak* leaders whenever they have their deliberations.

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<sup>61</sup> The Sikh leaders.

<sup>62</sup> *Panthak* means pertaining to the *Panth*.

## Be United

Until we are united, until we stand under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib* until we have unflinching faith in Siri Guru Granth Sahib, *Khalsa Ji*, we shall certainly receive beatings.

## Government Desecrates Our Temples

You have [perhaps] not seen pictures of Indore. I saw a few in a newspaper. They also left television recordings with me as well as with the leaders. How badly did they treat people in that incident? Sikhs were caught by the hair and thrown down. *Amritdhari* Sikhs were thus thrown down. And they committed many other unmentionable atrocities against Sikhs. I appeal to you. There is this talk, about [Hindu-Sikh] unity. Fulfill it, and implement whatever program is decided upon by *Panthak* leaders. But if we have to shake off slavery, complete this program and remain in good spirits.

## Restore Punjabi Language To Its Rightful Status

Right in the beginning of this session, Bhullar Sahib said something about the Hindi-Punjabi issue. I humbly submit that I too have been to other states, though for fourteen months or so I have not been able to do that. On every [sign]board, the signs are in English, Hindi and Urdu. Punjabi is nowhere. And, here [in Punjab], if Punjabi is written, it is below all others. Young men, this too is your job. I am sitting here helplessly. If the time comes and I can come out and move about among you, if life permits and I get the opportunity to dust your shoes, I shall perform whatever service you assign me. At this time I have made this appeal to you.

## Weighing The Killers Of The Nirankari Baba In Gold

There is some new talk. I shall wind up [my speech] after addressing it. They say: "Bhindranwala has many times said from the stage, he keeps lying that he will weigh the killers of Gurbachna<sup>63</sup> in gold." I say this today too, I shall weigh them in gold. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. But when shall I weigh them? After they have been acquitted. If any son of his mother says that they should be weighed earlier, [I ask him] to bring him [the alleged killer] from wherever they have him. I shall not be my father's son if within seven days I do not weigh him in gold. Consider me not my father's son but some sort of a mix. But there are times when there are constraints. Police people asked me. It is not that I just boast from this stage; I said the same thing when I was in police custody. They asked me: "Do you have the gold with

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<sup>63</sup> Here the reference is to Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru assassinated in 1980.

which you are going to weigh Ranjit Singh and Kabul Singh?" I replied: "Do you have Ranjit Singh? You give me Ranjit Singh, I shall give you the gold." They said: "From where are you going to get the gold?" I said: "The same place from where you will bring Ranjit Singh." Talk is easy. It is much harder to fulfill what one says.

### Be Good Sikhs

Young men, with folded hands I beseech you. Last night you asked me for time [to see me]. Speakers before me have told you this. Now I too appeal to you with folded hands. Until we enter our home, until we have *kirpaans*<sup>64</sup> in our *gaatras*<sup>65</sup>, *kachhera* as our wear, Guru's word on our tongues, and the *khandaa* in our hands, we shall get beatings. It is now up to you whether you wish to save yourselves from the beatings tomorrow, or if you turn to the right path after getting the beatings for another six months or a year. The decision is in your hands.

### Advice To Amrik Singh

Regarding the Federation's<sup>66</sup> elections that have been held today, I shall quote a line. Do not draw the wrong meaning from it. I can say this because it happened to me. The one who has gone through it knows better. Farid Ji has said these words:

ਜਾਂ ਕੁਆਰੀ ਤਾਂ ਚਾਉ ਵੀਵਾਰੀ ਤਾਂ ਮਾਮਲੇ॥ ਫਰੀਦਾ ਦੇਹੋ ਪਛੋਤਾਉ ਵਤਿ ਕੁਆਰੀ ਨ ਥੀਐ॥

'When she was unmarried, she was excited [about marriage]. Upon marriage, [she realized] there were many responsibilities. Farid, she feels sorry that she cannot become unmarried again.' [There was a time] when I used to call the Sant<sup>67</sup> my father, was enjoying life, and boasted a lot. But since the day I, through misfortune, came to this position<sup>68</sup> - I do not cry over it but they do not let me rest by day or by night. [Regarding] this responsibility I shall certainly tell Amrik Singh. In Satguru's presence the *Panth* has appointed you. The young men have honored you. I never had any doubts [about your ability]. However, because of my being in the position held by the great man<sup>69</sup>, it is my

<sup>64</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>65</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>66</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>67</sup> Reference here is to Sant Bhindranwale's spiritual teacher, the late Sant Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa.

<sup>68</sup> *Jathedar* of the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>69</sup> Sant Kartar Singh Khalsa Bhindranwale.

duty to say this. Now that you have taken on this responsibility, you should have the attitude:

ਸਿਰ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਜਾਵੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਨ ਜਾਵੇ॥

'I might lose my life but may I never lose my Faith as a Sikh.' We must not stray from this.

I say this to the young men. You came and met me last night. I have seen this many times. Their condition as I have heard from common people is that they say: "Even if I have to give up my Faith, may a beard never grow on my face." I do not know on whose face you wish it to grow? I appeal to you. You have come here today. Go with [the resolve to keep] hair and beard uncut. Give up alcohol. You may postpone receiving *amrit* for a few days. Don't take it as a concession. I have said this because some of you are here for the first time. I do not want it said that I forcibly get you to wear *kirpaans*. If you do not like the beard you should pray here: "The True King, make us into women and make women into men. Make this exchange." Then you will not grow a beard nor will the barber rub his blade on his shoe and apply it to your face. Nor would we preachers have to worry our heads. You have to decide whether you wish to become old women or young.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

Concluding, I congratulate the Federation and the martyrs of Mehta. About the souls of those *Gurmukhs*<sup>70</sup>, I pray at the feet of Satguru and with all my heart I offer them my gratitude. But the true eulogy will be offered when we shall have fulfilled the responsibility of destroying those who shot them dead. At that time, to my understanding, the true eulogy will have been offered. If in the course of my speech I have erred, please forgive me. The *Dharam Yudh Morcha*- [The congregation shouts the *Jaikaara*] - Brothers, hold yourselves. *Singhs*, hold yourselves. Brothers: no *Jaikaaras*. Regarding the *Dharam Yudh Morcha* that is going on, don't let slackness of any kind enter it. We have to continue sending as large *Jathas* as possible. If Guru wishes, we shall succeed.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>70</sup> *Gurmukh* is Punjabi for Guru's devotee.

**SPEECH #35**  
**16 OCTOBER 1983**

Seated in elegance in the sacred lap of Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble,  
the True King<sup>2</sup>; Guru's image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Settled in the lap of Satguru Ji, you have listened to the nice views of  
Guru's men. You have been blest.

### DARBARA SINGH'S MACHINATIONS AND HIS FATE

Innumerable types of discussions are going on in the newspapers. At an earlier time, persons who had served as Ministers in the cabinet, tried to create dissension in the Akali Dal by spreading various rumors. However, their efforts met the fate described by Guru Sahib in the words:

ਮਨ ਕੀ ਮਨ ਹੀ ਮਾਹਿ ਰਹੀ॥

'What [plans] Man had in his mind stayed only in the mind [were not fulfilled].' Those people were saying things like: "The joy of the Sikh Nation, the joy of the successful continuation of the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>4</sup>, will be run into the dirt in a few days." However, Guru Sahib has said:

ਨਰ ਚਾਹਤ ਕਛੁ ਅਉਰ ਅਉਰੈ ਕੀ ਅਉਰੈ ਭਈ॥

'Man wishes one thing but something quite a different thing happens.' Satguru does that. The person who had started to say these things did not realize what could happen to himself. Regarding what happened to him, I, your servant, had made a statement on an earlier occasion and will say this today as well.

### INDIRA GANDHI'S PRESS CONFERENCE

Yesterday's newspapers carried a statement by Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister. She was quite confused when she started her criticism. I have learnt

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.



today, from some newsmen friends, that this Press Conference that she held was perhaps the first in three years. We do, however, get the news all the time.

### Dismissal Of The State Ministry

They [the reporters] asked her. They said that Bhindranwala has made this statement from a public platform: that there is one and only reason why - in spite of one hundred seventy thousand offering arrest, one hundred and fifty *Singhs* achieving martyrdom, the Shromani Akali Dal's request, Committee's<sup>5</sup> request, demand by various organizations and opposition parties - the Chief Minister of Punjab was not changed. By installing a proud man with a turban as the leader, she was desirous of having the turbans of all the other Sikhs taken off. So long as he kept taking them off, so long as the Sikh turbans were coming off, the daughters and sisters of the Sikhs continued to be dishonored in the streets and villages; some times on pretext of foreign visits, at other times giving various other types of ultimatums; she kept on making all sorts of excuses. However, it so happened that someone killed six or seven persons belonging to the Hindu brotherhood. All Sikh leaders condemned this. In spite of this condemnation, she was deeply hurt by the death of these seven while she was not impressed by the blood of one hundred and fifty persons with turbans having been spilt. This struggle has gone on for sixteen months. She did not feel the need to move one person but when the blood of those seven was spilt, then, *Khalsa Ji*, she could not wait even twenty-four hours. If our blood is spilt, a man cannot be replaced for sixteen months but when a cap-wearer's<sup>6</sup> blood is spilt, it is difficult to wait twenty-four hours! The entire cabinet can be dismissed. It could not be dismissed either by Longowal Sahib or by Bhindranwalas. Only she<sup>7</sup>, in Delhi, had the authority to dismiss the Cabinet<sup>8</sup>. On the death of seven he remembered to use that power. How did she forget to use it when one hundred seventy thousand were arrested and one hundred and fifty Sikhs achieved martyrdom? The reason for that is that this Government does not like the sight of the turban, the beard, the shorts and the sword<sup>9</sup>.

### Indira Does Not Love Hindus And Sikhs Equally

I made a statement from this stage one day. Some people in the Press reported it in a somewhat distorted fashion. When the press people asked her [about it], she got confused and said: "This is what Bhindranwala has said. It is not in my mind. I love Hindus and Sikhs equally." The whole world knows if

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<sup>5</sup> Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee's.

<sup>6</sup> Sant Bhindranwale often referred to Hindus as cap-wearers.

<sup>7</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>8</sup> The State Government in Punjab headed by chief minister Darbara Singh.

<sup>9</sup> Symbols of the Sikh faith.

the love is equal or more or less. She should prove her equal love. She will not be able to do so. Simply, intoxicated with power, she might push her propaganda through newspapers, the television and the radio. In reality and fact, she will not be able to demonstrate it. I wish to ask her, the Prime Minister, this. She says she has equal love in her heart and there is no difference. Ashok Kumar was killed in Patiala by a police bullet. No Sikh said it was good. Other responsible persons too issued condemnations. A judicial inquiry was ordered even before his body had been cremated. One man died of police bullet. From this platform and with full responsibility, I wish to ask the Prime Minister: "Dear lady, if you respect people with turbans, how many times has the Akali Dal demanded judicial inquiry into the deaths of one hundred and fifty *Singhs*? Has a judicial inquiry been ordered even after the blood of one hundred and fifty Sikhs has been spilt?" If she has an answer to this, she should give it in the newspapers, on the radio, on television. She should prove that an order has been issued. An order was issued in the Mehta episode. The inquiry was completed. *Khalsa Ji*, it is over four months since the court decided the case. However, she is sitting on the judgment. This is because the entire judgment goes against the butcher-hearted officers who drank the blood of eighteen young men in Mehta on the day of my arrest after I had been taken away. She is sitting on it. Then she says she has a lot of grief in her heart. She has no grief, though she might get it in the future through Guru's grace. The sacred copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, the True King, were set on fire in Chando-Kalan on 14 September 1981, five days after Lala Jagat Narain's death. This Bhatti, who was in hospital and is said to have gone away from there now, did it. So, *Khalsa Ji*, those who violated that sanctity are being kept under protection of sten-guns. This was done and efforts will perhaps be made to do so in the future. A worthless eighty-year-old Lala<sup>10</sup> died. In his case the inquiry has been completed, judgment has been delivered. After the judgment, one man has been acquitted and another sentenced to twenty years in prison. A writ has been filed against the one acquitted on the grounds that full justice has not been done. Indira, you do have sorrow for him. But, our *Isht*<sup>11</sup> was set on fire, what efforts have you made, since 1981 up until 1983, to order that an inquiry be instituted into the burning of the *Isht* of the Sikhs? She says she feels deeply. *Khalsa Ji*, this deserves some thought. This talk is not merely for excitement or to rouse people. These are valid arguments. She should answer this. I like to ask her this, standing on this platform, in the presence of the congregation. She can answer from her own platform, through the newspapers, why an inquiry into the burning of Siri Guru Granth Sahib was not instituted and an inquiry into the Lala's death was completed?

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<sup>10</sup> Lala Jagat Narain.

<sup>11</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

### Indira Claims She Is Just And Fair To All. Is She?

She says she is a very fair-minded lady. Can she tell me if, in the military, since 1947 up to the present time, any Sikh officer has killed a Hindu young man? What has happened to Sikhs? On the border at Attari a sten-gun was lost. In that connection, a man named Sital Singh was apprehended. A Hindu officer was his superior. *Khalsa Ji*, filth was forced into Sital Singh's mouth in the officer's presence. Chilies were inserted in his eyes. His arms were cut and the wounds filled with salt. Green, thorny twigs were cut from *kikkar*<sup>12</sup> trees. They were spread. Sital Singh's arms were tied and he was dragged by his legs over the thorns one way and then the other way. Has an inquiry into that been completed? The Sten-gun was found in the drain, the sewer. But, Indira, I like to ask you. If you love justice, give us back Sital Singh. People of your brotherhood<sup>13</sup> killed him.

In Meerut, two barrels were lost. I have learnt from the congregation that in Meerut both the rifle barrels were recovered from the barracks. They were found in a Hindu's room but Piara Singh, from District Ferozepur, was beaten to death. Those barrels were found, where shall we find Piara Singh? From where will you get us Piara Singh?

### Indira Claims I Have Prepared A Hit List

Then she has said that Bhindranwale has prepared a hit list. You might even have read this in the newspapers today. I have challenged her and given a warning. Upon my life and upon my breath, let her prove where I got the paper for that hit list, where I got the pen, and the ink and the inkpot. She should get the C.B.I.<sup>14</sup> to check this out. If she proves that I have signed any paper; that I have signed for the purpose of any body's being killed; standing here in the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>15</sup>, I declare that I shall cut off my head and place it before the congregation. I shall leave Guru Nanak Niwas and go away. But she should tell, she should provide proof. If she does not have any proof but has some honor, dignity and some little decency, she should resign the office of Prime Minister and come before the public in the streets. {it is amazing that} a person occupying an office of such responsibility - being the Prime Minister - should start saying: "He is very dangerous, he has made up a hit list" simply upon listening to news from favorites like Romesh, news from the likes of Virender and Yash<sup>16</sup>. Where is that list? It is only in the newspapers. If she has said that

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<sup>12</sup> A tree which has branches with long hard thorns.

<sup>13</sup> The Hindu brotherhood.

<sup>14</sup> Central Bureau of Investigations of the Government of India.

<sup>15</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>16</sup> Editors of militant Hindu newspapers in Punjab.

a list has been made, who has told her about it? She should apprehend those people who have found it. She should interrogate them the way others, *Singhs*, are treated. They should tell her where that piece of paper is. She should get that paper and show it to me. I shall go out in handcuffs. So much falsehood! The person who sits on the chair of justice and then is derelict in shouldering the responsibility of the position; is that person worthy of being called human?

### Indira's Comment About Sikhs Carrying Weapons

Another thing was about weapons. She<sup>17</sup> has said that she has learnt from the C.I.D.<sup>18</sup> that *Singhs* go about carrying weapons. I like to ask as to who carries weapons; men or eunuchs? *Bibi*<sup>19</sup> Indira, we are not your Sikhs nor of your father. We are Sikhs of Guru Hargobind Sahib, the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>20</sup>. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>21</sup>]. We are Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji. Our Father's order is:

ਬਿਨਾਂ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਨਰੇ ਭੇਡ ਜਾਨੇ ॥ ਗਹੇ ਕਾਨ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਕਿਤੈ ਲੈ ਸਿਧਾਨੇ॥  
ਇਹੈ ਮੋਰ ਆਗਿਆ ਸੁਨੇ ਹੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ॥ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਦਿਵੇ ਨ ਚੀਦਾਰੇ॥

'Without weapons and hair, a man is but a sheep. Held by the ear, he can be taken anywhere. Listen, my beloved, this is my command: Without weapons and hair, do not come to my presence.' We have to see Harmandar Sahib and he<sup>22</sup> says: "Do not come to my presence without weapons." Where shall we go? If we come to you, you do not speak with us. You just tease. Here, if we go to Harmandar Sahib, *Maharaj*<sup>23</sup> says not to come near him without weapons. Where shall a *Singh* go? Our Father's order is:

ਅਸ ਕਿਪਾਨ ਖੰਡੇ ਖੜਗ ਤੁਪਕ ਤਬਰ ਅਰੁ ਤੀਰ॥  
ਸੈਫ ਸਰੋਹੀ ਸੈਬੀ ਯਹੈ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪੀਰ॥ ੩ ॥

'The sword, the *kirpaan*, the *khandaa*, the gun, the bow and arrows, the *saij*, the *sirohi*, the *sahbi*, these are my *Pirs*<sup>24</sup>.' It is Sant Ji's<sup>25</sup> hesitation that he has not acquired any guns yet. Our Father, Guru Gobind Singh Ji's order is there. It

<sup>17</sup> Indira Gandhi.

<sup>18</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

<sup>19</sup> *Bibi* is a respectful prefix to a lady's name.

<sup>20</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>21</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>22</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>23</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> A *Pir* means a religious leader; here a Muslim holy man.

<sup>25</sup> Harchand Singh Longowal's.

is possible that if she continues to choke my throat in this way, Sant Ji might be forced to get a gun. He keeps saying: "Peace, peace." She keeps saying: "Extremists, extremists."

Yesterday, I issued this statement. The newspapers do what they will. May Satguru have mercy and give them wisdom. I should not say much about anybody in anger. Sitting there, in order to run their newspaper, they delete any news that is in the interests of the *Panth*<sup>26</sup>. Whatever is in the interest of making money, in the interest of the Press or the Government, is published. Yesterday, I told them this regarding weapons. Indira, sitting in Delhi, if your C.I.D. has given you the information that *Singhs* go about carrying weapons, I like to ask you something. Are licenses issued for grenades - military grenades? Are licenses issued for these anywhere in the world? Out of the people belonging to your community, two hundred thirty grenades were recovered from the godown<sup>27</sup> belonging to Pawan Kumar. Over a year has passed. I wish to ask you if you have an answer to this. What punishment has been meted out to him? I have learnt this today; I couldn't read the newspaper then. They say that, two or three days back, he was acquitted. If 230 grenades are recovered from a Hindu and there is no danger, then if a Sikh goes about carrying a licensed and conventional weapon how is he dangerous? In this connection, *Khalsa Ji*, I am ready to gladly suffer any punishment that I might have to.

#### I AND LONGOWAL ARE UNITED

Do not pay attention to the news that Longowal and Bhindranwala have fallen out. There is some dear fellow named Jitinder Singh. He reported that Bhindranwala and Longowal outwardly are on speaking terms but not from inside. There is no beard on his face. He drinks heavily. He has no knowledge of *Baani*<sup>28</sup>. Does he have a gauge to know what is inside our minds? Such unfounded and false propaganda! So, I appeal to the congregation not to get into this argument that perhaps there is some difference of opinion. There is none. I shall definitely appeal to the *Jathedar Sahibs*<sup>29</sup> and the other leaders as well. Many time they come and say: "Sant Ji, you should not fight. You should stay together." I appeal to you not to worry about our quarreling, even in your dreams. Firstly, we are not going to be cross with each other. If it does happen, we shall read *Gurbani*<sup>30</sup> even more and present our doubts to each other. But all of you leaders and *jathedars* should stay alert that the newspapers do not

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<sup>26</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>27</sup> Store or warehouse.

<sup>28</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>29</sup> Leaders of groups going to court arrest.

<sup>30</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

start presenting your dirty linen. Keep it safe. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*].

#### INDIRA LABELS US AS 'EXTREMISTS'

So, with complete faith, keep bringing *Jathas*<sup>31</sup>. We have to move with steadfastness until the Resolution<sup>32</sup> is fulfilled and she<sup>33</sup> acknowledges the Sikh Nation to be distinct. She has spread this propaganda too. Sant Ji<sup>34</sup> will provide a reply because I am the one she has designated as the leader of these [people]. She says: "I appeal to Longowal Sahib to dissociate himself from the extremists." [Indira Gandhi is asking Longowal]: "Terminate your relationship with the extremists." But it is not clear who is she describing as extremists. If we look at newspapers, she is referring to us who wear turbans, isn't she? She calls them followers of truth. I am prepared to stand here on this platform and say that Indira should send her men. I shall send my men with them. This is no fabrication. I am saying this in the presence of the Guru. I shall help her find sten[guns] and grenades from Hindu temples and Hindu religious places. She should tell us what punishment she will award to them? I am not going to name the temples here.

#### WHAT'S BEHIND THE IMPOSITION OF PRESIDENT'S RULE?

*Khalsa Ji*, we have to remain alert regarding the actions that are being taken. Don't be too pleased at this imposition of President's Rule. This is just to prepare an excuse. They are trying to prepare the ground for entering Darbar Sahib. Sometimes they kill a policeman, another time they kill a police officer some place or have a bomb thrown into a temple. Today, all the newspapers have reported that the person who placed the bomb was a Hindu. On the one hand, they say we are enemies of the Hindus. Then, if you call Sikhs extremists, how will you classify people like the Hindu who threw the bomb?

#### CAMPAIGN OF CHARACTER ASSASSINATION AGAINST ME

These stories about throwing bombs in temples are fabrications to malign the [Sikh] Nation. Thara Singh is sitting here behind Sant Ji. From among our *Jatha*<sup>35</sup>, he was [supposed to be] the big robber. The Government arrested him. They said he is a bad character. What had this bad man done? He had a

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<sup>31</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>32</sup> The Anandpur Sahib Resolution passed by the Shromani Akali Dal listing their demands.

<sup>33</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>34</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>35</sup> Here reference is to Sant Bhindranwale's group.

gurdwara built in Gurdaspur [jail] as well as a temple. She says that Bhindranwala destroys temples, that he does not like temples and wishes to destroy them, that he kills Hindus. Responsible persons who are associated with the *Jatha* go there and build temples. You can figure out yourselves whether I am in favor of destroying temples or of keeping them. Our Father<sup>36</sup> sacrificed his entire family for the sake of [Hindu] temples and she gives help to people who destroy gurdwaras; the followers of human gurus and of hypocrites. On top of it she blames Sikhs that they make trouble. If they make trouble, sit at a table and clear up the accounts. Sikhs have given ninety-three<sup>37</sup> heads. Give us land for the ninety-three heads and give them [the Hindus] land proportionate to the seven<sup>38</sup> they have provided. You can take what is your share for the seven heads. This will be a fair split. Such total falsehood! We have to protect ourselves from this false propaganda. This brother<sup>39</sup> installed an idol worth six thousand rupees at that place. I asked him: "Why did you install this idol." He said: "There were two or three Hindus in jail for minor crimes like petty theft and larceny. They started crying." They said: "Baba Ji, get us an idol installed here." I said that if he had spent the six thousand to buy a .303 [rifle] it might have been some use. In any case, *Khalsa Ji*, this man is soft of heart. His concern has always been to build gurdwaras. He went there and had one built. If we build gurdwaras, build temples, we are still extremists. If we lay down our lives for [the protection of] temples, we are extremists. If we spend six thousand rupees of our own to install an idol in a temple, even then we are extremists. Now you have to consider what we have to do.

#### ADVICE TO THE CONGREGATION

Be prepared to shake off slavery from your necks. May The True King have mercy. Do remember this: *kirpaan*<sup>40</sup> signifies unity and the scissors denote doubt and give rise to communalism. With the *kirpaan*, [Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib] cut off the heads of men of five castes, separated them from the bodies, and having taken them to the Munificent Lord, strung them on the thread of unity, made them his own and himself became their disciple.

ਵਹ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿਓ ਮਰਦ ਅਗੰਮੜਾ ਵਰਿਆਮ ਅਕੇਲਾ। ਵਹ ਵਹ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਪੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਚੇਲਾ॥

<sup>36</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>37</sup> Reference is to 93 Sikhs having been hanged to death by the British during India's struggle for freedom.

<sup>38</sup> The actual number was twenty-eight. Sant Bhindranwale is mistakenly stating the number of Sikhs killed as the percentage killed.

<sup>39</sup> Baba Thara Singh.

<sup>40</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

'The Distinguished Man, the Unique Warrior manifested himself. Wonderful is Gobind Singh, himself the Guru and the Disciple.' He said the words:

ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ। ਓਹੁ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਮੈ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ।

'He alone is my Sikh who lives according to the discipline. He is my master, I am his disciple.' Guru Ji gave such honor to backward people from five castes. Scissors make two [from one]. If the face and head are shaved off, a person becomes a Hindu. If, in addition, the foreskin is removed one becomes a Muslim. If the business of the scissors is ended and one has *kirpaan* in his *gaatra*<sup>41</sup>; no problems remain and a Sikh remains a Sikh. However, this will come about only with time. Let us pray to the Guru: "True King, give us wisdom." Act with steadfastness and determination. Participate in the *Morchas* to the maximum. I have come to know this today. They say that Pritam Singh Bhatti is bringing a *Jatha* from the city on the 25th. I appeal to the city-dwellers. Don't worry over so and so bringing the *Jatha* while you don't. All of us, obeying the orders of the Sant<sup>42</sup>, following Guru Sahib's instructions, have to go from this stage to the jail through the same door. To whatever greatest extent you follow Guru Granth Sahib Ji, you will achieve self-confidence.

On my own behalf, I congratulate *Jathedar Sahib* Bhai Jagdev Singh Ji Khudian. I shall also ask the other leaders that we must not go against Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. Only time will tell if it will happen under pressure from the Government. So far, it is all right and things are going on. It is very important to wear the *kirpaan* in the *gaatra*. From my side, I appeal to the young *Singhs* going with the *Jatha*. There are about fifty-five of these *Singhs* who have promised today to keep their hair and beard and to give up alcohol. *Singhs*, I appeal to you. Having made the promise, stay firm, do not go back on it. I also appeal to those *Jathedar Sahibs* who have promised that they will stay upbeat in the future to stay firm on their word. Never let feelings of weakness come over you. Have belief in *Gurbani* so that with faith in Siri Guru Granth Sahib we may make our lives fruitful. If, while speaking, I have erred, please forgive me as being an ignorant person.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>41</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>42</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.



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20 OCTOBER 1983

Guru's Image, *Guru Khalsa*, Assembly of God's worshippers constituted and blest by Satguru<sup>1</sup> - Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>2</sup>; the entire congregation, say aloud:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>3</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: You have enjoyed listening to the nice presentations by the Beloved, Guru's devotee, Sardar Gurcharan Singh Ji Tohra, President of the Shromani Gurdwara Committee and by a very learned man among the learned, Giani Lal Singh Ji. Before that, in the morning, you were fortunate to listen to a sacred discussion of the great words, from the *Baani*<sup>4</sup> that came from the Eternal and destroyed all worry, spoken by the lotus lips of the Master of martyrs, Siri Guru Arjan Dev Ji, the True King, by Singh Sahib Bhai Sahib Bhai Sahib Singh Ji, Head *Granthi* of Siri Harmandar Sahib.

#### JASSA SINGH AHLUWALIA'S LIFE

The times in which Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was born presented a dreadful scene. At various places, by cutting off hair and beards, efforts were being made to once and for all destroy these symbols [of the Sikh faith] in this world. Having been born in those times, he<sup>5</sup> received the comfort of Mata Sunder Kaur Ji's love after he was five years of age. Up until ten years of age he had the good fortune to spend his days there. After that, he lived with his maternal uncle, received beneficence from the Guru's home and started on his life of service. He received *amrit*<sup>6</sup> from Nawab Kapur Singh Ji and, in his life, he especially practiced two things. Even though he had to follow various policies as suited different occasions, from the beginning [of his life] to the end, he never gave up on these two things. One was to administer *amrit*<sup>7</sup>, and the other was to read and teach the *Baani*. He would himself sing *Asa Di Vaar*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Here, reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>4</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>5</sup> Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

<sup>6</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>7</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>8</sup> A set of verses in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

regardless of whether it was times of peace or times of war. Also, he would never recruit anyone into his forces without his first receiving *amrit*. If someone came for a while, he would receive instruction and become firm in the practices. He could join on a regular basis only after becoming *amritdhari*<sup>9</sup>. He would seldom keep anyone otherwise. That *Gurmukh*<sup>10</sup> had such a clean lifestyle. This is why Guru Sahib has blest us with the instruction

ਜਨਮ ਮਰਣ ਦੁਹਰੁ ਮਹਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਜਨ ਪਰਉਪਕਾਰੀ ਆਏ॥  
ਜੀਅ ਦਾਨੁ ਦੇ ਭਗਤੀ ਲਾਇਨਿ ਹਰਿ ਸਿਉ ਲੈਨਿ ਮਿਲਾਏ॥ ੨ ॥

'They are not subject to either birth or death; God's men come for the benefit of others. They bless people with God's love and unite them with God.' [Also]

ਹਰ ਜਨ ਸਬਾਈ ਜੰਗਾ

'All God's men have to fight.' He fought battles too.

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਇ ਕਰੈ ਨਿਤ ਜੰਗਾ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸੋਇ ਜੁ ਚੜ੍ਹੈ ਤੁਰੰਗਾ।

'*Khalsa* is he who is always ready to fight; *Khalsa* is he who rides a horse.' He was a very good horseman and was a hero in battle. While there was peace in his mind and reading the *Baani* his mind was tranquil he was always ready to destroy oppression. Every one who is born in this world has to die. The True King's sacred words are:

ਜੇ ਉਪਜਿਓ ਸੋ ਬਿਨਸਿ ਹੈ ਪਰੋ ਆਜੁ ਕੈ ਕਾਲਿ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਹਰਿ ਗੁਣ ਗਾਇ ਲੈ ਛਾਡਿ ਸਗਲ ਜੰਜਾਲ॥

'Whatever has been created will die whether it is today or tomorrow. O Nanak, give up all attachments and sing God's praise.' How do we give up all involvement? It is not that we should give up our work and go to live in some hut or sit cross-legged in some room. This is not renunciation.

ਹਾਥ ਪਾਉ ਕਰਿ ਕਾਮੁ ਸਭੁ ਚੀਤੁ ਨਿਰੰਜਨੁ ਨਾਲਿ॥

'Perform all the work with your hands and feet, but keep your mind fixed in the Formless Lord.' We have to do our work. We have to do the worldly business too. Living our lives as family men, remaining unattached to all, we have to have our minds attuned to God. We have to live our lives in this manner. Satguru Ji has said:

ਦਿਨ ਤੇ ਪਹਰ ਪਹਰ ਤੇ ਘਰੀਆ ਆਵ ਘਟੈ ਤਨੁ ਛੀਜੈ॥  
ਕਾਲੁ ਅਹੋਰੀ ਫਿਰੈ ਬਧਿਕ ਜਿਉ ਕਹਹੁ ਕਵਨ ਬਿਧਿ ਕੀਜੈ॥ ੧ ॥  
ਸੋ ਦਿਨੁ ਆਵਨੁ ਲਾਗਾ॥ ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਭਾਈ ਸੁਤ ਬਨਿਤਾ ਕਹਹੁ ਕੋਉ ਹੈ ਕਾ ਕਾ॥ ੧ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥

<sup>9</sup> *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>10</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

'From days, it is decreasing to *pahar*<sup>11</sup>. From a *pahar* it is decreasing to a *ghari*<sup>12</sup>. Life is diminishing and the body is declining. The hunter Death is on the prowl, say, O Man, what shall we do? That day is approaching. The mother, the father, the brother, the sons and daughters, say, who can help whom?' Say, who is anybody's mother and who is anybody's father.

ਕੋਤਿਆ ਕੇ ਬਾਪ ਕੋਤਿਆ ਕੇ ਬੇਟੇ ਕੇਤੇ ਗੁਰ ਚੇਲੇ ਹੁਏ॥  
ਆਰੈ ਪਾਛੈ ਗਣਤ ਨ ਆਵੈ ਕਿਆ ਜਾਤੀ ਕਿਆ ਹੁਣਿ ਹੁਏ॥

'[In all the forms in which they have been born] how many have they been the fathers of; how many the sons of. How many have been their gurus and their disciples? Their future and past is beyond count. What castes have they belonged to and who have they been?' Such is the state of living beings. Just as one might have to travel from the city of Amritsar to Calcutta at Howrah, the T.T.<sup>13</sup> asks him to disembark at the station up to which he has paid for and for which he has been given a ticket. He has to get off. For those who have purchased a ticket here paying the full fare for [travel to] Howrah, when the train reaches there, the ticket examiner closes the windows, etc., and makes the passengers get off. If any passenger insists on staying on the train, he is asked what the matter is; why is he not getting off. He replies: "I have paid the full fare. The person closing the windows explains: "Yes, you have paid the full fare, but the station for which you paid the fare has been reached and you will have to get off now." He does not get off. Ultimately, the ticket examiner seeks help from the police and other staff. With their help, the passenger is caught hold of and forcibly taken off the train and put in jail. *Khalsa Ji*, life is just like that. This body is a train and the human soul is a passenger riding it. Seventy-two hundred main channels<sup>14</sup> have been recognized. The books have accepted seven hundred twenty-seven million, two hundred seventy-two thousand, two hundred and two as the total number of channels. The main bones, which we call *hudd*<sup>15</sup>, are cars [of the train]. *Khalsa Ji*, the human soul is riding these boxes, these cars. The body is the complete train. The soul has purchased the breaths as its ticket in lieu of the [past] good deeds as cash. Depending upon the good deeds one has done, depending upon how many breaths he has purchased with them as his ticket, as the proper station is reached, the soul has to get off the train. For some it happens as infants; for some in their childhood, for some in their youth, for some in their middle age and for some in their old age. Eventually, upon reaching Howrah station, the passengers have to get off. The soul sits as a passenger in the body, which is the train. Time is the ticket

<sup>11</sup> A period of three hours.

<sup>12</sup> A period of 24 minutes.

<sup>13</sup> Travelling Ticket Examiner on a railroad train.

<sup>14</sup> Arteries and veins, etc., in the human body.

<sup>15</sup> *Hudd* is Punjabi for a bone.

examiner traveling alongside. Eventually, at the appointed time, he closes the eyes, the nose and the ears - all the senses - which are like the windows of the train. The soul is upset at that time and refuses to get off. Time, the ticket examiner, getting help from agents of Death as the police, forces the soul passenger from the body train and puts him in the jail of rebirth. But, *Khalsa Ji*, he does this to him who has nobody to protect him, to one who has no Master, Father, Guru, Protector, Provider. Our Master is very powerful. If a person is united with the feet of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, and having received *amrit* from the Five Beloved Ones<sup>16</sup> spends his life in a state of readiness [to serve God and Guru], it is about such persons that Satguru Ji has said:

ਦੁਰਿ ਰਹੀ ਉਹ ਜਨ ਤੇ ਬਾਟ॥

'It [Death] stays at a distance from God's men.' It stays far away from their path.

ਨਾਮੁ ਸੁਣਤ ਜਮੁ ਦੂਰਹੁ ਭਾਰੀ॥ਮਤੁ ਮਾਰੇ ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਵੇਪਰਵਾਹਾ ਹੇ॥

'Hearing God's Word, Death flees from a distance in fear of punishment from God who is beyond worry.' The Agent of Death stays not hundreds but thousands of miles away from those who worship God. He begs them with folded hands. If any devotee of God happens to go there, he begs him with folded hands and says:

ਨਾਮੁ ਧਿਆਇਨਿ ਸਾਜਨਾ ਜਨਮ ਪਦਾਰਥੁ ਜੀਤਿ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਧਰਮ ਐਸੇ ਚਵਹਿ ਕੀਤੇ ਭਵਨ ਪੁਨੀਤ॥ ੧੦ ॥

'Those who remember the Beloved's Name fulfill their lives. O Nanak, they so serve God that they sanctify the whole world.' Even *Dharamraj*<sup>17</sup> says with folded hands: "Come over, Guru's devotees, Guru's Sikhs, Guru's beloveds; you are welcome, your feet have sanctified this place. All the people who come to me are sinners, troublemakers; You have shown mercy [in coming to God's presence]." *Khalsa Ji*, who is he addressing like this? It is those who have kept their 'k' symbols; those who do not try to cheat their Guru. Pardon me but people have got into these habits. In the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>18</sup>, the *gaatra*<sup>19</sup> is quite wide, the *kirpaan* too is long, the *kachhera*<sup>20</sup> also goes down to the knees. But at night, the *kirpaan* cannot be found. This is very harmful. We are trying

<sup>16</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, are authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith. They are referred to as the Five Beloved Ones of the Guru.

<sup>17</sup> The mythical scribe said to keep track of all people's actions for divine judgment.

<sup>18</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>19</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>20</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

to cheat the Guru but in fact we are cheating ourselves. The Guru does not lose anything:

ਵਡਾ ਨ ਹੋਵੈ ਘਾਟਿ ਨ ਜਾਇ॥

'He does not get bigger nor does He get smaller.' If we praise him a lot, he does not get bigger and if anyone hurls abuses, he does not get smaller. He [the Guru] does not suffer any loss, but the man [who hurls abuse] has nothing left for him. We should attach ourselves to Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji.

## SIKH CONDUCT DURING THE RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE

We have assembled here. The *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>21</sup> is going on. In this connection I ask all the congregation, all the mothers and all the *Singhs*, all of us who have assembled here and the people who are living outside and are going about their business at various places, do we want [acceptance of] the Anandpur Resolution? *Khalsa Ji*, if we wish to win [acceptance of] the Anandpur Resolution, we shall have to bring this thought to our minds. Who is going to give anything to a person for cleaning his home if he never enters his home? We were born in Anandpur Sahib in 1756<sup>22</sup>. Let all of us who are sitting here consider in our own minds whether we have entered our home. Have all of us received *amrit*? Do we know the five *Baanis*<sup>23</sup> by heart? Do we recite *Rehraas Sahib, Kirtan Sohila*<sup>24</sup> every night before turning in? If we are firm in this practice, then we have entered our home in Anandpur. In that case, the Anandpur Resolution is a small matter, it will certainly be accepted. However, if we are not ready to enter our home, how will another person let us into his home? The rivals are going to say: "It is good he has gone out of the house. If he enters the house, he is going to start a struggle. He might build something up in his house and start a quarrel with us. Let him wander outside [his home]." Let us think it over in our own minds. How long do we have to stay in our home and how long outside it? All of us will have to think about it, not only a leader here and another there. All the workers, all the mothers and brothers, all the children and old people. To achieve the Anandpur Resolution, come home, receive *amrit*, have unshakable faith in Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji. If we remember the Guru to be with us at all times, the True King will certainly help.

ਜਹ ਜਹ ਕਾਜ ਕਿਰਤਿ ਸੇਵਕ ਕੀ ਤਹਾ ਤਹਾ ਉਠਿ ਧਾਵੈ॥ ੧ ॥

<sup>21</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>22</sup> Bikrami Calendar, corresponding to 1699 Christian Era.

<sup>23</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib. Five *Baanis* are specified as the minimum daily Sikh prayer.

<sup>24</sup> Titles of the evening prayers.

ਸੇਵਕ ਕਉ ਨਿਕਟੀ ਹੋਇ ਦਿਖਾਵੈ॥

'Wherever His servant has any business, God Himself reaches there. God shows to His servant that He is always close by.' We have to believe in this. He [God] definitely helps. It grieves me to say this next thing. Only a few days back I met a dear fellow, a son of the Sikhs who is well read. Educated people are sitting here. Perhaps they call a fellow who has read up to 14 grades a B.A.<sup>25</sup>. He said: "My mind does not accept, I cannot believe, that even after three hundred years Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji can come and help the *Khalsa*." I happened to ask him what his name was. He Said: "My name is Ajmer Singh." I said: "You should have had yourself called Ajmer Das, why be called a Singh." He who has no faith in his father, that his father will help him, how can he expect to be called his son? Guru Sahib has said:

ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਨਾ ਆਵੈ ਨ ਜਾਇ॥ ਓਹੁ ਅਥਿਨਾਸੀ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਹੈ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਰਹਿਆ ਸਮਾਇ॥ ੧੩ ॥

'My Satguru is always and forever with me. He does not come and go. He is immortal, all-pervading. He pervades all.' Some brothers, reading history and the background, distort facts about Bidhi Chand, and take undue advantage. To hide or misrepresent Bhai Bidhi Chand's sacrifice and to serve their own purposes, they take the wrong attitude. Bhai Bidhi Chand has been the only Sikh in this world about whom Satguru Ji used the word 'heart'. He called the *Khalsa* his own form, his Master, and described himself as the servant, but Bhai Bidhi Chand is the only one whom the Sixth King<sup>26</sup> called his heart. When he called Bhai Bidhi Chand his heart, Bhai Bidhi Chand did not serve him wondering where the Sixth King would be sitting, whether he would come to his aid or not. It was not like this. He had faith in:

ਘਰਿ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਤੇਰਾ ਭਰਵਾਸਾ ਤੂ ਜਨ ਕੈ ਹੈ ਸੰਗਿ॥

'At home and outside, You are the support, You are with Your servants.'  
Knowing that

ਦੂਰਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਮੇਰੋ ਪ੍ਰਭੁ ਪਿਆਰਾ॥

'My beloved God is not far,' *Khalsa Ji*, he jumped into a burning kiln. Not a hair was burnt. Not a hair felt the heat. Bhai Sangatiya too did not feel the heat. When he was presented to Guru Nanak Dev Ji, the True King, Guru Sahib ordered at that time: "Go to Vatala and die on a funeral pyre." He was not burned. If one has faith in the Guru, He definitely helps. Guru Sahib's instruction is:

<sup>25</sup> Bachelor of Arts degree.

<sup>26</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

'Resolutely may I ensure my victory.' Satguru Ji is saying: "O Sikh, do not falter in your Faith." There is only one way to firm up your faith. What is that way? Of determination? No. What is that way? That is of prayer at the feet of Satguru; of praying: "True King, have mercy. Bless us with faith in You." In physical form this incident occurred. The congregation has read about it in the newspapers. Responsible people who live here have witnessed this scene. The day of the Mananwala incident, when the jeep belonging to the *Jatha*<sup>27</sup> was attacked, the police fired at it; they fired bursts of ammunition and threw bombs at it. We should ask the people, the *Singhs* who were at the scene. Our minds might vacillate but the minds of those *Singhs* did not. Three bullets hit the driver; one in his leg, another in the area of his belt, and a third in his side. A martyred *Singh* was lying across his thighs, another on his shoulders and the rest were lying injured in the jeep. The jeep was on fire and the front tire on the left side and the rear tire on the right side had burst. Even then, the dead bodies and the injured came back. Can any Sikh, any Sant, any responsible person claim he brought the jeep? The Sixth King, Guru *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>28</sup>, the True King, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji has himself brought it. If we have faith, there definitely will be [divine] mercy. Yesterday when we were looking at the exhibition, dear *Gurmukh* Bhai Satbir Singh Ji, Principal Sahib, made an allusion. It pleased me greatly and it also had educational value. All of us should receive that instruction. The one who says that should receive it too. It was a scene of Bhai Garja Singh and Bota Singh that Sant Baba Harchand Singh Ji Longowal and I were looking at on the picture. At that time this friend said: "*Gurmukhs*, this picture provides some invaluable advice." We asked: "You are an educated man, tell us." He said: "*Khalsa* should not have faces towards each other, the backs should be touching." It is correct that *Khalsa's* face should always be towards the Guru. There is loss in turning one's face away from the Guru and towards a man. *Khalsa's* face should indeed be towards Guru Granth Sahib and the backs of the *Khalsa* should be united. However, what can we do about one who neither has a face nor a back? It is not only that the backs of Longowal and Jarnail Singh should be united, the backs of all of us should be at one spot. Only then will it be useful. We shall get the benefit only when desire and ambition are finished among us and only faith in Guru's *Baani* and the desire to set up a rule of the humble shall become our objectives. How shall this become our objective? We should stand united under the *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>29</sup> that we have unfurled today. If we keep going about some time under a white flag, at others under a green flag, and again under a red flag, we shall be losers. Other nations have flags too. We respect and do not

<sup>27</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>28</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>29</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

criticize them. However, *Khalsa Ji*, those flags are not just a little but very different. Some people take a reed and wrap and tie a white flag around it; others take a bamboo stick and wrap it with a green rag; and others tie a red piece of cloth to a stick. These are not the flags of Sikhs. Always, the flags of only those nations fly and are firm and stable who know how to keep them firm. How do they stay firm? Flags of those who consider death to be life stay firm but those who consider greed and worldly honor to be their life, their flags never stay. Those who consider Death to be their nurse, *Khalsa Ji*, only their flags fly. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>30</sup>].

I have on an earlier occasion described the structure of *Nishaan Sahib*. I have again considered it necessary to talk about it today firstly because we are remembering a martyr, Bhai Jassa Singh Ji. In his memory we have unfurled a new *Nishaan Sahib*. Many times it is said, we have erected a *Nishaan Sahib*. No, *Nishaan Sahib* is not erected. *Nishaan Sahib* flies or is unfurled. We do erect pillars, monuments etc. *Nishaan Sahib* is always unfurled. *Khalsa Ji*, if we imbibe the internal significance of *Nishaan Sahib*, who is Indira Gandhi that she would not come here barefoot. Many great persons, more powerful than she is, have been coming here with folded hands, with grass leaves in their mouths. But they came only to those who had understood the reverence due to this *Nishaan Sahib*. The platform for *Nishaan Sahib* is kept higher than the general ground level. To set up *Nishaan Sahib*, it would be possible to dig a pit and stick a pole in it. However, this is not done. Why is it that wherever *Nishaan Sahib* is unfurled, it is only upon a platform? *Khalsa Ji*, we find guidance in that. The *Khalsa* has to learn from the platform being raised and stay distinct. The uniqueness is not living in a hut somewhere. Nor is it like the doubts that are spread around that they want a separate country. The *Khalsa* has to be unique in their way of life. Satguru Ji's orders are:

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਆਰਾ॥ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਤੇਜ ਦੀਉ ਮੈਂ ਸਾਰਾ॥  
ਜਬ ਇਹ ਗਹੈ ਬਿਪਰਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਤ॥ ਮੈ ਨ ਕਰੋ ਇਨ ਕੀ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ॥

'So long as *Khalsa* stays distinct, I shall give it all the glory. When it adopts the ways of the Brahmins, I shall not recognize it.' The word used is 'all' not half or three-quarters. However, if the *Khalsa* does not stay so, "If it adopt the ways of the Brahmins, I shall not recognize it." This instruction comes from the platform, from its being raised, that we have to stay distinct. Yesterday we saw the exhibition. I did not have the time, my body did not permit me to. I had intended to sit with Baba Ji<sup>31</sup> and hold a discussion with him but could not do so having gotten ill. We have had this exhibition. .... [inaudible] .... How in that bus the hair of the Sikhs was wrapped around the vehicle's rod and their scalps came off. How their flesh was torn apart. How their hands and feet were

<sup>30</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>31</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.



broken into pieces. But witnessing that entire scene, one thing came to my mind. Those who were showing us the exhibits, wherever they spoke about the establishment of a rule, they told us that the Government never accepted the new regime peacefully. You may see the pictures today or tomorrow and we have seen them in the past too. By peaceful means, it has certainly been possible to offer sacrifices, but whenever a new rule has been established, it has happened only by the sword, the scimitar or the stick. I, your servant, have observed this from yesterday's pictures - I could be wrong because I am the only illiterate person here, all others being well-read. We are today remembering the most powerful, the heroic warrior Jassa Singh Ji. Let us look at his history. Many times, he had to live on the edges of swamps. He had to tear off his clothes to wrap them around his feet. He had to go hungry. But the oppressor has always responded to the stick never to humility. We have to see our uniqueness in the platform for the *Nishaan Sahib*. What is this uniqueness? It is the life of the five 'k's. It is not one of cheating with the *kirpaan* under the shirt at one time and over it at others; with the *kirpaan* in the *gaatra* at one time and in the *kangha* at others. Not this way. Here *parshad*<sup>32</sup> is ready in the presence of the Guru. Later we have to say the prayer and to present the *parshad* to the *kirpaan*. This is the way of the Sikhs of the Guru. However, if we do this [with the tiny symbolic *kirpaan* in the *kangha*] and the *kirpaan* slips from the hand of the functionary, we shall only know about it after eating the *parshad* if we eat it wrong [that we swallowed the tiny *kirpaan*]. How shall we destroy the oppressor with this *kirpaan*? How shall we resist the oppressor? We need the *kirpaan* in the *gaatra*. We have to understand this uniqueness from it. The cloth that has been wrapped around the pole of *Nishaan Sahib* has not been so wrapped merely because its beautiful saffron color, its golden color, looks nice. It is not for this. *Khalsa Ji*, clothes protect from the cold and from the heat. We have to receive internal guidance from the *Nishaan Sahib* that whoever, man or woman, comes to the protection of this *Nishaan Sahib*, their chill of sins and their heat of desires will not destroy them. Guru will protect them. This is the guidance we have to get from it. We learn something from the tiny knots at the top where small pieces of black cloth are used to tie the knots. Just as those knots are there to tighten the cloth wrapped around *Nishaan Sahib*, in the same manner, we have to tie our senses in knots of love to unite them with God. We have to learn this from the pieces of cloth. On the *Nishaan Sahib*, a *Kamar Kassa*<sup>33</sup> is tightened. It is not that this makes the fluttering of *Nishaan Sahib* look prettier. No. From it we have to learn that in order to fight the oppressor, the Sikh has to be always in readiness just as Guru's brave *Singhs*, whom we are remembering today, learned this.

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<sup>32</sup>*Parshad* is the same as *Karah Parshad* - a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, - distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>33</sup>*Kamar Kassa* is a sash around the waist or *cummerbund*.

## INDIRA'S GOVERNMENT DISCRIMINATES AGAINST SIKHS

In her confusion, Indira has raised an issue. [She has said:] "Regarding what Bhindranwala has said about sixty and one hundred and fifty, I wish to ask Bhindranwale if he has made a hit list of Sikhs?" Who has made that? Now, *Bibi* Indira, I keep asking, standing here at the place of Baba Atal, and you do the same in the Parliament. This is not leading anywhere. If and when we sit down and talk, things will be cleared; or else answer me through the newspapers. It is four days since I challenged her. She has not given any reply. She says: "I have great sympathy for the Sikhs. What Bhindranwale has said is wrong." Now it is one hundred seventy-two thousand, that day it was one hundred and seventy thousand. One hundred and seventy thousand arrests have been made, over one hundred and fifty *Singhs* have become martyrs. The President of the Shromani Akali Dal is sitting here. The President of the Shromani Committee has spoken. Other respectable and learned friends are sitting here. Even after so much sacrifice, after having wasted so much of our property, after shedding so much of our blood, did Indira change the Chief Minister of Punjab upon our request? We have spoken at various places. Your servant's<sup>34</sup> and Sant Ji's speeches are from here - we have not been able to go out - asking her that this useless man who is bent upon drinking the blood of the Sikhs and under her guidance has become fond of dusting her sandals, be changed. Change him and peace is possible. Did she change him for the last sixteen months? Someone killed seven Hindus in a bus. No Sikh has said this was good, everyone deplored it. But because seven Hindus had died, even before twenty-four hours passed the ministry was dissolved; President's Rule was imposed. The region has been declared as disturbed. However, one hundred and fifty Sikhs died and one man was not changed. Now all of you Sikhs should sit down and figure out as to what the thoughts of this Government of the Hindus are about the turban and the beard. If this is wrong, let someone challenge me. I shall cut off my head and present it to you. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. I appeal to those shouting the *Jaikaaras*. Don't get into this shouting of slogans. Listen attentively. The Prime Minister of India says that the Sikhs of Punjab should think about what might happen to Sikhs living in other states. This is a threat. She is the Prime Minister. I am your insignificant *chowkidar*<sup>35</sup> but it is our duty to respond. Isn't it? She has issued this threat that we should think about Sikhs outside [Punjab]. There is no case registered against her for saying this because she is born in the house of Brahmins. If Bhindranwala stood up on the stage and said: "*Bibi*, if this is what you think and this is your attitude towards the turban and the beard, we also have counted that they are only twenty to each one of us." A case has been registered in the court under clause 506. She did not send someone out with a

<sup>34</sup> Sant Bhindranwale is referring to himself as the servant of the congregation.

<sup>35</sup> *Chowkidar* means watchman.

sword, nor did Jarnail Singh send anybody out with a sword. A case has been registered against me. If the Constitution is the same for all, and there is equality, why has a case not been registered against Indira? [Is it because] she says that she is very dear and desirable? The Home Minister, Sethi, without any investigation, declares that Bhindranwale will be taken out of Guru Nanak Niwas within eight days. No case is registered. If Bhindranwale says: "Come and we shall make you chew on steel pellets. Come with strength and leading your men. Do not get someone else killed." A case is registered. It is all in speech. Neither side had talked of firing any shots. It was only a speech from the stage. In a country where there is so much restriction on a Sikh's speaking that he cannot even speak, how can he say to himself, I am free? A case is under litigation in Ludhiana. The decision is to be announced soon. Bhattacharya, sitting in the Parliament in Delhi, says that Nachhattar Singh should be hanged. What right does he have to say this? There is no case registered against him. Swami Adityavesh, a resident of Haryana, is saying that all Sikhs should pick up their *kachheras* and towels and go away to Punjab; that they have no business being in Haryana. There is no case registered against him. This is because they are sons of Pundits. Kewal Krishan, who was formerly Finance Minister, said about five or six months back that all Sikh organizations will be destroyed, that they will be crushed, rubbed out. Such statements keep appearing though recently they seem to have stopped. No case was registered against him. There is Baldev Prakash who lives here. I have never met him but our leaders know him. He has once said publicly and once even printed a poster:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni*  
 'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not  
 going to let a turban remain on any head.'

and

*Kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*  
 'The shorts, the iron bangle, the sword; send these to Pakistan.'

No case is registered. Guru's congregation gave two buses to the *Jatha*. On 14 September 1981, in Chando-Kalan, they were set on fire. Books of Siri Guru Granth Sahib were burnt. Goods worth three hundred thousand rupees were looted from the village. An eighty-year old worthless Lala died. His inquiry was not only held but the case has already been decided. One fellow has been sentenced to twenty years in jail and the other has been acquitted. A writ petition has been filed against the one acquitted saying that they have not received complete justice in this. An eighty year old Lala is respected and his

case can be decided but regarding the setting on fire of the *Isht*<sup>36</sup> of the Sikhs; let alone talk of a decision, the inquiry has not yet been started. *Khalsa Ji*, you should tell me who does this Government love and whose pain does it feel? Have we ever thought about this? We have given proof of our unity. When seven Hindus died in the bus, the President<sup>37</sup> announced his support for participation in the Punjab *Bandh*<sup>38</sup>. Other parties also joined. All of us who are sitting here expressed sympathy. Our President did too. One hundred and fifty Sikhs have become martyrs. Out of the six hundred eighty million Hindus of India, has anyone expressed grief? If so, raise your arm and show it. Not a single Hindu has done so. Two Hindus became martyrs, one was from Malerkotla and the other from Patiala. The President is sitting here. He will confirm this when he delivers his speech. The Committee and the Akali Dal gave ten thousand rupees to the families of each of the martyrs. The *Jatha* gave five thousand rupees to each. Our one hundred and fifty *Singhs* have become martyrs. Has a five rupee bill been given to the families of the martyrs by anyone out of the six hundred eighty millions of India? It is not that we are beggars. Do not infer that I am asking for money. I am saying this to show how they think and how we think. Two butchers were killed. One was Makhan Singh and the other Parmanand. Makhan Singh had killed twelve [Sikhs] earlier and Kulwant Singh of Nagoke was the thirteenth. In the F.I.R.<sup>39</sup> Makhan Singh himself admitted that he had killed him. For the Sikhs both were mean fellows. However, *Khalsa Ji*, what does the Government have in its mind? Makhan Singh's name has the word 'Singh' in it and he had a topknot on his head. He died three days earlier. He received not even a penny's assistance but Parmanand who died three days later was awarded seventy-five thousand rupees by the Government after his death. One was born in the home of Sikhs and the other in the home of Pundits. Tell me who practices discrimination? Emergency was imposed. The President, Sant Ji, is sitting here. He was the Dictator even then. We, who number twenty million, offered forty thousand for arrest in order to seek freedom for the six hundred eighty million. Now that the *Morcha* is going on for all Punjabis have those who number six hundred eighty million offered forty hundred for arrest? Out of six hundred eighty million, there aren't even forty hundred and out of twenty million we gave forty thousand. What sort of unity is this? Then you can keep on saying, I too keep on saying, Sant Ji says and other leaders say it too - have they ever said that they agree with our unity? It is true that a Sikh will not oppress but where is it written that we should always get beaten up? The daughters of the Sikhs were stripped naked, their sisters were dishonored, their homes were looted, filth was forced into Sital Singh's mouth. A sten gun of a Hindu was lost

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<sup>36</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>37</sup> President of Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>38</sup> General strike all over Punjab.

<sup>39</sup> First Information Report.

and a Sikh was beaten to death. The sten gun was found. Bibi Indira, can you give us our Sital Singh? Two barrels were lost in Meerut. They were found in a Hindu's barrack. Piara Singh of Ferozepur District was beaten to death. Those barrels were found, now Indira should give us Piara Singh. Let us see how she does it. So, pay attention to this too. Overcome by jealousy, do not just stay at home. Do not think that if fewer *Singhs* join the *Morcha*, Longowal will lose face or Bhindranwale will lose face. All of us will be beaten up. You know this sweeping brush which is variously called by different names. If it is tightly bound with a rope a young man cannot break it, but if we separate the individual strands, even a three year old boy can break it into pieces. Now we have to see if we have to work like a closed fist or as a spread out hand. Make whatever will give greater pain. The congregation has proved its unity earlier too. In the times to come, do not feel discouraged that the *Morcha* has lost momentum, that the *Morcha* is going to be postponed. Sant Ji used a very nice word a couple of days back. He said: "I appeal to those who think of postponing the *Morcha* that they should read the *Baani* so that their resolve stays firm. Now either we shall lose our heads or achieve something. Do not look for the *Morcha* to be postponed." [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. So, I humbly request the congregation. If we are celebrating the memory of Bhai Jassa Singh, the dear *Gurmukh*, the valorous warrior it should not mean that we keep an eye towards the east waiting for the *Parshad* to be distributed so we can have it and then go away. We should take something from here. Bear arms. Be in readiness at all times. I told the newspapermen, but I do not know what the reason is [that they do not print it]. Indira has said one thing. She says: "Why do the Sikhs go about carrying weapons?" You can ask her. I do not know why she does not tell me. She might perhaps tell you. Indira, we are not your Sikhs nor are we your father Nehru's Sikhs. We are Sikhs of Guru Hargobind Sahib and of Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, the True King. She should first read the background of those elders in whose memory we are assembled here to find out who they were. Should we obey her or our Gurus? Our Father has ordered that he would not let anyone come into his presence without weapons. [His orders are] "Anyone who wishes to see me should come with weapons. Anyone who does not wish to see me can do as he pleases." Our guide is telling us to come with weapons. Their disciple is telling his guide to come with weapons. This is not a fabrication. You can read Tulsi's Ramayan. Tulsi Ji prayed and Ram Chandra Ji appeared to him. Tulsi Ji did not make obeisance. Bhagwan Ji asked: "Why don't you make obeisance? Are you angry?" He said: "To whom shall I make obeisance? You are not Him." Ram Chandar Ji said: "I am the one. You can make obeisance to me." He said: "This is not going to work. You do have a pretty knot of hair, and nature hasn't given you a beard but you do not have your bow nor do you have any arrows. How can I bow to you?" Krishan Ji and Ram Chandra Ji did not grow beards, all the other incarnations did. Tulsi Ji told him:

ਤੁਲਸੀ ਸੀਸ ਤਉ ਨਿਵੈ ਧਨਸ ਬਾਨ ਹੋਏ ਗਾਥਾ

'Tulsi says, my forehead will bow only when there is the bow in [Bhagwan's] hand.' He said: "If you wish me to bow to you, you should have bow and arrows in your hand." See how different things are? The disciple is telling the guide to come with weapons. Here the guide is telling the disciple to come with weapons, that without weapons he is just like sheep. He says:

ਬਿਨਾ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਨਰੇ ਭੇਡ ਜਾਨੋ ॥ ਗਹੇ ਕਾਨ ਤਾਂ ਕੋ ਕਿਤੈ ਲੈ ਸਿਧਾਨੋ॥  
ਇਹੈ ਮੋਰ ਆਗਿਆ ਸੁਨੋ ਹੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ॥ ਬਿਨਾ ਸ਼ਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਦਿਵੋ ਨ ਦੀਦਾਰੇ॥

'Without weapons and hair, a man is but a sheep. Held by the ear, he can be taken anywhere. Listen, my beloved [Sikh], this is my command: Without weapons and hair, do not come to my presence.'

ਅਸ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਖੰਡੋ ਖੜਗ ਤੁਪਕ ਤਬਰ ਅਰੁ ਤੀਰ॥  
ਸੈਫ ਸਰੋਹੀ ਸੈਬੀ ਯਹੈ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪੀਰ॥ ੩ ॥

'The sword, the *kirpaan*, the *khandaa*, the gun, the bow and arrows, the *saif*, the *sirohi*, the *sahbi*, these are my *Pirs*<sup>40</sup>.' Today you become the Prime Minister and get up to tell his sons, his followers that they should not go about carrying weapons! Those whose business it is to use weights and balances, to wear the *janeoo*<sup>41</sup> merely to carry the keys, one of those people today keeps 230 grenades. Pawan Kumar has 230. Pawan Kumar is the President of the *Hindu Suraksha Samiti*<sup>42</sup> in Patiala. Two hundred and thirty grenades were recovered from him. He has been acquitted. There was no beating, no interrogation. However, if not even an empty cartridge is found from the son of a Sikh, he is hung upside down. Heated steel rods are pushed through his body and he is killed. Can a license be issued for a grenade? *Khalsa Ji*, think for yourselves. If Pawan Kumar can keep two hundred and thirty, I request you and declare this. Do not hesitate. There is no need for licenses. If you wish to achieve the Anandpur Resolution, keep a copy of the Resolution. The President [of the Shromani Akali Dal] is sitting here. He will order his men to give you copies. Take a copy of the Anandpur Resolution from them. Keep one in your pocket and keep weapons in your *gaatra*. To the police official who asks you where your license is, say here is the Anandpur Resolution. He will ask you what is written on it. Show him the sixth paragraph. In the sixth paragraph, it is written that from a twelve bore pistol to a carbine, no license will be required. Tell him that this is the Anandpur Resolution of the Akali Dal and that you are the workers of the *Panth* supporting the Akali Dal. The names of eight or nine or perhaps ten members are written on it. Let him read those. Tell him that this resolution has been passed by these leaders and that he should first go and ask

<sup>40</sup> A *Pir* means a religious leader.

<sup>41</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>42</sup> A militant Hindu organization.

them and then come to get your revolver. If he says he is not going to ask them but just snatch it from you, put three [bullets] through his side and go on. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. We are Sikhs of the Guru. However, I shall say this one thing. Many people have started a lot of mischief in my name. *Khalsa Ji*: I am strongly opposed to having weapons and then engaging in looting shops, looting someone's home, dishonoring anyone's sister or daughter. No matter how much we are opposed to anyone, even if she is the daughter or sister of a *Narkdhari*<sup>43</sup> or of a Radhaswami - if such times come that the daughters and sisters of these people should come to our homes, we have to treat them as our own sisters. We must not dishonor anyone. This is the unique life we have to lead. With reference to weapons I shall only say that you should bear arms. Being armed, there is no greater sin for a Sikh than attacking an unarmed person, killing an innocent person, looting a shop, harming the innocent, or wishing to insult anyone's daughter or sister. Also, being armed, there is no sin greater than not seeking justice. Guru Hargobind Sahib did not get any license from Jehangir<sup>44</sup> nor did our Guru, the Tenth King take any license from *Nauranga*<sup>45</sup>. If you are Guru's Sikhs, follow the Guru's instructions. If you are Sikhs of a Brahmin lady, follow her instructions. For my part, I think the best eulogy would be that just as Bhai Jassa Singh, reading the *Baani*, lived a life of bravery and wisdom in order to destroy the oppressors, we too live our lives the same way. This would be the true eulogy.

If, during my speech, I have erred, if I have used some word by mistake, I request the entire congregation to forgive me as a humble, illiterate and ignorant servant at the door of the congregation.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

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<sup>43</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>44</sup> Jehangir was the mughal emperor of India, 1606-1627.

<sup>45</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

SPEECH #37  
31 DECEMBER 1983

[The first part of this speech is not available].

WORLDLY PEOPLE ARE BUSY IN PURSUIT OF MAYA<sup>1</sup>

Dayalpuri Ji read a poem [which conveyed the idea] that *Maya*, money, is everything. As suited the occasion, he presented his views about the worldly people - that worldly people think like that. In his poem he expressed these thoughts keeping in mind the role of politicians as well. If we chase *Maya*, *Khalsa Ji*, [we shall eventually find that] *Maya* is a shadow. Guru Sahib's words are:

ਗੁਰੂ ਕਰਿ ਪਕਰੀ ਨ ਆਈ ਹਾਥਿ॥ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਕਰੀ ਚਾਲੀ ਨਹੀ ਸਾਥਿ॥  
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਉ ਤਿਆਗਿ ਦਈ॥ ਤਬ ਚਰਣੀ ਆਇ ਪਈ॥

'When one tries to hold it<sup>2</sup> firmly, one cannot keep it in hand. If one loves it, it does not go with him. O Nanak say, when one gives it up, it falls at his feet.' A man goes walking. His shadow accompanies him. If the man turns towards the shadow and wishes to catch it, he will get tired, fall down but will never be able to catch his shadow.

Maya Is A Shadow Of God's Name

*Maya* is a shadow. [God's] Name is a form. *Maya*, the shadow, follows the form which is [God's] Name. Satguru Ji has said the words:

ਰਿਧਿ ਸਿਧਿ ਨਾਮ ਕੀ ਦਾਸੀ॥

'Miraculous powers, worldly possessions, are subservient to [God's] Name.' *Dasi* is the name we use for a woman who is a servant. Some of you rich people have them in your homes. *Maya* is a maid-servant to those who worship God. She is a servant.

ਜਿਸੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਰਿਦੈ ਸੋਈ ਵਡ ਰਾਜਾ॥ ਜਿਸੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਰਿਦੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਾਜਾ॥

'One who has [God's] Name in mind is the greatest of kings. One who has [God's] Name in mind is fulfilled.'

ਕਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਥਾਕੇ ਵਡੇ ਵਡੇਰੇ॥ ਕਿਨ ਹੀ ਨਾ ਕੀਏ ਕਾਜ ਮਾਇਆ ਪੂਰੇ॥

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<sup>1</sup> Here the term is used for wealth, worldly possessions.

<sup>2</sup> *Maya*..



'In the past, people tried until they were tired; no one was able to fulfill the business of *Maya* [fulfill their desires]. We heard here that people with money get married while the poor stay unmarried. With *Maya*,

ਕਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਥਾਕੇ ਵਡੇ ਵਡੇਰੇ॥ ਕਿਨ ਹੀ ਨਾ ਕੀਏ ਕਾਜ ਮਾਇਆ ਪੂਰੇ॥

'In the past people tried until they were tired. No one was able to fulfill the business of *Maya* [fulfill their desires]. With *Maya*, one is never fulfilled. There is one and only way to fulfillment and that is [God's] Name. Without this all else is incomplete. Those of you who are readers of *Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji*, and especially those who present discourses and listen to them and understand the fundamentals, would certainly know that if you read the entire *Gurbani*<sup>3</sup> in *Guru Granth Sahib*, only one *Raja*<sup>4</sup> has found a place there. Why did anybody else not get a place? And the *Raja* who did find a place is one who considered *Maya* [his wealth] to belong to God. Any *Raja* who thought it was his own did not find a place there. Read the entire history; read all of *Guru Granth Sahib*;

ਮਿਲੀ ਨਿਮਾਨੇ ਮਾਨੁ॥

'He who is without pride receives honor [with God].' *Khalsa Ji*, one who is without pride, without power, innocent and oppressed, finds a place in the home of the Guru.

ਮਾਇਆਧਾਰੀ ਅਤਿ ਅੰਨਾ ਬੋਲਾ॥ ਸਬਦੁ ਨ ਸੁਣਈ ਬਹੁ ਰੋਲੁ ਘਰੋਲਾ॥

'The person who loves *Maya* is totally blind and deaf. He does not listen to [God's] Word and is all mixed up.'

ਨਾਮੁ ਸੁਨਤ ਜਨੁ ਬਿਛੁਅ ਤਸਾਨਾ॥

'Hearing [God's] Name is like a scorpion's sting to them.' If you start a *katha*<sup>5</sup>, start *kirtan*<sup>6</sup>, start reciting a poem as these brothers did about the *Sahibzadas*<sup>7</sup>, a *Mayadhari*<sup>8</sup> will feel sleepy. However, *Maharaj*<sup>9</sup> says:

ਬੁਰੇ ਕਾਮ ਕਉ ਉਠਿ ਖਲੋਇਆ॥ ਨਾਮ ਕੀ ਬੋਲਾ ਪੈ ਪੈ ਸੋਇਆ॥

<sup>3</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*.

<sup>4</sup> A *Raja* is a ruler or king.

<sup>5</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>6</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*.

<sup>7</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the sons of *Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib*.

<sup>8</sup> *Mayadhari* is a person who loves *Maya*, has adopted the ways of *Maya*.

<sup>9</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to *Siri Guru Granth Sahib* or any of the other Gurus; here *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*.

'A person gets up in a hurry to engage in bad deeds. When it is time to pray, he wants to sleep.' If one watches television, listens to dirty songs over the radio, watches movies, one does not feel sleepy, but having to listen to *katha*, *kirtan* or discussion of *gurmat*<sup>10</sup>, one is afflicted with *gandasa rog*<sup>11</sup>. Nihangs<sup>12</sup> call sleep the *gandasa rog*. One is overpowered [by that disease]. Some lose their turbans. I have seen some of the newcomers to the place of Satguru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King<sup>13</sup>, in such bad state during *katha*.

### God Loves Humility

The first and foremost place has been given to Bhagat Kabir Ji born in the home of the weavers. If someone has found a place here, it is Bhagat Ravidas Ji who barely made both ends meet by stitching shoes. He not only got a place here but

ਭਗਤੁ ਭਗਤੁ ਜਗਿ ਵਜਿਆ ਚਹੁ ਚਕਾ ਦੇ ਵਿਚਿ ਚਮਿਰੇਟਾ।

'The world over, in all the four directions, the cobbler won renown as a devotee [of God].' Even though he was called a cobbler, he became known all over the world. All of you are educated. Some have had education extending up to the M.A. and others hold other degrees. I am but an illiterate person. I shall try to manage saying this much only. Whenever one makes obeisance at Darbar Sahib, regardless of whether he is a *sant*, a *dhadi*, an educated person or whoever, he will have to make obeisance at the feet of Bhagat Ravidas, the cobbler. What *Maya* did he have? *Maharaj*<sup>14</sup>, the True King says:

ਰਿਧਿ ਸਿਧਿ ਸਭੁ ਮੋਹੁ ਹੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਵਸੈ ਮਨਿ ਆਇ॥

'Miraculous powers, worldly possessions, are all attachment. They cannot lead to [God's] Name abiding in one's mind.' Worldly possessions, miraculous powers are forms of *Maya*. What is *Ridhi* and what is *Sidhi*? *Ridhi* is unending availability of food. The meaning of unending availability of food is that if we take ten pounds of food - whether it is sweets or soup or *parshad*<sup>15</sup> - and keep it

<sup>10</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>11</sup> *Gandasa* means hatchet and *rog* is disease. The phrase means that one acts as if hit with a hatchet and rendered unconscious.

<sup>12</sup> *Nihangs* are a sect of the Sikhs.

<sup>13</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>14</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> *Parshad* is the same as *Karah Parshad* - a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, - distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

inside say within the tent walls you have erected here; no matter how many people come and eat, even if they are in hundreds of thousands, the ten pounds of food are not used up. This is called *Ridhi*. What is *Sidhi*? Eighteen *Sidhis* have been recognized. *Sidhi* is this. If we put five pennies in our pocket and, for say eight days, we send off full trains, the five pennies will not be finished. We shall keep getting wealth endlessly. That is called *Sidhi*. What is *Nidhi*? Just as we are sitting here. If anyone here among us has *Nidhi*, he will know what is going on in the mind of each of us. He will know as to who wishes to sleep; who wishes to hurl abuse; who is wondering when is this *Saadh*<sup>16</sup> going to get off his back; and who is wishing that he [the *Saadh*] speaks some more. He knows every little thing. He sees everything as if brought to him on television. Sitting here, he can understand everything he wants to whether it is in Canada, America, England, Africa, or Europe. However, *Khalsa Ji*, those who love God do not get caught up in these things. Only worldly people get caught in these. Worldly people are those who consider *Ridhi*, *Sidhi*, *Nidhi* to be the Truth and get caught in the love of *Maya*. They follow this path. Satguru's instruction is:

ਹੋਨਿ ਨਜੀਕਿ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਦੇ ਭੇਤੁ ਨ ਕਿਸੈ ਦੇਨਿ॥

'Those who are close to God, do not share their secret with anyone.' They will go hungry and naked. They will suffer poverty and even have their heads cut off but

ਨਾਟਕ ਚੇਟਕ ਕੀਏ ਕੁਕਾਜਾ॥ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਲੋਗਨ ਕਉ ਆਵਤ ਲਾਜਾ॥

'They displayed miraculous powers, did unbecoming acts. God's people feel ashamed [of such things].' They consider these [*Ridhi*, *Sidhi* and *Nidhi*] merely displays.

ਰਿਧਿ ਸਿਧਿ ਜਾ ਕਉ ਫੁਰੀ ਤਬ ਕਹੂ ਸਿਉ ਕਿਆ ਕਾਜ॥  
ਤੇਰੇ ਕਹਨੇ ਕੀ ਗਤਿ ਕਿਆ ਕਹਉ ਮੈ ਬੋਲਤ ਹੀ ਬਡ ਲਾਜ॥ ੧ ॥

'If by merely thinking of them you can have worldly possessions and miraculous powers, why would you need to deal with anyone else? What can I say about what you are describing? I feel exceedingly ashamed at just having to talk about it.' Bhagat Ji<sup>17</sup> says that if God does give him *Ridhi* and *Sidhi*, how can he show it to anyone; he is feeling ashamed at what he has got. However, worldly people, or those holy men who are looking for disciples, do not get anything because they are hypocrites.

ਆਖਨ ਭੀਤਰ ਤੇਲ ਕਉ ਡਾਰਤ।

<sup>16</sup> *Saadh* means a holy man in a disparaging manner. Sant Bhindranwale is referring to himself.

<sup>17</sup> The words are Kabir Ji's.

'They put oil in their eyes.' They put oil in their eyes and pretend to people that their eyes are watery [in separation from God]. But the state of such *Vairaagis*<sup>18</sup> can be described as:

ਨਾਰਿ ਮੁਈ ਘਰਿ ਸਮਪਤਿ ਨਾਸੀ। ਮੁੰਡੁ ਮੁੰਡਾਇ ਬੈਠੇ ਸਨਿਆਸੀ।

'When the wife dies and everything in the home is destroyed, they shave their heads and sit as ascetics.' The wife dies, all wealth is finished. Some is spent on illness. Then, after this, shaving off their head like an earthen water jug, they say they are *Sanyasi*<sup>19</sup>. Guru Sahib has exposed such hypocrites. Bhagat Ji was asked: "Who is poor?". Bhagat Ji said:

ਕਹੁ ਕਬੀਰ ਨਿਰਧਨੁ ਹੈ ਸੋਈ॥ ਜਕੈ ਹਿਰਦੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਨ ਹੋਈ॥੪੮॥

'Kabir says poor is one who does not have [God's] Name in his heart.' *Khalsa Ji*, the poorest people are those in whose mind [God's] Name does not abide. You are all educated. Those who have listened to *katha* or have enjoyed the company of both the elder *Sants*<sup>20</sup> know this. The rest of you might hold many degrees but I believe that none of all of you who are sitting here, with perhaps the exception of one or two fortunate ones, will be able to answer my question; tell me who was the king during Kabir Ji's time? You will think a hundred times. The Tenth King<sup>21</sup> was holding court in Anandpur Sahib. The Support of the humble<sup>22</sup> asked: "Guru's men, who was the king during Kabir Ji's time?" Some named Babar, others someone else. Sikander Lodi was the king at that time but no one was able to tell correctly. *Maharaj* asked: "Who was Kabir?" They replied that he was the son of a weaver. Satguru asked as to what was the reason that all of them knew about the man who worked the handloom to earn a living but no one knows the one who was master of the throne? The reason is that he [the king] had not read *Gurbani*. Kabir Ji was completely imbued with *Gurbani*, was one with it. *Gurbani* is supreme. Studying eighteen, twenty or twenty-two years we barely reach a state where we can earn about three thousand rupees [a month]. Over these eighteen years your parents keep on feeding you milk so that their son can study. Some time later he gets married and he wonders whether he should bring up his children or feed his parents. He goes over [to his children]. The parents who bore him, fed him, brought him to his youth, educated him, again get pushed around. Everything in the home, sugar and butter, was fed to the son so his brain would work well but, later, the son's mind changed. All this happens for merely three thousand rupees. [On the

<sup>18</sup> A *Vairaagi* is an ascetic.

<sup>19</sup> A *Sanyasi* is one who has given up the pursuit of worldly objects.

<sup>20</sup> Reference here is to Sant Gurbachan Singh Khalsa and Sant Kartar Singh Bhindranwale, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's predecessors as heads of the *Damdami Taksaal*

<sup>21</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>22</sup> A reverential reference to any of the Gurus.

other hand,] if eighteen years had been spent in prayer, in acquiring the spirit of Sikhi and Shaheedi, let alone three thousand, even hundreds of thousands would come in a single second. Is that path better or this? You educated people have many questions. [You ask] "Sant Ji, there are so many people who work. They apply fertilizer, irrigate the fields, spend day and night working and even then the country is starving. If, listening to strayed *Saadhs* like you all of us sit idle, would God give us food?" You have this worry because of doubt. You are in ignorance. You see birds flying around in the sky. Have you seen a factory of these birds anywhere? To which store do the birds go to get their food? We keep cattle, put it under yoke, beat it with sticks and feed it on dry chaff. Another one roams around free, feeds in open fields and is even fatter [than the domesticated one].

### Gurbani Has Answers To All Questions. God Provides For All

Whatever question you might have, *Gurbani* will provide you with an answer. I am illiterate and not competent to answer but *Gurbani* will certainly have the answer to anything you say. The way we are sitting here is somewhat different. They were sitting in the presence of Satguru Ji as a congregation. Sitting as a congregation, they prayed to Satguru Ji: "*Maharaj*<sup>23</sup>, you always tell us to listen to *katha*, to listen to *kirtan*, to read *Gurbani*, to pray, to be immersed in prayer; but if all people started to pray, would all of them get food?" *Maharaj* smiled and said: Guru's man, why are you worried. In the *Baani* that came from God is written:

ਤੁ ਕਾਹੇ ਡੋਲਹਿ ਪ੍ਰਾਣੀਆ ਤੁਧੁ ਰਾਖੈਗਾ ਸਿਰਜਣਹਾਰੁ॥ ਜਿਨਿ ਪੈਦਾਇਸਿ ਤੁ ਕੀਆ ਸੋਈ ਦੇਇ ਆਧਾਰੁ॥੧॥  
ਜਿਨਿ ਉਪਾਈ ਮੇਦਨੀ ਸੋਈ ਕਰਦਾ ਸਾਰ॥ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਮਾਲਕੁ ਦਿਲਾ ਕਾ ਸਚਾ ਪਰਵਦਗਾਰੁ॥੨॥

'O Man, why are you worried. The Creator will protect you. The One who created you provides support. The One who created the universe takes care of it. Pervading all beings, He is the Master of everyone's heart. He is the true Provider.' They said: "We are not satisfied. You have said that He will give but what is it that He will give? We need milk; we need bread; we need butter; and we need sugar." *Maharaj* said: "Brothers, God will make such arrangements; you will not have to start an agitation. It will not be as in the case of the boy who joined the struggle to get the price of milk increased by five paise per liter and is still in jail in Ferozepur. You won't have to suffer like that." They asked: "Satguru Ji, what will the arrangement be?" *Maharaj* replied:

ਨਦੀਆ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਧੇਨਵਾ ਸੁੰਮ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਦੁਧੁ ਘੀਉ॥

<sup>23</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

'[If] all the rivers become cows<sup>24</sup>, the ocean becomes milk and *gheeo*<sup>25</sup>.' The rivers that run full of water will become *Kamdhenas*<sup>26</sup>, meaning that they run full of milk. There was a hotheaded one in the congregation. He quickly stood up and said: "Listen to my appeal as well." *Maharaj* said: "Go ahead." [He said] *Satguru Ji*: "It is right that rivers shall flow with milk but dry bread is hard to swallow. The fifth ingredient, *gheeo* is needed." I said the fifth here today. Why are you looking at my face? *Gheeo* is called the fifth. They said they could not do without the fifth. *Maharaj* said:

ਨਦੀਆਂ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਧੇਨਵਾ ਸੁੰਮ ਹੋਵਹਿ ਦੁਧ ਘੀਉ॥

*Sum* is the word for ocean. God will make the ocean of milk and *gheeo*. A third impatient one, one in a hurry, was sitting there too. He said: "Listen to my appeal as well." *Maharaj* said: "Go ahead." He said: "*Gheeo*, even though it gives strength, tastes flat without sugar. It is hard to swallow. We need sugar." *Maharaj* said:

ਸਗਲੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਸਕਰ ਹੋਵੈ

'The entire earth shall be sugar.' Now it is of stone, isn't it? *Maharaj* says it will all become sugar; and

ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਕਰੇ ਨਿਤ ਜੀਉ॥

'My soul will enjoy.' You won't have to beat up on your wife, nor will you have to use a stove, nor worry about fuel. You can just take it and eat as much as you like.

### Serve God With Devotion. As You Sow So Shall You Reap

This is a five-day camp. In just five days, there are whispers behind tent walls as to when it will all be over, as to when will they be released from here to return home, and we seek, as is written in *Gurbani*:

ਫਰੀਦਾ ਲੋੜੇ ਦਾਖ ਬਿਜਉਰੀਆ ਕਿਕਰਿ ਬੀਜੈ ਜਟੁ॥  
ਹੈਤੈ ਉਨ ਕਤਾਇਦਾ ਪੈਧਾ ਲੋੜੇ ਪਟੁ॥੨੩॥

'O Farid, [a person who seeks happiness without prayer is like] the farmer who plants *kikkar*<sup>27</sup> and seeks to harvest raisins of Bijor. He spends his life spinning woolen yarn and desires to wear silk.' He seeks the raisins of Bijor but plants

<sup>24</sup> Sources of milk.

<sup>25</sup> *Gheeo* is clarified butter.

<sup>26</sup> *Kamdhenas* is the mythical cow, in Hindu belief, which provides all that a person might desire.

<sup>27</sup> A tree which has branches with long hard thorns.

*kikkar*. He spends his time spinning wool and seeks to wear clothes of silk and *pashmina*<sup>28</sup>. Which is the country Bijor? It is heaven. The person seeks salvation, the raisins, in heaven, the country Bijor. However, the person plants sin, the seeds of *kikkar*. How shall he get salvation? He spends his time in lust that is like spinning wool and seeks divine knowledge, divine love that is like silk. How will he get silk garments, clothes made from *pashmina*? He will not get them. We spend our time watching television and listening to dirty songs over the radio, and then we say we cannot fix our mind [in prayer]. I had a brother who was somewhat educated. He is a teacher. He was not very generous in his temperament except in talk. One day he asked me: "Bhai Jarnail Singh, what is the significance of reciting *Jap Ji Sahib*<sup>29</sup>?" I replied: "The significance simply is that if Guru Sahib is pleased he can even give Guruship." He said: "Would I get anything else?" I said: "There is nothing above Guruship. Besides that there is only hell. You can see if you need that." He said: "How about worldly things?" I said: "All worldly desires are fulfilled." He went away. He got up early in the morning and having done one reading of *Jap Ji Sahib* came to me and said: "I got nothing." I asked him: "What were your desires at the time you did the reading? One was that you get a son. Another was that you get a raise in salary. Then you wished that you should get four acres of land. All this for only one reading of *Jap Ji Sahib*?" This is just as some people read *Jap Ji Sahib*. They start the reading with:

ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ

'There is one God, Eternal, the Reality, the Name, the Creator who pervades all'; and then "O boy get me that .... [inaudible] .... " Isn't it so? Then, ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ [without fear and without rancor] "get me that biscuit." Is this *Paath*<sup>30</sup>? The mind is set on eating. This will not do. Love *Gurbani* and serve the congregation. The service does not have to be in materials. *Gurmat* tells us:

ਭਾਵਨੀ ਭਗਤਿ ਭਾਇ ਕੈੜੀ ਅਗੁਭਾਗ ਰਾਖੈ ਤਾਹਿ ਗੁਰੁ ਸਰਬ ਨਿਧਾਨ ਦਾਨ ਦੇਤ ਹੈ॥੧੧੧॥

'If a man, with love and devotion, places a *cowry* before the Guru, the Guru bestows upon him all the treasures.' If with devotion we bring even the fourth part of a cowry to the congregation of the Guru, it is accepted. There are many stories about service. I shall tell you this one about .... [inaudible] ....

### A Story From Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib's Reign

It happened in Phaggu's Saraan. Those of you who have gone there would know. I have been there many times. He asked an old woman for contribution.

<sup>28</sup> A superior type of wool.

<sup>29</sup> *Jap Ji Sahib* is one of the five daily prayers.

<sup>30</sup> *Paath* is reading from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

Some [old women] have sharp temperament and easily fall to abusing. He said: "Mother, give me something for the Guru's home." She started abusing him. Baba Phaggu Ji kept standing. After a few minutes had passed, he again asked: "Mother, give me something." The woman was sweeping the dirt off the floor. She picked up the dirt and said to him: "Come here, I shall give you some dirt." He said: "All right, Mother, give me the dirt." He tied the dirt up in his apron and brought it to his headquarters. He put aside the rest of the collection and opened up his apron. He was searching if in the dirt he might find some grain or some other thing that could be used in the Guru's community kitchen or eaten by a Sikh. What did he find after all the search? It was the seed of a berry. Phaggu saved it. Sahib Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib, the True King arrived there. This is something to see for yourselves. Today's educated youth do not believe it. This morning Gurjit Singh also asked a question. We shall get a reply to that too. It has come to my mind. There is a window in size equal to the middle piece in that window you see. He remembered and the Ninth King, riding his horse, came through that window without dismounting. Now you should tell me. Can a horse go through that window? Satguru Ji went through it riding his horse.

ਸਿੰਧੁ ਸਮਾਇਓ ਘਟੁਕੇ ਮਾਹਿ॥ ਕਰਣਹਾਰ ਕਉ ਕਿਛੁ ਅਚਰਜ ਨਾਹਿ॥੩॥

'[God] the ocean is contained in the vessel [being]. Nothing is surprising for the Creator.' *Sindh* is the word for ocean. Let any person who is well educated tell me that an ocean was contained in a vessel. He will never agree. An illiterate person will. But who has to do it? It is God Himself who can do it. *Maharaj* says:

ਕਰਣਹਾਰ ਕਉ ਕਿਛੁ ਅਚਰਜ ਨਾਹਿ

'Nothing is surprising for the Creator.' He can do whatever He pleases. He kept the berry seed safely. Guru Sahib arrived there. He brought all the collection he had made and placed it before the Guru. Guru Sahib said: "Beloved man, there is something not in here." That Sikh was surprised. He thought to himself. I have never stolen anything. I have never kept anything back. Guru Sahib cannot be lying. What is it? He went back inside and checked everywhere. He came back and told that there was nothing. *Maharaj* asked him to think carefully. He said: "I am liable to be wrong, tell me what have I kept back." *Maharaj* told him to go inside again and look. He again went inside and searching found the berry seed. He came and told *Maharaj*: "True King, this seed was left inside. Forgive me for being negligent." *Maharaj* asked him to bring the seed to him. He took the seed and planted it in the ground with his own hands. Whenever you go there, throughout the year, you are given berries as *parshad* and no other. Just as at Baal Lila *Gurdwara* in Patna Sahib, the *parshad* is of wheat-germ or chick-peas, the same way the *parshad* here is of berries. How long that one service, done in anger, will bear fruit is hard to



guess. There are two ways: doing service and getting it done. Even if the one who is doing the service gets angry, the one getting it done should not.

*[The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available].*

**SPEECH #38**  
**December 31, 1983**

*[The first part of this speech is not available].*

**SIKHS HAVE ALWAYS AVENGED THE DEATH OF THEIR MARTYRS**

Bhai Mati Das And Aurangzeb

Did Mati Das let the oppressor Nauranga<sup>1</sup>, who had them<sup>2</sup> put in the cauldron, who had them sawed alive, sleep? Did he not get justice? Mati Das got on his chest at night<sup>3</sup>. Tormented by him and fearful, Nauranga left Delhi and went to Maharashtra using the excuse of war against Ahmad Shah and there, Bhai Daya Singh and Bhai Dharam Singh showed him the *Zafarnama*<sup>4</sup>. One who wished everyone to say 'Salaam O'leikum'<sup>5</sup> had to say 'Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.' In driving him [the King] out of Delhi didn't Mati Das seek justice for his own death?

Bhai Sukha Singh, Bhai Mehtab Singh, And Massa Rangar

The evil Massa Rangar played his part in the oppression of peaceful Sikhs, by seeking to destroy their peace, to destroy faith in their religion and to destroy their religious centers. He had a dancing girl perform here<sup>6</sup>. This pierced the hearts of the peaceful Sikhs. Then, from the Buddha Dal, from among the Sikhs living under the leadership of Buddha Singh Ji, didn't Bhai Sukha Singh Kamalvari and Bhai Lakha Singh Ji Meeran Kot, seeking support of the feet of our Most Beloved Guru and reaching Harmandar Sahib passing through ten thousand troops, cut off Massa Rangar's head, place it on a spear, take it back to the Buddha Dal and play stick-ball with it? Let anyone among you tell me if we have had two consecutive generations of peacefulness. I am surprised that this congregation is still peaceful.

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<sup>1</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>2</sup> Bhai Mati Das' associates who, along with Mati Das, accompanied Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib to Delhi and were executed by being boiled alive in cauldrons and by being sawed alive.

<sup>3</sup> Aurangzeb had nightmares in which he would see Mati Das tormenting him.

<sup>4</sup> *Zafarnama*, literally meaning 'Epistle of Victory' refers to a letter from Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib to Aurangzeb.

<sup>5</sup> The Muslim salutation.

<sup>6</sup> At Darbar Sahib in Amritsar.

## Bhai Nibhaoo Singh And Lakhpat And Jaspat

Lakhpat and Jaspat made up their minds. They pledged that they would not let any turban or any beard remain, and that they would destroy the Sikhs. Those favoring peacefulness [at this time] are following that path. However, Guru's Sikh Nibhaoo Singh arose. His heart could no longer bear the fall of *Sikhi*. He did not consult any leader whether he should suffer following peacefulness. *Khalsa Ji*, what did he do? Seeking the support of Satguru [whose words are]:

ਜਬੈ ਬਾਣ ਲਾਗਯੋ। ਤਬੈ ਰੋਸ ਜਾਗਯੋ। ....  
ਭਈ ਜੀਤ ਮੇਰੀ। ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਾਲ ਕੇਰੀ।  
ਰਣੈ ਜੀਤਿ ਆਏ॥ ਜਯੈ ਗੀਤ ਗਾਏ।

'When the arrow hit me, only then the need to respond was aroused. .... I was victorious. This was God's mercy. I returned having won in battle and all sang songs of victory.' Relying on this, having said his prayer, taking the sword in his hand - hiding it in his robes because of the constraints of the situation - he went and stood among the troops behind the elephant. When the elephant started to move, holding on to the elephant's tail, he climbed from the back and cut off Jaspat's head which fell to the ground. Was peacefulness lost at that time?

## Akali Peacefulness Despite Government Oppression Contradicts Sikh History

Twelve, thirteen, fourteen generations [of Akali leadership] have passed, and we continue harping on peacefulness! Where did you learn it from? Let us illiterate persons know. How is it that we do not believe in Guru's history, we do not believe in Sikh history, nor do we believe in the history of martyrs? Bhai Sukhjinder Singh Ji told the congregation just now. The first point made by Bhai Sahib in the beginning [of his speech] was that we should first be conversant with history. Have we become so? Let even one man say if we have.

## Being The First To Attack Is Wrong. But Having Been Attacked A Sikh Must Defend

When is a Sikh wrong? It is when he poses a question. When is a Sikh's sin washed away? It is when he responds. A Sikh will never be the first to attack, to ask the question. Asking the question means being the first to attack. That is what we call asking a question. Later, seeking justice is called the answer. If we are sons of Sikhs, we shall never be the first to attack in the form of a question. Also, if we are sons of Sikhs, we shall never hesitate in responding. If we hesitate, then we are artificial Sikhs, spoilt Sikhs, not real Sikhs. If we attack first, then too, we are spoilt Sikhs. Are we determined that we have to seek justice? Are we resolved, noting that in the past we have been lax, that we have

to get rid of this laxity in some period of time and be ready to seek justice for the martyrs? Is there truth in this logic? Are we going to just gather here, listen to fiery speeches, and then go back to studying at school? If someone like me says 'let us do *katha*<sup>7</sup>', we relapse into status quo. How will the job get done? We have to secure justice for the martyrs. This has to be done stoutly and not secretively; it is a different matter that circumstances may force us to do otherwise.

### Sikh Youth Are Ready If They Have Support From The Leadership

The younger generation has one complaint. Those who meet me do not have these doubts, but those who have not done so have these questions. They say the younger generation is willing to adopt the path of *Gursikhi*<sup>8</sup>. Adopting the path of *Gursikhi*, they are even ready to seek justice for the martyrs, they are ready to strengthen the *Panth*<sup>9</sup>. But they say they have one problem, which is that no one protects the young men. This might have been right in the past, but it isn't now. It might have been so during the time of the leaders, you can ask those leaders. I am not your leader. I am only your watchman. However, only he can be protected who has a master because the master has a responsibility to protect. Who will protect one who does not have a master? The Master of all of us is Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the True King<sup>10</sup>. If we become his [Sikhs], we shall have no need to say 'who will protect us'. He will definitely protect us. I am your small, insignificant, illiterate and foolish watchman.

### I Shall Defend Anyone Who Avenges Oppression Against Innocent People

Sitting where we are<sup>11</sup>, I shall not go back on my word. I have never gone back on my word anyway, there is no question of doing it here. Anybody who puts on the train [of death] those who have set fire to copies and books of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, those who have stripped our daughters and sisters, those who forced a father and daughter to sexual union, those who set fire to saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>12</sup>, those who pulled out *Nishaan Sahib*, those who desecrated Guru's homes, those who have drunk the blood of poor and innocent Sikhs; anyone who does this and comes to me, I shall protect him. [*The congregation*

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<sup>7</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>8</sup> *Gursikh* means Sikh of the Guru. *Gursikhi* is the way of life of a Sikh of the Guru.

<sup>9</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>10</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false.

<sup>11</sup> In Darbar Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

*shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>13</sup>]. Tell me how else you wish me to hold your hands? Wasn't this your chief complaint that no one protects us? I shall protect you. If you have any self-respect, you can test me. You haven't as much as broken the leg of an ant and yet you keep complaining. What sort of *Sikhi* is this? Those of you who gather here say this too: "Sant Ji, don't worry, we shall raise the rafters." I have not been able to understand over these seventeen months where you are keeping these boards, sawed and ready, which you are going to raise? Our sisters are being stripped naked in all places, dogs' feces are being forced into the mouths of Sikhs, and you say you will raise the rafters! When are you going to do it? However, keep one thing in mind. Don't let it happen that you have some worldly enmity with someone, and linking him with the name of some martyr, you put him on the train [of death] and then come to me. In that case, I am not going to protect you. If anyone robs a shop, sets anyone's clothes on fire, commits a robbery, makes sexual overtures and molests any daughter or sister, and I can get hold of him, I shall thrash him myself even if he is a son of Sikhs. Do remember this. Don't let it happen that you fight over a drink or over land and then come to me and say you have killed so and so. I do not support that.

#### SIKHS HAVE TO BE FREE

We do have to get rid [of the yoke] of slavery from around our necks. The newspapers do not print complete news in connection with our being slaves. I definitely like to bring some principal points to your notice because you young people are educated and you have to propagate this further. How are we slaves?

#### Questions Regarding Khalistan

There was this talk about Khalistan. It is being said [by Akali Dal]: "We do not want Khalistan; we declare that we have no connection with Khalistan; we have nothing to do with it; we have no connection with it; we stay away from it." Has anyone come to ask them to take it? Don't we say such things when someone comes to us to give something and we say that we don't want it, take it away? It is necessary to say it at that time. Isn't it? The situation is [like the saying goes] 'Uninvited to the wedding, she comes along anyway claiming she is an aunt of the bridegroom.' They do not give us standing room anywhere and [these leaders] say we do not want Khalistan! I have been asked many times by our newspaper friends about my opinion regarding Khalistan. I have but one answer for all of them: I do not oppose it nor do I support it as yet. In all tape-recordings this has been my statement: I neither oppose it nor support it. It is the business of the Center<sup>14</sup> and not mine. The Center should tell us if it wishes

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<sup>13</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>14</sup> Government of India.

to keep these turbaned people<sup>15</sup> with it or not. This was my position in the past. From today it is changed somewhat. The Government should tell us if it wishes to stay with us. I have clarified this today in your meeting. In the future, this will apply. If they wish to stay with us, they should give us our share. We have given ninety heads<sup>16</sup>, all the rest of them have given ten<sup>17</sup>. A Sikh does not charge interest, but if we did charge interest they would have nothing left for them in Hindostan. If we do not charge interest, they can take the land corresponding to ten heads and give us in proportion to ninety after [lapse of] thirty-six years. Let them sit at a table with us here and take whatever decision they wish to.

A brother, speaking here, expressed a point of view. Don't get angry with me but I do not agree with him on that point even though I agree with him on other issues. This is the view that we cannot govern. It is correct in the context in which he said it but all students are not aware of that context. He meets me often, so I know. How can it be said that a Sikh cannot govern in India? A time will come when the Sikh shall rule not only over India but over the entire world. It is true that in your way of saying, it is impossible at this time. Did you ever imagine that the police will stop beating up Sikhs? They would catch whomsoever they wished and beat him up. Why have they stopped now? If, at individual level, two Sikhs<sup>18</sup> can rule - even though that rule lasted only seven hours or seven days - why are twenty million feeling disheartened now? We shall certainly rule but it may take some time. Don't be impatient. Keep marching towards your goal. When we do march, the distance will be covered.

### Signs Of Sikhs Being Slaves

I wish to bring some points to our notice regarding our being slaves. How are we slaves? Many students say that I keep harping on slavery, I should explain to them how we are slaves. Let me tell you.

- a. The Indian Constitution does not recognize Sikhs as distinct

Firstly, we are slaves according to the secular Constitution [of India]. According to clause 25 of the Constitution, we are not recognized as Sikh. The day before yesterday, a professor came from Jalandhar. He said: "Sant Ji, let us open a college." I asked him: "What for?" He said: "Let us train people in *Sikhi*." I asked him: "Are we Sikhs?" He replied: "Of course, we are." I said:

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<sup>15</sup> The Sikhs.

<sup>16</sup> Reference is to 93 Sikhs having been hanged to death by the British during India's struggle for freedom.

<sup>17</sup> The actual figure is twenty-eight.

<sup>18</sup> Reference is to Bota Singh and Garja Singh declaring Sikh Rule during the eighteenth century and achieving martyrdom a few days later.

“By which Constitution do we swear?” This too is our misfortune. All the lawyers we choose, even if they are Sikhs, they all keep on saying that we have not signed the Constitution, but they all go to Gandhi to take their oaths. The Tenth King's<sup>19</sup> words are:

ਗੋਰ ਮੜੀ ਮਤ ਭੁਲ ਨ ਮਾਨੈ।

‘In no case shall he [the Sikh] believe in graves and crematoria.’ There is no Minister of ours who does not swear-in the oath that Gandhi<sup>20</sup> is his father. It is possible that some self-respecting one does not use the word ‘father’ but he must be saying “I shall work according to the Constitution.” I have not yet seen in all my life anyone who would say that he would work under the Tenth King's faith. On the one hand we do not accept the Constitution and, on the other, for thirty-six years we are swearing by it.

What should Indira<sup>21</sup> give us? How are we slaves? First, we have not even been recognized as Sikhs; we have been listed as Hindus with uncut hair even though in reality there is no Hindu. The entire mankind is basically Sikh. Retaining the form in which we are sitting here, we are Sikhs. If we change this form using scissors, we change into Hindus. If we are circumcised, we become Muslims. If we stay the way we are we are Sikhs and if we wear *kirpaan*<sup>22</sup> in our *gaatra*<sup>23</sup>, then we are *Singhs*<sup>24</sup>. The change is made by scissors and the razor, not by birth. We are all born Sikh. If someone can show me that one can be born as a Hindu or as a Muslim, I shall agree. Not being recognized as Sikhs is a sign of slavery.

b. Sikhs are punished differently from Hindus

A girl born in the home of Pundits, Indira Gandhi, getting votes of the people, became Prime Minister of India. It so happened in 1977, perhaps at the time when our brother<sup>25</sup> was a Minister, that for the deeds she had done, she was sentenced. In that connection, Pandey and others hijacked a plane and they

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<sup>19</sup> Tenth King is Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>20</sup> Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule.

<sup>21</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>22</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear. The others are *kes* (uncut hair), *kangha* (a comb in the hair), *kachhera* (a special type of shorts), and *kara* (an iron bangle).

<sup>23</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>24</sup> Sant Bhindranwale uses the word *Singh* for *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>25</sup> Reference is to Parkash Siingh Badal who was the Chief Minister of Punjab when Indira Gandhi was sentenced to jail.

received chairs<sup>26</sup> in U.P.<sup>27</sup> and Bihar. They got tickets [to become candidates for election as] M.L.A.<sup>28</sup>. From among us, the youthful Gajinder Singh and others hijacked a plane to protest Siri Guru Granth Sahib having been set on fire. They were exiled. This is a sign of slavery. Let any Sikh give me an alternate answer to this, and I shall have my head cut off. Prove me wrong. Let any student do it, let any Minister or any leader do it. If a plane can be hijacked in India for a daughter of the Pundits, why can it not be hijacked for the *Isht*<sup>29</sup> of the Sikhs? If a plane is hijacked for Indira, a daughter of the Pundits, there is a residential suite in the M.L.A. Flats for the hijackers, but if a plane is hijacked for the *Isht* of the Sikhs by Gurbakhsh Singh on 4 August [1982], he is given an injection to cripple his leg. He is serving<sup>30</sup> a prison term in Bathinda at this time. All he did was to use the plane to demonstrate his anguish. If a plane is hijacked for the daughter of Pundits, and the hijacker is a Hindu, he is hailed as a patriot just as Pandey and the others were. If Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh hijacks a plane for the *Isht* of the Sikhs, he is shot dead at Raja Sansi airport. This is a sign of slavery. Of course, if any Sikh has set fire to the plane, damaged the plane in any way, or hurt any passenger, we would be to blame. They [Pandey and others] demonstrated their anguish. We did the same. There is a restriction on us, but not on the Hindus? Why is it so? It is because as yet we are slaves, and this slavery is due to our leaders having been greedy; it is because of Baldev Singh; and Master Tara Singh who was also the leader at that time with him [Baldev Singh]. The two of them were responsible for the destruction of the [Sikh] Nation.

c. Hindu demands are treated differently from Sikh demands

Young men: this is a matter that needs to be brought to your attention especially. You are told that Bhindranwala keeps on making inflammatory speeches from the stage, but that there is no real problem. You should answer them. In the thirty six years since India got freedom, if any Hindu has spent as much as an hour in jail to speak Hindi, to get a Hindi-speaking state created, to get a Hindu religious city declared a holy city, to get a train named after a Hindu religious temple, to enter a plane wearing the Hindu religious symbol *janeoo*<sup>31</sup>, to get transmitters installed in Hindu temples to broadcast the Vedas, to get control over the rivers flowing through Hindi-speaking areas, to secure control of headworks located in Hindi-speaking areas, to get permission to build dams in Hindi-speaking areas, I shall have my head cut off. Contrary to

<sup>26</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>27</sup> The state of Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>28</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>29</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>30</sup> Gurbakhsh Singh was in jail for three and one-half years.

<sup>31</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.



this, to speak Punjabi, to get a Punjabi-speaking state, fifty-seven thousand had to go to jail. Those who had made no demand - the people of Haryana and Himachal - got both states complete<sup>32</sup> whereas those who went to jail are still wailing. This is because we are slaves.

In order to get Amritsar declared a holy city, to get a train named after Darbar Sahib, to get the Sikhs declared a separate nation, to enter a plane wearing the religious symbol of Sikhs, the *kirpaan*, to install a transmitter at Darbar Sahib so that we can listen to *Gurbani*<sup>33</sup>, to get the Punjabi-speaking areas left out of Punjab added in order to make it a complete state, to secure water from rivers flowing through Punjabi-speaking areas, to exercise control over headworks<sup>34</sup>, to get permission to build dams in Punjabi-speaking areas, one hundred and eighty-one thousand have gone to jail, nearly two hundred have become martyrs, and still they say over the television that Sikhs are communal-minded. If somebody can refute this, let him speak up. The one and only answer is that we are slaves. We need to be free.

- d. Hindu leaders issue threats against Sikhs and the Sikh response is punished

If Hindostan's Prime Minister, Indira, says that the Sikh public and the Sikh leaders of Punjab should think of what might happen to the Sikhs living in states other than Punjab, isn't it a threat? If the Prime Minister says this thing, there is no case against her. If Bhindranwala answers this question saying: "Dear Lady, do not worry; we have made a count. There are only twenty [of you] to each of us." A case is registered under clause 506. This is because I am a son of the Sikhs, and she is a daughter of the Hindus. We are slaves as yet.

If Bhattacharya sitting in the Parliament, which you educated people look up to as the assembly of justice, says that Nachhattar Singh, implicated in the Lala's<sup>35</sup> case, should be hanged, what right does he have to say so? There is no case registered against him. If Swami Adityavesh, resident of Haryana, says that all Sikhs living in Haryana should pick up their *kachheras*<sup>36</sup> and towels and go away to Punjab, there is no case registered against him. There is no danger to the country. If Kewal Krishan, formerly Finance Minister, says - I

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<sup>32</sup> Reference here is to the fact that in creating a Punjabi-speaking state, some Punjabi-speaking areas were awarded to Haryana and Himachal merely because the population there happened to have a Hindu majority. A majority of Hindus in Punjab had disowned Punjabi as their mother-tongue.

<sup>33</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>34</sup> Headworks include dams and controls for diversion of river waters for irrigation and/or power generation.

<sup>35</sup> Lala Jagat Narain's assassination.

<sup>36</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

read this news in the Akali Patrika about seven months back - that all Sikh organizations in Punjab will be finished off, no case is registered. No leader has given any statement about it. If Harbans Lal Khanna, resident of this city, says [as he did] on 30 May 1981:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni,  
kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*

'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not going to let a turban remain on any head; the shorts, the iron bangle, the sword, send these to Pakistan.'

no case is registered because he is a son of the Hindus. If, in Rajasthan, those of the Hindu Jan Sangh say in the form of an ultimatum that by 25 December all Rajasthani Sikhs should pick up their *kachheras* and towels and get out of Rajasthan, no case is registered because the Hindus said this. However, if in that context, Bhindranwala says: "All right, if you wish to drive the Sikhs out of there, the Hindus of Punjab should prepare for the next world" there is uproar in the Parliament for three days. What is the reason for this? The one and only reason is that a son of a Sikh cannot speak but a son and a daughter of the Hindus can. When will you break free? When will you remove the yoke of slavery from your necks? Young men, we all shall have to think over it. Do not pin your hopes on any single person or leader that he will tell you something. Each one of us, wherever we are, has a responsibility.

e. Hindu journalists malign the Sikh faith and are not punished

If this is not slavery, what is it? One Lala Jagat Narain from those who number 660 million died. What did he say before his death? Let us stay a little bit towards the law-suit. He, born in the home of Hindus, said about the deceased Giani Gurdial Singh Ajnoha Sahib, *Jathedar* of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib the principal religious place of the Sikhs, that he was a traitor to the country and that his passport should be canceled. There was no case registered against him but when young students seeing these words in print set five, seven or perhaps a hundred of these papers on fire, they were detained because they are sons of Sikhs and have set fire to a newspaper. Anybody can hurl abuse at Sikh leaders, it does not matter; but if his [Lala Jagat Narain's] 'sacred' newspaper is set on fire, the country is ruined. Isn't it slavery?

f. Desecration of Sikh places of worship by Hindus is overlooked

If a boy born in the home of Hindus throws tobacco in the *Parkarma*<sup>37</sup> of Harmandar Sahib there is no case registered against him even though he was

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<sup>37</sup> *Parkarma* is the marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.

caught and produced before the police. Let me remind our leaders about this thing that comes to my mind. A son of the Sikhs courted arrest as part of a protest to get the price of milk raised by five *paisa*<sup>38</sup> per liter, he is in jail in Ferozepur at this time. This happened two and a half years back. Let alone being released, he is not even being granted bail. However, if a son of the Hindus sells thousands of tons of tallow in Bathinda, gets people to eat it, gets people to rub it on their bodies, he is not arrested. He is granted bail while sitting at home. A son of a Sikh cannot increase the price of milk by five *paisa* per liter but a son of a Hindu can sell thousands of tons of fat. This is a sign of slavery.

g. Sikhs are punished without any evidence of crime

There are twenty-two states in Hindostan. Twenty-one of these have Hindu majorities and in one there is a Sikh majority that is diminishing, and if we stay peaceful, it might reduce even further. Let us hope we do not become a minority. *Khalsa Ji*, Punjab is the only state where cow-slaughter, the killing of the cow, is prohibited. It is permitted in the other twenty-one states. If a cow is killed with an ax, a saw, or a chopping knife, in the twenty-one states, it is patriotism, but if in Punjab, a hair from the tail of a dead cow is dropped on the street it is being a traitor to the country. If a son of a Hindu is caught throwing tobacco, nothing happens to him but if a head of a cow is thrown in some religious place of the Hindus, even if no one has seen who did it nor does the priest there know who it is, a prize of 25,000 rupees is announced for the arrest of Rajinder Singh Mehta, Secretary<sup>39</sup> and a prize of 50,000 [rupees is announced for the arrest] of another. Why this price on the head of a Sikh of 25,000 and 50,000 rupees? This is because a head of a cow has been thrown, but the Hindu is set free. He has thrown tobacco. According to their belief, the Guru does not notice the smell of tobacco. If a Sikh was to enter the temple of Vaishno Devi with an onion, they say the smell of onion gets to her nostrils. She is sneezing. This is because we are slaves. We shall have to get rid of this [chain of] slavery from our necks.

h. Sikh denied entry into Delhi at the time of the Asian Games

At the time of the Asian Games the Sikh, who gave ninety heads, is told that he cannot come to Delhi from Punjab, but the Chhalli Rams<sup>40</sup>, who gave ten heads, can do so openly. This is slavery. A Sikh from America could not come, but a Hindu from America could. This is slavery.

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<sup>38</sup> A *paisa* is one hundredth of a rupee, approximately one-fortieth of an American cent.

<sup>39</sup> Secretary of the All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>40</sup> Chhalli Ram is a fictitious Hindu name contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn.

i. Hindus amass weapons and ammunition with Government collusion

If we hold any camp here, everyone who comes to the camp will be searched. I have said this three times; tape-recordings have been made. I threw a challenge. They should have accepted it. Now they have changed the place and whispers are going around. I have spoken three times earlier. If at the door on this side of the Lohgarh fort - where the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>41</sup> fought his first battle, sent twenty-five Sikhs, and himself fought at the site of The Khalsa College - we turn from the road towards the fort, the third bungalow in the row of bungalows on the left belongs to a Hindu. There was a factory for making revolvers. When I was living in Guru Nanak Niwas, I challenged the police three times to go there and search the place, and I offered that if revolvers were not recovered from there, I would be willing to take any punishment. Even after I told them, there was no search. Now I again challenged. They have changed the place. Two hundred and thirty pounds of gold and twenty-eight sten-guns were in that temple. I spoke about it from Manji Sahib. The Government says that there are weapons at religious places of the Sikhs. I shall help them catch two hundred and thirty pounds of gold and twenty-eight sten-guns. Would they punish [the Hindus]? No newspaper has published this, nor has the Government challenged it anywhere. They have moved it from there. I shall tell you the place too. That place was Naina Devi. These things were there. Now they have been taken out of there and are kept at the home of a Brahmin. I won't disclose that name as it might give a job to the *Singhs* of the congregation. So, *Khalsa Ji*, these are signs of the slavery that is around our necks.

j. Sikhs in the military are mistreated

Tell me, suffering so much oppression, do we wish to live as eunuchs or do we have to claim our right? After thirty-six years this is a challenge from this stage today. I make a request of the newspaper representatives too. It will be good if they tape-record whatever they have to write. This is a challenge to the Government; this is a challenge to the Hindu rulers; let them tell me if in thirty-six years, from 1947 to 1983, in all of Hindostan, any Sikh officer in the military has ever killed a Hindu young man. Let anybody prove a single case of a Sikh officer killing a young Hindu army man. However, what happened on the Attari border? A sten-gun was lost from the military. They caught hold of Sital Singh. Red chilies were put in his eyes, red chilies were inserted in his body. His arm was cut and the cut was filled with salt. They cut thorny branches from *kikkar*<sup>42</sup> and dragged him over them and killed him. When a post-mortem examination was conducted, half a kilogram of chilies was found

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<sup>41</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>42</sup> A tree which has branches with long hard thorns.

in his body. His name was Sital Singh. When they searched for their sten-gun it was found in the drain, the sewer. They found the sten-gun, but will somebody give us back Sital Singh? If they do not give him back, why don't you young men ask them for him? Who will obtain Sital Singh? A Hindu loses his sten-gun, which is later found. The one who lost it does not even get a two-hour *pitthu*<sup>43</sup> but the one who was innocent is killed merely on suspicion!

In Meerut two rifle barrels were lost. They caught hold of Piara Singh of the Ferozepur District. He was beaten to death. Later, they carried out a search. The barrels were found in the barracks of a Hindu. The one from whose barracks they were found received no punishment, but the other was killed merely on suspicion. The barrels were found. They should bring Piara Singh back. Young men, when are you going to demand this? When will our leaders provide help? How long will there be peace?

- k. Weapons licenses issued to Sikhs are being revoked but Hindus can keep illicit weapons

I had some licenses [for weapons] issued to me when there was the Akali rule<sup>44</sup>. I shall call it Akali rule even though it was sort of mixed. I shall accept it as [truly] Akali when the Chief Minister will be one wearing a *kirpaan*. However, because of our majority, the word Akali rule is used. Our licenses were issued at that time. Whether they were a few or many is another matter. You always hear about my licenses having been revoked. One or two, but not all, of the others leaders who are with me have also had theirs revoked. Two hundred and thirty grenades have been recovered from Pawan Kumar. How much punishment did he receive? Two hundred and thirty military grenades - I do not know what they are called - were found in his possession. Two hundred and thirty were found. I had my licensed weapons and the licenses were canceled. The licenses of the Sikhs have been canceled but why are those of Chhalli Ram, Gulli Ram and Shiv Kumar<sup>45</sup>. still valid? This is because we are slaves.

I appeal to you. Let me know by speaking up if all of us who are sitting here want fulfillment of the Anandpur Resolution. Are you in favor of achieving the Anandpur Resolution or not? Tell me by speaking up. If the answer is a no, and you do not need it, go along and have fresh air. If you want to get the Anandpur Resolution implemented, then if Pawan Kumar can keep

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<sup>43</sup> *Pitthu* is punishment in which the culprit is asked to carry a load on his back and go around the barracks.

<sup>44</sup> Reference is to the period - 1977 to 1980 - during which the Shromani Akali Dal, in coalition with the Bhartiya Janata Party, held power in Punjab.

<sup>45</sup> Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram are fictitious Hindu names contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn and Gulli is a wooden toy.

two hundred and thirty grenades, which teacher taught you the lesson that you need to get licenses? Noting that they belong to the majority and we are a minority and are more law-abiding, let us reduce the number by thirty. You should keep at least two hundred grenades. .... [inaudible] .... If a bomb has been recovered from someone or any grenade. On the one side is Indira's god. I do not know but Indira perhaps calls him Swamiji. In *Gurmat*<sup>46</sup>, the word 'guru' is used only for Guru Granth Sahib and for that reason I have not considered it proper to use it for any man. She probably considers him her guide. Five hundred guns were recovered from Dhirendra Brahmchari's factory. He is still a *sant*<sup>47</sup>. Our Father has said that anyone who does not keep weapons is not his son. If such a son keeps weapons, they say it is not something that *sants* do. Who got a certificate from them that I am a *sant*? Who has given you this certificate? We Sikhs do not need to get it certified by them as to whether we are *sants* or something else. We are the way Guru made us. I do wish to ask you young men, if Dhirendra Brahmchari can keep five hundred rifles, why can Bhindranwala not do the same? This is simply because we are slaves. This is a sign of slavery.

#### Sikhs Have To Keep Weapons As Ordered By Our Gurus

We are not Sikhs of Indira or of any human. We are Sikhs of Guru Hargobind Sahib, the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*

ਦਲਭੰਜਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਸੂਰਮਾ ਬਡਜੋਧਾ ਬਹੁ ਪਰਉਪਕਾਰੀ।

'destroyer of armies, the valiant Guru, the great warrior, the great benefactor': We are his Sikhs. We are Sikhs of the Tenth King. What is the order of the Tenth King?

ਬਿਨਾ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਨਰੇ ਭੇਡ ਜਾਨੇ॥ ਗਹੇ ਕਾਨ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਕਿਤੈ ਲੈ ॥  
ਇਹੈ ਮੋਰ ਆਗਿਆ ਸੁਨੋ ਹੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ॥ ਬਿਨਾ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਦਿਵੋ ਨ ਦੀਦਾਰੇ॥

'Without weapons and hair, a man is but a sheep. Held by the ear, he can be taken anywhere. Listen, my beloved [Sikh], this is my command: Without weapons and hair, do not come to my presence.' *Maharaj*<sup>48</sup> says: "If a Sikh wishes to see me, he must have the complete appearance, his beard should be flowing and he should have a *kirpaan* in his *gaatra*, a revolver would be even better, and if he can keep a cannon it is not a sin, a rifle, a bomb whatever he can keep, he should do so but he should be armed when he comes to me or else he should not come." Now if his Sikh keeps weapons, he is an extremist. There

<sup>46</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>47</sup> A *sant* is a holy man.

<sup>48</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

is a big difference between [religious] guides. Our Guide's, our Guru's, order is that his Sikh should come to him armed. What is there on the other side [that of the Hindus]? It is this. Tulsi Ji worshipped Bhagwan Ram Chandra, and Bhagwan Ram Chandra appeared to him. Tulsi Ji stood next to Ram Ji but would not make obeisance to him. Bhagwan asked him: "What is the matter? Are you cross with me?" [Tulsi] said: "No." [Bhagwan asked]: "Then why don't you speak?" He [Tulsi] said: "You are not the one I worshipped. How can I make obeisance to you?" [Bhagwan] said: "I am Ram Chandra." [Tulsi] said: "It is correct you have the topknot of hair, you are wearing the loincloth, but where are your bow and arrow?" I am not making it up. If anybody has doubts, read the Tulsi Ramayan. It is written in Tulsi Ramayan:

ਤੁਲਸੀ ਮਸਤਕ ਤਉ ਟਿਕੈ ਧਨੁਸ ਬਾਨ ਹੋਇ ਹਾਥ

'Tulsi, one makes obeisance if there is the bow and arrow in hand.' Tulsi Ji says: "My forehead will touch the ground at your feet, I shall bow before you, if you keep the bow and arrow in your hand. If not, even if you are Ram Chandra, you can go home, I shall not make obeisance to you." On their side, the disciple is telling his guide this, and on our side the Guide is telling his disciples [to come to his presence only if they are armed]. Do we have to follow the orders of our Guide or of Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram? If we have to follow the orders of our Guide, then why are you looking for licenses. All of you should bear arms. However, do remember one thing. Being armed, do not pursue personal enmities. Do not rob anybody's home. Remember what I said earlier. [*Aside to some persons: come over here, brothers.*] Remember those words. Keeping weapons, we have to be ready to seek justice for the martyrs. This is a sign of slavery. [*Aside to someone: What is going on? These Singhs are ours too. They are our Singhs and will speak to you. They are Sikhs all right. There might be others who have come who are not perfect in Sikhi and are spoilt Sikhs. I call all of them Sikhs. Those who are not completely into Sikhi are spoilt Sikhs. We shall reform them by and by.*] It is important to pay attention to these things.

## THE ANANDPUR RESOLUTION AND THE AKALI LEADERSHIP

### For Fulfillment Of The Anandpur Resolution, We Must Become Good Sikhs

All of you have said that we have to get the Anandpur Resolution fulfilled, and you have shouted the *Jaikara* too. May I ask you this? If a man never comes to his home, his neighbor is never going to give him anything. If you live in your home, the neighbor knows that people live in the house and it is desirable to have neighborly relations with them. In that case, the neighbor might share something. We have to get the Anandpur Resolution.

People Are Afraid Of Akalis Repeating Their History. This Time Things Are Different

Let me address another matter too. Some young men are inwardly unsure. They say: "Sant Ji, several times in the past, matters have come to a head and then everything was lost." I told them: "*Singhs*, this time it won't happen that way. It is not known how long it might take but we shall not give up." Why is this so? It is because we have come to the place of two Fathers<sup>49</sup>, of our two Fathers, and both the Fathers were warriors, not peaceful [at any cost]. The Resolution has been passed at Anandpur Sahib, the home of the Father who said:

ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੋ ਪੁਤ ਹੋ ਬਾਮਨ ਕੋ ਨਹਿ

'I am the son of a *Kshatri*, not of a Brahmin.' The Resolution was passed at his place; he said: 'I am not the son of a Brahmin.' Why did the Tenth King say this? The Brahmin was saying again and again: "You are ours; you are ours; you are from among us." *Maharaj* stayed quiet at first but when [the Brahmin] pestered him, *Maharaj* said: "I warn you." *Maharaj* said:

ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੋ ਪੁਤ ਹੋ ਬਾਮਨ ਕੋ ਨਹਿ

'I am the son of a *Kshatri*, not of a Brahmin.' I am not the son of a Brahmin, I am a *Kshatri*. I am brave; I am a warrior. At that time the Pundits became quiet. The Resolution has been passed at the place of that Father and its *Ardaas*<sup>50</sup> has been done at the place of the Father<sup>51</sup> who had resolved that if he did not avenge the death of his Father, Guru Arjan Dev Ji, the True King, he would be deserving of all the sins that apply to sexual offenders, traitors, enemies of their friends, traitors to the country, those who visit prostitutes, thieves, rogues and cheats. The *Ardaas* has been done at the throne<sup>52</sup> of that Father. This time our legs are stuck in the vice made of *chir*<sup>53</sup>, in the past it used to be made of *kikkar*. That would dry up and fall apart but if we put water on the vice made from *chir*, it tightens on the legs even more. I am not saying these words to taunt anybody; I am saying this as the reality. Why have I used this word? Of all the old men and the young men who have studied history, none of you would have read about a movement started by the Akali Dal in

<sup>49</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib and Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>50</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly. Here reference is to the *Ardaas* said on 4 August 1982, at the beginning of the *Morcha*, by all the Sikh leaders. Sant Bhindranwale is concerned that the Akali leadership wants to go back upon the solemn vows made that day during the *Ardaas*.

<sup>51</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib.

<sup>52</sup> Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

<sup>53</sup> A type of wood.



which all the organizations and associations joined. This is the first time and the entire sequence is continuing as originally started. Because of this, there is no reason to worry. We have to stay upbeat.

### Follow Guru's Teachings

You are holding a *Gurmat* camp. What is *Gurmat*? Guru just means guru and *mat* means teachings. Gurmat camp is one that imparts instruction in Guru's teachings. I am told the word 'camp' means getting together. *Maharaj's*<sup>54</sup> thought too is written as:

ਹੋਇ ਇਕਤ੍ਰ ਮਿਲਹੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਦੁਬਿਧਾ ਦੂਰਿ ਕਰਹੁ ਲਿਵ ਲਾਇ॥  
ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੈ ਕੇ ਹੋਵਹੁ ਜੋੜੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਬੈਸਹੁ ਸਫਾ ਵਿਛਾਇ॥

My brothers, get together and remove your doubts [about the unity of the Creator and the Creation] by focusing your thoughts on God. Seeking guidance from the Guru, be united in remembering God's Name.' and,

ਮਿਲਬੇ ਕੀ ਮਹਿਮਾ ਬਰਨਿ ਨ ਸਾਕਉ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਰੈ ਪਰੀਲਾ॥

I cannot describe the greatness of union [with God]. It is beyond description.' What is there in Guru's teaching? *Maharaj* says:

ਮਨ ਕੀ ਮਤਿ ਤਿਆਗਹੁ ਹਰਿਜਨ॥

'O God's men, give up what your mind teaches you.' We do not do this. It is difficult. What is *Gurmat*? *Maharaj* says:

ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਮੀਤ ਚਲਹੁ ਗੁਰਿ ਚਾਲੀ॥ਜੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਕਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਭਲ ਮਾਨਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਕਥਾ ਨਿਰਾਲੀ॥

'My friends, Guru's Sikhs, follow the path shown by the Guru. Accept as good for you whatever the Guru tells you. Discourse about God is [capable of bringing about] wonderful [changes in a person].' The story of us Sikhs is wonderful, it is unique. Somebody's story is about the hardships caused by Sita's role. Another's is that the son of the Bhils took away the shepherd-girls. Another's story is that Indra<sup>55</sup> was going to cause heavy rain over Gokul but he diverted the rain over the Govardhan mountain. Someone's story is that he killed the son of the Bhils and rescued the shepherd-girls. Our story is not like this. Our story is very different. It is a *gurmat* camp. We are friends, Sikhs of the Guru. What is our story?

ਪਹਲਾ ਮਰਣੁ ਕਬੂਲਿ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਛਤਿ ਆਸ॥

<sup>54</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>55</sup> One of the gods in Hindu mythology.

'First accept death [of personal ego]; give up the desire of [worldly] living.' [Contrary to this] we hope for life and have given up all thought of death. We have forgotten about death.

ਖਾਨਾ ਪੀਨਾ ਸਉਨਾ ਬਸਨਾ ਵਿਸਰ ਗਇਆ ਹੈ ਮਰਨਾ॥ਖਸਮ ਵਿਸਾਰਿ ਖੁਆਰੀ ਕੀਨੀ ਧਿਗ ਜੀਵਨ ਨਹੀ  
ਰਹਿਨਾ॥

'We are lost in eating, drinking, sleeping, and living and have forgotten that we have to die. Forgetting the Master, we are lost. This life is useless, it won't last.' This is the Guru's teaching. If we start working on this - that we have to continue to live - then, for everlasting life, we have to become martyrs. The person who obtains Sikhi and martyrdom is the richest in the world, he is the greatest minister, the greatest leader among all, the highest officer among all. The one who does not have these two things is the poorest of all. What is our story? Somebody's story is that in *bahisht*<sup>56</sup> they will get wine from grapes - they find the other hard to swallow. Some are drawn by the prospect of getting up to seventy-two houris. God forbid, if they get seventy-two houris, who are the ones that are going to accept that? Someone's desire is for houris, other's is for *baikunth*<sup>57</sup>. What is the order of the Father, whose sons we are?

ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਮੀਤ ਚਲਹੁ ਗੁਰਿ ਚਾਲੀ॥  
ਜੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਕਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਭਲ ਮਾਨਹੁ ਹਰਿ ਹਰਿ ਕਥਾ ਨਿਰਾਲੀ॥

'My friends, Guru's Sikhs, follow the path shown by the Guru. Accept as good for you whatever the Guru tells you. Discourse about God is [capable of bringing about] wonderful [changes in a person].' That Guru's order is:

ਸੁਭ ਕਰਮਨ ਤੇ ਕਬਹੂੰ ਨ ਟਰੋ॥  
ਨ ਡਰੋ ਅਰਿ ਸੋ ਜਬ ਜਾਇ ਲਰੋ ਨਿਸਚੈ ਕਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਜੀਤ ਕਰੋ॥

'May I never desist from noble acts. May I not fear when I go to fight the enemy. May I resolutely ensure my victory.' They now are saying they do not know if we are going to succeed or not. However, our history is before us. You call the last fifty-eight years 'history'. Our old history is somewhat earlier than that. Remember that too. Our Father's instruction in the last line is:

ਜਬ ਆਵ ਕੀ ਅਉਧ ਨਿਦਾਨ ਬਨੈ ਅਤ ਹੀ ਰਣ ਮੈ ਤਬ ਜੁਝ ਮਰੋ॥

'When death is certain, may I die fighting in the thick of battle.' The word is not *nidhaan* it is *nidaan*. *Nidhaan* is the word for treasure when it is spelt with 'dh' .... [inaudible] .... If it is *nidaan* with 'd' it is the word for the end. *Nadaan* is the word for a child or for an ignorant person. Here the meaning is 'the end'.

<sup>56</sup> The Islamic concept of heaven.

<sup>57</sup> The Hindu concept of heaven.

ਜਬ ਆਵ ਕੀ ਅਉਧ ਨਿਦਾਨ ਬਨੈ ਅਤ ਹੀ ਰਣ ਮੈ ਤਬ ਜੁਝ ਮਰੋ॥

‘When death is certain, may I die fighting in the thick of battle.’ *Maharaj*<sup>58</sup> did not say that he should die on a sofa set. Our thinking is that we must not lose our chair even if all the rest of us are killed, the chair must stay stuck with us. Guru Sahib's instruction is:

ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਮੀਤ ਚਲਹੁ ਗੁਰਿ ਚਾਲੀ॥

‘My friends, Guru's Sikhs, follow the [path shown by the] Guru.’ *Maharaj*<sup>59</sup> says [about *Maya*]:

ਗੁਰੁ ਕਰਿ ਪਕਰੀ ਨ ਆਈ ਹਾਥਿ॥ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਕਰੀ ਚਾਲੀ ਨਹੀ ਸਾਥਿ॥  
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਉ ਤਿਆਗਿ ਦਈ॥ ਤਬ ਚਰਣੀ ਆਇ ਪਈ॥

‘When one tries to hold it firmly, one cannot keep it in hand. If one loves it, it does not go with him. O Nanak, say: when one gives it up, it falls at his feet.’ If we abandon it, it comes running. If we hold on to it, it runs away. A trick has been played right in front of you. Leaders are sitting here. I hope they do not take offense and do not start to sweat. Dust has been thrown in our eyes. Don't take it ill. I am saying this with great pain. Dust has been thrown in our eyes.

ਗੁਰਸਿਖ ਮੀਤ ਚਲਹੁ ਗੁਰਿ ਚਾਲੀ॥

‘My friends, Guru's Sikhs, follow the [path shown by the] Guru.’

ਗੁਰੁ ਕਰਿ ਪਕਰੀ ਨ ਆਈ ਹਾਥਿ॥

‘When one tries to hold it firmly, one cannot keep it in hand.’ When we abandon it, it falls at our feet.

#### Our Leaders In Old Times Were Humble. Present-day Leadership is After Political Power

Nawab Kapur Singh was offered a chair. He kicked it aside. This happened here at Takhat Sahib. The Khalsa ordered brother Nawab Kapur Singh that he will have to accept the chair. He said: “I do not want to take it.” They asked him why? He said: “You are taking away from me service at the Guru's home. If I lose the opportunity to serve, what am I going to do with the chair?” Its very name is *khrusi*. The meaning of *khrusi* is *kh-ras*, i.e., of false essence. Earlier, there used to be chairs with legs. If one of the legs broke, one could put one's foot down and save the turban from falling off. Nowadays, there are chairs with springs. You never know about them. People are going around the

<sup>58</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>59</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

stool, sometimes it is the Jan Sangh, at others the Congressites, or the Akalis, or the Socialists. Its' name is *khrusi*, i.e., of false essence. Nawab Ji was going to get it. He refused. Khalsa ordered that he will have to take it. The Sikh said that if he had to take the chair, he would not give up service. How many of us here have ever entered the *Parkarma*? Let any leader tell me. How many of us here have ever, in our entire life, served food at the *Langar*<sup>60</sup> in the camp? How many of us are there who have cleaned the utensils? How many of us are there who have cleaned a couple of shoes? Someone might have done it in the form of punishment or with a fan blowing air over his head<sup>61</sup>. Is there anybody? The chair is for those who have cleaned the stables<sup>62</sup>. Nowadays we say that we should get the chair and somebody else should clean the stables so we don't get dirty. How can we succeed [with this attitude]? What is the dust [thrown in our eyes]? A time came. Many from among you were killed. Many mothers lost their sons. Many of our sisters lost their husbands, their lives became empty, they became widows. Those ladies did not complain. The Sikhs made sacrifices, our mothers and sisters made sacrifices. They filled the jails. The leaders issued orders, the public came out of jails. When they ordered, the public again went to jail. Orders were issued that resignations should be submitted. They did, but how?

ਛਤਿ ਨਵਾਬੀਆਂ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਚਲੇ

'The Sardars, the Singhs, left giving up leadership positions.' It was a good thing. They gave up greed. How is it now? I have to get you to decide one matter. It is not in jealousy. I say this in truthfulness and loud and clear in public. Have we made a decision that in the *Panth*, those who wear the *kachhera* and the *kirpaan* have no rights and one who wears knickers<sup>63</sup> has the right to call a meeting? I am not saying this about any particular person as to why this meeting was called. I have asked the question, now the entire *Panth* should give me an answer. This is my challenge. Anyone who is willing to accept it should. If Talwandi calls a meeting, he is called to the *Takhat*<sup>64</sup>. If I call a meeting, it is boycotted. If those wearing a *kirpaan* call a meeting, they are dubbed congressites but if one wearing knickers calls a meeting there is no restriction. Of course, if that meeting is called [in his capacity] as M.L.A. we have no objection, nor do we have any complaint. It should be called and the three M.L.A.'s should go there [to attend it]. If the meeting is called as M.L.A. it is all right but if it is called as a former M.L.A., I ask the Nation and the leaders of the Nation as to what right does he have [to do so]? If [he] called the

<sup>60</sup> *Langar* is a kitchen and dining hall adjoining a gurdwara.

<sup>61</sup> To keep him comfortably cool.

<sup>62</sup> Reference is to Nawab Kapur Singh who took over leadership of the Sikhs in the eighteenth century.

<sup>63</sup> Reference is to Parkash Singh Badal.

<sup>64</sup> Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, to explain his conduct.

meeting as a former M.L.A., two M.L.A.'s are sitting here with us. Bring a match and burn this .... [inaudible] .... and you tell the young people that you have withdrawn your resignations. They tell people that they have resigned and then call meetings in their capacity as M.L.A.'s! How can one wear two swords in one scabbard except the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*? I have been here for the last seventeen months and I throw this challenge. I shall say everything in the form of a challenge. In seventeen months has anybody heard me say anything against Sant Ji<sup>65</sup>, against Tohra Sahib, against Talwandi, against Badal, against Sukhjinder Singh, against Barnala or Balwant Singh, against Cheema who is sitting here, against anyone from a watchman to the President? If this is true, I shall have my head cut off. I am saying this about anything false I said. You might have heard the truth [against some of them] because I shall, of course, speak the truth. If anybody has heard me say anything false against them, standing here in Guru's court, I declare that I shall have my head cut off. If somebody has a response, let me have it. Don't be shy. This is my challenge to all Sikhs. If, in seventeen months, I have opposed the *Morcha*, let any Sikh of the Guru speak up. Over the seventeen months you have read eleven news items in which it is written that Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi and Bhindranwala are traitors to the *Panth* and are Indira's agents. Young men, do you have a conscience? Have you got any self-respect? Has anyone got up and asked them? Has anyone issued a statement? Let any Sikh get up and answer me. All [that is said is] such a decision was taken there; a resolution was passed; such a statement has been issued. If, any time in my life, I have ever spoken against anyone in the name of the *Panth*, I shall have my head cut off. This holds as long as I live. Ever since I came here, the very first day I stated that I have nothing against the *Panth*. Today too...

[The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available].

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<sup>65</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal and Dictator of the *Morcha*.

**SPEECH #39**  
**1 FEBRUARY 1984**

[The first part of this speech is not available].

**CONDUCT YOURSELVES PROPERLY IN SIRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB'S  
PRESENCE**

..Make an effort. We do not look good when we create an uproar in the presence of Satguru<sup>1</sup> Granth Sahib, the True Guru, because it is written in the *Rehitnamas*<sup>2</sup>:

ਹਰਿ ਜਸ ਕਰਤੇ ਬਾਤ ਚਲਾਵੈ। ਕਹਤ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਰਕ ਸਿਧਾਵੈ।

'Gobind Singh says that anybody who talks during praise of God will go to hell.' There is such punishment. Upon coming to this place when any discussion of *Gurmat*<sup>3</sup> is going on in the presence of *Hazoor*<sup>4</sup>, we should not deserve hell but to get out of hell.

**SIKHS HAVE ALWAYS AVENGED THE DEATH OF THEIR MARTYRS**

By this meeting organized by the Federation<sup>5</sup> at the district level, you have given proof of your love; especially the young people who have come here. I have been asked to serve you by way of preaching to you. Before me, you have listened to the stories of how Guru's valiant fighters reached the scene and put on the train [of death] those persons who had drunk the blood of the Sikhs in recent times. You have heard from several respected persons, viz., Bhai Dalbir Singh Ji and Bhai Devinder Singh Duggal; and before them, in the form of poems, from Labh Singh Pandhi and Bakhshish Singh Dayalpuri along with the young boys.

**ANANDPUR RESOLUTION NOT ABOUT ECONOMICS BUT FAITH**

Just now we were listening to views regarding the Anandpur Resolution. The Anandpur Resolution is not merely about the few things such as asking for electricity, water, an increase in the price of wheat<sup>6</sup>, or applying mustard oil

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Documents describing the discipline of Sikh living.

<sup>3</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>4</sup> *Hazoor* is a reverential form of referring to any of the Gurus; here, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>5</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>6</sup> Reference is to the price of foodgrains which, in India, is fixed by the government and the farmer can sell only to the government.

some place<sup>7</sup>. The Anandpur Resolution is not limited to these things. During his speech, Bhai Sahib said that the Anandpur Resolution tells us that all of us assembled here have to adopt the views revealed by Satguru<sup>8</sup> in Anandpur. It would require a long time to describe all that Satguru Ji did to create the Khalsa *Panth*. Because of limitations of time, I shall finish my humble submission in a few minutes.

## SIRI GURU GOBIND SINGH SAHIB'S ADVENT

### The Mission Assigned By God

Sahib Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, in the form of *Dushtdaman*<sup>9</sup> put to death a million butchers and saved the cows in Bhagaur Sahib which is located 60 miles from Hazoor Sahib; he ruled for 11,000 years. When the time came, he did penance at Hemkunt Sahib. He became absorbed in love for God. All the gods and prophets who came to the mortal world to provide solace to people got entangled in their own ways and went astray. At that time, Timeless All-pervading Supreme Master [God] asked Sahib Siri Guru Gobind Singh Ji to come to Him and saying:

ਮੈਂ ਅਪਨਾ ਸੁਤ ਤੋਹਿ ਨਿਵਾਜਾ।

'I have given you the honor of being my son', He sent him to the mortal world. Satguru Ji said: "My heart was not into this coming [into the mortal world]. My mind was all absorbed at the feet of the Supreme Master. The Timeless All-Pervading [God] sent me under his orders." What was said in that order? It was that he should not be afraid of anyone; should not have enmity against anyone without reason; speak the Truth; guide all creatures to the path of the Faith; stop them from bad ways and from drug addictions; and to be ready to die for the Faith. It is not only sacrificing lives but after lives have been sacrificed, those who were responsible for the martyrdoms have to be appropriately punished. Guru Gobind Singh Sahib has described the reason for his coming in his own words, in writing. You may read *Bachittar Naatak*:

ਹਮ ਇਹ ਕਜ ਜਗਤ ਮੋ ਆਏ। ਧਰਮ ਹੇਤ ਗੁਰਦੇਵਿ ਪਠਾਏ।  
ਜਹਾਂ ਤਹਾਂ ਤੁਮ ਧਰਮ ਬਿਥਾਰੋ। ਦੁਸਟ ਦੇਖਯਨਿ ਪਕਰਿ ਪਛਾਰੋ।  
ਯਾਹੀ ਕਜ ਧਰਾ ਹਮ ਜਨਮੋ। ਸਮਝ ਲੇਹੁ ਸਾਧੁ ਸਭ ਮਨਮੋ।  
ਧਰਮ ਚਲਾਵਨ ਸੰਤ ਉਬਾਰਨ। ਦੁਸਟ ਸਭਨ ਕੋ ਮੁਲ ਉਪਾਰਨਿ।

<sup>7</sup> Sant Bhindranwale is using this phrase to indicate trivial matters e.g., where does someone need an oil massage.

<sup>8</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. Reference is to the principles Siri Guru Gobind Sahib laid down for Sikh living while manifesting the Khalsa.

<sup>9</sup> *Dushtdaman* means the destroyer of evil persons. *Dushtdaman* is a character from Hindu mythology. Sant Bhindranwale is implying that he was a precursor of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

'This is the purpose of my coming. God sent me in the interest of the Faith. [I was told:] Everywhere spread the Faith: vanquish the evil persons and those opposed to true Faith. Let all holy men know. This was the purpose for my taking birth: to propagate the Faith, to support the holy men, and to destroy all evil by the root.' The word *mool* means root. I have come to destroy [evil persons] from the root.

ਯਾਹੀ ਕਾਜ ਧਰਾ ਹਮ ਜਨਮੀ। ਸਮਝ ਲੇਹੁ ਸਾਧੂ ਸਭ ਮਨਮੀ।

'Let all holy men know. This was the purpose for my taking birth.' The word *sadhu* has been used. Here it is not said: "Politicians, you too." Why has the word *Sadhu* been used? It is because always it is the saints, the *mahatmas*<sup>10</sup> and Guru's Sikhs who have faith. The politician has very little faith in the Guru. [He says] let all understand in their minds that he has come, accepting orders from God, to destroy the roots of evil persons, to save and protect saints and *mahatmas*, and as the support of the victims.

### The Child Guru And Bhikhan Shah

Satguru Ji, Supporter of the humble, the True King<sup>11</sup> took birth in Patna Sahib. After taking birth he started the fight [against evil]. First he gave proof of unity. What was his age at the time of giving this proof of unity? He was only one month old. When, in .... [inaudible] .... in District Patiala where Ram Chandar Ji's maternal family - Kaushalya's parents - lived, Bhikhan Shah made obeisance facing towards Patna Sahib, his followers asked him: "Our Guide, what has happened today? Why have you made obeisance towards the East today?" He replied: "The Light that I used to see in the other world, through the tenth door [of consciousness] has appeared in Patna Sahib: this is why I have made obeisance in that direction." To test Satguru Ji, Supporter of the humble, the True King, he picked up two bowls, two jars or we may say, two vessels. Taking them along Bhikhan Shah reached Patna Sahib. He met Kirpal Chand Ji, who was Guru Sahib's maternal uncle and told him everything; that he wished to see the son of Satguru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib. The request was passed on to *Mata Ji*<sup>12</sup>. Receiving the request, *Mataji* was concerned that the rulers were Muslims and the *Pir*<sup>13</sup> might do something improper. She hesitated in sending Guru Gobind Singh Ji out of the house in the hands of his uncle Kirpal Chand Ji. Upon Bhikhan Shah's continued insistence, Kirpal Chand Ji again

<sup>10</sup> A *mahatma* is a great soul, a holy man.

<sup>11</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>12</sup> Mata Gujri Ji, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's mother.

<sup>13</sup> A *Pir* means a religious leader; here a Muslim holy man.



made a request of his sister, Guru Sahib's mother, and brought our playful Beloved. Bhikhan Shah did not speak. There was unspoken dialogue. Secret discussion was going on. He placed both vessels in front of Guru Sahib and thought in his own mind that if the True King favors one [way of worship] and is the protector of one nation or one group He will place his hand on one vessel and if he is for all he will place his hand on both. That is why Guru Sahib has said in *Chaupai Sahib*<sup>14</sup>:

ਘਟ ਘਟ ਕੇ ਅੰਤਰ ਕੀ ਜਾਨਤ॥ ਭਲੇ ਬੁਰੇ ਕੀ ਪੀਰ ਪਛਾਨਤ॥

He knows what is inside the mind of everyone. He recognizes the pain of the good as well as bad persons.' Satguru Ji is such: he knows the mind of everyone. He was only one month old. You may read history. At one month's age, he stretched his arms and placed both hands on the two vessels. Bhikhan Shah bowed to him [saying]: "You are the protector of all and the destroyer of oppression." *Khalsa Ji*, he said this and returned.

### The Child Guru Saves Women From A Snake

At about four and three quarter years of age, he broke water vessels with a slingshot. After this happened, women started using bronze vessels for water. Shooting an arrow he would pierce holes into these too. It was not only making holes in them: by acting so he saved them [the women] too. He shot an arrow at one vessel. Because it was dark, the water-carriers did not see but there was a small snake in that vessel. Shooting an arrow at the vessel, he pierced the vessel and sent that snake to the other world as well. The women gathered together and complained to *Mataji* and asked her to stop her son [from mischief]: that at first he used to break their earthen vessels and when they got the bronze ones he had started to pierce them too. *Mataji* asked: "My son, what have you done?" He replied: "Spill the water in that vessel." When the water was spilt, the dead snake was found. *Maharaj*<sup>15</sup> said: "*Mataji*, if so many families had drunk of that water would anyone survive?" All bowed to him.

### The Child Guru And Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib

Let me briefly eulogize Satguru, Supporter of the humble, the True King. From there, our playful Beloved came to Punjab. He reached Kashi where Ganges took on the form of a cow and served for *Mataji's* bath. They covered the distance to Anandpur. The Pundits from Kashmir arrived. They had grass between their teeth, were sighing deeply, had parched lips, worn out shoes,

<sup>14</sup> *Chaupai Sahib* is a composition by Siri Guru Gobind Sing Sahib and forms one of the five daily prayers of the Sikhs.

<sup>15</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

tattered clothes, and pale faces. Just as at this time there is a large gathering in the presence of Guru Granth Sahib, there was a large gathering at the feet of Sahib Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib. Kashmiri Pundits came in this state and appealed to him with folded hands. At this, Guru Gobind Singh Sahib asked: "Father, who are these oppressed people?" At that time, [Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib] said: "My son, they are Pundits from Kashmir: they are suffering." [Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib asked]: "What is their problem?" Satguru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji told the Tenth King: "My son, Aurangzeb<sup>16</sup> is out to destroy their religion: sacrifice of the life of a great man is needed for their protection." Where in the world is such a Pir and where is such a son of a Pir who would rise up and tell his father: "My father, who can be greater than you: you should give your own head. Fulfill the words said in earlier bodies:

ਜੋ ਸਰਣਿ ਆਵੈ ਤਿਸੁ ਕੰਠਿ ਲਾਵੈ ਇਹੁ ਬਿਰਦੁ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਸੰਦਾ

'He [God] embraces anyone who comes to His protection; this is the Master's special attribute'. At that time, Satguru, Supporter of the humble, the True King embraced Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji. He told the Kashmiri Pundits that he would protect the symbols of their Faith; the *janeoo*<sup>17</sup>, the *topi*<sup>18</sup> and the loincloth. Even though, in earlier bodies<sup>19</sup>, [the Guru] had criticized the false *janeoo*, but he was not opposed to any religion. *Khalsa Ji*, Satguru protected the oppressed people who sought refuge with him. The Kashmiri Pundits were overjoyed as one who is saved from a tiger's jaws; as one coming out of a fire; as one saved from the jaws of death; as a dead person receiving the gift of immortality and becoming alive; as a thirsty person getting a drink of water. They went to Aurangzeb and told him. Aurangzeb expressed joy at the prospect that he would get his wish of dealing with one person. But little did he know that it would be the case of:

ਪਾਇ ਕੁਹਾੜਾ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਗਾਫਿਲ ਅਪੁਨੈ ਹਾਥ।

'Careless man; with his own hands he hit his foot with the ax.' Satguru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib, the True King, started from Anandpur. Providing salvation to people at various places, he reached Agra. There he sent a messenger and had him bring some sweets. He told the Kotwal of the place Satguru's name. He [the Kotwal<sup>20</sup>] came to Satguru's presence and asked his name. He had a desire for reward, the Guru fulfilled his wish. Along with Bhai Mati Das he reached Delhi. He was lodged in a house infested by lost souls. The lost soul there brought sugarcane sticks.

<sup>16</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>17</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>18</sup> *Topi* is Punjabi for cap.

<sup>19</sup> Reference here is to the earlier eight Gurus who preceded Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>20</sup> Kotwal was head of a police station during the mughal period.

ਪਸੂ ਪ੍ਰੇਤ ਮੁਗਧ ਕਉ ਤਾਰੇ ਪਾਹਨ ਪਾਰਿ ਉਤਾਰੈ॥  
ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਰਣਾਈ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੈ॥

'God saves [even] those who are [like] animals, those who are lost souls, and those who are ignoramuses; He even takes across [the ocean of life] stone[-hearted persons]. O Nanak, [say: O God] Your servants, seek refuge with You and are always amazed [at what You can accomplish].' What fear could my Beloved Master have of the lost souls?

### The Story Of A Lost Soul

It is necessary to describe who this lost soul was and how [he became one]. This was because of making false vows. There were two brothers. Remember this; especially the young men. I too am from among you.

Those persons, who having taken vows at Akal Takhat, making pledges at Harmandar Sahib, making pledges at Manji Sahib, have decided to go back on all of them should not think they will go to heaven, to the Regions of Truth.

He made just one vow. What was it? The two brothers built a house. The older one was bigger and stronger and the younger one was weaker. The younger one assembled the village elders to plead that both of them contributed money to build the one house. When the elders assembled, it was not in the presence of *Maharaj*<sup>21</sup>. When the elders assembled, the older one was asked if he had spent all the money. In the name of the assembled elders, he swore that he had done so. Actually both had shared the costs. When he swore to the assembled elders, they decided in his favor. Such things happen like that even today. I shall tell you later on what is going on. *Khalsa Ji*, after the decision was made, his mind had to be turned towards that for which he had falsely sworn. At the time of his death, his thoughts were of the building. So he became a lost soul. I am not saying this myself. It is *Gurbani*<sup>22</sup>. The educated ones [among you] who do continuous reading [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib] know:

ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਲਛਮੀ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਮਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰੈ॥ ਸਰਪ ਜੋਨਿ ਵਲਿ ਵਲਿ ਅਉਤਰੈ॥ ੧ ॥  
ਅਰੀ ਬਾਈ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਨਾਮੁ ਮਤਿ ਬੀਸਰੈ॥ ਰਹਾਉ॥  
ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਮਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰੈ॥ ਬੇਸਵਾ ਜੋਨਿ ਵਲਿ ਵਲਿ ਅਉਤਰੈ॥ ੨ ॥  
ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਲੜਕੈ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਮਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰੈ॥ ਸੁਕਰ ਜੋਨਿ ਵਲਿ ਵਲਿ ਅਉਤਰੈ॥ ੩ ॥  
ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਮੰਦਰ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਮਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰੈ॥ ਪ੍ਰੇਤ ਜੋਨਿ ਵਲਿ ਵਲਿ ਅਉਤਰੈ॥ ੪ ॥  
ਅੰਤਿ ਕਾਲਿ ਜੋ ਨਾਰਾਇਣੁ ਸਿਮਰੈ ਐਸੀ ਚਿੰਤਾ ਮਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰੈ॥ ਬਦਤਿ ਤਿਲੋਚਨੁ ਤੇ ਨਰ ਮੁਕਤਾ ਪੀਤੰਬਰੁ ਵਾ ਕੇ  
ਰਿਦੈ ਬਸੈ॥ ੫ ॥ ੨ ॥

<sup>21</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>22</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

'The person who remembers wealth at the time of death and dies thinking such thoughts is reborn again and again as a snake. O my sister, may I never forget God's Name. The person who remembers his wife at the time of death and dies thinking such thoughts is reborn again and again as a prostitute. The person who remembers his sons at the time of death and dies thinking such thoughts is reborn again and again as a pig. The person who remembers his home and buildings at the time of death and dies thinking such thoughts is reborn again and again as a lost soul. Trilochan says: the person who remembers God at the time of death and dies thinking such thoughts is the liberated one; in his heart is the abode of God.' This is given by the Bhagats. He had his eye on the building, so he became a lost soul. The life of a lost soul is very difficult. He has to drink a hundred pounds of blood every day to survive. And the size of his mouth is the same as the eye in the needle we use to sew and through which we put the thread. He cannot go near water. All his life is spent in thirst and in filth. And who becomes a lost soul? It is he who drinks alcohol; he who turns his back on his Guru; he who lies; and he who does not remember the Name [of God]. It is written in the *Baani*<sup>23</sup>:

ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਪ੍ਰੇਤ ਜਿਨੀ ਰਾਮੁ ਨ ਪਛਾਤਾ ਸਤਿਜੁਗਿ ਪਰਮਹੰਸ ਬੀਚਾਰੀ॥  
ਦੁਆਪੁਰਿ ਤ੍ਰੇਤੈ ਮਾਣਸ ਵਰਤਹਿ ਵਿਰਲੈ ਹਉਮੈ ਮਾਰੀ॥ ੧ ॥

'In Kalyug, those are the lost souls who have failed to recognize God [as being within themselves]. In Satyug the thoughtful ones became the ones with the noblest way of life. In Duapar and Treta [periods] there are human beings [just as in Satyug and Kalyug] but a rare one has got rid of self-will.' So, *Khalsa Ji*, he brought sticks of sugarcane. Bhai Mati Das drank their juice and received strength. He came and told the Guru. The Guru said: "Bhai Mati Das, I have no strength." [Mati Das said]: "You are the ocean of strength. I have only a few drops." *Maharaj*<sup>24</sup> said: "If I am holding the ocean [of power] why can't you contain the few drops you have: accept God's will; why did you say you will totally destroy Delhi and Lahore?" An agent [of the Government] heard this, just as there are many among us [here]. Don't get angry with me over this but there are many sitting among us who will go and make trouble. [I like to tell them] to go and do their worst. *Khalsa Ji*, the agent went and told Aurangzeb: "O King, you wish to convert the Guru to Islam but you won't be able to convert even the Guru's Sikh." At that time, stung by envy, he summoned Mati Das to the court. Making him stand there, he said: "Mati Das, have you said that you will completely destroy Delhi and Lahore?" If he had been the like of the ones we have today, he would certainly have lied and said: "I did not say this: please let me have a chair<sup>25</sup>." What did Mati Das say? Mati Das said: "Not only here, I said this earlier as well and now shall say it to your face and shall say it in any

<sup>23</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>24</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib.

<sup>25</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

gathering you might call. I am a Sikh of Guru Tegh Bahaadar; I shall not take back anything I have said even if it costs me my life. I have said this. Now what do you want?" Temptations were presented to him. Let us pray to Satguru that he protect us all [from temptations]. They started to offer temptations to Satguru's beloved ones. What was the temptation? Aurangzeb had his own daughter dressed up and brought before Mati Das and asked him: "Mati Das, say once that you are not a Sikh of Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji; shave off your beard, chew a little tobacco and drink a sip of wine and I shall marry my daughter to you and make you a Nawab." Blessed is the Guru's Sikh; I bow to him a million times, with every breath. That valiant warrior of the Guru told Aurangzeb at that time: "O Aurangzeb, you occupy the throne of Delhi and you have worldly power, but I am a Sikh of that Guru who through a mere thought can create billions like you and in a moment destroy them. Who are you to tempt me? I reject the union with your daughter. Take her away to your home. I am ready to have my head sawed off but will not abandon my Faith." [The congregation shouts the *Jaikaara*<sup>26</sup>]. So, *Khalsa Ji*, Mati Das was told that he could once again go to the Guru and that he would be dealt with the next morning. That valiant warrior went to the Guru and made obeisance to him. *Maharaj* asked Mati Das how he was doing. [Mati Das replied:] "O True King, I am in high spirits but the test is hard. I do not wish to get 99 points, I wish for 100 percent." [Guru Sahib asked:] "My Sikh, what is the test?" [Mati Das replied:] "True King, in the morning I am going to be sawed alive; give me your blessings." Wonderful is our True King. *Maharaj* said: "Bhai Mati Das, you daily recite Jap Ji Sahib; recite Jap Ji Sahib and Guru Nanak Dev Ji will protect you." He did not say that he would do it. How great is his humility! A Bhai had said earlier<sup>27</sup> that there should be humility. He was himself the Guru, himself the Master.

ਜੋਤਿ ਓਹਾ ਜੁਗਤਿ ਸਾਇ ਸਹਿ ਕਾਇਆ ਫੇਰਿ ਪਲਟੀਏ॥

'The same Light [of Siri Guru Nanak Sahib], the same style, only the body has changed.' He did not say I shall give protection. [He said]: "Recite Jap Ji Sahib and Guru Nanak Dev Ji will protect you; you will not feel any pain." Mati Das

ਜੋ ਬਚਨੁ ਕਹਿਓ ਗੁਰਿ ਪੂਰੇ ਸੋ ਛੀਕ ਗਾਠੜੀ ਬਾਧਾ॥

'treasured the word spoken by the Guru.' In accordance with this, he carefully saved the word in the handkerchief of his heart, tying the knot of love with his hands of devotion. The morning came. Mati Das reached Chandni Chowk. When Aurangzeb asked him once again, Mati Das said:

ਮੈਨੂੰ ਆਰਾ ਪਿਆਰਾ ਲਗਤ ਹੈ ਤੁਸੀ ਕਾਰਾ ਕਰੋ ਬਨਾਏ ।

<sup>26</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>27</sup> Before Sant Bhindranwale's speech.

'The saw appears lovely to me. Go ahead and accomplish the deed. May I never lose my love for Sikhi even if I lose my life.' Mati Das said these words. *Khalsa Ji*, he sacrificed his life. Bhai Dayala Ji was boiled alive. Bhai Sati Das Ji was wrapped in cotton and set on fire. There was a discussion with Satguru, the True King. Aurangzeb wanted one of two things. A hundred pounds of black pepper were brought and roasted. Then they were sieved through a cloth. Three were found to be intact. It was demonstrated that three will die and then his [Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's] *Khalsa* would be born. Satguru Ji's light merged with the Divine Light. Our beloved Master received the message that out of the 1,400 homes [of Sikhs] in Delhi, no one had the courage. It was announced by the beating of drums that if there is any Sikh of Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib, he should come forth and cremate the Guru's body. Lakhi Shah, through a pretext, took Guru Sahib's body to his home in the area of Rakabganj, kept it in the house, cremated it along with the house. Bhai Jagta Ji, who after receiving *amrit*<sup>28</sup> was renamed Jeevan Singh, came to Satguru, the True King. Our Beloved embraced him saying: "Rangretas are sons of the Guru." What was happening in Anandpur? The head [of Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib] reached there. The congregation was much larger than we have today. The head of the father was in the son's lap. The pyre was ready. He placed the head on the pyre. Praying to God, the son Guru placed the head of the father Guru on the pyre and lit the fire. There has been only one person in the world, Siri Guru Tegh Bahaadar Sahib Ji, who had his cremation done at two places. Besides him, no person, no guide has ever had cremation at two places. Only one guru had cremation at two places. Wonderful is our True King. What did he say watching his father's cremation? At that time he said these words: "*Khalsa Ji*, that day out of the 1,400 homes no one was prepared to accept our Father as Guru; no one was prepared to be called a Sikh of the Guru; so much cowardice and chicken-heartedness has gripped the hearts [of people]; the nation has given in to the Government. A time will come when I shall avenge my Father's death. I shall infuse such life into the nation: it will not be necessary to tell which one is a Sikh of the Tenth Guru. If one of our Sikhs is standing among a hundred thousand, without telling it will be obvious that he is a son of *Kalgidhar*<sup>29</sup>."

### Creation Of The Khalsa

*Khalsa Ji*, the time came. On *Vaisaakhi* day in 1756 Bikrami - 1699 C.E. - there was a large gathering. In that gathering, [Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib] drew his sword. Having drawn his sword, he said: "*Khalsa Ji*, I need one

<sup>28</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>29</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

head." He did not say whether he needed the head of a woman or a man or of a person from a certain caste or certain party. No, [he simply said] "I need one head." Bhai Daya Singh Ji offered his head; he was Daya Ram earlier and became Daya Singh after he received *amrit*. He was taken inside a tent. He was beheaded with the sword. I must say this to our brothers who are writers and the musicians. Many times it is said that goats were slaughtered. Can anybody tell us where in historical texts there is mention of the cost of goats; where they were acquired from; who went to bring them; which market they were bought from; what did they look like? How can you be Sikhs and lie like that? One whose guru is a hypocrite; one whose guru is a cheat, cannot stand in the walls at Sirhind and say:

ਸਿਰ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਨ ਜਾਏ॥

'I might lose my life but may I never lose my faith as a Sikh.' Would he say that? I am sorry to say this. I am not saying this in anger but in sorrow because you are younger than me. Afterwards many even ask why I scolded them. My dear brothers and speakers and especially you students: I do like to tell you this. Today our vice-president uttered [the words] "Father of Hindostan<sup>30</sup>." He might be the father of the Brahmins; our father is Guru Granth Sahib Ji.

ਸਾਚਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਛੇਡਿ ਕੈ ਮਨਮੁਖ ਹੋਇ ਬੰਦੇ ਦਾ ਬੰਦਾ।

'Giving up the True Satguru, the self-willed person becomes a servant of [another] man.' A Sikh is not to become one like that. Did India achieve freedom through the spinning wheel of the hypocrite whom greedy men call 'Father of the Nation'? It was Bhagat Singh who was hanged. It was Udham Singh who went to kill O'Dwyer. Was freedom obtained through putting some shot into the side [of the oppressors] or through the wooden strips of the spinning wheel? If a strip of wood is blown at the Khem border by a cannonball, they [run away and] do not stop short of Delhi. Those with *kachheras*<sup>31</sup>, beards, and *kirpaans*<sup>32</sup> in their *gaatras*<sup>33</sup>, those who have 'Singh' in their names and were prepared to sacrifice their lives are killed there [at the border] and the 'father of the nation' is Gandhi? What is the benefit of [saying] this? Use your brains. Satguru Gobind Singh Ji took the head of the Khalsa, severed from the body, near the *baataa*<sup>34</sup> of *amrit* and created unity. How did he create unity? The scissors and the razor are symbolic of communalism. Young men: the *kirpaan* symbolizes unity. .... [inaudible] .... You are afraid of

<sup>30</sup> Reference is to Indians calling Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi the "Father of the Nation."

<sup>31</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>32</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>33</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>34</sup> An iron bowl used for preparing *amrit* for formal initiation into the Sikh faith.

wearing a *kirpaan*. Only *kirpaan*, the Siri Sahib, is the one that gets people to sit at one place. If the face and head are shaved with the scissors and the razor, one is made into a Hindu. If, in addition, one is circumcised, he becomes a Muslim. But if the head is chopped off with the *kirpaan* and then it is taken to the *baataa* of *amrit*, one becomes Master of the Guru. *Maharaj* says:

ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ। ਓਹੁ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਮੈ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ।

'He alone is my Sikh who lives according to the discipline. He is my master, I am his disciple.' Did we get this with the *kirpaan* or with the scissors and the razor? Satguru, Supporter of the humble, was composing *Baani* when a Brahmin came along. The Brahmin kept saying you are from among the Hindus, you are from among the Hindus. *Maharaj* said: "God's man, you have said what you wished to; now go away." But he did not give up. *Maharaj* said:

ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੋ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਹੋ ਬਾਮਨ ਕੋ ਨਾਹਿ

'I am the son of a *Kshatri*, not of a Brahmin.' O Speakers, are you wiser than the Tenth King? The Tenth King is declaring emphatically that he is the son of a *Kshatri*. Show me a single newspaper, a single magazine, a single advertisement, any radio or television program in which there is talk of Sikh-Hindu unity. Day and night you are harping on Hindu-Sikh unity. [It is the case of] one person saying 'weigh correctly' and the other not even allowing the first to get on to the floor. Is this Hindu-Sikh unity? We are sons of the Tenth Master.

#### DIFFERENCES WITH LONGOWAL

There was some talk about the *Taksaal*<sup>35</sup>. I do not criticize anybody. I have respect for the Sikh religion and for all those who follow it. I appeal to Bhai Sahib to give up the habit of sycophancy. I have had respect for Longowal and still have it to the extent the Guru gets me to. I have no personal enmity with anyone, but I like to ask Pappu Sahib, Kukoo Sahib, that he should talk about the *Taksaal* to those who are not *Taksaalis*<sup>36</sup>. I am a *Taksaali*. It is correct that Sant Harchand Singh Ji was born in Longowal. According to people of that place, that land is blessed. My forehead bows a million times to that land. I am fourteenth in line at Baba Deep Singh Ji's *Taksaal* though [I admit that] my conduct is not comparable to that of Baba Deep Singh Ji but is such as that of foolhardy people. The congregation should please forgive me for that. Of Baba Mani Singh Ji's *Taksaal*, the head at this time is Baba Kartar Singh Ji of the Sattuaan vali Gali<sup>37</sup>. After Baba Amir Singh Ji, Baba Kartar Singh Ji is the

<sup>35</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>36</sup> *Taksaali* means member of a *Taksaal*.

<sup>37</sup> Name of a street in Amritsar.



head of Baba Mani Singh Ji's *Taksaal* which has continued generation to generation. Baba Deep Singh's *Taksaal* is sitting here with you. There should be some limit to sycophancy. All the young men sitting here: you connect me with someone and Sant Harchand Singh Ji Longowal with another. Who will you connect the two *Jathedars*<sup>38</sup> of the two *taksaals* with? The *Dharam Yudh Morcha*<sup>39</sup> is going on. At this time, to ensure complete success, following the Anandpur Resolution and with support from Anandpur, leaving aside Indira's henchmen, every son of a Sikh regardless of which organization he belongs to - whether he is a Nihang, from the *Kar Seva* group, from those who do *katha*<sup>40</sup>, those who do *kirtan*<sup>41</sup>, or those who carry single-string instruments and beg in the villages, - is ready to die. But I ask those Sikhs who talk in indirect and crooked ways: is this the way of a Sikh? *Khalsa Ji*, I shall say this. It is said and I heard about it just now. They say that the names of the Federation, the Akali Dal and Bhindranwalas were mentioned on television. Perhaps they call it BBC. It was mentioned there, is being mentioned and will continue to be mentioned. This will not make any difference. Regarding [the practice of] wearing a wrap [to hide the crime] and carrying a dagger to stab, Guru's *Baani* has given the decision:

ਜਿਨ੍ਹ ਮਨਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਮੁਖਿ ਹੋਰੁ ਸਿ ਕਾਢੇ ਕਰਿਆ॥ ੧ ॥

'Those who say one thing and have another in their hearts are called false.' This is *Gurbani's* decision, not mine. It is over eighteen months since the start of the *Morcha*. Let any one Sikh among you stand up and challenge me. You have the right to; I have been your watchdog. I am not your Sant nor your leader. I am just your dog, a dog of the Guru's congregation. Let anyone of you get up and tell if, in these eighteen months, from the lowest watchman up all the way to the Dictator<sup>42</sup>, you have read in the newspapers or heard from my tongue any remarks against any of them? If any of you has ever heard me say anything against any leader, against any member, against any worker, stand up and say so. Present any tape-recorded comment, anything written in a newspaper or a flyer, where I have criticized any Sikh. Of course, I have spoken against the enemies of the Sikhs. [I am amazed at] such a habit of sycophancy? at [people] associating with the Bhindranwali *Taksaal* and being flatterers!

I shall humbly say this. You have read in the newspapers that Bhindranwala is an agent of the Congress<sup>43</sup>. You have read it, haven't you?

<sup>38</sup> *Jathedar* is leader of a *Jatha*. Here, each of the two *taksaals* is referred to as a *Jatha*.

<sup>39</sup> *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>40</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

<sup>41</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>42</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>43</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Now I shall tell you where the Guru has placed me. Then you can understand any way you wish. It is up to you. What is my business? It is to administer *amrit*<sup>44</sup> and to do *katha*, and to get those who come along, regardless of their caste or class, to keep their beards and hair intact and to give up drug addictions. Getting those who have the name 'Singh' to receive *amrit*, to buy motorcycles, to buy revolvers one for each and three for three of them, telling them that I shall protect anyone who puts on the train [of death] those who have dishonored daughters and sisters, those who have drunk the blood of innocent people, and those who have set fire to copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib; this is my program. [The congregation shouts the *Jaikaara*]. Now you tell me. [Aside to some persons: *Singhs*, wait a minute]. Don't engage in *Jaikaaras*. Now you tell me if in doing this I am opposing the *Panth*<sup>45</sup> or supporting it? You can decide when you leave.

### Support The *Panth* Openly But Beware Of Enemies Within Us

My job is to gather all people under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>46</sup>, to unite people with Siri Guru Granth Sahib, and to support the *Panth*. How is the *Panth* to be supported? It has to be supported openly, in a loud voice. It should not be done with the thoughts that if one goes to see the Dictator, Indira might get cross; if one visits Indira, the Dictator might get cross; and if one met the Dictator, Bhindranwala might get cross. The support must not be veiled. The support has to be unveiled and not secret. It is important to remember one thing in this connection. What is that? You have to be careful about people who in the name of *Nishaan Sahib* - pleading in the name of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, beating the drum of the name of the *Panth*, having drunk the blood of the martyrs, in transgression of the *Hukamnama*<sup>47</sup> issued on 10 June 1978, calling *Narkdhari*<sup>48</sup> his father, getting their votes, in disregard of the blood of the martyrs - protected his chair or is desirous of doing so. If I have ever visited *Narkdharis*<sup>49</sup>, none of you should again come to me. But if I have served you and shed my blood, then you may come any day or night. It is for you to decide. I shall not say if I have done anything [to serve you]. If this preaching is of a congressite, I am a true congressite; if this is the preaching of a Jan Sanghi, I am a true Jan Sanghi; if this is the preaching of the *Panth*, I am *Panthak*<sup>50</sup>. If

<sup>44</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>45</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>46</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>47</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

<sup>48</sup> Here the reference is to Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru assassinated in 1980.

<sup>49</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>50</sup> *Panthak* means pertaining to the *Panth* or belonging to the *Panth*.

this preaching is of *kalis*, I am a *kali*. The two words are very much alike. One is *kali* and the other is *akali*. *Akali* is one who makes obeisance here and a *kali* is one who having made obeisance here goes and calls Vaishno Devi his mother and makes obeisance to her too<sup>51</sup>. [*Laughter in the congregation*]. I have preached this. You, Guru's congregation can give whatever verdict you choose to one who preaches this way. I shall accept it [your verdict] but I shall not desist from what I have said I do. Now you tell me if I am a congressite. If someone had this labeling mentioned on television, who had it done? Have I had it stopped?

#### Some Akali Leaders Accuse Me Of Being A Government Agent

Speaking of the *Singhs* of the *Jatha* who are staying here with me - don't let any of you think that I am distancing myself from you - the *Singhs* are with me as well as you, Guru's Sikhs, who have come from villages, those who have the name 'Singh', who believe in Guru Granth Sahib, and work with the *Panth* and the Akali Dal; has the Government spared the [weapons] licenses of any of you? Haven't they been canceled? It is possible that some of you were spared. Tell me if the Government has spared even a single license of the *Singhs* who are with me. My licenses have been canceled under Congress rule, but some Akali workers, not all but some, have accused me in the newspapers of being an agent of the Congress. Talab Singh Sandhu, President of the Ludhiana District Akali Dal; Hari Singh Zira, President of the Ferozepur District Akali Dal; Sucha Singh Chhotepur, President of the Gurdaspur District Akali Dal; Nirlep Kaur about whom I should not have said anything because you know this well; and there is a contractor from Bathinda whose name perhaps is Jaswant Singh; these are the persons who have said that Bhindranwala is an agent of the Congress and a traitor to the *Panth*. You may pull out the Daily Ajit of September 6 from the newspapers and read it. Now you have to think as to who I am. My licenses have been canceled and those of the Secretary of the Akali Dal have been issued. My licenses have been canceled and that Umranangal<sup>52</sup>, brother of Gurbachna, has had them issued [to the Secretary of the Akali Dal]. During eight years, yes, during eight years, if any Sikh of India has seen me take even a sip of plain water at the home of any congress M.L.A.<sup>53</sup>, any akali

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<sup>51</sup> Reference is to Giani Zail Singh, President of India, who, in order to please the Hindu voters, would perform Hindu rituals forbidden for a Sikh.

<sup>52</sup> Jiwan Singh Umranangal was an Akali leader. He was a minister in the Punjab Government and present in Amritsar on 13 April 1978 when a group of one hundred Sikhs protesting the Nirankari meeting were fired upon by the Nirankaris resulting in thirteen of them being killed. Umranangal sought Nirankari help in SGPC elections against Bhindranwale's candidate. For this reason Sant Bhindranwale refers to him as the deceased Nirankari Guru's brother.

<sup>53</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

M.L.A., any comrade<sup>54</sup> M.L.A., stand up and say so: I shall accept any punishment [you give]. I am not speaking of a day or two, over eight years. In the future too, if you catch me having a drink of water at a Minister's home, you may do what you like [with me]. And, [on the other hand], after two busses were burnt, copies [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib] were set on fire, eighteen Singhs became martyrs at Mehta, I had been to jail for twenty-five days, students were hung upside down – this brother's, Harminder Singh Khalsa's, Kukoo's, legs were broken and he, poor fellow, is still suffering pain on that account, and was handcuffed even after his legs were broken - after all this had happened, didn't all the 36 of our M.L.A.'s, our brothers, eat at Darbara's<sup>55</sup> home? Was anyone left out? If there was any, answer me. Kulwant Singh of Nagoke, was my close friend and brother as a Sikh. His body was pierced with heated steel rods as thick as a finger. His forehead was burnt. He was broken joint by joint. His right leg was broken. I bathed his body with my own hands. At his cremation Tohra Sahib also arrived. At the cremation there was a very large gathering. He was killed with such torture. That S.S.P.<sup>56</sup> Surjit Singh Bains who at present is posted at Sangrur, did he not take tea in your [the Akali leaders'] place? Decide for yourselves. Where did you learn such trickery?

#### Keep Up Your Support To The Akali Morcha

I appeal to you that listening to somebody's propaganda, hearing what another says, we should not stop the *Jathas*<sup>57</sup>. The *Jathas* have to be brought. This is a *Morcha*. I am not worried. My stand is

ਨਿਸ਼ਚੈ ਕਰ ਆਪਣੀ ਜੀਤ ਕਰੋ

'Resolutely may I ensure my victory.' Bhai Dalbir Singh has told you. The day I said the *Ardaas*<sup>58</sup> on 19 July [1982] upon Amrik Singh's arrest, I was receiving glucose intravenously. The doctors had told me not to move. I received a phone call from the younger one<sup>59</sup>, Manjit Singh. In that [call] I merely got the message that Amrik Singh had been arrested. The telephone was cut off after that. I got up, sick as I was, and arrived here. Upon coming here, I consulted with some friends and then said the *Ardaas* at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. [I prayed]

<sup>54</sup> Communists in Punjab are often referred to as comrades because of their way of addressing each other.

<sup>55</sup> Reference is to Darbara Singh, then Chief Minister of Punjab.

<sup>56</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>57</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>58</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly.

<sup>59</sup> The younger one of the two brothers. Manjit Singh is the younger brother of Amrik Singh.

'Destroyer of armies, the valiant Guru, the great warrior, the great benefactor,' Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>60</sup>, Guru Hargobind, the True King<sup>61</sup>: if I am starting this *Morcha* for my personal fame, I should see failure but if I am stating this struggle for the Sikh Nation, for the Sikh appearance, for the Faith, for protection of victims of oppression, for dignity and self-respect then, as is always your wont, my True King, you are Supporter of the humble, bless us with success. This was my *Ardaas* and I am firm on this even now. Don't waver. Let no Sikh get the feeling that if the *Morcha* fails, it is Longowal's turban that will come off; that if the *Morcha* fails, Bhindranwale's turban will come off. *Khalsa Ji*, if we become lax in the *Morcha*, it will not be the turban of one or two leaders or that of a *saadh* that will come off; the entire *Panth* will lose its turban. We must not stop the *Morcha* because of jealousy. We have to resolutely take the *Morcha* to success.

#### Some Akali Leaders Are Ready To Renege On The Objectives Of The Morcha

But how successful do we have to make it? Our brothers<sup>62</sup> agreed to refer the water issue to the Supreme Court and when they went there first time they agreed to a division of Chandigarh on 60/40 ratio. The second time they went, they agreed to get up to Madhya Marg. The third time they went they agreed up to the gate at the railway [station]. I do not know how much of Chandigarh they will ask for next. The water issue goes to the Supreme Court, and Abohar-Fazilka are [also] mentioned in the newspapers.

#### I Shall Not Let Them Give Up The Anandpur Sahib Resolution

But let me tell you one thing. Unfortunately they gave me a copy of the Anandpur Resolution which is authentic. I have that with me. This time it will be one way or the other. This time, rest assured that it will not be a case of sipping [fruit] juice<sup>63</sup>. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. Keep in mind one thing. You have shouted the *Jaikaara* but this responsibility is going to be yours. You have done me favor; I am indebted to you. I won't be able to clear the debt though I am trying to see if I can. You have placed me in debt [by shedding] your blood. You have made me a debtor by having your sons,

<sup>60</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>61</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false.

<sup>62</sup> The Akali leaders.

<sup>63</sup> Reference is to several fasts by Akali leaders which were broken by declaring success and sipping fruit juice to save their own lives without achieving the purposes of the struggle.

brothers, mothers and sisters killed. I continue to try; if Guru so wishes perhaps I can pay it off. Even then, if I am born as many times as there are hair on my body, and in each birth I have my head cut off and place it at your feet, I shall not be able to pay you back. However, you will have to go through one more test when the decision is made [regarding the *Morcha*]. Even though I do not go to the stage<sup>64</sup> - I am silent. I do not criticize anybody, but I also cannot be soft to anyone. Perhaps it is someone's misfortune. So, *Khalsa Ji*, when a decision is to be made - I have this copy of the Anandpur Resolution in my pocket signed by these brothers - if the decision is according to what is written, we shall shout the *Jaikaara* as we please. But if a decision is being made away from this document, then what is my duty here as your watchdog, your servant? My duty will be to get you all to assemble and to tell you: "*Khalsa Ji*, here is a copy of the Anandpur Resolution in my hand and these are the things written in it and those that are not written have been announced by me and our brothers to the people. Out of these we have secured this much and some hanky-panky is going on to drop the rest. Now you tell us what should be done?" At that time the responsibility will be yours. I shall give my life, if necessary. I shall not do anything by sipping juice or by surrendering to the Government. I shall do everything in the open and firmly. I shall not bow. If it costs me my life, I cannot help it because the body is mortal.

#### Be Prepared. Keep Weapons But Act With Restraint As Sikhs Of The Guru

You keep asking for a 'hot' program. Perhaps I too think of that. But let me ask this one thing of all of us who are sitting here today. You do say that I should give you a 'hot' program but, if I do, will you fulfill it? I shall tell you right here. This brother says: "We shall fulfill it." It is over nine months since I issued this declaration. All of us who are sitting here, now say yes. Brothers, out of all of us sitting here, how many have fulfilled my words? I had said that in every village arrange for one motorcycle, three young men and three new revolvers. In how many villages have arrangements for these things been made? Now say 'yes'. Is that all? So, I appeal to you: buy motorcycles and revolvers. What do we have to do [with these]? We must not loot shops, burn shops, dishonor daughters and sisters, and kill hawkers. If someone being a Sikh kills anybody, he is not fit to be called a Sikh. However, if being a Sikh someone does not get justice, he is not a Sikh either.

#### Punish The Guilty; I Shall Protect You

Think it over as to what you have to do. I shall protect any of you who comes to me after putting on the train [of death] those who have drunk the blood of innocent people, those who have forced a daughter and her father to

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<sup>64</sup> Reference is to the Akali ban on Sant Bhindranwale's speaking from the Manji Sahib Diwan Hall after September 1983.

have sexual union in police stations and those who set fire to copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib or buried them in manure. I shall pay any penalty I have to for that. How long has it been since I announced this program? How many of you have acted upon it? All of you who are sitting here, when you come, you say: "Bhindranwala, don't worry, we shall raise the rafters." Where have you kept these rafters ready [to be raised] for the last eighteen months? It is all right if somebody calls me names; let him do so. I have told you what my business is and what is the business of the brothers [the Akalis]. Now you decide who is a congressite. I shall not say about anybody whether he is or not. You, Guru's Sikhs have to think about it. But I shall say one thing. I have said this earlier too. Tell me if, in eighteen months, any of you friends has read in any newspaper anything I said against any leader. Remember this story before you go.

#### The Importance Of Unity. A Story From Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's Time

Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the True King was staying in Anandpur Sahib. The cook came along. Just as many have got up and run away to eat at the *Langar*<sup>65</sup> because they got hungry. The cook came and announced that the food was ready. *Maharaj*<sup>66</sup> said: "Cook plenty of rice today." Rice was cooked and piled in a heap. Satguru Ji said: "Bring some deer." Some deer were brought and allowed to eat at the pile. When they were allowed to eat the rice, they ate the rice and went away. The Singhs asked: "What does this mean?" *Maharaj* said: "I shall tell you tomorrow, in the morning." The next day again the time came for *Langar*. *Maharaj* said: "Today again cook some rice." Rice was cooked. *Maharaj* said: "Bring some dogs." When dogs were brought to the pile of rice, the first one took a mouthful. The one which was standing behind him held him by the leg. A third one got his tail. They were all after each other's legs and tails. All the rice was spoiled and they left all bruised. *Maharaj* was sitting and laughing. Daya Singh Asked: "*Maharaj*, what is this? Yesterday you fed rice to the deer and today to the dogs; what does this mean?" *Maharaj* said: "Singhs, I have given you instruction regarding times to come. If you act like the deer, in a united manner, you will find satisfaction and success, but if you fight like the dogs did, you will just get bloodied and beat up and will not get anything." [*Laughter in the congregation*]. It is not something to laugh at. Think for a moment as to where we stand today. At this time, all the Hindus of Hindostan are united on one platform to take the Sikh's turban off and you cannot get over your insistence on Hindu-Sikh unity. What makes you laugh? Think it over. All of you sitting here are wise; I am the only illiterate person among you, all the rest are educated. Stay united. If you have a complaint against someone, it is better to keep quiet than to fight with sticks.

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<sup>65</sup> *Langar* is a kitchen and dining hall adjoining a gurdwara.

<sup>66</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

## How Should We Deal With Those Who Falsely Accuse Me?

You tell me that you will do whatever I tell you to; that you will obey me in whatever I say; that you cannot stand these people calling me a congressite. On the one hand, you tell me that you cannot stand it and, on the other, you listen to this and come and tell me. What do you mean by saying you cannot stand it? What has to be done to those who have called me a congressite, a traitor to the *Panth*? Do we have to take off someone's turban? Not at all. Do we grab someone's beard? Never ever. What do we have to do? What is the punishment? What do you have to do to a person who appears to be stabbing the [Sikh] Nation in the back; a person who appears to be attacking the turban and the beard; a person who insults Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, the True King; and a person who, stepping over the bodies of the martyrs, appears to be reaching for a chair? There is only one thing you should do. When he comes to the stage [to speak], ask him - not in anger but gently with love - "Guru's man, is Bhindranwala a traitor?" He will have to say yes, if he has previously said so. He will say: "Yes, he is secretly with the Congress." What do you have to say to him? [It is this]. "Guru's man, we tell you with love that there is no place for you on this stage, you should leave. When there is any talk of response we shall hear it ourselves." A man rejected by the congregation does not find any place in this world or the next. Rejection by the congregation is of great significance. If we stop them by fighting among ourselves, what do we gain? The Government dearly wishes for the day when the Sikhs would shed each other's blood at Manji Sahib, at Akal Takhat Sahib, on the road that goes in front of Samundri Hall, in these Langar buildings; and it would be relieved of all problems. Do we wish to make the Government succeed in its purpose or do we wish to make it fail? All the young men, work in unity and in strength. You come here and tell me about those who publish such things in the newspapers. You come from villages and these persons who hurl this abuse live in villages too. You should ask them there, but ask in the manner I described; don't abuse them. I do not favor abusing each other or fighting among ourselves. We have vacated Guru Nanak Niwas. Only five *Singhs* came to evict us<sup>67</sup>. There were over 350 *Singhs* with me and they were all fully prepared. Would you believe that five men could have evicted me if I had chosen to resist? Why did I leave that place? For the reason that we have to make the Government fail. We have to fulfill the Anandpur Resolution, [regarding such items as] the Sikhs being a separate nation, personal law, and many other things included in it. We have to shake off slavery from the necks of the Sikhs. We are under a great burden of slavery.

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<sup>67</sup> Reference is to the Babbar Khalsa asking Sant Bhindranwale to move out of Guru Nanak Niwas. He did so on December 15, 1983.



## SIKHS ARE SLAVES IN INDIA: WE HAVE TO UNITE FOR SUCCESS IN THE PRESENT STRUGGLE

If a girl born in the home of the Pundits, Indira Gandhi, getting the votes of the public, becomes Prime Minister of Hindostan, and is sentenced to jail, and upon her going to jail, Pandey and others hijack a plane, they get a ticket<sup>68</sup>, a chair. But if you, sons of Sikhs, hijack a plane for Guru Granth Sahib, there is exile for Gajinder Singh and others. Those who hijack a plane for a girl of the Brahmins get a chair and for those who hijack a plane for the *Isht*<sup>69</sup> of the Sikhs there is exile. Those who hijack a plane for a girl of the Pundits get a residence in the M.L.A. Flats, but one who hijacks a plane for the *Isht* of the Sikhs is given an injection to cripple his leg<sup>70</sup>. For those who hijack a plane for a girl of the Pundits there is the recognition as patriots, but Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh who hijacked a plane for the *Isht* of the Sikhs was shot and killed at Raja Sansi Airport. Is this freedom? Is this Hindu-Sikh unity? Think over it.

A thousand tons of tallow were seized in Bathinda. Bail was approved while sitting at home. Talwandi<sup>71</sup> merely said that we should set up a Government - perhaps they call it 'parallel'; that such a Government should be set up. He can hardly move his waist but they say he is dangerous. The one who cannot move his waist, Talwandi, is dangerous but one who is sitting there with drums filled with 1,000 tons of tallow, is having it rubbed on peoples' bodies and eaten with their food can be released on bail<sup>72</sup>. This is because he is a son of the Hindus. Is this freedom?

I have forgotten the number of the bungalow. Later, I shall ask for it and let you know. Dharendra Brahmchari has been issued a license for his carbine in Bathinda. If we get licenses from the Government we are called extremists, but if five hundred rifles are recovered from Dharendra Brahmchari's factory he is still truthful because he is a son of the Brahmins. If a single grenade is recovered from you, or even if there is merely the suspicion [that you might have one], you are an extremist, but if 230 grenades are recovered from Pawan Kumar, he is truthful because he is a son of the Brahmins. If Indira Gandhi declares that the Sikhs of Punjab should think about what might happen to Sikhs living in other states, there are no cases registered against her. If Swami Adityavesh says that Sikhs should get out of Haryana, it is immaterial. If

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<sup>68</sup> For election to a state legislature.

<sup>69</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>70</sup> Reference is to Gurbakhsh Singh who hijacked a plane and upon arrest was given an injection.

<sup>71</sup> Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi, an Akali leader.

<sup>72</sup> Talwandi was held without bail.

Bhattacharya says that Nachhattar Singh should be hanged, it does not matter. If Harbans Lal Khanna says:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni*  
'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not going to let a turban remain on any head,'

and

*Kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*  
'The shorts, the iron bangle, the sword; send these to Pakistan,'

no case is registered. If Kewal Krishan says that all Sikh organizations will be terminated, no case is registered. If those of the Hindu Jai Sangh say in the form of an ultimatum that all Sikhs in Rajasthan should quit and go to Punjab by 5 December [1983], no case is registered. When [in response to the ultimatum] Bhindranwala said that if anything happens to the Sikhs in Rajasthan, the Hindus in Punjab should prepare for the next world, the House was in session. There was a commotion in the Parliament. [*Laughter in the congregation*]. What are you laughing about? You are laughing? Here I am a Sikh speaking and it burns them up that a son of a Sikh should speak; it is all right [for them] if a daughter or a son of the Pundits speaks. What are you laughing about? Have we lost all self-respect? Dogs' feces were inserted in Sital Singh's mouth, who was in the military. A Hindu's sten-gun was lost and they beat Sital Singh to death. The sten-gun was recovered from the drain, the sewer. Now [who will] bring us Sital Singh? Two barrels were lost in Meerut. The barrels were found in a Hindu's barracks, but Piara Singh of Ferozepur was beaten to death. Where is our self-respect? Do we have any? It is all right if a son of the Pundits can leave here and may go around the whole world but they say that a son of the Sikhs going to the Asian Games in Delhi will not be allowed to cross Haryana. [No objection is raised] when the leaders of the Pundits issue statements "carry weapons; buy *trishuls*, buy swords, buy spears, buy pistols, buy rifles" and if Baldev Parkash says "it is all right to respond with the same weapons that the extremists have." Of course time will tell whether these weapons are going to be used or if they will be useful to us. [*Laughter in the congregation*]. *Singhs*, use your brains a little. Many times young men ask what to do because they are not issued licenses. We are not Sikhs of Indira; we are Guru Hargobind Sahib's Sikhs. If a son of the Brahmins does not require a license why should the son of a Sikh need one? If Pawan Kumar can keep 230 grenades, I shall say this loud and clear in Hindostan and suffer whatever consequences there might be that every son of a *gursikh*<sup>73</sup> should keep at least two hundred grenades at your home if you can. Why should

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<sup>73</sup> *Gursikh* means Sikh of the Guru.

there be restriction on you? For Hindostan's freedom, ninety heads were provided by those who have turbans. They say that the one who gave ninety heads cannot keep weapons but Gulli Ram and Chhalli Ram<sup>74</sup> who gave ten heads can keep 230 grenades. Is this a [valid] principle? If you are very law-abiding, keep thirty less [than Pawan Kumar]. Definitely keep two hundred, each one of you. How many licenses did the Sixth King<sup>75</sup> receive from Jehangir<sup>76</sup>? How many licenses did the Tenth King receive from Aurangzeb? You are sons of the Guru and yet you look for licenses from them<sup>77</sup>! March together, give up drug addictions. I shall say this to all the young students who have come here today. Earlier you had a complaint against all the Sikhs and against the leaders. [You would say]: "Sant Ji, if we proceed on the path of the Faith no one protects us." Now if there is slackness it is on your part; there is none from my side. Whoever does anything for the Faith, I shall protect him if he can come to me. If any Sikh working for the Faith suffers a loss, if fate so wills and I am able to get out of here and serve you, I shall make it up - up to a million rupees - within one month. But that is if I get out of here. Don't ask me for it while I am sitting here. Here, I am eating of you. What else do you want from me? We are not to oppose the *Panth*, but to stoutly support it but we have to be careful about what I told you earlier regarding *Narkdharis*. My young brothers: are you supporters of the Anandpur Resolution? Answer me once with a yes or a no. I shall speak further after asking you to answer this. First, tell me if all of us sitting here are in favor of the Anandpur Resolution and that we want its complete implementation. [*The congregation responds: yes, we do want it*]. Do you want [implementation of] the Anandpur Resolution or not? [*The congregation responds with a loud 'yes, we do want it'*]. Then it is all right; you want it. If a person never enters his home, would his neighbor give him anything? Does any neighbor lend anything for use to a person who never visits his own home? No one does. Where were we born? The Khalsa was born in Anandpur. Have we enter Anandpur, our home? How many of us have their hair and beards? How many have *kirpaans* in *gaatras*? How many recite the five *Baanis*<sup>78</sup>? How many of us have received *amrit* and are acting under the guidance of the Guru? You want the Anandpur Resolution [implemented] and make obeisance to Gandhi<sup>79</sup> saying 'Father of Hindostan, Father of Hindostan'. How will you get it<sup>80</sup>? Let us enter our home and attach ourselves to our Father,

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<sup>74</sup> Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram are fictitious Hindu names contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn and Gulli is a wooden toy.

<sup>75</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>76</sup> Jehangir was the mughal emperor of India; 1606-1627.

<sup>77</sup> The Hindus.

<sup>78</sup> Five *Baanis* that are specified as the minimum daily Sikh prayer.

<sup>79</sup> Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule

<sup>80</sup> Implementation of the Anandpur Resolution.

Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji. Receive *amrit* from *Panj Piyaaras*<sup>81</sup>. Beware of those who whisper something in the ear and tell you "Now you are my disciple and I am your guru." Don't get hoodwinked by those who talk of here and there and beat the drums of Sarvar and others. Also regularly say a prayer to the Guru. I have taken a lot of your time. The students are feeling somewhat uncomfortable. So, at this time accept this: let us recite a *Sabad*<sup>82</sup> with a *dhaarna*<sup>83</sup>. Many friends ask me where they can pray [for justice and help]. We have to bring our prayers here, before Guru Granth Sahib. The politicians pray, the students also pray, the uneducated pray and so do those who are educated. *Brahm Gianis*<sup>84</sup> pray too. However, there are difference between the prayers. I shall excuse myself after reading the *dhaarna* but do take my message with you when you go. Buy motorcycles, buy weapons, carry them and be ready at all times, work in cooperation until the Anandpur Resolution is realized. Confront anyone who does wishy-washy things. Do you understand what confronting means? Confrontation does not mean fighting with sticks. When the time comes, we shall see about that, but at this time it is confrontation of views. We have to convince each other by thoughtful reasoning. Do not fear anyone. So far it is fear that has been ruining us. Let any among you tell me if, leaving aside the history of the Akali Dal, in the history of the Gurus or the history of the Sikhs, there have been two consecutive generations which had peaceful struggle? I shall immediately sit down. Let anyone tell me. Let anyone tell me if, aside from the Akali Dal history, in the history of the Gurus or that of the Sikhs, you have seen written anywhere that there was what you educated people call 'peacefulness' for two generations. We have seen fourteen generations - Sant Harchand Singh Longowal Ji is the fourteenth in the presidency of the Akali Dal - there have been fourteen generations of peacefulness. What does the history of the Gurus tell us? The history of the Gurus is that the Fifth King<sup>85</sup> peacefully became a martyr. In the next generation the Sixth King avenged it. The Ninth King peacefully became a martyr and in the next generation the Tenth King avenged it. The younger *Sahibzadas*<sup>86</sup> became peaceful martyrs and in the same generation Banda Singh Bahaadar avenged it. Baba Mani Singh Ji peacefully became a martyr and in the next generation Baba Uggar Singh Ji avenged it. Jaspal and Lakhpal drank the blood of Sikhs. In the same generation, Bhai Nibhaoo Singh climbed up the elephant and avenged it by cutting off his head. Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das, Bhai Dayala

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<sup>81</sup> *Amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>82</sup> A verse from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>83</sup> Refrain not necessarily from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>84</sup> A *Brahm Giani* is one who had divine knowledge.

<sup>85</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, the fifth Guru.

<sup>86</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two youngest sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

Ji peacefully became martyrs and at night themselves got on to Aurangzeb's chest and drove him out of Delhi. Bhai Taru Singh had his scalp removed in peaceful protest, but in the same struggle, by means of his brother's shoe, through a Sikh, sent Khan Bahaadar Zakariya dispatched to the other world. Abdali drank the blood of peaceful *Singhs*. The Chief Official of this *Taksaal*, the perfect *Brahm Giani*, Pillar of the Sikh faith, Baba Deep Singh Ji Shaheed, at over 75 years age fought with his head on the palm of his hand and drove the oppressor out of the country. In 1978 we got beat up peacefully. Thirteen became martyrs and seventy-eight were injured. In 1980, some dear person put Gurbachna on the train [of death]. Are any *Bhavans* being built in Punjab today? Tell me where have we had two generations of peaceful struggle? Let anyone answer me. Is that all?

[The Akali leaders say] Bhindranwala gives inflammatory speeches; Bhindranwala creates dissensions; Bhindranwala speaks against the *Panth*. Tell me, have I told anyone not to go with the *Jatha*<sup>87</sup>? Have I asked anyone not to see Longowal? Have I told anyone to stay at home? Have I told anyone to create an uproar on the stage? Have I told anyone not to follow the path of the Faith? Have I told anyone not to arrange collections of money for the Akali Dal's fund? Has any Sikh seen a *shaheedi* fund<sup>88</sup> opened in my name up to this day? My only appeal to you is that you be always prepared; support the *Panth*; give up drug addictions; receive *amrit* and unite with the Guru; read *Gurbani*; and seek justice for the martyrs. This is my firm program for you. The requests we have to make, let us make them before Guru Granth Sahib like great men do and learn from them [the great men].

#### CLOSING PRAYER

So, there is only one refrain. After reading this the session will end. Please do me the favor of listening to the Federation's program [after we finish the recitation]. Recite loudly not as if you were speaking from behind a veil. Singing romantic songs you are quite loud but reciting a *Sabad* we are subdued. Sing this too loudly. The manner in which God's beloved persons pray will be the refrain from elsewhere but the line will be from *Gurbani*. We all shall recite on that basis. Try to recite in devotion. What do they say to God while praying:

[*Sant Bhindranwale sings the refrain*]

ਸਾਡਾ ਤੇ ਨਿਮਾਨਿਆ ਦਾ ਤੂੰ ਐ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਆਸਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ।

<sup>87</sup> The group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>88</sup> Shaheedi fund would be a fund in the memory of martyrs, typically set up to support the surviving members of the families.

'You are the only one on the side of us humble people. We have no other support.' [*Sant Bhindranwale repeats the refrain; the congregation repeats the refrain twice. Then Sant Bhindranwale sings the next line*];

ਕਿਸ ਹੀ ਕੋਈ ਕੋਇ

'Some have one or another'

ਕਿਸ ਹੀ ਕੋਈ ਕੋਇ

'Some have one or another.' [*The congregation repeats the line twice. Then Sant Bhindranwale proceeds to the next line and the refrain*]:

ਮੇਂਵ ਨਿਮਾਣੀ ਇਕੁ ਤੁ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਆਸਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ।  
ਸਾਡਾ ਤੇ ਨਿਮਾਣਿਆ ਦਾ ਤੂੰ ਐ ਹੋਰ ਕੋਈ ਆਸਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ।

'For me, the humble one, there is only You; I have no other support. You are the only one on the side of us humble people. We have no other support.' [*The congregation repeats the refrain twice*].

This is our prayer before Guru Granth Sahib. There is one other doubt. Let us remove that too with this line. Some say: 'You are alone; all these people have left you and are joining the Government; the Government too is after you; and there are the Radhaswamis, *Narkdharis* and others. we should be careful.' *Khalsa Ji*, don't be afraid of these things. We should depend upon Satguru. We shall read a line about being alone and then stop. All of us are alone. Don't worry too much about me. Let us pray to Satguru that we remain attached to our Guru then we do not care about anyone else. We shall recite about being alone: [*Sant Bhindranwale sings the refrain*]:

ਇਹ ਪੰਛੀ ਇਕੱਲਾ ਏ ਏਹਦੇ ਮਗਰ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰੀ ਬਹੁਤੇ।

'This bird is alone; there are many hunters after it.' [*Sant Bhindranwale repeats the refrain. the congregation repeats the refrain twice. Then Sant Bhindranwale recites the next line*]:

ਸਰਵਰ ਪੰਖੀ ਏਕੜਾ

'There is a lone bird at the lake.' [*The Sant repeats the line and the congregation repeats the line twice and then Sant Bhindranwale recites the next line*].

ਹਾਰੀ ਵਾਰ ਪਚਾਸ ਏਹਦੇ ਮਗਰ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਰੀ ਬਹੁਤੇ।

'There are fifty hunters; there are many hunters after it.' [*The congregation repeats the line twice and then Sant Bhindranwale recites the next line twice*].

ਏਹ ਮਨ ਲਹਿਰੀ ਗਜ ਬਿਆ।

'This wayward mind is like the elephant.' [The congregation repeats the line and then Sant Bhindranwale recites the next line and the refrain].

ਸਚੇ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਸ ਏਹਦੇ ਮਗਰ ਸਿਕਾਰੀ ਬਹੁਤੇ।

'O True One [God] You are the only hope; there are many hunters after it.'

ਇਹ ਪੰਛੀ ਇਕੱਲਾ ਏ ਏਹਦੇ ਮਗਰ ਸਿਕਾਰੀ ਬਹੁਤੇ।

'This bird is alone; there are many hunters after it.' [The congregation repeats the refrain twice].

Don't be afraid of the hunters from outside. The soul is a lonely bird. Ekiel, Makiel, Nakiel, Israel and Jabrael are five hunters. Who is their master? It is Death. Death maintains five hunters for the hunt. Who is hunted? It is the soul. We need to protect ourselves against them. *Maharaj* has said:

ਦੁਨੀਆ ਨ ਸਾਲਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰਿ ਵੰਵਸੀ॥ ਲੋਕਾ ਨ ਸਾਲਾਹਿ ਜੋ ਮਰਿ ਖਾਕੁ ਥੀਈ॥ ੧ ॥  
ਵਾਹੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਿਬਾ ਵਾਹੁ॥ ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਸਦਾ ਸਾਲਾਹੀਐ ਸਚਾ ਵੇਪਰਵਾਹੁ॥ ੧ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ॥

'[O man] don't praise the world which will perish; don't praise people who will die and become dust. My Master, You are wonderful. O man, let us, under Guru's guidance, praise the Eternal [God] who is above all.' We have to live according to:

ਜਾਮਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੋਇ ਵਲਿ ਧਨਹਿ ਕਿਆ ਗਾਰਬੁ ਦਿਜਾਇ॥ ਜਾਮਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਹੋਇ ਵਲਿ ਲਖ ਬਾਹੇ ਕਿਆ ਕਿਜਾਇ॥

'If the Guru is on one's side, he does not pride himself over wealth. If the Guru is on one's side, hundreds of thousands of armies cannot hurt him'; and

ਜਾ ਤੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਵਲਿ ਹੈ ਤਾ ਕਿਆ ਮੁਹਛੰਦਾ॥ ਤੁਧੁ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਮੈਨੋ ਸਉਪਿਆ ਜਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਬੰਦਾ॥

'[O God] if You are on my side, then I am not beholden to anyone else. You have given me everything if I serve You.' Let us serve the Guru and stoutly support the *Panth*. While speaking, I have not consciously tried to taunt anyone, but I cannot help speaking the truth. So, I thank the entire congregation. I like to request those who have come. On 5 February, in the village of Walha where Kulwant Singh of Nagoke, the *Gurmukh*<sup>89</sup> who gave every drop of his blood for the Faith, became a martyr in a fake encounter, where his body was thrown; where especially the people of the village and in fact all the people of that area unitedly are trying to set up a memorial in his memory; there is going to be an assembly. So, I appeal to the people who have

<sup>89</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

come, especially all of you from the Amritsar District, to reach that place on that day in February and participate to the maximum you can with body, mind and funds. Upon reaching there, you must not do anything provocative.

ਦਿਤਿਆਂ ਬਾਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿਣਾ, ਧਰਮ ਸਿਰ ਦਿਤਿਆਂ ਬਾਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿਣਾ॥

'Without sacrifice it will not survive; the Faith will not survive without sacrifice of our lives.' One more slogan:

ਸੁਰਾ ਸੋ ਪਹਿਚਾਨੀਐ ਜੋ ਲਰੈ ਈਨ ਕੇ ਹੇਤ॥ ਪੁਰਜਾ ਪੁਰਜਾ ਕਟਿ ਮਰੈ ਕਬਹੂ ਨ ਛਾਡੈ ਖੇਤ॥ ੨ । ੨ ।

'Only he who fights in behalf of the poor is recognized as a valorous man. He may be cut up limb by limb but will not leave the battlefield.'

ਕਬੀਰ ਮੋਹਿ ਮਰਨੇ ਕਾ ਚਾਉ ਹੈ ਮਰਉ ਤੇ ਹਰਿ ਕੈ ਦੁਆਰ॥  
ਮਤਿ ਹਰਿ ਪੁਛੈ ਕਉਨੁ ਹੈ ਪਰਾ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਬਾਰ॥ ੬੧ ।

'O Kabir, I have a desire to die but I wish to die at God's door. Perhaps God will ask: who is this person lying at my door?'

ਕਬੀਰ ਜਿਸੁ ਮਰਨੇ ਤੇ ਜਗ ਡਰੈ ਮੇਰੇ ਮਨਿ ਆਨੰਦੁ॥  
ਮਰਨੇ ਹੀ ਤੇ ਪਾਈਐ ਪੁਰਨੁ ਪਰਮਾਨੰਦੁ॥ ੨੨ ।

'O Kabir, death, which people fear, is bliss to me. It is only through dying [destroying one's self-will] that one finds the Perfect One, the Supreme Bliss.'

ਪਹਲਾ ਮਰਣੁ ਕਬੁਲਿ ਜੀਵਣ ਕੀ ਛਡਿ ਆਸ॥ ਹੋਹੁ ਸਭਨਾ ਕੀ ਰੇਣੁਕਾ ਤਉ ਆਉ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪਾਸਿ॥ ੧ ।

'First accept death [of personal ego]; give up the desire of [worldly] living; be the dust of everyone's feet; only then come to Me.'

Having said this, I wish to be excused. I thank the President, the Secretary and the Vice-President - please don't take offense, I should have said this<sup>90</sup> first. I am thankful to the President, the Vice-President, the Secretaries, and all the congregation of the Guru that has assembled. Finally, I might make this request to the speakers. It is said that Bhindranwala has awakened the [Sikh] Nation; that the Nation is with so and so. I do not consider these slogans dignified. I consider this is a drawback. Why have I used the word 'drawback'? We shall say this to everybody. I especially appeal to the musicians and writers that if they have a desire to write poems, they should definitely write a poem eulogizing Guru Granth Sahib. If they can write many, they should do so. What is that [eulogy for]? Whichever speaker speaks from the stage, it is his duty to first of all say that Sahib Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji, by engulfing his form in flames on 14 September 1981, by sacrificing his body in Chando-Kalan, has

<sup>90</sup> Named the Vice-President before the Secretary.



heightened the honor, the pride and the glory of the [Sikh] Nation. If Satguru Granth Sahib had not been set on fire, if this martyrdom had not occurred in Chando-Kalan, perhaps the martyrdom of *Singhs* alone would not have sufficed to awaken the Nation. For this reason, however much you can say in praise of Satguru you should say. It is not dignified to say these things in praise of such a useless person as I.

If during my speech, I inadvertently said some [unpleasant] thing, the entire congregation should forgive me as their insignificant servant. I must also say this. If I had continued [speaking] for another hour, you would have taken the trouble of sitting through it. [In coming here today], you in the congregation had hoped to see Guru Sahib and to let me see you. For this reason if, accepting my request you keep sitting I shall be convinced that you will follow what I told you for tomorrow. If, after this appeal I sit down and you quietly go away, I shall not be sure if you would do what I tell you tomorrow. Therefore, not taking any more of your time, I request you [to stay a while longer]. I shall also request the students that they keep only to reading the resolutions which need to be read. Enough has been accomplished already. May the Guru have mercy and give us the strength to sit in his presence.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

## INTERVIEW ON FEBRUARY 22, 1984 WITH A FAMILY VISITING FROM CANADA

**Sant Bhindranwale:**

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh<sup>1</sup>.*

You have come from abroad. I welcome you. I congratulate you on the marriage of the young man. May Guru Sahib have mercy and bless the couple with Sikh lifestyle.

For the Sikh Congregations, I, your servant, have only this to say. Ever since India attained freedom [from the British] Sikhs have been slaves. There have been numerous incidents that have occurred in India and especially in Punjab. I shall present these one by one to everyone. There are instances for which we have proofs. I shall get these tape-recorded. Listen to these. Then, the Government here or the Indian Government can answer us if they can. The newspaper .... in that news appeared that foreign governments are hesitant in helping the Sikhs because Sikhs have not been able to provide proof that they are [treated like] slaves. I do not know how that newspaper published that the foreign governments have this doubt. If they can prove even one of the examples that I am going to provide to be wrong, I shall suffer whatever punishment you award me. If these proofs are not indicative of slavery, then we are sorry for our freedom. The first question is that ever since India became free, up to the present time, in these thirty-six or thirty-seven years, has any Hindu suffered any imprisonment in any struggle to be able to speak Hindi, to have some train named after a religious place, to have the Hindus called a separate nation, to wear the Hindu religious symbol *janeoo*, to have transmitters installed in temples for broadcasting the Vedas, to secure control over rivers flowing through Hindi-speaking areas, to secure control over headworks located in Hindi-speaking areas, or to get permission to build dams in Hindi-speaking areas. If anyone has, I am willing to suffer punishment [for making false accusations]. Contrary to this, to speak Punjabi, to get a Punjabi-speaking state, fifty-seven thousand Sikhs had to go to jail. Those who demanded a state, the Sikhs, their state is still incomplete. On the other hand, those who never made any demand have had Himachal and Haryana created for them. Sikhs are being completely humiliated in Haryana; I shall talk about this later. To get Amritsar declared a holy city, to get a train named after Darbar Sahib, to have the Sikhs declared a separate nation, to travel by plane wearing their religious symbol, the *kirpaan*, to get a transmitter installed at Darbar

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

Sahib so that Sikhs living abroad could listen to *Gurbani*<sup>2</sup> *kirtan*<sup>3</sup>, to get dual citizenship for Sikhs, to get control over rivers flowing through Punjabi-speaking areas, for completion of the Punjabi-speaking state by restoration of the Punjabi-speaking areas taken out of it, to secure control of headworks<sup>4</sup> located in the Punjabi-speaking areas, to get permission to build dams in the Punjabi-speaking areas, over two hundred thousand have been arrested. Nearly two hundred have become martyrs. Still they say Sikhs are communalists. If some dear person can give me an answer to this, he may. If a Sikh can give an answer, he may. Aren't these signs of slavery?

Asian Games were held. Sikhs came from America. They were turned back from the airport telling them that they could not enter Delhi. No Sikh from Punjab was allowed into Delhi. This is a manifest sign of slavery.

I have not seen these things on the television myself nor do I have any desire to see them but I have heard from Sikh people that pictures of mosques and temples were shown on the television but no picture of any gurdwara in Delhi was shown on television.

A girl born in the home of Pundits, Indira Gandhi, getting the votes of the people became Prime Minister of India. In 1977 she received a sentence from a judge of the Supreme Court. She went to jail to serve the sentence. At that time, her associates, her coworkers, Pandey and others, hijacked a plane. This was in 1977. In connection with their hijacking of the plane, one was given a ticket for a seat as M.L.A.<sup>5</sup> in U.P.<sup>6</sup> and the other in Bihar. On 14 September 1981, in Chando-Kalan, both the busses that the congregation had provided were set on fire; Satguru<sup>7</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib's books were set on fire; goods worth 300,000 rupees were looted from Chando-Kalan. Eighteen young *Singhs* were killed on 20th September in Mehta on the day I offered myself for arrest. I was sentenced to 25 days in jail. I served the sentence and came out returning via .... [inaudible] .... After all this had happened, Gajinder Singh and his associates hijacked a plane. If a Sikh hijacks a plane to voice his protest in connection with Siri Guru Granth Sahib, he is exiled. They are at present in Pakistan. If a plane is hijacked for a girl of the Hindus, Pandey and others are rewarded for patriotism but if a Sikh hijacks a plane for his *Isht*<sup>8</sup> as Manjeet

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<sup>2</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>4</sup> Headworks include dams and controls for diversion of river waters for irrigation and/or power generation.

<sup>5</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>6</sup> The state of Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>7</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>8</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

Singh alias Museebat Singh did on 20 August [1982], he was shot to death at Raja Sansi airport. The Government can tell or perhaps some person can tell; isn't this slavery? If a plane can be hijacked for a lady, why can one not be hijacked for the *Isht* of the Sikhs. I appeal to Sikhs living in other countries too. You should yourselves see. How are we free in India if there isn't even as much reverence and importance given to our *Isht* as to a girl of the Pundits? This is manifest proof.

If, ever since India attained freedom [from British rule], any Sikh military officer has shot and killed any Hindu, let the Indian Government provide proof for that. The following are manifest proofs. A sten-gun was lost in the military at the Attari border. In that connection they seized Sital Singh belonging to the classes that today's people call backward. This is not so in *Gurmat*<sup>9</sup>. Satguru called them

ਰੰਗਾਰੇਟੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਕੇ ਚੇਟੇ॥

'People belonging to the class of dyers of cloth are sons of the Guru', and embraced them. He was caught because his name was 'Singh'. Dog's feces were forced into his mouth, red chilies were put in his eyes, chilies were inserted into his body, his arms were cut with razor-blades and the wounds filled with salt, thorny branches were cut from *kikkar*<sup>10</sup> trees and he was dragged over them. He died. When his post-mortem examination was carried out in Amritsar, half a kilogram of chilies were found in his body. When the investigation was done, the sten-gun was recovered from the drain, the sewer. The sten-gun was recovered; now the Indian Government, the rulers of India, should return Sital Singh to the Sikhs. Isn't this a sign of slavery?

Two rifle barrels were lost in Meerut. In that connection, Piara Singh of District Ferozepur was beaten to death. When the matter was investigated, when a search was conducted, the barrels were found in a Hindu's barrack. No one even gave him a two-hour *pitthu*<sup>11</sup> because he was the son of the Hindus. This is a manifest sign [of Sikhs being slaves].

I shall say this to the Sikhs living abroad in connection with the issue of slavery. Five hundred guns were found in Dhirendra Brahmchari's factory. Two hundred and thirty grenades were found in the store-room of Pawan Kumar who formerly was President of the Patiala Hindu Suraksha Samiti and now, after recovery of grenades, has become President of the Punjab Suraksha Samiti. Before his arrest, earlier in September, Sikhs were humiliated and there

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<sup>9</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>10</sup> A tree which has branches with long hard thorns.

<sup>11</sup> *Pitthu* is punishment in which the culprit is asked to carry a load on his back and go around the barracks.

was widespread arson [directed against Sikhs]. That man has been given a higher office after grenades were recovered from him but if not even an empty cartridge is found in the homes of Sikhs they are seized and beaten until their skin comes off. I shall give you proofs for these. First let me talk about them [Hindus].

One thousand tons of tallow were recovered from a Hindu's home in Bathinda. Sikhs living abroad must have read about it in the newspapers. It appeared in today's newspapers as well. Those people were granted bail sitting at home. A Hindu was caught throwing tobacco in the *Parkarma*<sup>12</sup>. He was handed over to the police. I was in Bombay at that time and had not yet returned here. The congregation caught him and turned him over to the police. He was not even taken to the Police Station and was released on the road. Lala Jagat Narain has boarded the train [of death] – in connection with which case I was arrested. That man wrote about Sahib Siri Guru Gobind Singh Ji in his newspapers that the Tenth King<sup>13</sup> lived as a prince and was fun-loving. About the deceased Giani Gurdial Singh Ji Ajnoha, *Jathedar*, Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, he said that he was a traitor to the country and that his passport for travel abroad should be canceled. [He also wrote] about Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, that he was a traitor to the country and that his passport should be canceled. Lala Jagat Narain wrote this in his newspapers. The Hindu Shiv Sena Samiti was set up; Hindu Shiv Samiti has been set up; Hindu Suraksha Samiti has been set up; there is a Hindu Jan Sanghathan Samiti. I have already mentioned Dhirendra Brahmchari and other Hindus. Can any Sikh in the country, regardless of his affiliation, send me the proof in writing, if even one Hindu, living in India or abroad, has boycotted these Hindus or those who do the things these people do in the Hindu-ruled country? I do not understand this. Many of the Sikhs living abroad have sympathy for us but there are those who have been misled by our Akali brothers who have been going from here to visit them. For those misled Sikhs, in order to remove their doubts, I shall certainly ask them to do me this favor. It would be very nice if they tell me. If not, they can just listen and get rid of their doubts. Has any Hindu boycotted the Shiv Sena Samiti, the Hindu Suraksha Samiti, the Hindu Jan Sanghathan Samiti, Dhirendra Brahmchari, Lala Jagat Narain and the like, Kewal Krishan who said that all Sikh organizations will be finished, Harbans Lal Khanna who said:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni,  
kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*

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<sup>12</sup> *Parkarma* is the marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.

<sup>13</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not going to let a turban remain on any head; the shorts, the iron bangle, the sword, send these to Pakistan?'

No Hindu has boycotted people who say all these things.

However, we are together. I am not saying this myself because people are jealous and are saying that I am in league with the Congress<sup>14</sup>, I shall talk about that later on. I request you to try to give me a proof for the first question, I shall be grateful. If any of our Sikh brothers declares that he has set up Dal Khalsa, our dear people of the Akali Dal give a statement that they have no connection with it. If somebody raises the slogan of Khalistan, the Akali Dal says they have no connection with it. If somebody hijacks a plane, they have no connection with it. I am saying this for the Akali Dal. This is their philosophy. If somebody gets on a motorcycle, they say "we have nothing to do with it". If somebody avenges the death of the martyrs they say "we have nothing to do with it". And as far as I am concerned, my mission is to administer *amrit*<sup>15</sup>; to explain the meanings of *Gurbani* and to teach *Gurbani* to those around me; to myself read as much as I can - I read and Satguru in his mercy gets me to read - I cannot say how much I read; [to tell people] that a Hindu should be a true Hindu, a Muslim should be a true Muslim, and a Sikh should be a true Sikh; to get all brothers to give up intoxicants; to seek justice and urge others to seek justice for the dishonor of our sisters, for the burning of texts<sup>16</sup>, and for the disrespect shown to our religious places, for the blood of innocent people that has been shed. This is my mission and the Akali Dal has boycotted people who do these things, as well. You must have read in the newspapers the statement on behalf of the Dictator<sup>17</sup> that he completely disagrees with Bhindranwale. You must have read this too that they have appealed to the Shromani Committee<sup>18</sup> that Bhindranwala should not be allowed to speak from Manji Sahib Diwan Hall. I have no complaint against all these things. Let any Sikh in Hindostan or living abroad prove that I have, over the last 19 months, given any statement against any Akali leader or Akali worker. You, Sikhs living in foreign countries, should tell me who do they [the Akalis] love? No Hindu boycotts any other Hindu. If the Sikhs, in the form of the Shromani Akali Dal, keep on boycotting Sikhs, you Sikhs living in foreign countries should tell me how can we say we Sikhs are free? And whom do we love and cherish? I ask

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<sup>14</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>15</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>16</sup> Texts of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>17</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha*. *Dharam Yudh* is religious struggle. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. This was the name given to the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>18</sup> The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

this of Sikhs in humility; if any dear person can answer please let me know. This is what is being preached about me. You have been listening to the propaganda yourselves; that I have joined the Congress. In this connection, I ask the Sikhs. During this struggle, under Congress rule, all my [arms] licenses have been canceled and those of Gurcharan Singh, Secretary of the Shromani Akali Dal have been issued. Let the congregation decide. I am not going to call anyone a congressite nor have I so far said that about any akali. My licenses are canceled and Umranangal<sup>19</sup> has been issued a license for a carbine this year. Let the congregation decide.

My being arrested; the books of Satguru, the True King<sup>20</sup>, being set on fire; both the busses being burnt; eighteen *Singhs* becoming martyrs [on 9/20/1981]; Sikhs being beaten up and their houses being burnt down; students being hung upside down; in spite of all these happenings, have failed to rouse the sense of honor of our people - those who call me a congressite. I ask you with great affection, didn't all of our thirty-six M.L.A.'s eat dinner at Darbara's<sup>21</sup> home in Chandigarh? You, the congregation here, can write letters to them and ask them or call them and ask them. I shall tell you the day: it was the day when votes were cast for Giani Zail Singh's becoming President [of India]. That day, there was not one of our brothers who did not go and eat at the Chief Minister's home. Isn't he the murderer<sup>22</sup> of Siri Guru Granth Sahib? If our brothers say they haven't eaten the dinner, ask them how many of them did not. They should decide among themselves and tell you. The S.S.P.<sup>23</sup> Bains, who is now posted at Sangrur, is definitely the murderer of Kulwant Singh of Nagoke. He is the one who pierced Kulwant Singh's body with heated steel rods, burnt his forehead, broke his fingers joint by joint, and broke his leg. I performed the last rites for Kulwant Singh myself, Tohra was with me too. Ask him: wasn't this the condition of Kulwant Singh? During this struggle, hasn't that murderer of Kulwant Singh of Nagoke had tea with the Dictator in Samundri Hall? Did he not, on the occasion of the *gurpurb*<sup>24</sup> of the advent of Siri Guru Ram Das Ji the True King, standing near the shoe depository, getting

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<sup>19</sup> Jiwan Singh Umranangal was an Akali leader. He was a minister in the Punjab Government and present in Amritsar on 13 April 1978 when a group of one hundred Sikhs protesting the Nirankari meeting were fired upon by the Nirankaris resulting in thirteen of them being killed. Umranangal sought Nirankari help in SGPC elections against Bhindranwale's candidate.

<sup>20</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>21</sup> Chief Minister Darbara Singh's.

<sup>22</sup> Responsible for setting fire to Siri Guru Granth Sahib at Chando-Kalan.

<sup>23</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

<sup>24</sup> *Gurpurb* is any celebration associated with some event in the Gurus' lives.

in front of the palanquin, have his picture taken while embracing Harbans Lal Khanna who said:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni,  
kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*

'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not going to let a turban remain on any head; the shorts, the iron bangle, the sword, send these to Pakistan?'

Now, the congregation can decide as to who I am. I am not going to call any of my akali brothers a congressite. As to who I am, the congregation should decide. I have told you as to what I do and also what they do. If I am wrong in the least in what I told you, I am ready to have my head cut off and present it to you. If they burn my busses, I am a congressite; if my licenses are canceled, I am a congressite; if my associates are killed, I am a congressite; If *Singhs* are tortured I am a congressite; If our *Singhs* suffer [property] losses I am a congressite; if students working with me are hung upside down I am still a congressite. They get licenses and they are akalis; if murderers come and have tea with them they are akalis; if they embrace murderers they are akalis; if all of them go and eat dinner at the homes of members of the Congress party, they are akalis. I am sitting here at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib and giving this interview, getting it tape-recorded. I am prepared to say this with full conviction that over the last eight years - it is the eighth year since I first wore this turban<sup>25</sup> - if anyone has seen me or caught me even drinking a glass of water at the home of any congress M.L.A., any akali M.L.A., any communist M.L.A., any socialist M.L.A. I am ready to have my head chopped off. Of course, I have eaten at the homes of the congregation whether they were congressites or akalis because whosoever comes to me I administer *amrit* to them and to unite them with the Guru<sup>26</sup>. This is my mission. So, the Guru's congregation has to decide for itself. [Let me speak] about other signs of slavery.

Bhai Jagir Singh of Chupkiti village, Tehsil Moga, District Faridkot is a *granthi*<sup>27</sup>. Born in the home of poor Sikhs, he has been educated at the *Jatha*<sup>28</sup>. He was caught hold of. He was asked: "Do extremists visit your home?" He replied: "If there are any with me catch them." No one was found in his home. A Hindu policeman, his name is Shyam Sunder, taking other Hindu policemen with him, sprinkled tobacco in his [Jagir Singh's] mouth. They spat in his mouth. His *kirpaan* was removed. These are manifest signs of slavery. Has any

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<sup>25</sup> Was entrusted with the leadership of the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>26</sup> Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>27</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>28</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.



Sikh, over the last thirty-six years, ever seen cow's bones being inserted in any Hindu's mouth in Hindostan? How can one be treated worse than this? What is going on now? On the 8th a program was announced on behalf of the *Panth*<sup>29</sup>. The movement involving a strike ended peacefully. There were no incidents anywhere. On the 14th, the Hindu Suraksha Samiti gave a call for a general strike in connection with Pawan Kumar. In that, a picture of Siri Guru Ram Das Ji, the True King, was cut up; the model of Harmandar Sahib that had been installed at the railway station was destroyed; shops owned by Sikhs were set on fire; from the 14th until today. Isn't it the 21st today?

**The Interviewer:** Twenty-second.

**Sant Bhindranwale:** [Until today], the twenty-second, the way Sikhs in Haryana have been treated is little known to you Sikhs living far away. Some Sikhs have come to me here. I shall give you the names of some of them too. They shaved off the beard and the hair of Bhai Bakhshish Singh of village Muradpur, Circle Tarn Taran, Secretary for preaching of the Shromani Akali Dal, of about the same age as this elderly man sitting with me and sent him to me here. The entire congregation has seen it with their own eyes. He is from village Muradpur, Circle Tarn Taran, and is Secretary for preaching of the Shromani Akali Dal. There is a village Kalha near Tarn Taran. A person there had his beard singed and his hair was cut off with scissors. Bhai Bakhshish Singh was shaved off except for a *bodi*<sup>30</sup>. Bakhshish Singh has told me that they took some *Singhs* to a pond. They were thrown in the pond and three Hindus stood on each of them until they drowned. The *Jathedar* from Kaithal came to me. He has gone back only this morning, the 22nd. He came here on the night of the 21st. There are two gurdwaras at that place built by Baba Harbans Singh Ji of *Kar Seva*<sup>31</sup>. There was also a *Samadh*<sup>32</sup> in the memory of the martyrs. *Singhs* from villages took care of the gurdwaras but the city Sikhs showed some weakness. On the 19th or the 20th two copies of Sahib Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji were taken from that *Samadh*, and set on fire in view of the public in the large square in Kaithal, with the assistance of the police. Now you Sikhs have to see if you are willing to accept slavery. I won't be able to. I shall go on with whatever strength the Guru, in his mercy, gives me. I shall certainly seek justice for this if God gives me the strength. Those policemen who have drunk the blood of the martyrs, those who have dishonored our sisters, those who have raped the daughters of Sikhs, those who have killed innocent people; if Guru Sahib has mercy - against some of them, sons of the Guru have already

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<sup>29</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>30</sup> *Bodi* is a tuft of hair left in place when the rest of the head is shorn clean.

<sup>31</sup> *Kar Seva* is voluntary labor at gurdwaras.

<sup>32</sup> *Samadh* is a structure built in memory of a deceased person or persons.

avenged it but for those that remain, if Guru Sahib has mercy - I shall do it. I shall pay whatever price I may have to. I shall not attack an innocent person but I shall not be able to be soft towards a murderer of the martyrs. Let the congregation take note of this and the Government can too.

I have learnt from some friends - Mand Sahib is sitting with me and I have many times discussed with him in a congenial manner - that a lot of propaganda is being carried out abroad in my name to create hatred in peoples' minds. I have had this discussion tape-recorded here on television. Now you can listen to it. I shall not say what I am. If you wish me to tell you in my own words, I shall only say:

ਹਮ ਨਹੀਂ ਚੰਗੇ ਬੁਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੋਈ॥

'I am not good and no one is bad.' There is no worse rogue than me and there is no one better than the Guru's congregation. Whatever has to be done regarding who I am has to be done by you. I am a worthless puppet made of dirt and full of filth. However, I do wish to ask the Sikhs living abroad. Has any Sikh, man, woman or child, ever read in any newspaper that I have opened a martyrs' fund? If they have any proof of this they should come out with it. Pictures appear in newspapers of a martyrs' fund in the name of the Shromani Akali Dal. Let any Sikh in Hindostan or living in another country tell me if he has seen any martyrs' fund opened in my name. There is prosecution going on against three hundred *Singhs*. I have only two and one-half acres of land that too has been created by *Singhs* by digging up graveyards. They plant onions and things there. The congregation at Mehta took these onions [to meet their needs] for two months. There are cases against three hundred *Singhs*. It is not three hundred cases but cases against three hundred *Singhs*. Some of these dear persons have up to twenty-one cases against each of them. Many of them have five, seven, twelve or thirteen. I shall be beholden to the Sikhs living abroad if they can prove that the Shromani Akali Dal and the Shromani Committee are helping twenty-five of them. Tell me who is fighting the cases against 275 *Singhs*? I am not saying that I am doing it. Only the Guru knows or those against whom the cases have been registered. You can ask them. Sikhs within the country have asked me many times. Not one or two of them but I have hundreds of examples. They ask me: "Sant Ji, we wish to help the martyrs and the families of martyrs. How can we do it?" Brothers, this is your duty not mine. I shall tell you three ways. You can adopt whichever you like best. The foremost way of helping the martyrs is that if the congregations in foreign countries collect some money, bring it yourselves. From here I shall give you a car and my driver. He shall take you to the homes of the martyrs. You can give them yourselves whatever you consider appropriate. The second alternative, if you cannot adopt the first, is that I can give you the addresses of all the martyrs. You can take these and directly send help to the martyrs, not through intermediaries. The third alternative is that if you can trust the *Jatha* and you

voluntarily wish to send the moneys to the *Jatha* - I do not ask you for any money - you may send it. I do not ask for it. I am a beggar but only of Guru Granth Sahib and collectively of the congregation. However, if any rich man or prince asks me to salute him and he would give me a hundred thousand rupees, I shall get shoe-beaten but not salute him. As for the congregation, I shall even present my head at the feet of the congregation. The decision now is with you or with Guru's congregation.

On my own behalf and on behalf of the *Jatha*, I am thankful to the Sikhs living abroad. You have helped us financially as well as physically by sending *Jathas* from Canada, England, and America to participate in this struggle of the *Panth*. I am very grateful to you.

I also appeal to you that *kirpaan* is the answer to the scissors and the razors. Sikhs should let it be inscribed in their minds. Regarding the propaganda being carried on that Sikhs are a part of the Hindus, I am totally opposed to it whether any Sikh is with me on it or not. The root is Sikh. The rest are the trunk, the branches and the leaves. How is the Sikh the root? There are 330 million gods, 90 million goddesses, 125,000 Messiahs, eighty-four *Siddhs*<sup>33</sup>, fifty-two *Pirs*<sup>34</sup>, six *Jatis*<sup>35</sup>, nine *Naths*<sup>36</sup>, forty-five demons and ten Guru Sahibs. Let any man tell me if in any history book it is written that any of them had his hair cut. All had hair. The basic mark of a Sikh is his hair and beard. The mark of a Hindu is his cap, his *choti* and *kakhai dhoti*. He should be wearing twelve *tilaks*, on his forehead, nose, chin, chest armpits, cheeks, ears, neck and head, should wear a *janeoo* of nine threads, should take *charanamrit*<sup>37</sup> of *Shiv-Ling*, and be a reader of *Geeta*. If such a person does not smoke tobacco, I consider such a Hindu to be my brother. This is Hindu according to Hindu religious texts not otherwise. Hindu is an Arabic word. In Arabic, a thief is called a Hindu. It is up to them [to call themselves Hindu]. In the four Vedas, eighteen Puraans, six Shastras, twenty-seven Smritis, fifty-two Upanishads, and nine Vyakarans - some people have recognized eleven too but nine is the prevalent belief - there is no mention of the word Hindu. You will find the words Brahman, Brahm and Brahma. However, no Hindu of Hindostan says he is a Brahman. They all call themselves Hindu. Let them call themselves Hindu if they wish to but they should tell me this, give us proof of this.

Muslim should be a true Muslim. A Muslim is made with the scissors and a Hindu too. If we remain just as we were born from our mothers, all would be

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<sup>33</sup> A *siddh*, among the Hindus, is a person who possesses miraculous powers.

<sup>34</sup> A *Pir* means a religious leader; here a Muslim holy man.

<sup>35</sup> A *Jati* is a person who has controlled his/her sexual desires.

<sup>36</sup> *Naths* are a class of *yogis*.

<sup>37</sup> *Charanamrit* is washwater from the foot.

addressed as Sardar Ji. No one will be addressed as Chhalli Ram, Mohammed Ali or Ghulam Ali. Thus, according to laws of nature, according to the fundamental Power, all are Sikhs. Later on, they are changed. The scissors and the razor are symbolic of doubt and communalism. The *kirpaan* is symbolic of unity. I shall present you with these essentials. If we shave off the head and face with the scissors, one appears to be a Hindu. If with the scissors, we circumcise someone, it makes him a Muslim. If we do not use the scissors and the razor and leave a person as born, he is a Sikh. If he wears a *kirpaan* in a *gaatra*<sup>38</sup>, he becomes a *Singh*. The hair cut off with the scissors and the razor go into the drain of the barber but with the *kirpaan* heads of persons from five different classes were cut off, brought near the *baataa*<sup>39</sup> containing *amrit*, and having been given *amrit* not only did they become the form of the Guru himself but the master of the Guru. In the words of the Guru:

ਰਹਿਣੀ ਰਹੈ ਸੋਈ ਸਿਖ ਮੇਰਾ। ਓਹੁ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਮੈ ਉਸ ਕਾ ਚੇਰਾ।

'One who lives according to the code of conduct alone is my Sikh. He is the master and I his disciple.' Thus, *kirpaan* is the symbol of unity. Scissors and razor are symbolic of vacillation and communalism. Whether they are Christians or Anglicans, present them this central idea that if they remained as nature created them what would people call them? Everyone will have to say that they will be called *Sardar*. Then how can they say that Sikhs have come out of the Hindus? Now you should give an answer to this. Have Sikhs come out of Hindus or have Hindus been taken out of Sikhs by means of scissors and razor. Prove this. Sikhs are a separate nation, certainly they are. There are innumerable proofs for this. First, Bhai Gurdas Ji's words are:

ਸਬਦਿ ਜਿਤੀ ਸਿਧਿ ਮੰਡਲੀ ਕੀਤੋਸੁ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੰਥੁ ਨਿਰਾਲਾ।

'The Guru won the Assembly of *Siddhs*<sup>40</sup> and created his distinct way.' You know well the meanings of the word *Panth*. *Niraala* means separate. Then,

ਮਾਰਿਆ ਸਿਕਾ ਜਗਤਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਠਾਠਕ ਨਿਰਮਲ ਪੰਥੁ ਚਲਾਇਆ।

'Nanak promulgated [the rule of God's Will] throughout the world and started the unsullied<sup>41</sup> *Panth*.' This is why Sikhs are a separate nation. According to the words of The Tenth King, our Father:

<sup>38</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>39</sup> *Baataa* is an iron vessel used for preparation of *amrit* in the initiation ceremony.

<sup>40</sup> Reference is to Siri Guru Nanak Sahib's discussion with some yogis.

<sup>41</sup> Unsullied by the dirt of *Maya*.

ਜਬ ਲਗ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਰਹੈ ਨਿਆਰਾ॥ ਤਬ ਲਗ ਤੇਜ ਦੀਉ ਮੈਂ ਸਾਰਾ॥  
ਜਬ ਇਹ ਗਹੈ ਬਿਪਰਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਤ॥ ਮੈ ਨ ਕਰੋ ਇਨ ਕੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ॥

'So long as the Khalsa remains distinct, I shall give it all the glory. When it adopts the ways of the Brahmins, I shall not recognize it.' *Bipran* is the word for Pundits.

ਜਬ ਇਹ ਗਹੈ ਬਿਪਰਨ ਕੀ ਰੀਤ॥ ਮੈ ਨ ਕਰੋ ਇਨ ਕੀ ਪ੍ਰੀਤ॥

'When they adopt the ways of the Brahmins, I shall not recognize them.' The Tenth King, our Father, was creating the *Baani* of the Tenth [Guru]. A Pundit came along and insisted: "You are Hindus." *Maharaj*<sup>42</sup> said: "Dear fellow, go away. You have had your meal that you needed, now go." He did not agree. Finally, *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>43</sup> answered him:

ਛਤ੍ਰੀ ਕੇ ਪੁਤ ਹੋ ਬਾਮਨ ਕੇ ਨਹਿ

'I am the son of a *Kshatri*, not of a Brahmin.' I am not a boy of the Pundits, the Brahmins. I am the son of a *Kshatri*. *Kshatri* is the name for one who bears arms. For this reason Sikhs are a distinct nation. Because of its religious texts, its *Isht*, it is a separate nation. The Geeta has eighteen chapters, the Qura'n has thirty sections. Show me if there is anything written in any of the thirty sections of the Qura'n for the Hindu to attain to *suvarag*<sup>44</sup>. Show me if anything is written for a Muslim attaining to *bahisht*<sup>45</sup> in the eighteen chapters of the Geeta. In *Sahib Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji*, all have been given a place. From among the weavers, *Kabir Ji* is seated therein; from the cobblers, *Ravidas Ji* is seated; of the potters, *Beni Ji* is seated; of the Jats, *Dhanna Ji* is seated; of the Brahmins, *Jaidev Ji* is seated; of the butchers, *Sadhna Ji* is seated; of the barbers, *Sain Ji* is seated; of the Balmikis whom they call Harijans, *Balmik Ji* himself is seated. Tell me which is the class that did not find a place here? This is why *Kabir Ji* has said:

ਜਿਹ ਦਰ ਆਵਤ ਜਾਤਿਅਹੁ ਹਟਕੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਕੋਇ॥ ਸੋ ਦਰੁ ਕੈਸੇ ਛੋਡੀਐ ਜੋ ਦਰੁ ਐਸਾ ਹੋਇ॥ ੬੬॥

'Kabir, how can one give up the door where nobody stops one from going in or out.' For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation. No mosque has four doors. No temple has four doors. However, you go to any gurdwara, you will find four doors. *Harmandar Sahib*, where we are sitting at this time, has four doors. The four doors have great significance.

<sup>42</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to *Siri Guru Granth Sahib* or any of the other Gurus, here *Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib*.

<sup>43</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. *Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib* is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>44</sup> The Hindu concept of heaven.

<sup>45</sup> The Islamic concept of heaven.

'The teaching is common to all the four classes viz., the Brahmin, the Kshatri, the Vaish and the Shudra.' For all these four classes the four doors are open. Shia, Sunni, Rafsi and Imamsafi are the four major classes among Muslims. For all the four, the four doors are open. Whether someone comes from the East, the West, the South, or from the mountains [North], for all the four the four doors are open. Kshatri, Brahmin, Shudra and Vaish, for all the four the four doors are open. Whether someone is from high, medium, lower are lowest class, for all the four the four doors are open. The word *Vaheguru* is made up of four parts. Anyone who believes in any of the parts, the four doors are open to him. There are those who believe that renunciation, six types of wealth, desire for liberation are among the four ways of life. If the follower or master of any of these comes along the four doors are open to him. For a child, young, middle-aged, or old person the four doors are open. Tell me if there is any discrimination here? For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation. You are Sikhs living in foreign countries. Do people line up for free food at any mosque or temple? If ever you will get free food, it will be at the gurdwaras. The congregation eating together is symbolic of unity and is the way taught by the Guru. For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation. The wife of a Hindu cannot keep a *choti*<sup>46</sup> which we also call *bodi*. The wife of a Hindu cannot wear a cap. The wife of a Hindu cannot wear the *kakhai dhoti*. The wife of a Hindu cannot wear the *janeoo*. The wife of a Hindu does not have the right to wear the twelve saffron marks. The wife of a Muslim cannot be circumcised, cannot make the pilgrimage to Mecca, cannot say the *Namaaz*<sup>47</sup> in a mosque. If she is allowed to pray in a mosque, it has to be from behind a veil, not in front of the congregation. I have a question. There is some teacher. Two children come to study with him. One, the teacher gets to sit with him and teaches him and he tells the other not to face him even though she is registered as present. However, she has not been taught a single word. Which of the two is going to pass [the test]? Will the one who has been taught pass [the test] or will it be the one whom he never saw? In the religion where a woman cannot worship God, cannot wear the symbols of the Faith, how will the woman be saved? The man might somehow go to *bahisht* or *suvarag*, the woman will be lost in hell. For this reason too Sikhs are a separate nation because if the man receives *amrit* of *khandaa* and *baataa* and he is married, the wife will receive the same *amrit*. If at the time of administering *amrit*, the Five Beloved Ones<sup>48</sup> have said to the man:

ਬੋਲ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ॥

<sup>46</sup> *Choti* is a tuft of hair left in place when the rest of the head is shorn clean.

<sup>47</sup> *Namaaz* is the Muslim prayer.

<sup>48</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith.

'Say, the Khalsa belongs to God, victory is God's.' It is not that the woman will be given some other slogan to shout. The woman too will be asked to shout the same slogan. She will say the same even though nowadays our educated sisters and mothers question this and wish to prove there is discrimination. They ask: "Sant Ji, tell us if, in *Gurmat*, the way is the same for all and for all people the same treasure, common wealth, has been bestowed, then why are women not allowed to serve among the Five Beloved Ones; why is *parshad*<sup>49</sup> not given to five women?" These are questions asked by atheists. Sikh girls who have faith do not raise such issues. Such questions arise among some educated people. *Khalsa Ji*, the answer to these is that there is no discrimination. When, in 1756 Bikrami corresponding to 1699 C.E., on the day of *Vaisaakhi*<sup>50</sup>, in Anandpur Sahib at Kesgarh, Guru Sahib, the Support of the poor, drew his sword and challenged [the congregation], let anybody show me if in any history book it is written that *Kalgidhar Ji* said whether he needed the head of a man or that of a woman. He never said this. Guru Sahib said that he needed a head. If at that time any of our mothers or sisters had offered her head she would have joined the Five Beloved Ones. This is why women are not included in the Five Beloved Ones. This is because men had their heads cut off by the sword, no woman did. This is why men have the right to serve among the Five Beloved Ones and not women. However, if in distribution of *parshad* there is discrimination against any woman or in serving through *kirtan* or in other program of *Gurmat*, let that woman point it out. Some of our brothers are also preparing drafts for equality. They have not yet been implemented. Sikhs living abroad should remain alert to this [mischief] and you need to correct if someone tries to do this. Some people have initiated efforts that [during marriage] for two rounds the *Singh* should be in front of the woman and for the other two the woman should be ahead and the *Singh* should follow her. They say we want to create equality and the lady must not be following the *Singh* through all the four circumambulations. No, Brothers, we have to follow the program given by *Gurmat*. *Gurbani* tells us:

ਹਭੇ ਸਾਕ ਕੁੜਾਵੇ ਤਿਠੇ ਤਉ ਪਲੈ ਤੈਠੈ ਲਾਗੀ॥

'I found all relationships to be false. It was then that I joined You [God].' These words are in way of appeal by a woman to her husband. If the husband is behind and the woman is in front, whose composition would be when you read:

ਹਭੇ ਸਾਕ ਕੁੜਾਵੇ ਤਿਠੇ ਤਉ ਪਲੈ ਤੈਠੈ ਲਾਗੀ॥

<sup>49</sup> *Parshad* is the same as *Karah Parshad* - a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, - distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>50</sup> *Vaisaakhi* is the first day of the month of *Vaisaakh*, in the Bikrami Calendar.

'I found all relationships to be false. It was then that I joined<sup>51</sup> You [God].' This is nowhere in *Gurbani*. For this reason, we have to beware of those who wish to follow their own logic. Some persons even say that the ladies should be given *amrit* of the *kirpaan* and the men of the *khandaa*. This is totally wrong. In *Gurmat* the *amrit* is of the *khandaa*. At some places people have introduced their own practices but this is self-will and not *Gur Maryada*<sup>52</sup>. If you read you will find this written:

ਪੀਵਹੁ ਪਾਹੁਲ ਖੰਡੇਪਾਰ ਹੁਇ ਜਨਮ ਸੁਹੇਲਾ। ਵਹ ਵਹ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ਆਪੇ ਗੁਰੁ ਚੇਲਾ॥

'Partake of the *pahul*<sup>53</sup> of the *khandaa*, you live will be full of joy. Wonderful, Wonderful is Gobind Singh, himself the Guru and the disciple.' You will not find anywhere 'drink the *pahul* of the *kirpaan*'. I asked one such person as to why he said this. He replied that *kirpaan* is feminine gender and so are ladies. For this reason ladies should get *amrit* of the *kirpaan*. No, *Khalsa Ji*, this is wrong and we have to be wary of this. If we get into this feminine and masculine gender discussion, the *baataa* is masculine and so are the *khandaa*, the *amrit*, men, and *Fateh*. This might fit all right but when we give five handfuls [of *pahul*] to the ladies we shall have to say:

ਬੋਲ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਖਾਲਸੀ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤੀਹ॥

because we have to use the feminine gender throughout. This is not the slogan. It is willfulness and Sikhs have to be wary of this. The ladies have to be administered *amrit* of the *khandaa* and so to the *Singhs* as well. This is my appeal to all the Sikhs who are living in foreign countries. Stay upbeat. I have told you about the principle signs of slavery. I feel like telling you in greater detail but because of the pain in my ear I cannot go into details. Let all the congregations take this message from me. Maintain complete appearance with turban on your heads. Follow the Sikh principles and carefully remember the discussion I presented regarding the scissors and the razor.

There is mention of breakups. There is another program about which I like to ask the Sikhs, about this *Shantmai*<sup>54</sup> that is going on. Let the most learned man among you show me if these four syllables occur anywhere together in Siri Guru Granth Sahib. The word ਸਾਂਤਿ [peace, quiet, bliss] does occur but let anyone show me *Shantmai*. Leaving aside the history of the Akali Dal, let any Sikh show me two successive generations of *Shantmai* and I shall accept any punishment. The Akali Dal history is in the fourteenth generation. Sant

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<sup>51</sup> Here the verb form is masculine in contrast to the feminine form used in the earlier quote from Siri Guru Granth Sahib

<sup>52</sup> *Gur Maryada* is any practice introduced by the Gurus.

<sup>53</sup> *Pahul* is the sweetened water used at formal initiation into the Sikh faith.

<sup>54</sup> *Shantmai* means peacefulness.



Harchand Singh Longowal is the fourteenth President of the Akali Dal and I, your servant, am the fourteenth after Baba Deep Singh Ji Shaheed. [We match] generation for generation. You can judge for yourselves. I am being called a congressite. They call me so because if I preach the message that I have recorded earlier they say it is too strong. Let the congregation itself answer them. Sahib Guru Arjan Dev Ji, the Embodiment of Light, the Supreme Martyr, the True King, carried on a peaceful struggle and sacrificed his life. The Sixth King<sup>55</sup> avenged it; he put a rope through Chandu's nose. Are we wiser than the Sixth King? Did the Sixth King run out of peacefulness? No, he avenged the wrong that was done; he taught the Sikhs to avenge the wrong. During the time of the Seventh and the Eighth Kings, there were no struggles. There was only propagation of the Faith. Satguru preached and so delivered Sikhs from bondage [of Maya], bestowed largesse upon them, saved the poor. In the Ninth Form, it was time for struggle. He gave his life in a peaceful struggle. The Tenth king avenged it. The younger *Sahibzadas*<sup>56</sup> became martyrs in the walls of Sirhind maintaining peacefulness. In the same generation a Sikh avenged it. I use the word 'same generation' because the *Sahibzadas* are brothers of the Sikhs. The Sikhs are Guru's sons and so were the *Sahibzadas*. This is why I used the word 'same generation'. Did Banda Singh Bahaadar not take out Jani Khan and Mani Khan, who had arrested the *Sahibzadas* and taken them [to Sirhind], out of Morinda Police Station and burn them? Didn't he ride his horse over Wazira's chest and avenged it in the same generation? Baba Mani Singh Ji was cut joint by joint and, in the following generation, his nephew Uggar Singh Ji cut off the head of his executioner. Bhai Taru Singh had his scalp removed. He followed the peaceful way. In the same generation, Khan Bahaadar Zakariya was killed by Sikhs after being shoe-beaten for twenty-two days. Lakhpat and Jaspal wished to destroy the peaceful Sikhs. In the same generation, in the same period of time, did Bhai Nibhaoo Singh, Guru's Sikh who belonged to the classes that are called backward, not take revenge by climbing over the elephant and cutting off his [Jaspal's] head? In the same manner Abdali wished to hurt the peaceful Sikhs. Baba Deep Singh Ji, at seventy-five years of age, taking the *khandaa* in his hand and placing his head on the palm of his hand, preserved the sanctity of Harmandar Sahib; he avenged the wrong. We were peaceful in '78. Thirteen of our *Singhs* became martyrs; seventy-eight were injured. In '80 Guru Kalgidhar Ji had mercy. The Sikhs made an effort. Gurbachna was put on the train [of death]. Let any Sikh in India tell me if any *Bhavans*<sup>57</sup> are being built in Punjab. Again this peaceful struggle was started. The police started killing *Singhs*. The Guru had mercy on some son of the Guru. Motorcycles started to ply. Does any policeman fire a shot at any Sikh now? Let any Sikh of Hindostan or from abroad tell me if he has ever read any

<sup>55</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>56</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two youngest sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>57</sup> Nirankari places of worship.

news given by me for the last four months. Neither have I given any statement nor have I spoken from the stage of the Akali Dal. What is the reason for this? There is only one reason, that is, Talib Singh Sandhu President Ludhiana District Akali Dal, Sucha Singh Chhotepur President Gurdaspur District Akali Dal, Hari Singh Zira President Ferozepur District Akali Dal, and Jaswant Singh President Bathinda Akali Dal, stated in the *Ajit* daily of 6 September [1983] that Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi and Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwala are agents of the Congress and are traitors to the [Sikh] Nation. Because of what they have been saying I have become silent. All we are doing is to get those among the congregation who have cut their beards and hair to keep them, to give up intoxicants. For three or four months, motorcycles have been stopped and also my exhortations. What has happened in Haryana after that is obvious to you. Now you, the congregation, have to decide for yourselves. I am merely your watchman, of the congregation. I am not your leader nor am I your *Sant*. I am only a dog and a watchman at the door of the Guru's congregation. Whatever service you like to get from me, in serving you and in preaching, you are welcome to take. If you do not need it then don't take it. May Satguru have mercy. I have only one request of you. That is only this that you pray at the feet of *Kalgiidhar Ji* that what our Father asked of God is precisely what I wish. In the words of our Father:

ਜਬ ਆਵ ਕੀ ਅਉਧ ਨਿਦਾਨ ਬਨੈ ਅਤ ਹੀ ਰਣ ਮੈ ਤਬ ਜੁਝ ਮਰੋ॥

'When death is certain, may I die fighting in the thick of battle.' I do not wish to breathe my last on a cot or on a sofa set. May Satguru have mercy, may my life be spent for the sake of the Faith, for the *Panth*, for glory of the Sikhs, for our religious places. I certainly wish to remove the doubts that are being planted. I have previously made this pledge at many places but I have to do it especially today because you have the television here and you can hear it on that. It is being said that Bhindranwala is desirous of a chair<sup>58</sup>. If, in my life - I am speaking for myself, not for *Singhs* of the *Jatha* - I ever become President of the Shromani Akali Dal, President of the Shromani Committee, M.L.A., M.P.<sup>59</sup> or Minister [in the cabinet], I shall accept whatever punishment Guru's congregation chooses to give me. My only duty is to preach and I shall keep on doing it. Of course, it is another matter that, if Guru has mercy, through strength given me by the Guru, I might get somebody to become a President or a Minister; but I shall never myself become one. Let the Guru's congregation have faith in this.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

<sup>58</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>59</sup> Member of Parliament.

[The first part of the interview apparently ended here but there is further recording of some conversation as follows].

**Sant Bhindranwale:** Regarding the *Morcha* that is going on, on 17 July 1982 the police stopped a jeep in which three *Singhs* of our *Jatha* were traveling to Mehta<sup>60</sup>. Bhai Amrik Singh Ji and Baba Thara Singh Ji went to get that jeep released. The police arrested them too on 19th July. On that day I reached this place and, seeking shelter and support of the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>61</sup>, prayed: "O True King, if I am starting this struggle in the name of the Faith, the *Panth* and the Nation, give me success but if I am doing this merely for my own fame, I should be unsuccessful. Guru Hargobind Sahib, the decision for this is in your hands." The *Morcha* was started in two and one-half hours. I reached here at half past two and by five o'clock the first *Jatha* had been sent. The *Morcha* was started on 19 July even though some brothers say that it started on 4 August. The truth is that it started purely against high-handedness [of the police]. The Government wanted to kill them [the *Singhs* of the *Jatha*]. At that time the demand was for Amritsar being declared a holy city and withdrawal of false charges against the *Singhs*. On 4 August all got together and jointly proceeded further. Total fulfillment of the Anandpur Resolution, acceptance of Sikhs as a separate nation and the Sikh faith being unique became part of it. In this connection I like to speak to the congregation. I am not going to say much about the responsible people from the Akali Dal, it is between you and them and is your business. However, I say this with complete confidence that this time it is going to be one way or the other. This time we shall not take a sip of orange juice and abandon our quest. Either we shall get the Anandpur Resolution fulfilled in toto or there will be loss of lives. I am here because the program is going on jointly. I do not consider it proper to engage in any criticism or to issue statements. To some extent the newspapers too have placed restrictions. If I do issue a statement that is strong they do not print it. Sikhs should not worry that like previous *Morchas*, sipping juice, going there [to Delhi] and having talks [with the Government], the leaders might become soft. If they do become soft, your servant is here. I am not ready to accept nor will I accept in the future anything less than complete fulfillment of the Anandpur Resolution even if it costs me my life. The congregation should have complete faith in this. It is true there have been three or four meetings but they have not felt the need for me. Neither have they invited me to the meetings nor have I gone to them. You have read the news that Bhindranwala has given some suggestions that people belonging to a certain community should be killed. This is totally false. It is being done solely to give me a bad name. The suggestions I have given have not been given to the newspapers. Because these have been tape-recorded here you will know. I shall tell you what those suggestions were.

<sup>60</sup> Chowk Mehta, headquarters of Sant Bhindranwale.

<sup>61</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

You can tell me if they were right or wrong. First, when twenty-five to thirty thousand *Singhs* had been arrested and their release was secured, I had protested that their release should not have been accepted, that we should wait another week. In spite of my having said this, without consulting with me, their release from jails was accepted. You can figure out whether we gained by that or lost. After that there was a meeting at which they told me that they wished to set up a five-member committee for negotiating [with the Government]. They asked me as to what I thought of it. I boycotted it because I did not think a five-member committee was needed. People from Delhi should come here [to negotiate]. If Indira Gandhi can go over the mountains to meet Sheikh Abdulla in Kashmir for consultation, why is it so hard for her to come to Amritsar over the G.T.<sup>62</sup> road? For this reason, she should come here for talks, there is no need [for the five-member committee]. These brothers set up one anyway. Then they asked my opinion as to whether the Committee should be sent to Delhi. I boycotted that too saying that it should not be sent, that they should come here. Still they kept going there. The consequences of that are before you, the congregation. I shall not say any more than this. I have told you this much as an illustration. When the Asian Games were held, I was called into a meeting. They asked for my opinion. I gave them my opinion and asked if they wished the program to be peaceful or confrontational. They said they wanted it to be peaceful. I told them: "If you wish to have a peaceful protest, I would gather all the *mahatmas*<sup>63</sup> who are my acquaintances and all of you leaders should get together. Let three to four hundred thousand of us get together and march to Delhi. This will answer the challenge that Bhajan Lal has thrown for any Sikh to get to Delhi. Let us sit there surrounding the Parliament. I shall go and all the *sants*, *mahatmas* and *Kar Seva* people will too. You, leaders of the Akali Dal should go as well." You of the congregation can now think for yourselves if that program was good or bad. If so many of us, four hundred thousand, were to go together, would the Government have the courage to fire at us? You, the congregation, be the judge. They answered: "This is difficult." Again I gave the suggestion that we should find some way to stop electricity being sent to them. They did not accept this suggestion either. Then there was discussion about water. It was another matter that I do not wish to discuss here. I gave that suggestion which too they did not accept. After that there was a huge gathering here in Manji Sahib Diwan Hall. At that time I said: "We<sup>64</sup> should hand in our resignations now." A meeting was held at night in which I, Dictator Sahib, Tohra Sahib, Balwant Singh formerly Minister for Finance, and Sukhjinder Singh, five of us, participated. The suggestion was accepted there. Overnight they changed their minds. Next morning there was a meeting in Guru Nanak

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<sup>62</sup> The Grand Trunk road – directly connecting Amritsar with Delhi.

<sup>63</sup> A *mahatma* is a great soul, a holy man.

<sup>64</sup> Reference here is to the elected Sikh members of the Legislature. Sant Bhindranwale is using the first person identifying them with the entire Sikh *Panth*.

Niwas where I was summoned. They told me that they had changed the program decided upon at the previous meeting. I asked them how they wished to proceed. They said: "We have decided against submitting resignations at this time. Instead we are going to *gherao*<sup>65</sup> the Chief Minister." I disapproved this and asked how they were going to accomplish it. They said: "We shall assign duties to the District leaders. They shall *gherao* [the Chief Minister]." I said: "If the Chief Minister sits in his office in Chandigarh continuing his work, will your Jathedar Joginder Singh Sawhney sit there surrounding him for six months?" They said: "It is difficult." I asked them: "Then why have you decided upon this plan of action?" Their reply was: "We had to give some program to the public. This will serve to pass a few days." Upon this I boycotted their plans and came away. This was not given to the newspapers at that time because it would expose these problems within the *Panth*. Today I have recorded it in the tape because they have tried their worst to propagate that Bhindranwala creates trouble. These were the suggestions I gave. Out of these you can tell me which one is bad. There were a few other suggestions too but about those I shall write to you in detail some other time.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**The Interviewer:** *Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**Sant Bhindranwale:** Many ask about Bhai Amrik Singh and Baba Thara Singh as to how wicked they are. Here is their picture. You can see how much like thieves and rogues they are. You can judge for yourselves what they are.

**The Interviewer:** Today, at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, we have listened to Sant Baba Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's views. We are pleased that we came thousands of miles to see him. We have learnt about many of the inside happenings because meeting face to face and learning from the newspaper reports can lead to quite different perceptions. We, Sikhs living abroad, at all times will work with you and pledge ourselves to fulfill our *Panthak*<sup>66</sup> responsibilities in full cooperation with you. The Sikhs living abroad are grateful to you for the role you have played in this struggle. Akali Dal is doing what it wishes to but at the same time people recognize your contribution. Not only in Punjab but also in the international newspapers in New York, over the international television, in magazines, whichever country we have had occasion to visit, we read articles about your leadership. Some persons who came to interview you here did try to inject an element of discrimination in their reports but we wrote strong letters to them.

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<sup>65</sup> *Gherao* of a place means surrounding that place preventing ingress and egress; picketing.

<sup>66</sup> *Panthak* is an adjective means pertaining to the *Panth*; associated with or belonging to the *Panth*.

[The interviewer goes on for several minutes in the same vein. This part has been omitted in the translation].

**Sant Bhindranwale:** My only appeal to the Sikhs living in foreign countries is that they should provide as much help as possible to those *Singhs* who have made sacrifices, to those *Singhs* whom the Government has declared to be fugitives. I have learnt that even though some help has been provided but not in the way some *Singhs* should have been helped. I appeal to all the congregations abroad, in foreign countries, to provide help to Bhai Talwinder Singh who was seized in Germany, so that he can be free. His sacrifice in preaching *Gurmat* and in service of the country is immense. Tarsem Singh has also been caught the same way. The Government has adopted these dirty tactics to finish off the Sikhs and to crush them by filing false charges against them. The Sikhs living abroad have a big role to play in providing protection against these. If you make the effort, you can succeed. I had issued another appeal earlier. I appeal to all the congregations to unite under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>67</sup>; to be attached to Siri Guru Granth Sahib; keep Harmandar Sahib and Siri Akal Takhat Sahib in you minds; and to help in the glory of the *Panth* openly and not surreptitiously worrying that such and such of my relatives might be offended. With all this, let all congregations remember one thing. Be on the guard against anyone who [approaches you] in the name of *Nishaan Sahib*, beating the drum of the *Panth*, and pleading in the name of Siri Guru Granth Sahib and then, in violation of the *Hukamnama*<sup>68</sup>, drinking the blood of the martyrs, calling *Narkdhari*<sup>69</sup> their father, getting their votes, has kept his chair or wishes to keep it in the future. Be wary of such people. You have to recognize such a one. This is your responsibility. If I have ever gone to the home of the *Narkdharis*<sup>70</sup> or got their votes, no one should come to me. However, if you know that I have acted in service of the *Panth*, of the Nation, as your watchdog, then come to me all the time. The decision is in your hands.

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<sup>67</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>68</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris.

<sup>69</sup> Here the reference is to Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru assassinated in 1980.

<sup>70</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

I had to pose a question for you and have done that. Remember that you need to settle scores with anyone who, desirous of public office, drinks the blood of the martyrs and calls the *Narkdhari* his father.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh.*

**SPEECH #40**  
**8 MARCH 1984**

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>1</sup>.

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Assembling here, you have listened to the speakers - Hudiara Sahib<sup>2</sup> and dear *Gurmukh*<sup>3</sup> Bhai Dalbir Singh - in connection with [what is happening at] the present time. The congregation likes to listen to the views. Even though I am not qualified to speak among educated people, accepting orders from educated people I shall try to serve the congregation. If, due to being illiterate, I inadvertently say some thing wrong, please forgive me.

#### THE ANANDPUR RESOLUTION IS BEING DILUTED

There was talk about the Anandpur Resolution. The Anandpur Resolution has by now acquired three or four forms. In these Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv Ji have also been brought in. What are these three? They are the three *Gunas*; *Rajo-gun*, *Tamo-gun*, and *Sato-gun*. There are three states of consciousness; awake, asleep and dreaming. The stages in age are also three; childhood, youth, and old age. But they have taken all of them and made a hotchpotch. About one of them Bhai Sahib has told you by name that it is Bhardwaj's formula. Another has been prepared by Balbir Singh Brar; and a third perhaps is on behalf of the Akali Dal. It is possible that those who have read copies of these are somewhat aware but most of the public doesn't even know as to which are the various versions. Who is responsible for this laxity? What our brother has said is not an exaggeration. But I shall say that, firstly, we should see what the Government is doing to us. Then, regarding what is happening in our own camp, I shall, from time to time, make a couple of observations today.

#### SIKHS ARE SLAVES IN INDIA

First of all, we need to go to the villages and get every man, woman and child, every young person and old to realize that we are slaves in India. When a person realizes, is convinced, that he is living the life of a slave and that he has to shake that slavery off his neck; then he can adopt a certain path. But so long as he sits with eyes closed, he cannot start on his route and cover any distance. To get this realization, it would be appropriate to tell certain things [to people] in the villages as to how the Government is treating us unfairly, how are we slaves, and what are the causes of this slavery. Pardon me and don't take it ill

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<sup>1</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>2</sup> Jathedar Harcharan Singh Hudiara, an Akali leader.

<sup>3</sup> *Gurmukh* is Punjabi for Guru's devotee.



but the fundamental reason for our slavery is the ineptitude of our own leaders. We are still suffering the consequences of the way our leaders let us down in 1947. It is not known how long we shall continue facing them. The Government is going along with the Hindu rulers, hand in hand with them. All the Hindus of Hindostan are united on one platform to crush all Sikhs regardless of whether his beard is cut, whether he is of liberal views or follows *Gurmat*<sup>4</sup>. All the Hindus, from a lowly watchman to the Prime Minister, are saying the same thing. There are many examples of this.

If a Sikh speaks from a stage, a case can be registered against him but if a Hindu speaks there is no case against him. Instead, he is congratulated. Indira Gandhi, the present Prime Minister of Hindostan, stands up on a stage and says: "I ask the Sikhs of Punjab to think about what might happen to Sikhs living in other states." This is a threat. There is no case registered against her. But, in response to that, Bhindranwala says from here in Amritsar: "Dear Lady, if that is what your intention is, then we have also made a count and they are [only] twenty to each of us." A case is registered. Bhattacharya gave a speech in the Parliament. According to Indian law, the Indian Constitution, a statement against only such a person can be made who is present in the House so that he can respond. No one has a right to speak in the Parliament against anyone who is not present. Lala Jagat Narain's [murder] case was going on in Ludhiana. Bhattacharya is sitting in Delhi. Sitting in the Parliament he says that Nachhattar Singh should be hanged. There is no case registered against him. Swami Adityavesh, lives in Haryana and is from the Hindu brotherhood. That man said that all Sikhs in Haryana should pick up their *kaccheras*<sup>5</sup> and towels and go away to Punjab. No case is registered against him. Neither is there any interrogation nor any torture. Hindu Jai Sangh Samiti was set up. It issued a statement that all Sikhs should get out of Rajasthan by 5 December [1983] or there would be serious consequences. A session [of the Parliament] was going on at that time. No one criticized it. No one raised his voice. No one condemned it. I kept quiet for three days hoping some leader would speak up. All had put cotton plugs in their ears. After the third day, I called newspaper representatives and issued a statement that if what the Hindu Jai Sangh wishes is to expel Sikhs from Rajasthan, then I warn the Hindus in Punjab to prepare for the trip to the next world. I issued a statement. They too issued a statement. They issued the statement first and I issued the statement in response. If I speak from a stage, the Parliament gets all fired up but if a Hindu speaks from the stage, they say peace is prevailing. His statements are the same [as mine]. What is the reason for this? It is that he is born in the home of Hindus and we happen to be born in the homes of Sikhs. This is their mean tactic to suppress us. Kewal Krishan, former Finance Minister [*Aside to someone*: Brother, if you

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<sup>4</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

<sup>5</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

have anything bring it forward]. Kewal Krishan, former Finance Minister issued a statement some seven or eight months back in Akali Patrika that all Sikh organizations will be crushed. There was no case registered against him. Harbans Lal Khanna, a resident of this city, issued a statement and he said:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni*

'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not going to let a turban remain on any head.'

and

*Kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*

'The shorts, the iron bangle, the sword; send these to Pakistan.'

No case was registered against him because he is born in a home of the Hindus. Lala Jagat Narain, who has taken the train [of death] and has gone to the next world, wrote in his newspapers about Sahib Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the True King<sup>6</sup>, that Guru Gobind Singh Ji lived like a prince and was fun-loving. No case was registered against him. Lala Jagat Narain stated that Giani Gurdial Singh Ajnoha, at one time *Jathedar* of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, and now deceased, is a traitor to the country and that his passport should be canceled. No case was registered against him. Statements appeared in the Lala's newspapers that the present President of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Gurcharan Singh Ji Tohra, was a traitor to the country and that his passport should be canceled. No case was registered against him. Five hundred guns were seized from Dharendra Brahmchari. He received no punishment. When he has to appear in court, he can travel by plane. There is no torture, no interrogation. A thousand tons of tallow - those of you from Bathinda should listen carefully, it is something that happened in your area - was seized from three Hindus, from their farms. They were granted bail while sitting at home. About fifteen to eighteen months back, 230 grenades were recovered from Pawan Kumar's godown. At first they did nothing. Now that they arrested him, you know whatever happened in Haryana from the 14 [February 1984] onwards was due entirely to Pawan Kumar. What punishment did Pawan Kumar receive? Formerly, he was president of the District Surakhya Samiti. After 230 grenades were recovered, what was the punishment that Pawan Kumar received? He has been made president of the Punjab Surakhya Samiti. This is because he is born in the home of Brahmins.

I have told you all this about the Hindu Surakhya Samiti, Hindu Jai Sangh Samiti, Hindu Shiv Sena Samiti and other things too. Has a single Hindu in all

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<sup>6</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false.

Hindustan ever said that he has no connection with the Hindus that did all this? About Jai Sangh Samiti, Shiv Sena, Surakhya Samiti, Hindu Sanghathan; about those who possess grenades, those involved with tallow, Hindus that abuse Sikhs, has any Hindu in Hindostan ever said that he has no connection with them? Show me even one instance in any newspaper. Editor Sahib is sitting here. He should definitely keep this thing in mind. What was said [by the Hindus]? On 14 [February, 1984], at the arrest of an ordinary man, Pawan Kumar, those belonging to the Hindu Surakhya Samiti started organizing strikes. *Khalsa Ji*, I have to say this with a heavy heart; may the Guru have mercy and grant the congregation wisdom; the congregation will definitely avenge this. Twenty-four copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji were set on fire in Panipat. *Singhs* from Panipat have come here. They will come here [on the stage] in a short while; they have gone to the other side. Six gurdwaras were set on fire; one hundred and twenty five *Singhs* were shaved off and sent to Punjab; twelve trucks and two cars were burnt down; two young boys were killed and more than twelve *Singhs* were killed by drowning them in ponds in Panipat and Karnal; and hundreds of shops belonging to Sikhs were burnt down. What did the Hindus say about all this? All the newspapers have reported the news that Rajiv Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi, has congratulated the Hindus for exercising restraint. They insulted Sikhs so much. A Sikh girl was stripped naked and made to stand on the G.T. road for two hours. They beat drums and danced around her. Those *Singhs* will tell you themselves. Rajiv says Hindus showed restraint and Virender, resident of Jalandhar from where these brothers have come, has published this news and congratulated the Hindus. This has been published in newspapers. They strip Sikh girls naked, burn copies [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib], set gurdwaras on fire, burn down vehicles; and the son of the Prime Minister and newspaper owners send them congratulations. [On the other hand], what is our formula, that of our brothers [the Akali leaders]? What is the formula of our Akali Dal? Some ten or so of our Sikh boys organized the Dal Khalsa, [the Akali leaders said] we have no connection with them? If some Sikh shouted a slogan for Khalistan, [they say] the Akali Dal has no connection with this. If a son of the Sikhs hijacks a plane to protest on account of [irreverence shown to] Siri Guru Granth Sahib, [they say] we have no connection with them. If some Sikh of the Guru gets on a motorcycle and proceeds to get justice for the martyrs, [they say] we have no connection with them either. If Bhindranwala makes it his routine that every day he will get at least one hundred sons of Sikhs to keep their hair and beards and to give up alcohol; and to persuade them towards receiving *amrit*<sup>7</sup>, to unite them with the *Panth*<sup>8</sup>, to unite them under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>9</sup>, to unite them with Guru Granth Sahib and Akal Takhat Sahib, [they say] we have no connection

<sup>7</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>8</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>9</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

with him either. I like to ask you who do we have any connection with? If any son of a Sikh takes any step, the Party<sup>10</sup> says we have no connection with him. The son of a Hindu may do the worst possible deed, no Hindu ever says they have no connection with him. From which school have we learnt this lesson? Which school did we go to? Aren't we slaves?

Indira Gandhi, a girl born in the house of Pundits, getting the votes of the public, became Hindostan's Prime Minister. In 1977, on the basis of her actions, a judge of the Supreme Court sentenced her. She went to serve the sentence. Her associates, Pandey and others, hijacked a plane in protest. They got seats, tickets<sup>11</sup>; one in U.P.<sup>12</sup> and the other in Bihar. [On the other hand], when, on 14 September [1981] in Chando-Kalan, two busses given by the congregation along with religious texts in them were set on fire; the police looted three hundred thousand rupees worth of goods from the village in broad daylight; some Sikhs of the Guru could not restrain themselves and Gajinder Singh and others hijacked a plane; they received exile. Young men, Sikhs of the Guru, you tell me [if it is fair that] if a plane is hijacked for the daughter of the Pundits, the reward is seats, chairs<sup>13</sup>, but if a plane is hijacked for the *Isht*<sup>14</sup> of the Sikhs, you get exile. If a plane is hijacked for a daughter of the Pundits, one gets a residential room in M.L.A.<sup>15</sup> flats but when Gurbakhsh Singh hijacked a plane for the *Isht* of the Sikhs on 14 August [1982], he was given an injection to cripple his leg. Those of you from Bathinda would especially be aware of this. He is serving a jail sentence in Bathinda. If a plane is hijacked for a daughter of the Pundits, one gets the label of patriotism; but when Manjit Singh alias Museebat Singh of village Mehta, hijacked a plane on 20 August [1982] in protest over the *Isht* of the Sikhs, he was put to death with a bullet at Raja Sansi Airport in Amritsar. Of course, if the Sikhs had set fire to the plane, damaged it in any way; if they had hurt any passengers or killed any of them, we would agree that the Sikhs had sinned. They merely protested, they did not commit any sin. They committed no sin. Whatever they did was just right. The question is that in Hindostan the reverence for our *Isht*, Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji is not even as much as for a daughter of the Pundits. Sikhs, are we free? Can any Sikh of the Guru say this? How can you say in the villages that we are living as free people? Slogans are being shouted in the Parliament; slogans are being shouted in the Rashtrapati Bhavan<sup>16</sup>; our brothers from the newspapers are also saying: Hindu-Sikh unity, Hindu-Sikh unity. Day and night they wave

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<sup>10</sup> The Shromani Akali Dal, the political party claiming to represent Sikh interests.

<sup>11</sup> Party nominations for elections to the state legislative assemblies.

<sup>12</sup> The state of Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>13</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>14</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>16</sup> President of India's residence.

the flag and keep shouting. I like to ask - I have some fifty-one or fifty-two questions on this and I shall ask some more later -and if anybody can give me answers I shall have my head cut off and present it to you. Has any Hindu in Hindostan ever given a report in any newspaper about Sikh-Hindu unity? Hindu-Sikh unity does appear in newspapers, but tell me if Sikh-Hindu unity has ever been mentioned in any newspaper. Writing the name of the Sikhs first is [to them] like cow-slaughter. They consider it so bad. There is so much oppression. The Hindus have taught and the Sikhs have learnt from them. The ones who learnt are tortured and those who taught them are given chairs. What can be a greater injustice than this?

It is thirty-seven years since Hindostan got freedom - not the Sikhs, but Hindostan got freedom. I challenge the Government, the entire public of Hindostan, and especially the Hindu rulers - I also appeal to the newspapermen to try to publish my challenge in the newspapers if they have the courage to - to prove if during these thirty-seven years any Sikh officer in the military has killed any Hindu young man. Give proof that any Sikh young officer ever shot and killed even one young Hindu soldier. But what is happening with the Sikhs? A Hindu's sten-gun was lost at Atari Border. They caught hold of Sital Singh. Dog's feces were inserted in his mouth. Red pepper was put in his eyes. Chilies were inserted in his body. His arms were cut with a razor and [the wound] was filled with salt. Branches of *kikkar*<sup>17</sup> were cut and laid down. He was held by the legs and dragged over them. He died. When the post-mortem examination was carried out, half a kilogram of chilies was found in his body. You may see the medical report and also the F.I.R.<sup>18</sup> in that case. When they carried out an investigation, the sten-gun was recovered from the drain, the sewer, the drain from waterlogged area. The sten-gun was found but let those preaching Hindu-Sikh unity give back Sital Singh of the Sikhs. Two barrels of a rifle were lost from a Hindu's barracks. He did not receive even an hour's *pitthu*<sup>19</sup> and then [we talk of] Hindu-Sikh unity! Isn't this discrimination? Isn't it a sign of slavery?

Boys in the Federation<sup>20</sup> were hung upside down. Has a single Hindu student in Punjab been put in jail? What discrimination can be greater than this? Only Sikhs were tortured. In Punjab where the Sikhs constitute a majority, in thirty-six years, has any Sikh thrust cow's bones thrust into a Hindu's mouth? Jasbir Singh of village Chupkiti, Tehsil Moga, District Faridkot, is a *granthi*<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> A tree which has branches with long hard thorns.

<sup>18</sup> First Information Report.

<sup>19</sup> *Pitthu* is punishment in which the culprit is asked to carry a load on his back and go around the barracks.

<sup>20</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>21</sup> A *granthi* is a professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

at a gurdwara and is a member of the *Jatha*<sup>22</sup>. Nothing incriminating was found from him. They merely suspected that Sikhs come to him; that *Singhs*, whom the Government has given the title of 'extremists' come to [visit] him. He was seized. Shyam Sunder, a policeman, sat on his chest, spat into his mouth and sprinkled tobacco in his mouth. Is this Hindu-Sikh unity? Will it give birth to peace or to oppression? Jagir Singh son of Tara Singh of village Ittanwali in District Faridkot works a handloom in Moga. Nothing incriminating was recovered from him. His thigh was cut at this thick spot, fat was taken out, the wound was filled with fine salt powder and tied up with a piece of cloth. That boy has recently been acquitted. Day before yesterday he met me here. His thigh still has the scar. Is this Hindu-Sikh unity? Tell me Sikhs, what sort of Hindu-Sikh unity is this? Is the Government not torturing people? Regarding Kulwant Singh of Nagoke, I particularly wish my brothers, the newspapermen, to note this point because it is not often that I have an opportunity to meet them. They get a lot of reports against me and these dear men are sometimes misled by depending upon these. Kulwant Singh of Nagoke was caught hold of by the police. He was presented before a judge. The judge ordered that he be given a medical examination. Instead of taking him for a medical examination, they put him to death. How was he put to death? He was broken joint by joint with bricks, hammers and sticks. His right leg was broken. Steel rods as thick as this finger were heated and his body pierced with them at various places. I personally cremated him and gave him his [final] bath. I am not saying this on the basis of hearsay. His forehead was burnt at this spot with heated steel rods. Then he was put to death. Regarding what they say about taking cases to court and not doing anything with our own hands, what has the Government done in respect of cases that were taken to court? Have they heeded the orders of the judge? Gurmeet Singh was seized in connection with the Rahon incident<sup>23</sup>. All the nails on his hands were pulled out with pliers. After one nail was pulled out, salt was sprinkled over the wound. Then the second nail was pulled out and salt sprinkled over the wound, and so on. And what do they say? They kept asking him one thing; that he should say that Bhindranwala gave him the bomb. What reply did he give? [He said]: "Whatever I have received I have received from *Kalgidhar*<sup>24</sup>. He said nothing beyond reciting the word *Vaheguru*<sup>25</sup>. When all his nails had been pulled out, this Bhullar who is S.S.P.<sup>26</sup> in Jalandhar - may God have mercy on the congregation - sent a wireless message. I have proof of this. I shall say this to

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<sup>22</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>23</sup> Reference here is to a case of someone throwing a grenade at the Chief Minister of Punjab. There are allegations that this was staged by the police to justify action against Sikhs loyal to Sant Bhindranwale.

<sup>24</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>25</sup> *Vaheguru* is the Sikh word for God.

<sup>26</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

his face too when the time comes. I have incontrovertible proof. He sent a wireless message to the Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara, the *Zakariya*<sup>27</sup> that he [Gurmeet Singh] had been tortured, his nails had been pulled out and he would not say anything beyond God's Name; as such what should he do? He [the Chief Minister] replied: "Kill him." This is how he was killed. What did they do to Amarjeet Singh of Daheru? What did they do to Baljeet Singh? How many other *Singhs* have become martyrs after being picked up? They say that no one should take the law into their own hands. The public is not allowed to take it in their own hands but who gave the Government the right to take the law into their hands? Here the law is in the hands of the police. The job of the police is to apprehend the criminal and present him before a judge. The job of the judge is to punish him; he might hang him or acquit him. Where did the police get the permit for this law that they are allowed to shoot and kill people? What greater injustice and discrimination can there be? There is one more question? [*Aside: Brothers, Gurmukhs, do write this down*]. In thirty-seven years, in Hindostan, to speak Hindi, to create a state on the basis of the Hindi language, to have Hindu declared a distinct nation, to obtain water from rivers flowing through Hindi-speaking areas, to get Hindu religious cities given the holy city status, to get a train named after a Hindu holy place, to wear *janeoo*<sup>28</sup>, the Hindu religious symbol, while traveling by plane, to obtain control of headworks located in Hindi-speaking areas, to get permission to build dams in Hindi-speaking areas, answer me if any Hindu has served even one hour in jail as part of an agitation or *Morcha*<sup>29</sup>? Let any Minister of the Center<sup>30</sup> provide an answer or let any ordinary citizen of Hindostan provide an answer. I like you, the advocates of Hindu-Sikh unity to note, what has been happening contrary to this. To get a Punjabi-speaking state, 57,000 of those who wear turbans had to go to jail. Those of you who demanded the state, got one that is still lop-sided<sup>31</sup> but those who never demanded a state got Haryana and Himachal whole and complete from the first day. The one who demands gets nothing but the one who does not ask has gifts forced on him. Isn't it discrimination? Why was this [the Punjab State] not completed? Was it because here the Sikhs were the majority and there, the Hindus are the majority? This is a clear example before you.

In order to get a train named after Harmandar Sahib; to get holy city status for the city [of Amritsar]; to get the Sikhs classed as a distinct nation; to get a

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<sup>27</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>28</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>29</sup> A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign.

<sup>30</sup> The Central Government.

<sup>31</sup> Reference is to some contiguous Punjabi-speaking areas not having been included in the Punjab.

transmitter installed for broadcasting *Gurbani*<sup>32</sup> *kirtan*<sup>33</sup>; to get permission to enter a plane wearing a *kirpaan*<sup>34</sup> in a *gaatra*<sup>35</sup>, a religious part of the Sikh - not a symbol but a part of the Sikh; to obtain water from the rivers flowing through Punjabi-speaking areas; to secure control over headworks<sup>36</sup> [in Punjabi-speaking areas]; to get permission to build dams; to get dual citizenship approved for Sikhs; over 200,000 have courted arrest and over two hundred have become martyrs and still the Indian Press is wailing that Sikhs are communalists. What is the reason for this? If you want a sip of water, you have to give a glass of blood and the Hindus, if they want a glass of blood, do not have to offer a sip of water. Is this Hindu-Sikh unity? If you have an answer to this let me have it.

There is another thing going around about me. They say the Government released me because I am in league with the Government. There are questions about me. If I was at fault and the Government arrested me because of that, then the Government should answer me as to why I was released. And if I had done nothing wrong, then why was I arrested? I never begged anyone; neither any judge nor any minister - the Ministers certainly have been begging me to agree with them. If I was wrong why was I released and if was not then why was I arrested? Were the warrants issued for me or for the busses? If the warrants were for me, then under what law were the busses set on fire? Were the busses running away or were they set on fire when parked? Were the warrants for me or for Guru Granth Sahib? If the warrants were for me then under what law was Guru Granth Sahib set on fire in Chando-Kalan? The law - the artificial sort of law that has been established - requires that if there is any allegation against a person, he should be told what the allegation is and asked to present himself. If he fails to present himself, warrants are issued for forfeiture of his property. If he still does not appear, he is declared an absconder and killed. Lala Jagat Narain died on the 9 [September 1981] and, on the 12th, warrants for my arrest were issued. On the 14th the incident occurs in Chando-Kalan and on the 16th September at four in the evening I am served with the warrants. Under what law did the Government cause all the destruction before serving the warrants? Let it answer.

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<sup>32</sup> *Gurbani* is Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>33</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>34</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>35</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>36</sup> Headworks include dams and controls for diversion of river waters for irrigation and/or power generation.



## SOME AKALI LEADERS SAY I AM A GOVERNMENT AGENT

What is being propagated outside [the Darbar Sahib complex]? It is that Bhindranwala is a Government agent; that Bhindranwala has joined up with the Congress<sup>37</sup>; that he speaks against so and so; that he is the creation of so and so. I am the creation, that of one and only Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. I am his son. Let no one ever imagine that some leader or minister can own me. Yes, some people say that Bhindranwala has fallen into so and so's lap; that so and so has bought Bhindranwala. It is true that I have been bought and that I have fallen into a lap. I fell into the lap of the Five Beloved Ones<sup>38</sup> when I received *amrit*. I have fallen into the lap of Sant Baba Gurbachan Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindranwale and Sant Baba Kartar Singh Ji Khalsa Bhindran-Mehta, who are in heavenly abode, and of the Guru's congregation. I have fallen into the laps of these. I have also been bought. I have been bought by the hijackers of planes; I have been bought by the motorcyclists who have avenged the blood of the martyrs. Let no rich man think that anyone possessing a chair, anyone who is a leader, any minister, can buy me. Those with chairs can buy others with chairs but regarding the *Taksaal*<sup>39</sup>; when this *Taksaal*, which has the resolve to walk three miles carrying one's head in the palm of one's hand<sup>40</sup>, fulfill one's pledge by reaching here, and drive Abdali out of this place, is bought, verily the whole world will be bought. Who are these politicians - whichever party they might belong to - to think they can buy Bhindranwala? But all the time the wail over me is that Bhindranwala is on the side of the Government; that Bhindranwala is a creation of the Congress; that Bhindranwala is a traitor. Don't be angry with me but [I would say that] you too are sitting like eunuchs. First hear me out; later on you can argue with me. You too are sitting like eunuchs. My business is to administer *amrit*; my business is to doing the *katha*<sup>41</sup>; my business is that a Hindu should be firm in his Faith. In reality, if we think over it, no one is born as a Hindu. These educated brothers do not agree with this statement but they will have to agree after they hear the whole story. Mightier persons have been convinced earlier. They don't agree in their writings [fearing that someone might say] what fuss has been created in writing. Some say Sikhs are a part of the Hindus; that Hindus are the older brothers and we the younger. Who taught you that? When a Hindu is never born, how can he become a brother? There are 330 million gods, 90 million goddesses, 125,000 Prophets,

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<sup>37</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>38</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>39</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>40</sup> Reference is to Baba Deep Singh Ji's martyrdom.

<sup>41</sup> *Katha* is religious discourse.

fifty-two *Pirs*<sup>42</sup>, eighty-four *Siddhs*<sup>43</sup>, six *Jatis*<sup>44</sup>, nine *Naths*<sup>45</sup>, sixty-four *Yogis*, forty-five demons, and according to Sikh belief there are ten Gurus. Let any educated philosopher in the world tell us if any of them had his beard cut. If any had his/her hair cut, prove it. When Abraham cut his hair, his wife punished him. The basic symbol of a Sikh is his hair and beard. What is the symbol of a Hindu? Hindu is an Arabic word. In Arabic, a thief is called a Hindu. If these people wish to stay thieves, it is up to them. If we stay the way we were born we shall be Sikhs. If we wish to become Hindu, scissors and razor will need to be used. Shaving the face and the head with scissors and razor, one becomes a Hindu; and if one is circumcised using the scissors and razor, one becomes a Muslim. If we stay the way we were born, we remain Sikhs. If we wear a *kirpaan* in our *gaatra*, we become *Singhs*. If we walk on the street, we are called *Sardar*. If the Hindus were to remain as they were born, would anyone call them Babu Ji, Lala Ji, Chhalli Ram or Gulli Ram<sup>46</sup>? All will address them as *Sardar Ji*. Now you tell me if, according to laws of nature, Sikhs are born out of Hindus or Hindus out of Sikhs? Let some educated man give an answer to this. And all the newspapers, magazines, leaders keep wailing that the relationship between Hindus and Sikhs is that of nails to the flesh; let this relationship not be ended; that this relationship should be stay permanent. Tell me what is this relationship based on? Everyone is born a Sikh. One who gets deformed becomes Hindu. The one who stays correct and is born right is said to be somewhat less, wrong, and younger. What sort of justice is this? Go to the bazaars and ask those who want to be called Hindus as to what the symbols of a Hindu are? A Hindu should be wearing twelve *tilaks*<sup>47</sup>; on the forehead, nose, chin, chest, armpits, cheeks, ears, neck and top of the head. He should wear these twelve *tilaks*, keep a *bodi*<sup>48</sup> which they also call *choti*, wear a cap, wear a *janeoo* of nine strands, and drink the wash-water from the *Shiv-Ling*<sup>49</sup>. You should first ask these people how the *Shiv-Ling* came into being. They won't tell you however hard you try. Then how can one who does not even talk about his father be right? When Shiv Ji started sexual play with Parvati<sup>50</sup>, at that time the god Vishnu hurled his *Sudarshan Chakra* and cut [Shiva's] penis into twelve parts. That is why this is called *Shiv-Ling*. If this is wrong I shall have my head chopped off. *Shiv-Ling* was created through

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<sup>42</sup> A *Pir* means a religious leader; here a Muslim holy man.

<sup>43</sup> A *siddh*, among the Hindus, is a person who possesses miraculous powers.

<sup>44</sup> A *Jati* is a person who has controlled his/her sexual desires.

<sup>45</sup> *Naths* are a class of *yogis*.

<sup>46</sup> Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram are fictitious Hindu names contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn and Gulli is a wooden toy.

<sup>47</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

<sup>48</sup> *Bodi* is a tuft of hair left in place when the rest of the head is shorn clean.

<sup>49</sup> *Shiv-Ling* depicts Shiva's penis.

<sup>50</sup> Shiva's consort.

this wicked deed and they say they are correct. If a Hindu worships that [the Shiv-Ling], rings the bells at a temple, and does not smoke tobacco, we do not hate him. If he wishes to speak from our stage, we shall invite him to; if he invites us to his home, we shall go there. A Muslim should be a true Muslim according to the Faith of the Muslims; I shall tell you later about *Gurmat*. A Muslim should say the *Namaaz*<sup>51</sup> five times; should know how to say '*La Illa El Allah El-Rahmaan El-Rahim La Illa El Allah*'; should know how to call people to prayer saying '*Allah hu Akbar Subhaan Allah*'; should say '*Mohammed Rasool La Illa El Allah*'; should know '*Fazil El Falaahaa Fazil El Falaah Aala va Bandgi Sift El o Saktiphal*', and read this four times, and say '*Mohammed Rasool La Illa El Allah*' six times. A Muslim who is circumcised, reveres Mohammed and worships God; studies the Qura'n; and does not use tobacco, is our brother. And a Sikh should be a true Sikh. If any Sikh who has received *amrit* and wears a *kirpaan* in his *gaatra*, drinks; I declare that you should pour a can of kerosene over him, burn him alive, and come to me. I shall myself fight the legal battle. Now you should tell me if my fight is against bad ways or against any community. How can they say I have become an enemy of the Hindus?

Where did you get your peacefulness? How long is this peacefulness? If preaching like this; administering *amrit* and getting people to observe the *Rehit*<sup>52</sup>; uniting people under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*; stoutly supporting the *Panth*; uniting people with Siri Akal Takhat Sahib and Harmandar Sahib; getting people to seek refuge with Siri Guru Granth Sahib; being desirous of putting on the train [of death] those who have dishonored our daughters and sisters, those who have drunk the blood of innocent people and set copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib on fire, and requesting others to put them on the train; if this is the way of sin, if this is the business of congressites, then I am a confirmed sinner and a confirmed congressite. If this is the business of Jan Sanghis<sup>53</sup>, I am a Jan Sanghi; If this is the business of akalis, then, of course, I was born an akali. And, if this is the business of *kalis*, then I am a *kali*. There is a big difference between akali and *kali*. An akali is one who believes in One God and a *kali* is one, having been born in the home of Sikhs, believes in Kalika or makes obeisance to Vaishno Devi addressing her as his mother<sup>54</sup>. Such a one is *kali*. This is what is preached daily. What is the propaganda? The propaganda on behalf of big leaders is that Bhindranwala speaks the Government's language. I am going to tell you the names of a few of them too. They are Sucha Singh Chhotepur, President, Gurdaspur District Akali Dal;

<sup>51</sup> *Namaaz* is the Muslim prayer.

<sup>52</sup> Sikh *Rehit* or *Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

<sup>53</sup> A member of the Jan Sangh, a radical Hindu political party.

<sup>54</sup> Reference is to Giani Zail Singh, President of India, who, in order to please the Hindu voters, would perform Hindu rituals forbidden for a Sikh.

Hari Singh Zira, President Ferozepur District Akali Dal; Talab Singh Sandhu, President, Ludhiana District Akali Dal; .... [*Here is an apparent short gap in recording of the speech*] .... Tell me if anybody has caught me taking a sip of water. And out of our brothers, the leaders, who are M.L.A.'s; is there even one who did not go and eat at Darbara's<sup>55</sup> home? When did they eat? It was after both the busses had been burnt; our *Isht* had been set on fire; eighteen Singhs had become martyrs; I had spent twenty-five days in jail; and students belonging to the Federation had been hung upside down. After all this [had happened], when they cast their votes in favor of Giani Zail Singh during presidential elections. At whose home in Chandigarh did these brothers eat dinner? Having dined at the murderer of the *Isht* of the Sikhs, they are still akalis; having been issued licenses [for firearms] they are still akalis; having met Indira Gandhi, they are still akalis. [On the other hand] even when the busses you gave me have been burnt, I am [described as] a congressite; my licenses have been canceled, I am [described as] a congressite; my *Singhs* have become martyrs, and I am [described as] a congressite; the homes of Sikhs have been confiscated because of [association with] my name, still I am [described as] a congressite; if they [the police] set fire to our belongings, I am [described as] a congressite; if they force a father to have sexual union with her daughter, a daughter-in-law of our village, I am still [described as] a congressite. What is your decision? Who is going to answer this?

#### AKALI PEACEFULNESS IS COUNTER TO THE SIKH TRADITION OF AVENGING INJUSTICE

Regarding this peacefulness: I have not been able to find out how long it is. If any educated person, any leader or minister, can prove that, leaving aside the Akali history, there have been two consecutive generations of peacefulness in the history of the Gurus or history of the Sikhs; standing in the congregation, I promise that I shall have my head cut off and presented to you. Yes, leaving out the Akali history, if there has been peacefulness in two consecutive generations during Guru's history or the history of the Sikhs. And, in our history, in the current one, there have been fourteen generations of peacefulness. Are you Sikhs of Indira or of the Guru? Why don't you speak: whose Sikhs are you? [*Response from the congregation: 'We are Guru's Sikhs'*]. If you are Guru's Sikhs, then how long is this peacefulness? An old man - he was wearing a loincloth - asked me one day. He said: "Baba Ji, if a daughter is born to somebody and she grows up to be twenty or twenty-two years of age, the parents can hardly sleep because of worry over their daughter being at home [unmarried]." Have all of us lost our sense of shame? *Shanti*<sup>56</sup> is almost forty

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<sup>55</sup> Chief Minister Darbara Singh's.

<sup>56</sup> *Shanti* means quiet, serenity, or peace. *Shanti* is a common name for Hindu girls in Punjab. Sant Bhindranwale is describing *Shanti* as a daughter of the Akalis and joking that it was time the daughter was married away and sent to her own home.

years of age. When are we going to have it marry? The Fifth King<sup>57</sup> became a martyr peacefully in one generation. The Sixth King<sup>58</sup> put a rope through Chandu's nose and had him tied among dogs. The position of *Rashtrapati*<sup>59</sup> which is now held by Giani Zail Singh; this was the status of Chandu under Jehangir<sup>60</sup> - same as Zail Singh's under Indira. When that person, occupying such position, eyed the house of the Guru and tried to destroy the Guru's house, the Guru did not forgive him. He put a rope through his nose and had him tied among dogs. Didn't he avenge the wrong? Are all of us wiser than the Sixth King? The Ninth King<sup>61</sup> peacefully became a martyr. The Tenth King avenged it. Twice, it was one generation [avenging it] after the other [which peacefully sacrificed life]. This is history of the Gurus. History of Sikhs follows upon this. The younger *Sahibzadas*<sup>62</sup> became martyrs peacefully. Banda Singh Bahaadar pulled Jani Khan and Mani Khan, the *Thanedars*<sup>63</sup> of Morinda out of the building and burnt them alive. Also, the daughter of Jhootha Nand, whom history refers to as Suchha Nand, was married to a *chandaal*<sup>64</sup> and rode his horse over Wazir Khan's chest. He avenged the *Sahibzadas'* death in the same generation. [I say 'the same generation because] the *Sahibzadas* were biological sons and we are sons by Faith. We are Sikhs and so were they. They are our brothers. He avenged the wrong in the same generation. Baba Mani Singh Ji was cut up joint by joint. In the next generation, his biological nephew avenged it. Baba Uggar Singh Ji was Baba Mani Singh Ji's nephew. He cut off the head of the executioner; he avenged the wrong. Taru Singh was scalped. In the same generation, through a Sikh and with his own shoe, he had Khan Bahaadar Zakariya shoe-beaten for twenty-two days and dispatched to the other world. There was peacefulness while he was being scalped. But after the scalp had been removed, in the same generation, he picked up his worn-out shoe saying 'now come on, son, you are going to get it'. Lakhpat and Jaspat had made up their minds to finish off the Sikhs. Then, Nibhaoo Singh, that dear brother, was from the class which is described nowadays as backward or harijan. Nibhaoo Singh climbing up on the elephant cut off Lakhpat's head as one would cut off a gourd from its vine and throw it down from the tree. He avenged it in the same generation. Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das and Bhai Dayala Ji peacefully became

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<sup>57</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, the fifth Guru.

<sup>58</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>59</sup> *Rashtrapati* means President of India.

<sup>60</sup> Jehangir was the mughal emperor of India; 1606-1627.

<sup>61</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahadar Sahib, the ninth Guru.

<sup>62</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two youngest sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>63</sup> *Thanedar* is the Station House Officer at a police station with the rank of an Inspector or Sub-inspector.

<sup>64</sup> *Chandaal* is an outcast in the Hindu caste system.

martyrs. But at night they sat on Aurangzeb's<sup>65</sup> chest. Let any historian tell us if the Sikhs let Aurangzeb sleep even one night after that.

### Avenging The Wrong Has Been Successful Even In Our Times

We were peaceful in 1978. Thirteen *Singhs* became martyrs and seventy-eight were injured. The murderer of the Sikhs stayed all night in Jalandhar and, at four o'clock in the morning, the Commissioner<sup>66</sup> himself saw him off to the other side of the bend [in the road] at Rama Mandi where the road to Hoshiarpur branches off. He went to Delhi in the Commissioner's car. Then we knocked on the door of the courts. There, we were proved to be liars. Gurbachna<sup>67</sup> was acquitted on the basis of Umranangal's evidence. We suffered death and injuries; had our homes looted; and then, in the court, were proved to be liars. Finally, when we adopted the path:

ਆਪਣ ਹਥੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਆਪੇ ਹੀ ਕਾਜੁ ਸਵਾਰੀਐ॥

'With our own hands we should ourselves fulfill our mission', when we adopted the path shown by Guru *Kalgidhar*, in 1980, some son of the Guru put Gurbachna on the train [of death]. Tell me if any *Bhavan*<sup>68</sup> is being built in Punjab. Then Amrik Singh was seized. He is sitting near here. He will greet you later. He and Thara Singh were seized. At that we started the peaceful *Morcha*. The police started to shoot [Sikhs] to death in fake encounters. Driven to the wall, some son of a Sikh had to bite the bullet and hit back. Even now the police is still in Punjab. Tell them to dare kill a Sikh in a false encounter now. Later, they<sup>69</sup> have again started to twist the tail: [They say] Bhindranwala is a Government agent; Bhindranwala is a congressite; he shall not be allowed to speak from the stage; we have boycotted him; we have differences with him. I became quiet. What has happened after I became quiet? I have already told you what happened in Haryana from the 14 to the 20 [February 1984]. Copies [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib] were burnt; gurdwaras were set on fire; trucks were burnt; daughters of Sikhs were stripped naked; hair of the Sikhs were cut; Sikhs were killed by drowning them in ponds. This went on until the 20th. Our brothers from the newspapers and responsible friends: [Tell us] what our reaction was? [All we said and did was]: condemnation in strong words; that the consequences will be serious; that the Government will be held responsible; that this is the work of Government agents. Why don't we take any step beyond

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<sup>65</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>66</sup> Commissioner is the chief revenue and administrative officer of an administrative division, here the Jalandhar Division.

<sup>67</sup> Here the reference is to Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru assassinated in 1980.

<sup>68</sup> Nirankari places of worship.

<sup>69</sup> The Akali leadership.

these four statements? Are we shy? Did saying that the consequences will be serious, issuing condemnation, talking about responsibility and Government agents, save the honor of [our] sisters? And when there were repercussions here in Punjab on the 20th, tell me if since then there has been any news of any Sikh having been killed in Haryana. Even now the police and the military are there in Haryana. And now they [the Akali leaders] have again intensified their attacks. They say they are not going to speak with me; that I shall not be allowed to speak from Manji Sahib; that I speak the language of the Government. Now I have become silent and shall speak only when they all raise their arms and wail that they are being killed and I should make some move. At that time I shall speak. Otherwise I am going to be silent.

### Sikh Faith Is Distinct From Hindu

How long are we going to maintain peacefulness? What is this Hindu-Sikh unity? Giani Zail Singh is sitting there as a big shot. He says Sikhs are not a distinct nation. He also goes on criticizing; saying "I am not in favor of [the idea of] Sikhs being a separate nation. [I shall say this to him]: My good man, it is correct that you have got to this high status because of what you did in previous life or, perhaps, for some other reason; how can you say Sikhs are not a separate nation? I say this as a challenge that Sikhs are a separate nation and shall provide proof for that. This is being tape-recorded. After listening to this let anybody answer me and I shall have my head chopped off. To start with, right from birth, Sikhs are a separate nation. No one is born except as a Sikh. Sikh is the trunk and the rest are branches and leaves. Secondly, Sikh is a separate nation because of their *Isht*, their Guru. Geeta has eighteen chapters; Qura'n has thirty. In thirty chapters of Qura'n there is no place for the Hindu. In the eighteen chapters of Geeta, there is no place for the Muslim. In Siri Guru Granth Sahib, all have been given a place. Here, from among Weavers, Kabir Ji is seated; from among Cobblers, Ravidas Ji is seated; from among Potters, Beni Ji is seated; from among Barbers, Sain Ji is seated; from among Washermen, Namdev Ji is seated; from among Brahmins, Jaidev Ji is seated; from among Jats, Dhanna Ji is seated; from among Untouchables, Balmik Ji is seated; from among prostitutes, Ganika is seated; from among sinners, Ajamal is seated; who has not found a place here? It is for this that Kabir Ji has said:

ਕਬੀਰ ਜਿਹ ਦਰਿ ਆਵਤ ਜਾਤਿਅਹੁ ਹਟਕੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਕੋਇ॥  
ਸੋ ਦਰੁ ਕੈਸੇ ਛੋਡੀਐ ਜੋ ਦਰੁ ਐਸਾ ਹੋਇ॥ ੬੬॥

'O Kabir, how can one leave the door [of faith in God] which is such that [if we are attached to it] no one [the five thieves, viz., lust, anger, greed, attachment, self-will] can hinder us [in our life of devotion to God]. For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation. A Hindu cannot make obeisance at any mosque. A Muslim cannot make obeisance at a Hindu temple. And which Muslim or

Hindu has been prevented from making obeisance here? For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation.

ਖੜੀ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣ ਸੁਦ ਵੈਸ ਉਪਦੇਸੁ ਚਹੁ ਵਰਨਾ ਕਉ ਸਾਝਾ॥  
ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਜਪੈ ਸੋ ਉਧਰੈ ਸੋ ਕਲਿ ਮਹਿ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਮਾਝਾ॥ ੪ ॥ ੩ ॥ ੫੦ ॥

'The teaching is the same for Kshatris, Brahmins, Shudras and Vaish - all the four caste. Whoever, following the path shown by the Guru, worships God is liberated. O Nanak, that person sees God in all beings.' For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation. The mosque will have one door; the church will have one door; the Hindu temple will have one door; if there are four doors, they are in the home of the Guru. You will not find, anywhere in the world, a Hindu temple with four doors. For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation.

You can go around the world: You will not find *Langar*<sup>70</sup> in any Hindu temple, in any mosque, in any church. If you find *Langar*, the line of congregation, it will only be at the court of the Guru. For this reason Sikhs are a separate nation.

The wife of a Hindu cannot wear a cap. The wife of a Hindu cannot keep a *bodi*. The wife of a Hindu cannot wear the *janeoo*. The wife of a Hindu cannot wear the twelve *tilaks*. For the wife of Muslim the question of circumcision does not even arise. She cannot say the *Namaaz* in a mosque; if she does, it has to be from behind a veil and not without one. It is for this reason that Kabir Ji has rejected this. Kabir Ji says:

ਸੁੰਨਤਿ ਕੀਏ ਤੁਰਕੁ ਜੇ ਹੋਇਗਾ ਅਉਰਤਿ ਕਾ ਕਿਆ ਕਰੀਐ॥  
ਅਰਧਸਰੀਰੀ ਨਾਰਿ ਨ ਛੋਡੈ ਤਾ ਤੇ ਹਿੰਦੁ ਹੀ ਰਹੀਐ॥ ੩ ॥

'If circumcision makes one a Muslim, what shall we do about a woman? The wife is one's half and one cannot leave her. For this reason one might as well stay a Hindu [and not get circumcised].' If circumcision makes one a Muslim; a man can be circumcised but how will a woman be circumcised? For this reason, O Muslims, half of you are Muslims and the other half Hindus. If you are a teacher and two children from the city come to study with you; one of them you seat by your side and teach and the other is made to sit down on the stairs and you tell her not to come face to face with you. In the register both are shown as present [in class]. When the annual examination is held, will the boy who sat near pass or the one whom the teacher never saw and never asked any questions? Tell me who will pass? Why don't you speak? Will the one who sat near pass or the one who sat below? [*The congregation responds: 'The one who sat near'*]. Then, the religion which says that a woman cannot come face to

<sup>70</sup> *Langar* is a kitchen and dining hall adjoining a gurdwara.



face (with the teacher); where will she go? The man will go to *bahisht*<sup>71</sup> but which well will the woman drown in? There is only the Sikh religion in which if a man has received *amrit* of the *khandaa*, his wife too has to receive it; if the man can participate in *Akhand Paath*<sup>72</sup>, his wife too can take a turn in doing it; if the man does *kirtan*, so can his wife. Here, some educated persons who are sycophants raise a question. Keeping Hindu-Sikh unity foremost they ask: O *Saadha*<sup>73</sup>, you preach like this; then why are Sikh women not given the *parshad*<sup>74</sup> of the *Panj Pyaare*<sup>75</sup> or included among the *Panj Pyaare*? *Khalsa Ji*, the answer to it is this. When, in 1756 Bikrami era 1699 C. E., Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji the True King created the *Khalsa Panth*, *Kalgidhar Ji* did not say at that time that he required the head of a man or a woman. He did not say this. At that time, in the congregation, He pulled out his sword and said: "Guru's people, We need one head. Let somebody offer a head." Our mothers and sisters were sitting there. If they wished to be included in the *Panj Pyaare*, some one of them should have got up and have herself beheaded. The principle reason for non-inclusion in the *Panj Pyaare* and not being given the *parshad* of the *Panj Pyaare* is that only five men had their heads cut off. For this reason, only those who have the marks of men are included among the five and none others. Tell me if in any other respect there is any discrimination? If anybody can provide an answer to this, he should do so.

## FURTHER ADVICE

### Be Prepared. Keep Weapons

I thank all of you, Guru's Sikhs, who have come here. Sometimes you say: Bhindranwala, we shall 'raise the rafters'; do not worry, just give us some small hint [to do so]. Over twenty months you have not been able even to break the leg of an ant, how will you 'raise the rafters'? Also, over these twenty months, tell me where you have stored the boards, sawed and ready, which you will raise; so that I can go and look at them sometime. Where do you plan to keep them in the future? Our sisters have been robbed; our *Isht* has been burnt; gurdwaras have been set on fire; Sikhs have been dishonored; and you have been completely insensitive. And now you say you will raise the rafters! How will you do that? You keep saying: "Sant Ji, we shall do whatever you tell us to." I have made a special appeal. How many among you have accepted the

<sup>71</sup> The Islamic concept of heaven.

<sup>72</sup> *Akhand Paath* is complete uninterrupted reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>73</sup> A rude form of addressing a holy man.

<sup>74</sup> *Parshad* is the same as *Karah Parshad* - a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, - distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>75</sup> The Five Beloved Ones. Guru's *Parshad* is distributed to the congregation after it is offered to *Panj Pyaare*, any five of the *amritdhari* Sikhs who are present.

essence of it? How many have followed it? In all for seven years but especially for the last twenty months, I have been saying: *Singhs*, get motorcycles, get revolvers; each village should have one motorcycle, three revolvers and three young men." How many villages have implemented this? Now that you are getting beaten up you ask: Sant Ji, can we get weapons from somewhere? The Sant only has *Gutkas*<sup>76</sup> and *parshad*; of them you can take as much as you wish.

If at that time I would give any statement to the newspapers, our brothers [the Akali leaders] would issue statements like: "He is creating dissensions"; "This is the program of one person, the *Panthak*<sup>77</sup> program is peaceful." [I like to say to them]: Now you can maintain your peacefulness, the *Saadh* is not bothering you.

Some young educated brothers ask me: "Sant Ji, we are not given licenses; we cannot get licenses; what shall we do?" I wish to ask you one little question which you should answer in yes or no. All of you, Guru's Sikhs, who are sitting here, are you in agreement over realizing the Anandpur Resolution or not? [*The congregation responds: 'Yes'*]. Do you want the Anandpur Resolution fulfilled? [*The congregation again responds: 'Yes'*]. If you wish to realize the Anandpur Resolution, then why do you need licenses? Are you Sikhs of Indira or of the Guru? [*The congregation responds: 'Of the Guru'*]. Then, how many licenses did Guru Hargobind Sahib, the True King, get from Jehangir<sup>78</sup>? How many licenses did Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Ji, the Tenth King, our Father, from Aurangzeb? If the Guru did not get licenses, then, if a son is not like his father, what do people say about him? If we are Sikhs of the Tenth King, and go about asking for licenses from people with their hair cut, what will people say about us? Do you want to realize the Anandpur Resolution or not? [*The congregation responds: 'Yes'*]. Read the sixth paragraph in the copy of Anandpur Resolution. Neither the leaders tell you, nor do the newspapers or the Government write about it. They are hiding it from you. That is the paragraph I am interested in. I am interested in the rest [of the Resolution] too but that one is for sure. In that sixth paragraph is written that it is not necessary to get a license for anything from 12 bore up to a carbine. It is written in that. Take bundles of copies of that [Resolution] from these people<sup>79</sup>. Keep one copy in your pocket and a carbine on your shoulder. It can take thirty or fifteen rounds depending upon the magazine capacity. If any officer asks you for the license, tell him: here is the Anandpur Resolution. Who prepared this [Resolution]? They were: Tohra Sahib, Barnala, Jaswinder Singh, Gurmeet Singh, Rarewala, Bhag Singh

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<sup>76</sup> Prayer books containing selections from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>77</sup> *Panthak* is an adjective means pertaining to the *Panth*; associated with or belonging to the *Panth*.

<sup>78</sup> Jehangir was the mughal emperor of India; 1606-1627.

<sup>79</sup> The Akali leaders.

M.L.A., and there are names of many others written in it. All of you can read them. [Tell the officer that] they have prepared and given it; and they have passed it; ask someone with a license as to why he had to get it; didn't you investigate? These people have passed the Resolution, we merely have to follow it. If he [the Officer] says "I know nothing about your Resolution, drop your carbine"; put three [bullets] through his side and tell him to go on ahead and that you will think about it later on. This will implement the Resolution. If Pawan Kumar can keep 230 grenades, the why can't you, sons of Sikhs keep them. What is the reason for this? Of course, if you are very law-abiding, [keeping in mind that] 230 grenades were recovered from him and we belong to a minority, keep a smaller number; but each one should have 200 grenades. Our Father's instructions are:

ਬਿਨਾ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਨਰੇ ਭੇਡ ਜਾਨੇ ॥ ਗਹੇ ਕਾਨ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਕਿਤੇ ਲੈ ਸਿਧਾਨੇ॥  
ਇਹੈ ਮੋਰ ਆਗਿਆ ਸੁਨੋ ਹੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ॥ ਬਿਨਾ ਸਸਤ੍ਰ ਕੇਸੇ ਦਿਵੇ ਨ ਦੀਦਾਰੇ॥

'Without weapons and hair, a man is but a sheep. Held by the ear, he can be taken anywhere. Listen, my beloved [Sikh], this is my command: Without weapons and hair, do not come to my presence.' *Maharaj*<sup>80</sup> says that he will not receive anyone who does not have weapons and does not have his hair uncut regardless of how hard he might try. What is going on today? The Chhalli Rams have shaved their heads like Mohammed, like Narad's cup, like a bell or a bowl, and they say that *Kalgidhar Ji* spoke with them. Because there are only a few people with uncut hair left, He perhaps has to speak with them. *Maharaj* has said:

ਅਸ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਨ ਖੰਡੇ ਖੜਗ ਤੁਪਕ ਤਬਰ ਅਰੁ ਤੀਰ॥  
ਸੈਫ ਸਰੋਹੀ ਸੈਬੀ ਯਹੈ ਹਮਾਰੈ ਪੀਰ॥ ੩ ॥

"The sword, the *kirpaan*, the *khandaa*, the gun, the bow and arrows, the *saif*, the *sirohi*, the *sahbi*, these are my *Pirs*." And our brothers [the Akali leaders] say it is bad to keep weapons. The [Government debates] whether the *kirpaan* should be six inches or nine inches. What right do those who do not wear it have to take any decision regarding the *kirpaan*? If Chhalli Ram can keep [weapons], you should keep them too. Keep the largest weapon you can. But I am strongly against keeping weapons and setting somebody's house on fire, killing an innocent person, or dishonoring anyone. I have one submission, an absolute instruction. Regardless of how violent it gets or how peaceful; no matter what happens; if someone's daughter or sister, even if she is from the

<sup>80</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

*Narkdharis*<sup>81</sup> or someone else's, comes to our homes treat her as if she was your own sister. Do not dishonor her. Always keep this in your minds.

Our *Isht's* order is that [his Sikhs] should carry weapons, and how is it for the Chhalli Rams? Tulsi Bhagat worshipped and Ram Chandra Ji appeared to him. When Ram Chandra Ji appeared, he was wearing a nice loincloth, had a nice knot of hair on his head but Tulsi won't make obeisance to him. Bhagwan Ram Chandra Ji asked: "What is the matter? Why don't you make obeisance?" He replied: "You are not Ram Chandra." He [Ram Chandra] said: "I appeared because of your wish; I am the one." [Tulsi] said: "This is totally wrong." You may read Tulsi's Ramayan. In it is written:

ਤੁਲਸੀ ਸੀਸ ਤਉ ਨਿਵੈ ਧਨਸ ਬਾਨ ਹੋਏ ਗਾਥਾ

Tulsi says, my forehead will bow only when there is the bow in [*Bhagwan's*] hand.' Tulsi Ji says: Ram Chandra Ji, my forehead will bow before you if there are the bow and the arrows in your hand as you had when you went to kill Ravan. On that side [of the Hindus], the follower is asking the Guide to bring weapons and on this side [the Sikhs] the Guide is asking the follower to bring a sword, a gun, a revolver, a cannon, or at least some weapon. Now you can think about whose sons you are going to conduct yourselves as. If you wish to be Guru's sons, keep weapons. If you wish to be Indira's sons, you can go and dust sandals. In the history of the Gurus, there certainly is mention of worshipping shoes [metaphorically] worship of *Gurbani* but nowhere in the world is there the worship of sandals. Worship of sandals is going on at only one place - the Delhi Bhavan<sup>82</sup>. Now there is daily propoganda that Bhindranwala has joined up with the Congress. My business is that whosoever comes to me, whether he is a congressite or a communist or someone else, I put a *kirpaan* in his *gaatra* and get him to give up intoxicants. For example, if some of you who are in the Congress were to get up and ask me "Bhindranwale, administer *amrit* to us", shall I tell them that I won't? When my duty is to administer *amrit*, if I fail in that duty, how will *Kalgidhar Ji* forgive me?

### I Have No Political Ambition

Some brothers have this suspicion as well. *Singhs*, I have received reports that there has been some propoganda in the Bathinda area too that Bhindranwala is trying to become President of the Shromani Akali Dal. Newspapers do not publish it but let me give you some clarification regarding this. Some of them [newspaper reporters] met me today. Perhaps hearing this

<sup>81</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>82</sup> Reference is to Zail Singh, President of India. By 'Bhavan', Sant Bhindranwale means the Rashtrapati Bhavan, the residence of the President of India.

challenge they would publish it. It will be nice if they do. They rarely publish anything I say. They say I speak too harshly. Baba Kharak Singh placed the lintel on this steel rod. The lintel has been strengthened by placing girders. If a lintel were to be cast and they placed bamboo in it, would it stand? If the talk is strong, the deeds will be strong too. We are getting shoe-beaten for the last thirty-seven years because the talk is hollow. I speak about myself and not about the *Singhs* of the *Jatha*; do not think that I am including them too. If during my entire life, I become president of the Shromani Akali Dal, president of the Shromani Committee, member of the Shromani Committee, M.L.A.<sup>83</sup>, M.P.<sup>84</sup>, Minister or accept any office I shall suffer any punishment that you, the Guru's congregation, award me. I am neither your leader nor your *Sant*. I am your watchman, your servant. I merely wish to dust your shoes through preaching as I have just now done.

### Return To The Faith; Become My Brothers

Young men, I have an appeal to make to you. I had intended to get you seated separately but if we now start to separate you it won't be practical. I appeal to those of you, wherever you are sitting, who have cut their beards and drink alcohol. Listen carefully and then say 'yes'; don't say yes to me in haste. I also appeal to those who are being elected as *jathedars*<sup>85</sup>, as workers, two in each village. Only those of you should register their names with me who love the hangman's noose, who wish to ride the wheel<sup>86</sup>. Yes, those who like the hangman's noose and wish to ride the wheel, those who love the boiling cauldron, those who have to ride a motorcycle to seek justice for the martyrs, those who have to place their heads on the palm of their hand and walk the street of their Beloved, only such should register their names with me. Those who have to get a ticket for an office - not the other ticket but the one for an office - and have to get jobs for their sons and daughters, should not come to me with this greed in their minds. Get yourselves registered wherever else you wish to. I cannot offer any prize to anyone that I shall make him chairman or a member of something. If you wish to be hanged, register; if you wish to seek justice, register; if you wish to die, register; if you wish to spill your blood for protection of the country and the nation, for Siri Guru Granth Sahib, register; but if you love the chair, if you wish to save your skin, register wherever you wish but do not, mistakenly, come to me.

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<sup>83</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>84</sup> Member of Parliament.

<sup>85</sup> *Jathedar* is leader of a *Jatha*. *Jatha* literally means an organized group.

<sup>86</sup> Reference is to 'being broken on the wheel, a form of torture in which the victim was tied to the outside of one of the two wheels turning in opposite directions and meshing together. This would squeeze the victim, break the bones and crush the body.

I humbly appeal to those of you who have cut their beards and drink. I have to make you my brothers. If you wish to become my brothers say yes. If you do not wish to become my brothers, say no but not just yet. First hear me through. Say yes if you think I am good; if you consider me a rogue then do not say yes; those of you who have cut their beards, only those should speak who have cut their beards. Those of you who have their beards should not speak. If you consider me to be good and wish to become my brothers, you are going to keep uncut hair and beards, and give up alcohol, then you should say yes. If you consider me to be a rogue, are going to drink alcohol and cut your beard, say no. Those of you who have cut their beard should make this decision. Tell me; do you wish to become my brothers? [*The congregation responds: 'Yes, we wish to become'*]. All right, if you wish to become [my brothers] and consider me to be good, you will have to keep uncut hair and beards and give up alcohol. If you call me a rogue, you will be rid of this [preaching]. If I get you to keep hair and beards and then ask you to accept me as a *sant* and expect you to make obeisance to me, you may again shave it real close. You have already cut it quite close but you may remove what little remains. If I ask you to become my disciples, then too you may shave off. I only wish to act as your brother as I have done all along. Neither am I your disciple nor you mine. This is my regular preaching. Now all of you in the congregation, especially those from Bathinda and Ropar areas, let any *Singh* among you stand up and say if what I preach is in support of the *Panth*, or of the Congress; or is it according to Sikh principles? [*The congregation responds: 'It is of Sikhi'*].

### I Am Accused Of Being A Government Agent

Every day, it is reported in the papers that I am a Government agent and an agent of the Congress. This does not burden my mind but the reason I am asking this again and again is that all of you come to me and tell me that you are with me, but, when these people [the Akali leaders] hurl abuse at me in public you do not even take notice. Where are you at that time? There is only one way to stop them. They do not have to be stopped by taking off their turbans, by beating them up, by hurling abuse at them. Adopt only one way. At whatever platform someone hurling abuse is speaking - people in thousands are seated there - get up there and address him, who has published such abuse in the newspapers, with folded hands. Tell him: "Guru's man, we are with the traitor and you are the truthful one, there is no place for you on this stage; please go home. We shall participate in the *morcha*, we shall take *Jathas* too [to peacefully court arrest], we shall give our all for the *Panth* and even shed our blood. We are with the *Panth* but, noting the path of slander that you have adopted, we cannot go along with you; we shall go with the traitor." When the congregation rejects them, they will come around with towels on their shoulders, and long faces as one has when one has just returned after burying his mother or cremating her. They will know where the congregation stands. They call me a traitor and yet you bring a *Jatha* of 600 persons; why won't they

call us traitors? I do not mean that if one Sikh is called a traitor we have to stop bringing the *Jathas*; that would be totally wrong. We have to bring the *Jathas*. This *Morcha* is neither Longowal's nor Bhindranwale's, nor of some other leader. At this time, this *Morcha* is of the entire *Panth*. The *Morcha* has to be made successful under all circumstances, at all costs. And it has to succeed on the basis of the Anandpur Resolution; not that Chandigarh can be split in 60/40 ratio or something else. A time of reckoning will come for you as well as me. Only then shall we know who breaks rank. It will be known when this effort nears fruition. If the settlement is on the basis of the Anandpur Resolution, we shall all shout the *Jaikaaras*. However, if it is less than that it will be my responsibility to inform you, to serve as your watchdog; to tell you that here is a copy of the Anandpur Resolution and this is what is written in it. These brothers [the Akali leaders] have written it, I haven't. According to this such and such things have been won and the others remain; now you should decide what to do. If you wish to follow the old ways; go home and get shoe-beating all over again, then shout the *Jaikaara* but if you wish to get all that is rightfully yours, you should stand your ground. It will be my responsibility to tell you. If I show any weakness in telling you or bow to the wishes of some leader, you should not forgive me but if you follow the beaten path and walk away, *Kalgidhar Ji* is not going to forgive you either. This time the *Morcha* has been started from the place of two valiant Gurus. This Anandpur Resolution was passed at the place of the Sacrificer of his sons<sup>87</sup> where the *Khalsa* was born and its *Ardaas*<sup>88</sup> was said at the place of the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*<sup>89</sup>. This struggle cannot stop halfway. One of the Gurus would cut off a head with a single blow from his sword and the other would burn a culprit in a cauldron; neither was the forgiving type You can yourselves think over the ramifications.

Finally, I have to make an appeal to you. [*Aside*: A couple of leaders had come here. Send them ahead. There was one Andliti Sahib and there was another one with him - Sardara Singh Kohli. Send him over here. All this walk may be too much for him to bear. Come on, come on over. Look at the plume he has made on his turban. Andliti Sahib was here too. Tell him also to come here. Come on, don't be shy. Come on ahead, come on; why are you going back? Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh. Sit down; right here. Sit down; right here. Come on; sit down. .... [inaudible] .... keep everything somewhat mild]. So, I have to make appeal before the entire congregation. Support the *Panth* openly, not in a veiled manner like some of these brothers<sup>90</sup> do. When they are asked to help someone, they say that they can do it behind

<sup>87</sup> Sikhs often refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in this manner recalling that all of his four sons became martyrs for the faith.

<sup>88</sup> Prayer invoking divine blessing for the struggle.

<sup>89</sup> *Miri* is temporal power and *Piri* is spiritual authority. Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib wore two swords representing *Miri* and *Piri*. He is often referred to as the Master of *Miri* and *Piri*.

<sup>90</sup> The Akali leaders.

the scenes but don't want to be asked to say so in the presence of someone else. It must not be done that way. Support the *Panth* stoutly and openly. [*Aside: Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh. Come here.*] Stay under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*; do not worship anyone besides Siri Guru Granth Sahib; never distance yourselves from Akal Takhat Sahib and Harmandar Sahib. However, do keep in mind one thing. It should not happen that you say: Bhindranwala has said to support the *Panth*; that is correct; now we shall support everybody who stands up [in the name of the *Panth*]. Remember this one important point. In future, beware of those who in the name of the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*; appealing in the name of Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji; beating the drum of the name of the *Panth*; in contravention of the *Hukamnama*<sup>91</sup>; drinking the blood of the martyrs; calling the *Narkdharis* their father and getting their votes; have maintained their chairs or are desirous of maintaining them. If I have gone to the homes of the *Narkdharis* and asked for votes or do so now then all of you who have come to me should never come up these stairs again. If you see that I am your watchdog then you may even not leave here for going home. You have to decide for yourselves. I do not keep decisions in my hands. Leaders do because if someone else takes a decision, they might be removed [from their leadership]. Remember this decision.

#### What To Do If Harmandar Sahib Is Attacked

Some people ask as to what they are expected to do; what is the objective; it should be clearly described. It is clear that when you come to know that the police have attacked Harmandar Sahib - when you are certain, it must not happen that someone spreads a rumor and you take off - when you come to know that Harmandar Sahib has been attacked, in the cities and towns near you no one without a turban should be seen. Have mercy over the Muslims [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*<sup>92</sup>]. But I have said to do this if such a thing happens at Harmandar Sahib. Some people are going to distort it and say that Bhindranwala says to kill persons of one community. It is not so. I have put the condition 'if it happens like this here.' Keep this in mind. And don't go about chopping wood [for making sticks] at that time. You should be prepared beforehand. [*There is sound of Jaikaara from another meeting downstairs, probably of the Akali party*]. Downstairs too they are shouting *Jaikaaras*; it seems they are in agreement with you. [*The congregation bursts into laughter at Sant Bhindranwale's comment. Someone asks for orders*]. Orders are given once, not repeatedly. I have issued the order but no one has acted upon it. Out of all of you sitting here, how many have acquired weapons?

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<sup>91</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris.

<sup>92</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.



They say it appears in the newspapers and many come to me and ask for some clarification regarding Hindus. Is there a contract that for thirty-seven years it should always be the Sikh giving clarifications? Some also ask to be told about my views regarding Khalistan. You must have read about my views many times. We can ask some of these *Gurmukhs*<sup>93</sup> who have come to write some editorials if they can, if their pens can work. I have not opposed Khalistan nor have I supported it so far. Yes, I have neither opposed it nor supported it. We have to live in the country. Those who tell us to get out of the country are grossly mistaken.

#### RESPONSE TO GIRILAL JAIN'S EDITORIAL

[*Aside:* What is the name of the editor that you told me? Someone responds: Girilal Jain]. There is one Girilal Jain. He has stated in his newspaper that it is eleven o'clock and only one hour remains until midnight. I have never met him. Otherwise, he wouldn't have written this. I appeal to the newspaper reporters to print this statement from me, addressing Girilal Jain; delete the rest if you wish to. Brother Girilal: you do not know. When thirty thousand of your [women] were being taken away, these turbaned ones used to rescue them. The scissors and the razor are symbols of doubt and communalism; the *kirpaan* is symbolic of unity. Those with the scissors and razors, people like Girilal Jain and all others up to the Prime Minister, should note this about the *kirpaan* that is being ridiculed. The thirty-thousand who were rescued were not saved by those with scissors and razors using scissors and razors but were rescued and brought back by those with *kirpaans* by means of the *kirpaans*. Those who having become masters of the country today are challenging the Sikhs by talking about twelve o'clock should remember this. These twelve o'clock Sikhs have given ninety heads<sup>94</sup> out of one hundred<sup>95</sup> for this land. I like to remind those who are telling us to get out a little, not much as yet - I shall say that in congregation. We like to remind such people a little bit. Do not try to drive us out. Think for yourselves what you have to do; whether you wish to live with us or not. A fellow came from France. He said: "You are only two percent, they are ninety-eight percent; how are you going to fight them?" I had answered that a tiger hardly gets one son in his life whereas the pig litters a dozen every six months. Puppies and dogs will bark a lot but when he [the tiger] comes out of his cavern, no one in the forest restrains him. That's the way we shall do. Regarding his question as to whether we shall go into the twelfth hour or not, we shall tell him when it was that it struck twelve for the Sikhs. *Singhs*, I like to tell you too. Many people do not know when it used to strike twelve for the

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<sup>93</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee. Here Sant Bhindranwale is referring to newspaper reporters as *Gurmukhs*.

<sup>94</sup> Reference is to ninety-three Sikhs having been hanged to death by the British during India's struggle for freedom.

<sup>95</sup> The actual number was one hundred and twenty one.

Sikhs. People have made it a joke. It used to strike twelve for the Sikhs when during the month of *Poh*<sup>96</sup>, the troops of the cruel [Government], suffering the cold weather, would fall asleep at night, the Sikhs would attack them at midnight and give them severe punishment. Then, in the month of *Haarh*<sup>97</sup>, they would go to sleep inside at midday and the Sikhs would come out, attack them at noon and rescue [the women] belonging to people like of Girilal. It was then that it used to strike twelve for the Sikhs. We like to tell those who talk of the twelfth hour that we shall enter the twelfth hour under all circumstances. And entering the twelfth hour we shall tell you how it strikes twelve for the Sikhs. You will see how fast you will remember. It is the limit [of arrogance] that a son of a jackal, a son of a Brahmin woman, gets up and stares at the lions! They sit in the Parliament and issue threats. I threw this challenge once earlier too. Today, because of his [Girilal's] statement I repeat it: "All of you who are members of Parliament, all Ministers including the Prime Minister, tell us how many you are; come in groups of fifteen and for each group one of us *Saadhs* will come out. Then we shall know where you stand. You sit there and write orders with your pens and get the Chhalli Rams under you to comply. It is easy to issue orders but it is very difficult to march as a leader with your head on the palm of your hand." Now even people like Jain Giri have started: the sheep had to be reckless but now even lambs are joining in! There were some others who wished to challenge us; now Chhalli Rams too have started to do so! But there is some reason for the Chhalli Rams to challenge us. That reason is the ineptitude of our leaders. One party [in a deal] says [to the other to] weigh correctly and the other responds by saying 'don't come up the platform.' They say they will not stop until they have driven the Sikhs out; these people say we have to maintain peacefulness. Which way will this turn? We do not have to fear these people. Stay completely confident.

#### HINDUS ARE BEING ARMED AND SIKHS DISARMED

I have received reports yesterday or day before yesterday that in the villages, licenses [for firearms] are being issued to Hindus and those of Sikhs are being canceled. The Sikhs who applied have been refused. Don't worry. You hardly have money to pay the land revenue; how will you acquire licenses and weapons? Let them get their licenses in the villages. When the time comes just snatch them, do not hesitate. Don't keep waiting that Bhindranwala will issue orders and then you will snatch them. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. Until that time comes, do not grapple with anyone. Stay peaceful. But when they aim their guns at you and start firing; then snatch them away, do not hesitate.

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<sup>96</sup> *Poh* is the tenth month of the Bikrami calendar, extending from mid-December to mid-January; the coldest month of the year in North India and Pakistan.

<sup>97</sup> *Haarh* is the fourth month of the Bikrami calendar extending from mid-June to mid-July; the hottest part of the year in North India and Pakistan.

If any friend has any other question, if any question has been left [unanswered] go ahead and ask now. Of the questions that I have raised, let any man in Hindostan provide an answer and I shall cut off my head and present it to you with my own hands. If all that I have said is true then you should think as to whether we have to shake slavery off our necks or not. Those who sitting there are singing praises of Indira could use some sense of shame. Daughters of Sikhs were stripped naked; people were sent home after shaving their mustaches; [our] *Isht* was set on fire; and then they say that a great sin was committed when Section 25 of the Constitution was burnt. Yes, a sin has definitely been committed by our leaders. May *Maharaj*, in his mercy, protect them from that sin in the future. There has been one sin. It would have been better to burn the whole of it; what was the use of burning a single sheet? The Constitution which for thirty-seven years, has not protected the Sikh Nation, has not preserved its honor; what is the use of keeping it? They say that according to count the Sikhs are only two percent. Sit on a table with us; then we shall tell you how many percent we are. We have given ninety heads and ten were given by these Chhalli Rams. Let them settle with us. If we charge interest then they will have nothing left in Hindostan but a Sikh does not charge interest, he is merciful. We shall forgive the interest. They should give us land proportional to ninety heads and, if they wish to, they can keep some hill or two they can find somewhere, in proportion to their ten heads. Else, they shall all have to go to the sea. Guru's orders are:

ਭੈ ਕਾਹੁ ਕਉ ਦੇਤ ਨਹਿ ਨਹਿ ਭੈ ਮਾਨਤ ਆਨ

'He does not frighten anyone nor does he have any fear.' We are not to have fear nor shall we frighten anybody. If anybody wishes to ask anything else, do so. If you have any doubts about anything, ask. *Singhs*, don't be shy but live as sons of your Father. Those who have cut their beards should not cut them in the future. [*Someone in the congregation asks some question which is not quite audible*]. Not a single Hindu in Hindostan has condemned the killing of Sikhs. Have they ever said: "Sikhs have been killed; this is bad." If a single Hindu of Hindostan has said this, let me know. When some Hindus were killed [in firing by the police], the Government gave ten thousand rupces to their families. Over two hundred Sikhs have been killed. Has the Government given a dime to any son of a Sikh? Here one with a plume is also sitting, Sardara Singh Kohli from Patiala. He too was seized. He was released after perhaps one year. [*Aside: After how long? Someone answers: 'Ten and a half months'*]. He was kept ten and a half months but Chhalli Rams were apprehended just now and immediately released, right away. They too have been writing letters to Gurbachna; now they say they have stopped. This is from earlier times before the *Hukamnama*. ..

[*The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available*].

## SPEECH #41

1 APRIL 1984

Seated in the sacred presence of the True Guru, the True King<sup>1</sup>, Siri Guru Granth Sahib Ji; *Khalsa Ji*:

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>2</sup>.

You have had the good fortune of coming here to assemble on the day of the new moon, having bathed in the sacred pool, and having had the *Darshan*<sup>3</sup> of the True Guru Sahib.

### THE GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO DESTROY THE SIKH FAITH

Regarding the wicked policies the Government is following, you read in the newspapers that in order to obliterate the Sikh faith, to destroy it completely, the Government has adopted a vicious attitude. There are numerous proofs for this.

#### Transfers Of Top Government Officials

We have learnt that two or three days back some transfers among officers have taken place. In districts where Sikh officers occupied high offices, they have been removed and Hindu officers put in their places. In particular, in this sacred city of Amritsar the Sikh S.S.P.<sup>4</sup> has been replaced by a Hindu. In Gurdaspur District, Pandey, the man who threw a bomb at a jeep in the Mananwala incident whereby two *Singhs* achieved martyrdom, has been brought in from Hoshiarpur. It is the same in other districts. We have twelve districts in Punjab. Among these, only three have Sikhs at high positions, there are Hindus in the other nine. There is only a rare Sikh to be seen on the High Court, a majority of them are Hindus. In other states, Sikhs [in high offices] are hard to find. If asked, they reply that the Sikhs are smaller in numbers and appointments are made according to numerical strength. In Punjab Sikhs are in a majority but even here the Hindus are four times [the Sikhs] in high positions. There is only one explanation for this; that if the time comes when it becomes necessary to finish Sikhs off, Hindus can take a stand to smother Sikhs. This is why transfers are being effected.

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<sup>1</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

<sup>3</sup> Having someone's *darshan* means seeing that person.

<sup>4</sup> Senior Superintendent of Police.

## Banning Of The Sikh Students Federation

There is an organization of Sikh students, which has been known, is known, and will continue to be known as the Sikh Federation<sup>5</sup>. To crush it, a decision was taken in the Parliament that restrictions should be placed on it<sup>6</sup>. Why was this done? [It was] because the word 'Sikh' appears in the organization. There are many other federations too. Especially in the Hindu society, there are many organizations; for example, there is the R.S.S.<sup>7</sup> They have named another organization the Shiv Sena. There are other organizations named Hindu Suraksha Samiti, Hindu Jan Sangh Samiti, Hindu Sanghathan Samiti; Hindu Punjab Samiti, which daily hurl abuse [at us Sikhs]. No restriction has been placed on any of them. However, if the Sikh students get together; try to wean away young people from drug addictions, the cinema, and other bad ways; and get them on the right track; they are branded as engaged in provocative activity. They notice the Sikhs as engaged in provocative activity but a fellow like Charan Chaudhary who has issued a statement to the Press that now the Sikh dogs bark but no dog barked when he had ninety-three of them beaten up. He has used the word 'dogs' for Sikhs. Virender, who of all newspapermen, is the root cause of all this trouble, wrote in his newspaper some time back that the Sikhs, or alternatively we might say, the Akalis, have not succeeded in making an Assam out of Punjab, and that now they [the Hindus] will definitely make an Assam here. Perhaps the Government considers this to be peaceful activity or he is forgiven because he is born in the home of Hindus. These news have appeared in the newspapers.

## Sikhs Cannot Trust The National Leaders

To get anything the Sikhs have had to pay with their blood and even then they may or may not get it. Read today's newspaper. This news has just appeared in the papers. Tall claims have been made. Let us pray to the True Guru that he fulfills all these. People have exchanged congratulations in connection with Clause 25 [of the Indian Constitution]. Read all the newspapers carefully. Then you will know what is in there. It has been reported in the papers that consideration will be given to a revision of Clause 25. Earlier too we went through such times. Sant Fateh Singh Ji undertook a fast unto death. Matters came to a head. Our brothers who had the chairs<sup>8</sup> had some pretense of talks there with the Government and set off by air. Reaching here, they stood towards the left of the building of Akal Takhat Sahib, and facing towards Harmandar Sahib, declared: "I give you full assurance that Indira

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<sup>5</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>6</sup> It was banned on 3/19/1983.

<sup>7</sup> Rashtriya Swayayam Sewak Sangh, a militant Hindu organization.

<sup>8</sup> Akali leaders who held high offices within the party.

[Gandhi] has agreed to our demands." Everyone shouted the *Jaikaara*<sup>9</sup>. Glasses filled with juice were raised to the lips. When a few days passed and the details were worked out, Gulzarilal Nanda weighed the boat with such stones that are impossible to remove until today. Everyone wondered as to what happened. Everyone keeps saying that our demand regarding Clause 25 has been accepted and the one week celebration planned in the name of free *Panth*<sup>10</sup> has been withdrawn. This came in the newspapers. The Dictator<sup>11</sup> alone knows what the truth is but all the newspapers have announced that the one week celebration, in Punjab, of *Free Panth* planned by the Shromani Akali Dal, has been withdrawn. The *Morcha* has not been withdrawn. Don't misunderstand. The *Morcha* goes on. They say that the seven or so days of freedom that were to be observed have been withdrawn. If we read the newspapers to see why have they been withdrawn, it is said that Sethi<sup>12</sup> has appealed that they are ready to discuss Clause 25. We too have been ready to discuss for a long time. This offer was made long ago. There have been many moves including fifteen or sixteen meetings between these people within these twenty months. Some brothers have come from there. They say: "Sant Ji, congratulations." I asked: "What for?" They say: "Clause 25 has been agreed to." I said: "Congratulate me when Indira gives this in writing." How do we know she is not going to make fools of everyone? What has this man Sethi given in writing? Has Indira stated under her signatures: "Your demand regarding Clause 25 is correct?" How can you trust those people, believe those people? At the time of writing the Constitution, or shall we say at the time of Hindostan's freedom - I have never called it the country's freedom, I do not call it now and never will in the future, we might describe it so when we do get freedom - Mahatma Gandhi himself issued statements. Have they fulfilled their promises? Regarding Punjab, they had said that a region will be created wherein the Sikhs could also experience the glow of freedom. Isn't it 'freedom' that we are experiencing in Punjab? How have the Sikhs been wronged! How have we been humiliated! How our religious places have been desecrated! Is this the freedom we are enjoying? Mahatma Gandhi said in his own statements at some time that if there is unfairness against the Sikhs, they should take a stand; that the public would be with them; that they should have their hand on their sword. Tell me if of all the promises made, these people have fulfilled even a single one?

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<sup>9</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>10</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>11</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha*. A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. Here reference is to the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*, the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>12</sup> P.C. Sethi, then Home Minister in the Government of India.

Some time back there was an announcement regarding Punjabi Suba<sup>13</sup>. Some territories are still outside it and Sikhs there are suffering. Whenever there is talk of transferring those areas, they say Sikhs are communalists. We have today once again placed our trust in these people. If there were something in writing, if there had been face to face negotiation, we would have some idea of whether they actually have said so. Some persons also think, and somebody actually told me so, that even if Indira gave in writing what could we do if she went back on it? It was some responsible person [who said this]. I replied: "Once get her to sit face to face and give this in writing and then tell her to go back on it. I shall get her to agree." How can she not agree having given it in writing? There has to be someone who will get her to agree. Only then will she agree. Some persons are feeling very happy that their demand regarding Clause 25 has been accepted. I myself am happy about it but if it is really accepted. I do not believe that it has been accepted. There are still many demands outstanding. I think you must have heard [about it] that the newspapers say the Government has made an announcement regarding [broadcasting] *kirtan*<sup>14</sup>. Have you ever heard about it? They say that the City [Amritsar] has been accorded the status of a holy city. Then why are C.R.P.<sup>15</sup> people sitting here smoking tobacco and pipes. Has the holy city status been achieved? For how long has it been appearing in the newspapers that all the religious demands of the Sikhs have been accepted? Let anyone among you prove to me that even one of them has been accepted. You merely rely upon newspapers and radio. You trust those, go on crying and at the same time keep saying everything is all right.

## ACTIONS OF SOME AKALI LEADERS

### Propaganda That Bhindranwale Is A Congress Agent

Be watchful regarding the propaganda that is going on at various places. I have received yesterday's reports from a couple of places. The truth is known to those who have said this but if what they have told me is true you should figure out yourselves as to where we stand today. The reports allege that some friends who go about on the outside [of Darbar Sahib Complex] - may God give them wisdom - have started to say that Bhindranwala speaks for the Congress<sup>16</sup>; that Bhindranwala is hurting the *Panthak Morcha*<sup>17</sup>. If I disclosed to you the names of those who say this, they would be beaten up. At the least you will get to know the background of the people who say this. These people have only one

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<sup>13</sup> Punjabi-speaking State.

<sup>14</sup> *Kirtan* is singing praises of God, here singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>15</sup> Central Reserve Police Force.

<sup>16</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>17</sup> Struggle of the Khalsa brotherhood.

aim in saying this; that is to somehow get those who are sitting here to start fighting among themselves. We have to be careful about these things. Regarding this accusation of speaking for the Congress, you should think about it yourselves. I shall state a few points before you. Whatever decision you take before leaving, I shall accept. Leaders always keep the decision in their own hands but I leave it in your hands. For me, you, the congregation of the Guru, are the leader. I am neither your leader nor your *Sant*. I am your servant and your watchman. You can get me to dust whatever shoes you wish. However you should yourselves think about those brothers who have started to say that I am aligned with the Congress. God has given you brains. You also eat you food. This *Morcha* has gone on for twenty and one-half months. During this period, all the [arms] licenses issued to the *Jatha*<sup>18</sup> have been canceled by the Government. My licenses have been canceled and our brothers [the Akali leaders] call me a congressite but those who are saying this, e.g., Gurcharan Singh, Secretary, Shromani Akali Dal, have been issued licenses. Now you can judge for yourselves where each of us stands. The Secretary of the Shromani Akali Dal has been issued licenses and he is an akali; Bhindranwala's licenses have been canceled under Congress' rule and Bhindranwalas are still congressites! Bhindranwala's licenses have been canceled and he is a congressite and Umranangal has been issued a license for his carbine and he is still an akali! And the *Morcha* for weapons .... [inaudible] .... He is to bring a *Jatha*<sup>19</sup>. It was reported in the newspapers today. Bhindranwala does not enter the house of any communist, akali, congressite, or socialist M.L.A.<sup>20</sup> and is still a congressite; and all our M.L.A. brothers [of the Akali party] have dinner at the home of the murderer of Siri Guru Granth Sahib our True King, the former Chief Minister Darbara, the incarnation of Zakariya, and still are akalis! Not one or two but all of them! Possibly one or two might have been left out and that must have been due to illness. If they were well they must definitely have gone. If a representative of the Congress from Delhi comes here and gets a free meal from me and, under persuasion, receives *amrit*<sup>21</sup> from *Panj Piyaare*<sup>22</sup>, he does not become Bhindranwala but [in their eyes] Bhindranwala who administers the *amrit* becomes a congressite. If one of our prominent leaders of the Shromani Akali Dal marries his daughter to a son of the Congressites, he remains an akali. In a couple of days Badal's daughter is to be married to Kairon's son. Who is this Kairon family? It is one which had Jathedar Mohan Singh Tur, former President of the Shromani Akali Dal, stripped naked but for

<sup>18</sup> *Jatha* is any organized group of persons; here, Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

<sup>19</sup> Here, a group of protestors who would go to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>20</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>21</sup> Receiving *amrit* means being formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>22</sup> Five *amritdhari* Sikhs, representing the *Panth* as the Guru, authorized to perform the initiation ceremony for a new entrant to the faith.



his *kachhera*<sup>23</sup> and laid on ice. Badal's daughter is engaged to the grandson of Partap Singh Kairon who confiscated the home of a former President of the Shromani Akali Dal; who confiscated all the property, sold the bricks, had the joists taken off and burnt; who had Inderjit Singh, a boy only the age of this lad, perhaps a year older, chopped up and thrown into a well; who declared that he would not let a Punjabi Suba come into existence; who, occupying the Chief Minister's office, said that he would ban Punjabi language and would throw Sikhs into jails. Badal's daughter has been engaged to the grandson of Partap Singh Kairon, The marriage is on the 4th [April 1983]. He too was a Chief Minister, from the Congress party. This man [Badal] too has been a Chief Minister, from the Akalis. The two families have been joined but it is Bhindranwala who is a congressite! You can think for yourselves. If any of you *Singhs* has seen me meet Indira Gandhi or Rajiv Gandhi, speak up. [On the other hand] is there anyone among these brothers who has not met them? Those who meet Indira all the time are akalis but one whom Indira has tried ever so hard to meet even for a couple of minutes and who has not given her even one minute is a congressite! I stayed ten days in Delhi when the *Morcha* was [run] from outside [Darbar Sahib Complex]. I administered *amrit* to fifteen hundred persons during those ten days. Indira tried so hard and so did Rajiv that I should give them time to hold talks with them. What sort of time did they want? They wanted that I should come to some bungalow outside [the gurdwara] and talk to them. I replied that I had only two places to meet them and none other. They could see me at the place where I was staying or they could see me at any of the Gurdwara Sahibs. I would not go to any bungalow. [I conveyed to them that] If they wished to have talks at bungalows, there were many people of that type there and they could talk to them. I did not give them even a second and they call me a congressite! These people are talking to them all the time and are still akalis. Think it over.

#### Akali Peacefulness In The Face Of Oppression Is Contrary To Sikh Tradition

Regarding this 'peacefulness' we have not been able to figure out how long it is; how many feet long it is. There was an old man. He is not here today but yesterday he was here. He has gone away. He had come from Haryana. .... [inaudible] .... One day, he jokingly said these words to me. He said: "Sant Ji, if a girl is born in a family and grows up to be twenty or twenty-two years of age, the family find it hard to sleep, worrying over the fact that they have a marriageable girl at home. Now this peacefulness is forty years old and there is no Sikh willing to wed her. Does anybody feel any shame?" He had said this jokingly but what he said has deep meaning. In the history of the Gurus and the history of the Sikhs, we do not find two consecutive generations of peacefulness anywhere. In Gandhi's history and the history of the Akali Dal, it has been

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<sup>23</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

there for fourteen generations. It is up to you to decide which history you like to accept: the history of the Gurus' or the Gandhian history. There is propaganda that Bhindranwala will not be allowed to speak from Diwan Hall at Manji Sahib. Now you have come here and I am speaking to you here. If I had gone there you would have gone there [to hear me]. I have to preach to the congregation and not talk to bricks. I have to talk to people.

#### Akalis Claim To Be An Organization Of Martyrs; Are They?

You should all figure out as to where each of us stands. They preach that there is only one organization of martyrs. If we examine this a little closely, we shall find nothing in it. They say that [theirs] is the sole organization of martyrs but can anyone tell us if out of the fourteen Presidents [of the Akali Dal] even one became a martyr in the name of the *Panth*? Sant Harchand Singh Ji Longowal is the fourteenth President of the Akali Dal. Tell me if any of the fourteen Presidents has become a martyr? If any of them can be linked to the martyrs, let me know. Those whom they brand as congressites, the Bhindranwalas, their very foundation is in martyrdom. Our first *Jathedar* was Baba Deep Singh Ji. I am the fourteenth in line. Those, none of whose fourteen became a martyr, claim to be an organization of martyrs and they call those whose foundations, whose very roots, are in martyrdom, congressites! An old man asked me a question. I could not find any reply. Now you who are standing and sitting here can give an answer. He was a very old man, contemporary of Baba Kharak Singh. He met me soon after the start of the *Morcha*. I have not seen him since. He asked: "Jarnail Singh, ask these brothers [the Akali leaders] if out of their fourteen Presidents anyone's wife became a martyr; or a son or a daughter of any of them became a martyr; or any relative of any of them became a martyr." If you can point to [wife, son, daughter or any relative of] any one of them [having become a martyr], I shall suffer any punishment you might like to award me. I told him: "Baba, I do not know; you have given this new formula?" He told me one. He said that he was a contemporary of Baba Kharak Singh who was the first *Jathedar* President [of Akali Dal]. What is the reason that of the fourteen none became a martyr; nor did anyone's relative, son, wife, or daughter become martyrs; nor any friends? Where were they all?

#### Akalis Talk Of Economic Demands And Not Guru's Teachings

They do not talk about the history of *Gurmat*<sup>24</sup> and going out they beat their drums over degrees [education]; over public offices, over prices; over water [rights]; over soap and linseed oil. They only emphasize these things. No one pays any attention to the Sikh appearance, the beard and the hair, and

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<sup>24</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.

*kirpaans* and weapons. If they approve a price<sup>25</sup> of 250 [rupees] instead of 200 but send you all home shaved clean, would those fifty rupees be worthwhile? If you get a couple of rupees less or more in prices but you are in you home<sup>26</sup> with complete Sikh appearance and in favor with the Guru, would that be beneficial or would it be better if you get the fifty rupees but are shaved off and become sons of Hindus?

## STOPPING STATE OPPRESSION

### Sikhs Have Avenged Their Martyrs

The Fifth King<sup>27</sup> became a martyr for peace. All Sikhs know this history. *Maharaj*<sup>28</sup> sacrificed his life. The Sixth King<sup>29</sup>, the next generation, avenged it. The Ninth King<sup>30</sup> was a martyr for peace. The Tenth King<sup>31</sup> avenged it. This is the history of the Gurus. Sikh history follows this. The younger *Sahibzadas*<sup>32</sup> became martyrs peacefully. Banda Singh Bahaadar came from Hazoor Sahib and rode his horse over Wazira's chest. He had Jani Khan and Mani Khan, the *Thanedars*<sup>33</sup> of Morinda, pulled out [of their homes] and pouring kerosene over them were burnt alive. He avenged the wrong. So long as the Sixth King followed the path of peacefulness, he had to stay in Gwalior jail. When, with permission of Baba Buddha Ji, Bhai Jetha Ji and Bhai Prana Ji rode over Jehangir's<sup>34</sup> chest, he had to be released. [The Government] said: "Leave the fort soon." Now tell me. Has peace been maintained through staying quiet or through weapons? I am not in favor of peacefulness. I am for protecting peacefulness. Boasting about barren peacefulness and getting thrashed up all the time; what sort of peace is this? Baba Mani Singh's body was cut joint by joint. He did not say anything to the executioner. The executioner had no mercy. He could have used his chopper once, twice and stopped. He cut off the arm and did not stop. *Singhs* did not respond. He cut off his head, cut off his arms, tied up the torso in a bag and put it in a *tokra*<sup>35</sup>. The

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<sup>25</sup> Reference is to the price fixed by the government for grain procured from the farmers.

<sup>26</sup> Reference is to staying within the faith.

<sup>27</sup> Siri Guru Arjan Sahib, the fifth Guru..

<sup>28</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Arjan Sahib.

<sup>29</sup> Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib, the sixth Guru.

<sup>30</sup> Siri Guru Tegh Bahadar Sahib, the ninth Guru.

<sup>31</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>32</sup> *Sahibzada* literally means son of the Master; here reference is to the two youngest sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>33</sup> Police officials who were the executioners.

<sup>34</sup> Jehangir was the mughal emperor of India; 1606-1627.

<sup>35</sup> A large shallow basket made of cane or agricultural fibers.

executioner was very happy that he had killed a Sikh. When his [Mani Singh's] nephew came to know of this, he picked up his *khandaa*<sup>36</sup> and cut off his [the executioner's] head. Peace was established. Bhai Sati Das, Bhai Dayala, Bhai Mati Das Ji became martyrs peacefully but Aurangzeb<sup>37</sup> did not desist. That night they got on his chest and he could not sleep in Delhi for a single night. Peace was restored in Delhi. You have come here today, to see Darbar Sahib, to bathe in the sacred pool. You might have attained some peace of mind. Massa tried to desecrate this place. He smoked his *huqqa*<sup>38</sup> here and had a prostitute dance here. When the Guru's Sikhs learnt about this in Bikaner, they said their prayer and started off. *Singhs* came as village headmen, repaid the taxes [avenged the crime], and cutting off Massa's head took it with them to play stick-ball with it. This resulted in some peace here. They protected the peace. After that Amrik Singh was arrested and we started the *Morcha* that is still continuing and we do not know how long it will go on.

### Recent 'Fake' Encounters And How Sikhs Stopped Them

The police started to shoot and kill [our people]. Whenever they caught hold of any of them they would put a bullet through his chest and claim that there had been an encounter with the police. What sort of encounter was this? They would claim that the absconder fired at the police and the police returned the fire. None of the absconder's bullets hit anyone but the extremist was killed by police firing. Where did the bullets fired by the extremist go? *Khalsa Ji*, there has been only one encounter, the one in Daheru. During [the last] twenty months there has been no other encounter with the police. At Daheru there were thirty-two [police] men who had gone to catch two [of ours]. Both escaped after killing two, one inspector and one policeman. They even took the rifles of these two. Rest of the police hid under beds, in grain storages, and under piles of wheat chaff. After two hours the villagers took them out from under the cots, the grain silos and piles of chaff. Don't get involved in shouting slogans of victory. We are not in a position to shout slogans of victory. I am coming to this. I wish to make you the shouters of slogans of victory. All of us sitting here are eunuchs. You may be angry with me and wonder what sort of language is this *Saadh*<sup>39</sup> speaking today. All of us who have assembled here, who are sitting or standing here, are eunuchs. None of us is yet a man. It is not hard to shout slogans. One starts it and the others catch on. This creates a cheerful atmosphere. This is not going to satisfy me. What good is the *Jaikaara*? I have merely described one scene where there was a real encounter and told you what happened. Where there are fake encounters, they catch hold of a person and kill

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<sup>36</sup> *Khandaa* is a double-edged sword.

<sup>37</sup> Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India till 1707 C.E.

<sup>38</sup> A *huqqa* is a tobacco-pipe with a very long stem.

<sup>39</sup> A *Saadh* is a holy man.

him, there has not been even a scratch on any policeman. Since the policemen started getting repaid in the same coin; since some son of his mother took the bitter pill and started to pay the policemen back; the police are still there in Punjab but tell me if they have killed any Sikh in a fake encounter? Even now they have the bullets, they have the guns, they have even cannon but they [the *Singhs*] are sitting on their [police's] heads but no one dare touch them. Lately, they have started to say that Bhindranwala is a congressite. I have earlier told you about it. I have become silent. For four months has anyone read in the newspapers that motorcycles operate. Motorcycles have stopped and nothing is going on. What has transpired with us Sikhs from the fourteenth to the twentieth [February 1984]? The model of Darbar Sahib at the railway station had been broken. It had cost about 80,000 rupees to make. A picture of Sahib Guru Ram Das Sahib was cut up and the face insulted with shoes and we have been peaceful. In Haryana, twenty-four copies of Siri Guru Granth Sahib were set on fire and burnt; six gurdwaras were burnt; twelve trucks and two cars belonging to Sikhs were burnt; the faces and heads of one hundred and twenty-five *Singhs* were shaved and they were sent to this place; hundreds of shops were burnt; three Sikh girls were stripped naked and made to stand on the road for two hours. This went on for seven days. What was our [Akali] formula? It has been: 'We condemn this in the strongest terms'; 'It will have serious consequences'; 'The Government will be responsible for this'. And the fourth point is: 'This is the work of Government's agents, Sikh history will never forgive them.' We [the Akali leaders] merely issued these statements. When it became known here that Sikh girls were being dishonored; that Sikh girls are crying on the road and there was no one to rescue them; that those people, thirty thousand of whose girls were rescued [by Sikhs], were stripping naked the sisters of their rescuers, some Sikhs could not control themselves and on the night of the twentieth [February 1984] they piled up the dead bodies of Chhalli Rams<sup>40</sup>. Today is perhaps the first or the thirty-first. It is around that. They tell me it is the first? It is more than a month and a quarter, around forty days. Have you heard since then that a Sikh's shop has been burnt or a Sikh has been killed in Haryana? The same Bhajan Lal is still there. Newspaper men asked me my views about Haryana. I replied that I did not know if they would find my answer to their liking or not. I told them that we shall not be satisfied so long as we have not dispatched all of those who set fire to our *Isht*<sup>41</sup>, burnt our Gurdwara Sahibs, and dishonored our sisters. The root of all this is Bhajan Lal. We have sent a message to Bhajan Lal that he might make himself a home in the ocean but we shall definitely see him though it might take more or less time. Also, we shall meet him with strong hands when it suits us. In this connection, I shall go through whatever I have to. Everyone's attention is

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<sup>40</sup> Chhalli Ram, a fictitious Hindu name contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn.

<sup>41</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

getting directed to other things. You are getting influenced by their propaganda.

## THE GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGES HINDU CHAUVINISM, SUPPRESSES SIKHS

I have earlier given you the names of all these Hindu organizations. Five hundred guns were recovered from Dharendra Brahmchari's home; 230 grenades were recovered from Pawan Kumar; a thousand tons of tallow were recovered from Bathinda - those of you, among the congregation, who have come from there know this yourselves, and the rest of you read it in the newspapers. A thousand tons of tallow were recovered from the homes of Hindus - tobacco was thrown in the *Parkarma*<sup>42</sup> and a Hindu was caught in the act; they have all been released. Indira Gandhi says that the Sikhs of Punjab should think of what might happen to Sikhs outside Punjab. She has issued this threat. Bhattacharya says Nachhattar Singh should be hanged in the Lala's case<sup>43</sup>. No case has been registered against him. Kewal Krishan, former Finance Minister of Punjab, has said that all Sikh organizations shall be wiped out. Harbans Lal Khanna lives here [in Amritsar]. I have never seen him. Some of you might have. He says:

*Dukki tikki khehan nahin deni, sir te pagri rehan nahin deni,*  
'We are not going to let any second or third group exist, we are not  
going to let a turban remain on any head.'

and

*Kachh, kara, kirpaan; ehnoon bhejo Pakistan*  
'The shorts, the iron bangle, the sword, send these to Pakistan.'

He shouted these slogans and distributed leaflets. No one has registered any case against him. Members of the Hindu Jan Sangh Samiti even issued an ultimatum that all Sikhs of Rajasthan should pick up their bags and go to Punjab by the fifth of December. The Parliament was in session for three days and no one has responded beyond condemning it. When they learnt that they will be beaten up by the *Singhs*; when I too issued a little statement that if the Sikhs of Rajasthan are to be sent here, all the Hindus of Punjab should get ready for the next world because we shall have to accommodate the Sikhs who are coming. The Parliament was heated up for three days. Now they say that by burning Article 25 of the Constitution, Sikhs have insulted the Constitution. You should ask them if they have honored it. Rules under the Constitution

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<sup>42</sup> *Parkarma* is the marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.

<sup>43</sup> The case of Lala Jagat Narain's murder.

require that no question should be raised against any person not present in the session. This is written in the rules. Bhindranwala is sitting here amongst you and they, sitting in Delhi, wail over my life for three days. Have they followed the Constitution? I have named all these persons and told you about them.

## HINDU LEADERS SUPPORT HINDU EXTREMISTS

Has even one of the 700 million Hindus of Hindostan condemned what they did? Has anyone said that he has no connection with any of the *Samitis*<sup>44</sup>; or that they have no connection with the dealers in tallow; or that they have no connection with the dealers in guns and rifles? No, no one has ever said this. However, Rajiv did say this when we were insulted in Haryana. [He said]: "I admire the Hindus for having shown patience." Virender wrote in his newspaper: "I congratulate them for showing restraint." I haven't read this newspaper myself. Yesterday, I was told about it. Indira Gandhi has made a statement a couple of days back. She has said: "How can the control of a border state be handed over to people in whom the public no longer has faith?" You can interpret it and see what it means. She does not like Sikhs to have control [in Punjab] but no Hindu has condemned this.

## AKALI POLICIES ARE WRONG

### The Akali Leadership Itself Opposes Sikh Reaction To Tyranny

I do not want what our brothers<sup>45</sup> see in their dreams at night. When a few Sikh boys got together under the name Dal Khalsa, our brothers issued a statement saying that they had nothing to do with Dal Khalsa; when some shouted a slogan for Khalistan they said they had nothing to do with these people; when Gajinder Singh and party hijacked a plane they said they had no connection with them. Lately, they have started having a connection; I am talking about the earlier stance. If somebody rides his motorcycle and avenges the death of martyrs they say they have nothing to do with him.

### Akali Leaders Criticize Me As A Government Agent

When Bhindranwala started to create representatives of the *Khalsa Panth* by getting people to maintain their hair and beards, give up drug addictions, and receive *amrit*, they said they have nothing to do with Bhindranwala and that he will not be allowed to speak in the Manji Sahib Diwan Hall. Did you speak up at that time? Did anyone ask: "Which [sacred] cow has he killed; why don't you let him speak?" When you come to see me you say: "We shall raise

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<sup>44</sup> Extremist Hindu organizations.

<sup>45</sup> The Akali leaders.

the rafters; don't worry, just send us a message" You cannot break the leg of an ant, how are you going to raise any rafters? Where have you kept the boards you have got sawed over the last twenty months? All of you Sikhs who are standing or sitting here, I may know most of you by face but I do not your names. Let anyone among you stand up and tell me if the police came to your home once; you sent me a message, and then they visited your home a second time. Let anyone stand up and say it now. This is my stand for all of you that I may lose my life but I am not going to let Sikhs get beat up. This being so, when some worthless people get up and start saying that Bhindranwala is Government's agent and you sit around like eunuchs! Why don't you go out and ask them? Talab Singh Sandhu who is President of the Shromani Akali Dal in Ludhiana District and is currently in jail; Hari Singh Zira, President, Shromani Akali Dal, Ferozepur District; Sucha Singh Chhotepur, President, Gurdaspur District, and Jaswant Singh Advocate from Bathinda - even though a resolution has been passed some time back - gave a statement in the Daily Ajit of September 6 that Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi and Bhindranwala are agents of the Congress and traitors to the *Panth*. You read it and just sit there quietly in the villages! Do you have any sense of honor? I am not saying that .... [inaudible] ....

#### If Anyone Is Harassed By Police, Let Me Know

Police have harassed you in the past. In the future if the police harass anyone in the villages do send me a message and then see what happens. Remember two things. It will facilitate matters. One is that remember the number on the belt of any policeman who beats you. If you can find out the name of the village he is from, it would speed up our work. Otherwise we have to make an effort to find him. You can certainly take this much responsibility. I shall take care of the rest. How many times have I stated in the newspapers that if any Sikh in Punjab has suffered on account of the *Panth*, on account of the Sikh appearance, or on account of the honor of our sisters and daughters, you can claim up to a million rupees from me within a month after the *Morcha* is successful. What more can I say? If administering *amrit*, getting people to read the *Baani*<sup>46</sup> and to follow the *Rehit*<sup>47</sup>, is the business of the Congressites; you should tell me what is the business of the Akalis? The Government has started to call an extremist anyone ....

#### ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN WHO HAVE STRAYED FROM THE FAITH

[*Aside*: Stop these people whose beards are shaved. They are running away. Those of you whose beards are shaved, stay for another minute. You may go

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<sup>46</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>47</sup> Sikh *Rehit* or *Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.



after that. Sit down. Sit down. They have made their heads like watermelons and are running away?]. First, tell me if a son does not resemble his father what is he called? Tell me, brothers .... [inaudible] .... We call him illegitimate, don't we? What do we call the one who does resemble? You believe in the Tenth King, don't you? Those of you who have had their beards shaved, why don't you speak? Do you believe in him? You do, don't you? Then do you resemble him? What will people call us? Keep your beards and hair intact, give up drug addictions and become my brothers. Become my brothers if you think I am a good man. If you think I am a rogue do not become my brothers. If you call me good, you will have to keep hair and beard and to give up intoxicants. Calling me a rogue will get me off your back. You can decide whichever way you wish. Of course, if after you keep hair and beard and give up drinking alcohol, I ask you to address me as *Sant* or ask you to make obeisance to me, you should shave yourselves real close. If I ask you to be my disciples, then too you may shave off. I want to make you my brothers. If you like to you can become so and if you don't like to, you can go home and rest. Tell me now. [Someone says 'yes']. You have become [my brother] now ask the others of your companions too. We are not going to ask each one of you separately. All can hear. I do not think anyone has cotton in his ears. The police have started to call us Sikhs extremists. I am considered to be the greatest extremist. I am a confirmed extremist and wish to make you to extremists by asking you to raise your arms. Raise your arms only if you wish to become extremists. The Government uses the label of extremist for one who has received *amrit* himself and administers it to others; who reads the *Baani* himself and helps others to read it; who shuns intoxicants and helps others do the same; who wishes to punish, and persuades others to punish, those who have dishonored our sisters and daughters, those who have desecrated copies [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib], those who have desecrated gurdwaras, and those who have drunk the blood of innocent people. In the eyes of the Government such a person is an extremist. I am one like that. If you too are like that, raise your arms when I shout the *Jaikaara*. Do so only if you are Sikhs of the Guru. Whoever among us is a Sikh of Indira<sup>48</sup>; a Sikh who sprinkles vermilion on a *Jand* [tree]; a Sikh who waters the *Pipal* [tree]; or a Sikh of the Radhaswamis, the *Narkdharis*<sup>49</sup> or the Red Shirts; should not raise his arm. You are sitting in the congregation, in Guru's Langar [Hall], think over it. Whoever wishes to go that way [the way of the Brahmins and the heretics] should not raise his arm. He who is a Sikh of Guru Granth Sahib and considers me his brother; who is desirous of riding a motorcycle and avenging the death of our martyrs; only such a one should raise his arm; only he who wishes to secure the [demands in the] Anandpur Resolution. [*Sant Bhindranwale shouts the Jaikaara*]

<sup>48</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>49</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

*Bolay so Nihaal*  
'Whoever says will be blest.'

[*The congregation enthusiastically shouts*]:

*Sat Sri Akal*  
'Eternal Lord is the Reality.'

I thank all of you. It is only since the last couple of days that I have started to ask you to raise your arms.

#### REGARDING KHUSHWANT SINGH

There is one Khushwant Singh in Chandigarh. He does have complete hair and beard but he is a Sikh of Indira's. He belongs to a newspaper, the Hindustan Times, the big one. He published in his newspaper that there are only about three hundred extremists and that they should be crushed in one single onslaught. Leave aside the three hundred who are with me. Just now all of you have become extremists. If we were to count how many would you be? Throughout the day, up to this evening, there will be people becoming extremists. Those living in the villages have already returned after being made into extremists. He sits under Indira's feathers and keeps on saying there are three hundred and they should be crushed. [One might ask him]: you keep saying this sitting over there but who is going to come here [to carry out the crushing]?

#### APPEAL

##### Respond Appropriately To Any Attack On Harmandar Sahib

I have one appeal to make to you too. The police are making preparations to come here. If you get word [of such a thing happening] don't just stay asleep in the villages. Don't be the first to attack anyone but don't let any attack go unresponded. When you learn that the police have entered here, just assume your responsibility wherever you are. Chhalli Rams are only twenty to each one of you. Stay upbeat. Some even say that they [the police] will pick me up and take me away. May God have mercy. They will know only when they make the attempt. We shall take care of a hundred thousand of them at the first assault. By then you will wake up too. I do not mean that after doing away with a hundred thousand we shall go to sleep, it is only the first count that I have given you. Listen to me. Don't let this happen that nothing is going on here and you, on the outside, go on a rampage and start taking action. Don't do that. Also keep another thing in mind. No matter how hot the battle, is someone's daughter or sister comes to our home, don't dishonor her. Protect her as if she was your own sister. Make a firm promise that you will treat any daughter or

sister that may come to our home as your sister. Don't dishonor her. [*Aside to someone*: Sit quietly and listen; I know where each one stands; it is not right to speak in the congregation]. Remember this. If we start to dishonor daughters and sisters, *Kalgidhar Ji*<sup>50</sup> is not going to give us his protection. If we save people from dishonor, he will save us even through fire; he would not let us get burnt. This is all I had to say to you. If you have anything to say, tell me.

#### Advice To Those Who Have Cut Their Hair

I had appealed to those, the ones who have cut their beards and hair, that it would be good if they kept their hair [from now on]. If you are not going to, if you are not going to listen to me, if you feel too warm [because of the hair], then go Darbar Sahib and pray: "True King, you made us men. This was not good. Please kill us and let us be reborn as women and make women into men. Make this exchange." If you did not grow hair on your faces, you would not need the barber to rub his razor on a shoe and shave your faces; nor would I have to preach to you; nor would you feel angry [with me]. Tell me, do you wish to become women or remain men? [*Someone in the audience comments: they say they are men but have strayed*] I am merely your servant. I am here to do whatever you wish me to do...

[*The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available*].

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<sup>50</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

SPEECH #42  
13 APRIL 1984

[The first part of this speech is not available].

IF THE GOVERNMENT ATTACKS HARMANDAR SAHIB, RISE UP IN  
VILLAGES

I humbly request you all who have come on the occasion of *Vaisaakhi*<sup>1</sup>, that in every village you maintain a motorcycle. Also get three superior quality revolvers and, preferably, wear them separately in three *gatraas*<sup>2</sup>. I appeal to you to keep tanks, guns, grenades, bombs, sten [guns], whatever you can. There should be no hindrance to this. If Chhalli Ram<sup>3</sup> can keep 230 grenades, why should there be a restriction on us, sons of *Kalgidhar*<sup>4</sup>, if it is one country and there is the same freedom for all. I also like to tell to the entire congregation that the police are making preparations. Don't let this frighten you in any way but do accept my request. Take this message to all the villages. If the police happen to enter the perimeter here, don't wait for a letter, don't wait for the newspaper reports. At that time there should be no Chhalli Ram<sup>5</sup> left anywhere in the land of Punjab. Only then the Sikhs elsewhere will be spared? If, upon the police entering Harmandar Sahib, we keep sitting quietly following our past attitudes, horrible things will happen to Sikhs elsewhere [in India]. Never be the first to attack whether the other party is Hindu or Muslim or of any other class. Never attack anyone first but if the police enter Harmandar Sahib, don't hesitate. However, there is one instruction too. If the police enter Harmandar Sahib and this action starts and someone's daughter or sister comes to our home, don't molest her. Keep her at your home and treat her as your own sister. This instruction is important. Don't worry and ask me: "Sant Ji, if they enter, what will you do?" Some newspapermen ask what my answer will be. I told them to come and see. How can I tell anything beforehand? They may not come and here I would be getting all worked up for nothing. However, I certainly wish to tell you that once they enter en masse, if they take this trip on the boat of sin, if God makes them lose their senses, there will certainly be a pile of a hundred thousand [dead] in the first assault. By then you will rise outside in the villages. You won't go on sleeping, would you?

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<sup>1</sup> The first day of the month *Vaisaakh* of Bikrami Calendar corresponding to April 13.

<sup>2</sup> A *gatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is to Pawan Kumar, a Hindu of Patiala.

<sup>4</sup> *Kalgidhar* literally means the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he wore a plume.

<sup>5</sup> Chhalli Ram, a fictitious Hindu name contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn.

## LET ME MAKE YOU 'EXTREMISTS' LIKE MYSELF

There is one Khushwant Singh. I have only seen him barely once. He is from Delhi and is close to Indira. One day he issued a statement that there are only about three hundred extremists and that they should be eliminated in one determined assault. He is somebody named Khushwant Singh from Delhi. Let us first make you one of our own and then we shall look towards the future. Also, those from the intelligence department who are here should not be disappointed. They too shall have to raise their arms<sup>6</sup>. The Government has started to label as extremist anyone who is an *amritdhari*<sup>7</sup> and administers<sup>8</sup> *amrit* to others; one who himself reads the *Baani*<sup>9</sup> and teaches others to do the same; one who says that a Hindu should be a true Hindu, a Muslim should be a true Muslim and a Sikh should be firm in his own Faith; one who is desirous of punishing those who have set fire to gurdwaras, set fire to copies of Guru Granth Sahib, and dishonored our sisters, and supports urging upon others to do the same. It is not to kill but to avenge. Sikh is never a murderer; Sikh always avenges sin. One who attacks first is called a murderer by us. The one who responds to the first attack and seeks to avenge can never be called a murderer. I am one like this. I administer *amrit* and whatever little bit I know of *Baani*, I read. We have to punish those who have dishonored our daughters and sisters and pray for mercy too. We have to unite people with the Guru and stay under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>10</sup>. If all of you are such extremists, prove it by raising your arms when I shout the *Jaikaara*<sup>11</sup>. Do not raise your arms before me merely for the show. I am not a leader nor is this a political stage. We are sitting in Guru's Langar. Raise your arms only if you wish to become firm extremists to get justice for the martyrs and to shake off the yoke of slavery. If you are Guru's Sikhs, sons of Sikhs, and consider me to be your brother and have love for the honor of daughters and sisters, then do raise your arms. If among you there is a Sikh of Indira's, a Sikh who sprinkles vermilion on a *Jand* [tree], a Sikh who waters a *Pipal* tree, a Sikh of the spinning wheel and the goat<sup>12</sup>, a Sikh of the Radhaswamis or the *Narkdharis*<sup>13</sup>, or a Sikh of the red shirt<sup>14</sup>, he should not raise his arm. Think it over in your minds. If you

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<sup>6</sup> In order to escape identification as intelligence persons.

<sup>7</sup> *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>8</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>9</sup> *Baani* here is *Gurbani*, i.e., Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>10</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>11</sup> *Jaikaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>12</sup> A follower of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the prominent Hindu leader of India's struggle for freedom from British rule. Mr. Gandhi used to drink goat's milk.

<sup>13</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>14</sup> A communist.

are Guru's Sikhs, sons of Sikhs; if you love Sikhi, if you desire to ride motorcycles and kill those who have set on fire and burnt copies of Guru Granth Sahib and people like Bhajan Lal; then raise your arms. [*Sant Bhindranwale shouts the Jaikaara*]

*Bolay so Nihaal*

'Whoever says will be blest.'

[*The congregation responds enthusiastically and shouts*]:

*Sat Sri Akal*

'Eternal Lord is the Reality.'

I thank you all heartily. People from the Press: see for yourselves. Khushwant Singh says there are 300 extremists. Take a count. How many are they? These are the extremists down here. Those who can hear [me] over the speaker must also have raised their arms.

#### THE GOVERNMENT IS AFTER ME

A few days back a newspaperman came here. Perhaps he was from England or somewhere else. He was from abroad, I don't remember the name of the country. He came and asked me: "Bhindranwale Baba, why is the Government so after you?" I replied him jokingly and he felt embarrassed. I told him that the tradition of our Faith is that, at the time of marriage, the man walks in front and the woman follows him. This is why<sup>15</sup> [the Government] is following me around. He said: "You are making fun of me." I told him: "I have merely answered your question; you should have asked why the Government was harassing me. You used the words 'ਮਗਰ ਲਗੀ' and that is what they mean: follow around."

#### BE GOOD SIKHS. STAY UNITED

For this reason I humbly request you all to pay attention to being Sikhs and to become firm extremists. For one, don't quarrel among yourselves. Some people tell me too that I also fight. Have you got any proof of our quarreling? The only proof is that we<sup>16</sup> don't speak to each other. However, in twenty-one months tell me if there has been any excess from my side. Some brothers say that we should have unity. We already have unity. They keep on abusing us and I keep listening. If they stop abusing us the problem will end. I already do not

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<sup>15</sup> The word 'Sarkar' used for Government is feminine gender in North Indian languages.

<sup>16</sup> Reference is to the situation that Sant Bhindranwale and Sant Longowal would not even speak with each other at the time.

say anything. I am here only to serve as your lowly watchman. You can get me to do whatever you wish. Don't have any doubts in your minds. Some brothers say: "Bhindranwala, would this time too juice be sipped<sup>17</sup>?" This time there will be no sipping of juice. It will be one way or the other. Things are not going to end halfway. But this is possible only if you stay firm. If you are chasing trivial things; if you get a couple of additional drops of water, and you get Chandigarh, and getting a couple of villages you walk away, these things are not going to save your Sikhi. All of us will have to pay attention to this. Some even say that they don't get licenses and don't know what to do. I think it is good that they are not issued. Why do we need licenses? If we were to count all of you present here, you are hardly five .... [inaudible] .... hardly five. There are taxes to pay. There is the land revenue to pay. From where will you get rifles? .... [inaudible] .... Let them buy. They have fleeced you through taxation. What remained has been taken off by business people. Let them buy. Then we shall snatch these from them. We are not afraid of them anyway. .... [inaudible] .... Never be the first.

## RELATIONSHIP WITH HINDUS

Yesterday they came and today as well. They might be sitting here. Yes, there they are. Yesterday they asked me about my thoughts regarding Hindus. No one ever asks me how you Sikhs are doing. Over twenty-one months, all the press reporters who have come have asked me: "Sant Ji, what are your thoughts regarding Hindus?" There are no Hindus. So, how can I have an opinion about them? Hindu is never born. You educated people, get rid of the thoughts ingrained in your minds. They say Hindus are the older brothers and we Sikhs the younger brothers. If I claim that there is no Hindu, how can Hindu be the older brother? When he is not even born, how can he be the older? Out of 330 million gods, 90 million goddesses, 125,000 Prophets, eighty-four *Siddhs*<sup>18</sup>, fifty-two *Pirs*<sup>19</sup>, six *Jatis*<sup>20</sup> and ten Gurus; did anyone have his or her head and face shaved? Show me where is it written in historical texts. They all had hair and the primary symbol of a Sikh is his hair and beard. The sign of a Hindu is the *topi*<sup>21</sup>, *bodi*<sup>22</sup>, *dhoti*<sup>23</sup>, *janeoo*<sup>24</sup>, and *tilak*<sup>25</sup>; the sign of a Muslim is that

<sup>17</sup> Reference is to fasts by past Akali leaders which all ended in their winning no concessions from the Government, falsely declaring victory, and breaking their fasts by ceremoniously sipping fruit juice.

<sup>18</sup> A *siddh*, among the Hindus, is a person who possesses miraculous powers.

<sup>19</sup> A *Bir* is a hero, a valorous person.

<sup>20</sup> A *Jati* is a person who has controlled his/her sexual desires.

<sup>21</sup> *Topi* is Punjabi for cap.

<sup>22</sup> *Bodi* is a tuft of hair left in place when the rest of the head is shorn clean.

<sup>23</sup> *Dhoti* is a loincloth devout Hindus wear.

<sup>24</sup> *Janeoo* is the sacred thread worn by caste Hindus.

<sup>25</sup> *Tilaks* are the saffron marks that devout Hindus wear.

he be circumcised, say his prayer five times a day, and be well-read in the Qura'n. Who is it that is born circumcised? Who is there who is born with the *janeoo*? If all of us were to remain as we were born, I can say with certainty that no will address us as *Babu* or *Lala*<sup>26</sup>. They will all call us *Sardar Ji*<sup>27</sup> regardless of our caste or nationality. Now you tell me who is born earlier: Sikh or Hindu? Why don't you speak? If it is the Sikh then who taught you that Hindus are our older brothers? Who is the older: one who is born earliest or one who is born after seven or eight? The scissors and the razor are symbolic of doubt and communalism. *Kirpaan*<sup>28</sup> is the symbol of unity. If the face and the head are shaved with the scissors and the razor, one becomes a Hindu. If one is circumcised he becomes a Muslim. If one is beheaded with the *kirpaan*<sup>29</sup> one becomes the form of the Guru himself. Taking people from five backward classes, uniting them, beheading them with the *kirpaan*, taking them to the bowl of *amrit*, [Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib] made them his own form. Singhs, being the sons of that Guru, what is our condition today? We should first look at our faces. How many from our younger generation have beards on their faces? Sikhs of old times had the slogan:

ਸਿਰ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਿਖੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਨਾ ਜਾਵੇ।

'I might lose my life but may I never lose my love for my Sikh faith.' Our younger generation has adopted this as their way of life: "Even if I have to give up my Faith, may a beard never grow on my face." On whose faces do you wish it to grow? The Sacrificer of his sons<sup>30</sup> shouted the slogan:

ਪੰਥ ਜੀਵੇ ਮੈਂ ਉਜੜਾਂ ਮਨ ਚਾਉ ਘਨੇਰਾ।

'May the *Panth*<sup>31</sup> flourish and I be destroyed. This is my earnest desire', and:

ਸੁਖੀ ਬਸੈ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਰਿਵਾਰਾ॥ ਸੇਵਕ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਭੈ ਕਰਤਾਰਾ॥

'O God, may my family, my Sikhs and servants, live in comfort.' *Kalgidhar Ji* says these words and, today, young Sikhs who believe in *Kalgidhar Ji* should go and sit in front of a barber! What else can be as shameful for a Sikh? I appeal to the young Sikhs, wherever they are sitting, that if they are sons of the

<sup>26</sup> Common forms of respectfully addressing Hindus.

<sup>27</sup> Form of respectfully addressing a Sikh.

<sup>28</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>29</sup> Reference is to the day, first of *Vaiasaakh* in the year 1756 Bikrami calendar, 1699 Christian era, when Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib asked for volunteers to be beheaded with his *kirpaan*.

<sup>30</sup> Sikhs often refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib in this manner recalling that all of his four sons became martyrs for the faith.

<sup>31</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.



Guru and my brothers, if they wish to be speaking with me, they should go home today making the promise that they shall keep their hair and beards and give up alcohol. If they do not wish to be their Father's sons it is their business. *Kalgidhar Ji* sacrificed all his family for us and we cannot even keep our hair and beards for him? [With the attitudes we have] what fortress are we going to demolish? Tell me this: what do people in villages say about a boy who does not resemble his father? All of you who are sitting next to me, you can ask. Speak up, you, the one with the khaki turban. All of you have raised your arms. Even the intelligence people have raised theirs. You can decide for yourselves. If we are sons of the Tenth King, we should keep them [our hair and beards] and if we are sons of someone else, it is up to you. Of course, if I get you to keep your hair and beards and wear the *kachhera* and then ask you to address me as *Sant* or to make obeisance to me. ....

*[The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available.]*

**SPEECH #43**  
**19 APRIL 1984**

Dear *Khalsa Ji*: First of all I seek your forgiveness because you have been waiting a long time. Some discussion was going on upstairs. This is why I was unable to come earlier. Please accept my apology for this. It is not look nice that so many in the congregation wait for one man. It is all right if we wait for Satguru<sup>1</sup> Granth Sahib, the True King<sup>2</sup>. [*Aside to someone*: Come here; don't make obeisance [to me]; listen to me; go on along this side].

**SODHI'S MURDER BY AKALI CONNIVANCE**

Malak Singh Bhatia Involved In The Murderer's Escape

I appeal to all the congregation. Some brothers had advised that there should be peacefulness regarding this incident<sup>3</sup> of day before yesterday. They are all prominent persons of the Committee<sup>4</sup>. I did make a slight mistake. I did not look into this aspect. Malak Singh Bhatia is a *Jathedar*<sup>5</sup> of this city, of the Akali Dal, belonging to the Talwandi group. He came upstairs just now. He had a significant role in the killing, day before yesterday, of the fearless, lion-hearted *Singh* of our *Jatha*<sup>6</sup>. We have exposed this [role] before the following persons. Major Singh, Josh Sahib, Bhag Singh, Brigadier Sahib, Moonga Sahib, Abinashi Singh, and many other *Singhs* as well as several members of the *Jatha* were present when I asked him. They killed Surinder Singh Sodhi, a *Singh* of the *Jatha*. Surinder Singh Chhinda, who killed him, has been put on the train [of death] by the Guru's *Singhs* last night. They have avenged it. The person who killed Sodhi, he too has been put to sleep on the road. Bhatia, of your city, of Amritsar, played a very important role in this incident. One, he arranged for a taxi for him [Chhinda] to escape; and second, when he [Chhinda] fired the shots; he [Bhatia] himself did not fire any shots but he did take the injured out from the inside. If he did not have a hand in this, he could have caught Chhinda right there. Then, when he [Chhinda] tried to run away with the *Singh's* [Sodhi's] pistol, he saw this with his own eyes. [*Aside*: Sit

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<sup>1</sup> 'Satguru' means the true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>2</sup> Sikhs refer to Guru Nanak and each of his successors including Siri Guru Granth Sahib as "*Saccha Patshah*", the True King, being perfect and eternal compared to the worldly authorities who are imperfect and temporary - being subject to death - and, therefore, false. Here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>3</sup> Surinder Singh Sodhi's murder.

<sup>4</sup> The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee responsible for management of gurdwaras.

<sup>5</sup> *Jathedar* is leader of a *Jatha*. *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons. Here, it is the Akali membership in the city of Amritsar.

<sup>6</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.

down for a moment. Singhs, Gurmukhs, sit down. You can say the Fateh later. Sit down right here if you please. It will block the passage too]. He himself saw the pistol in Chhinda's hand. Tell me brothers, didn't he admit to these before you? Why don't you speak up? [Someone responds: 'Yes.'] He admitted this in the presence of several persons and they will get up and confirm this. I have never cooked up things, nor am I doing it now nor shall I ever in the future. He admitted in their presence that he did these things. You can think for yourselves [over the fact] that he arranges for his [Chhinda's] escape in a taxi. What was his own car for? It was for the escape of the woman and another man who were with him [Chhinda]. What excuse did they cook up? They said: "We killed Sodhi because he was molesting that girl." Then the girl gave a statement. She made the statement that I tape-recorded myself. She, herself, said that Chhinda had told her: "When I kill Sodhi, you should go to Sant [Bhindranwale] and blame Sodhi." When the *Singhs* asked her if Sodhi had misbehaved with her, she said no, that Sodhi never molested her. Then they asked her why she named him. She replied that she had named Sodhi because Chhinda had told her that this would save his life. This is on tape. That woman gave Bhatia's telephone number. This scheme has been prepared over a period of one month. Their plans were somewhat different. Those could not reach fruition. It was to kill one, me; second, Sodhi; third, my truck driver; and fourth, my nephew. They principally had the four of us in mind; and other *Singhs* of the *Jatha*. .... [inaudible] .... So, this was the plot that these people had hatched.

#### Appeal To The Congregation To Keep Peace

They have killed our *Singh* who was like a lion but I appeal to you, the congregation, with folded hands that in grief for the murder of this *Singh* we do not bring dishonor to the *Panth*<sup>7</sup>.

#### Akalis Keep Slandering Me

I have appealed to these people [the Akali leaders] today to be satisfied and to stop attacking us. I challenged them there and I ask you too. It is twenty-one months since the *Morcha*<sup>8</sup> was started. During these twenty-one months, if you can prove that I published even one complaint against the Akali Dal, I shall be answerable to the congregation and accept whatever punishment you give me. Let anyone tell me [if I have]. If of the entire [Sikh] Nation, there isn't a single person who can prove a single public utterance by me against the *Panth*, why

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<sup>7</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>8</sup> A *Morcha* is an organized struggle, movement, or campaign. Here reference is to the *Dharam Yudh Morcha*, the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

do our brothers cry all the time that [Bhindranwala] is a congressite<sup>9</sup>? Who is going to provide the proof? Who is going to provide the proof for this program [of calling me a congressite] that somebody has created. On *Vaisaakhi*<sup>10</sup> day [13 April, 1984], I spoke in favor of the *Panth* until my throat was hoarse and our brother, the President Sahib<sup>11</sup>, the Dictator, issued the statement that Bhindranwala misuses the funds collected in the name of martyrs; that he speaks in favor of the Government and not in favor of the *Panth*. Listen to my tapes [recordings of speeches] some time. Let the congregation that assembled here on *Vaisaakhi* day tell us whether at that time I spoke in favor of the *Panth* or in favor of the Government. In spite of all this, they say such things. They boycotted my meeting. The Dictator made this statement. If I have ever boycotted any meeting called by the Dictator in the name of the [Sikh] Nation, I am answerable to you. About five or six months back there was an inconsequential firing on Gurcharan Singh. For five days, every day, they insulted me in the newspapers. They said that Bhindranwale's *Singhs* had fired the shots from Guru Nanak Niwas. I went [to see them] along with the Generals<sup>12</sup>. Matters should be cleared some time. When I told the Sant [Longowal] that the firing was not from any *Singh* of our *Jatha*, he said that their watchman, who stands guard with his stick, said it was. When we asked them if any bullet had made a mark on the road, they said no. I asked if it hit any wall. They replied that it had hit nowhere. I asked if it hit Gurcharan Singh, the Secretary. They said he was not hit either. Then where did the bullets go? The first day they said there was one shot fired. The second day they said there were two. The fifth day they said that there had been a shower of bullets. If there had been a shower of bullets, wouldn't some of them hit some place? They did not believe us at all. Then, it was said that the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee should be approached and requested to stop Bhindranwale from speaking at the Manji Sahib Diwan Hall because he makes fiery speeches. The statement is by the Dictator. Either the Dictator can confirm this or the newspapermen. Bhai Bhan Singh has contradicted it. What right does he have to contradict the Dictator's statement? Then the news came that Bhindranwala has advised him [Longowal] to buy motorcycles and revolvers and also that he has advised him to kill persons belonging to a particular community. The advice I did give has been contradicted and the one I never gave has been stated in a way that it constitutes legal evidence against me. I had told him to buy motorcycles and revolvers. I do not deny that. [*Aside to someone who had started to interrupt*: Listen, I warn you; keep quiet; if you make trouble, I shall beat you up]. Let anyone say if I have ever said anything against the Sant [Longowal]. Regarding buying motorcycles and revolvers, I

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<sup>9</sup> Member of Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

<sup>10</sup> The first day of the month *Vaisaakh* of Bikrami Calendar corresponding to April 13.

<sup>11</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>12</sup> Reference is probably to General Shubeg Singh.

ask all the congregation daily to do so. In each village, city, and town, make sure there is one motor cycle, three revolvers and three young men. The advice I gave has been contradicted. He has said I did not tell him so. Who is responsible for the other one, the charge he has brought against me, evidence as strong as if Mahatma Gandhi had given it. Show me if this has been contradicted in any newspaper. [Has it been declared that] Bhindranwala has not given him this advice that people of a particular community be killed? Which newspaper did this contradiction appear in? Doesn't it amount to giving evidence against me? Today I am sitting amongst you but should it so transpires that I am in police custody, they would not need your statements. Your Dictator has already given evidence against me. Who will contradict it? Talab Singh Sandhu, President of the Ludhiana District Akali Dal; Sucha Singh Chhotepur; Hari Singh Zira; Jaswant Singh, Advocate from Bathinda; these people published in the Daily Ajit of 6 September [1983] a statement that Jagdev Singh Talwandi and Bhindranwala are agents of the Congress [party] and traitors to the *Panth*. Show me a contradiction of that. The same Bhai Bhan Singh brought me a note [of denial]. I asked them as to where it was written that they had not said so about Bhindranwala, about Talwandi? What was this contradiction? It went like this. Some news has been published in the newspapers that are without any basis. How does one know as to what they are telling whom? What news was it? Was it anywhere in the note they brought me? I had it somewhere. What news was being contradicted? It has come to this. I went on speaking here for eleven hours, all day, and Sardar Bahaadar [Longowal] gave a statement to the Press saying that Bhindranwala misuses the funds collected in the name of the martyrs and speaks for the Government and not in the interests of the *Panth*. The word Jarnail Singh is not used anywhere but all the mud is thrown at me. You can read it and see whom it refers to. After that, they have killed Sodhi. I was sitting upstairs. Tota Singh, *Jathedar* of the Shromani Akali Dal from Faridkot District, Malkiat Singh of Rayya, Secretary of the Ludhiana Circle, were sitting with me. They had been sent by Gurcharan. He wanted them to tell me: "I have given false information against the Sant [Bhindranwale] for publication, some on my own and some that I was forced to; and that I wish to apologize to the Sant for that." I gave this reply. I said: "O God's man, I already never give any news. You should tell them that the only proper apology would be that they should stop abusing me in the future. I already never do that." They were still talking about this when the message came that Surinder Singh Sodhi had been killed. Who killed him? It was Chhinda. His name too is Surinder Singh. That man was called Chhinda and he was called Sodhi. He [Chhinda] shot him [Sodhi] dead and Bhatia assisted him. Gurcharan Singh, Secretary<sup>13</sup> gave [him] 4,000 rupees in Room No. 102 of Serai Guru Ram Das Sahib Niwas. Two thousand rupees were given to the woman and four thousand to Chhinda, and two thousand to Toti, the boy

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<sup>13</sup> Secretary of the Shromani Akali Dal.

who was called Toti<sup>14</sup>. The money was given in cash and he was asked to kill the four of us. In spite of all this have I ever told any *Singh* not to join the *Jatha*<sup>15</sup>? Stand up and tell me. In spite of all this oppression, tell me if I have ever asked any of you *Singhs* not to see Longowal or to harass him? Tell me if I have asked anyone not to go to Manji Sahib? However, these brothers printed flyers and distributed them in the *Parkarma*<sup>16</sup> all day long on the day of *Vaisaakhi*. They distributed them at the procession that was taken out. They slandered me in those [flyers]. What do they ask of me? They say: "You ran away from such and such place." [They also ask] why I said the *Ardaas*<sup>17</sup> at Akal Takhat on the betrothal of Harminder Singh Sandhu, the Secretary of the Federation<sup>18</sup>, and that by doing so I had violated the *Maryada*<sup>19</sup>. Isn't that [reaching] the limit [of maliciousness]? Tell me, you members of the congregation assembled here: should the *Ardaas* for betrothal of Sikhs be done at cinemas, at prostitution houses or in gurdwaras? Why don't you speak? [*The congregation shouts: 'In gurdwaras'*]. If it has to be done in gurdwaras, then by saying the *Ardaas* for an *amritdhari*<sup>20</sup> *Singh*, what tradition did I violate? This was published in the newspapers. Why didn't you ask these people? The *Jathedar* of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib, Giani Kirpal Singh, officiated at the marriage of Badal's daughter. Ask him if the *Singh* [the bridegroom] and the Bibi [the bride] had received *amrit*? The Head *Granthi* of Harmandar Sahib, Bhai Sahib Singh, officiated at the marriage of Jaswinder Singh Brar's son. Wasn't that boy's head and face shaved? Had he received *amrit*? The *Maryada* is all right if the Head *Granthi* officiates at the marriage of people who have cut their hair, drink and eat meat but not if I ask a *Singh* to say the *Ardaas* at the betrothal of an *amritdhari*. Over the last twenty to thirty years there have never been more than three hundred persons prepared to receive *amrit* at Siri Akal Takhat Sahib; in twenty years! Now, every Wednesday and every Sunday, four hundred to four hundred and fifty persons, and even up to five hundred persons, receive *amrit*. Who is responsible for their doing so? During the month of *Chet*<sup>21</sup>, your *Jatha* has administered *amrit* to 45,000 persons in just one month. We have the list. Still they call me a congressite; but their Gurcharan Singh, their Secretary, who has full participation in Sodhi's murder and who has been given a license [to keep weapons] is an akali. My licenses [to keep weapons] have been canceled and I am a congressite and Umranangal's license for a

<sup>14</sup> His real name reported by India Today, May 15, 1984, was Bachan Singh alias Toti.

<sup>15</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>16</sup> *Parkarma* is the marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.

<sup>17</sup> *Ardaas* is the prayer at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly.

<sup>18</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

<sup>19</sup> *Maryada* is tradition.

<sup>20</sup> *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>21</sup> A month in the Bikrami calendar beginning in Mid-March.

carbine has been issued and he is an akali. Over the last eight years I have never dined at the home of any congress M.L.A.<sup>22</sup>, any akali M.L.A., any communist, socialist or Jan Sanghi M.L.A. I have certainly dined at the homes of the common people, do so even now and will keep doing so in the future. Of all their 36 M.L.A.'s ask them to count how many of them are there who have not dined at the home of the murderer of Guru Granth Sahib. I am not saying if all of them dined or only half of them did. They should list those who have not dined. Who is this murderer? It is the former Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara, the form of *Zakariya*<sup>23</sup>. They ate at his place. When? It was when the Government had set on fire and burnt both the busses given to the *Jatha* by the congregation; when the books [religious texts] had been burnt; when *Singhs* had been pulled by their hair; and 18 *Singhs* had been shot dead in Mehta; after I had returned after [spending] 25 days in jail. That is when all our brothers, the M.L.A.'s, ate at Darbara's home. When did they eat? When they voted for Giani Zail Singh's election as President [of India]. That was when they ate at his place. [One can understand that] they gave their votes in their personal capacity noting his [Zail Singh's] Sikh appearance; but were they dying of hunger that they had to eat there? Why did they not come back here? Now no room for doubt has been left. Where has the daughter of the senior-most leader of the Shromani Akali Dal, the greatest among you, Badal, been married? Hasn't she been married into the Kairon family? I am not saying that no Sikh should marry his daughter into the home of [a member of] the Congress<sup>24</sup>. My purpose in saying this is to point out which home of the [member of the] Congress it is. It is the congressite family that had the late Jathedar Mohan Singh Tur, former President of the Shromani Akali Dal, stripped down to his *kachhera*<sup>25</sup>, and laid him naked on ice; the family that confiscated the property of the President of the Shromani Akali Dal; the person who had a twelve year old boy, Inderjit Singh, chopped up and thrown into a well in Bathinda; the family that had 57,000 men with turbans and women with *chunis*<sup>26</sup>, the daughters of the Sikhs, put in jail. He gives his daughter to that family and is still an akali and I am a congressite! They have forced me to think. The question of going to the Congress does not even arise. Forced into the present situation, I shall have to consider whether I am going to go along with the Akali Dal or if I have to free myself from them and act independently seeking support from Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. They are sitting near here. Let them, all the three secretaries, answer to something. They are sitting in your presence. Ask them if I have ever spoken a word against them or against the Dictator; if I

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<sup>22</sup> Member of the Legislative Assembly of a state.

<sup>23</sup> Sant Bhindranwale's contemptuous reference to the then Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh comparing him to Zakariya Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>24</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party.

<sup>25</sup> *Kachhera* (the Sikh shorts) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>26</sup> *Chuni* is the scarf worn by Sikh women over their hair.

have criticized the Shromani Akali Dal. They are sitting here in your midst. They should answer me or ask me for an answer in your presence. I am not speaking about the last few hours, but for the last twenty-one months.

### They Have Killed Sodhi: Now I Ask Them To Relent

Now they say we should preserve peace. What is the use of peacefulness? They killed one who was like a lion. We received Sodhi's body and have cremated it and are sitting quietly. We have told the *Singhs* not to say anything to anyone. Of course, the one who fired the shots has been challenged and the death avenged within twenty-four hours. Chhinda had spilt his [Sodhi's] blood. The Guru's sons got hold of him, killed him and threw him on the road. We have definitely taken action against him. Now they are scared and say: "There should be no trouble here for the Secretary [Gurcharan Singh]." Brothers, I have given them this assurance from my side. [I have told them] brothers: "Our thinking is not like yours that during the *Panthak Morcha*<sup>27</sup> we shall attack you. You should tell us the others you wish to attack. We shall pick them up and send them to you to be killed." Up to five men, five *Singhs*, I shall keep quiet. Even beyond five I am not saying that I shall retaliate. After five I shall sit down and think a little as to how many more we should get killed so these people might relent. What is the use of talking of peace on speakers if there is no peace inside you? All the three of them are sitting here. Ask them to answer you. Let them answer if I have ever opposed them. Let them answer if I have insulted the families of the martyrs. Is this my only fault that having suffered so much verbal and physical abuse; having had our *Singhs* of the *Jatha* killed; I am quiet so that the *Panth's* honor is secure?

Some persons say this; I have heard that other people say this too but I am not complaining. Only the Guru knows if this is true because there is no proof for it and I have only heard a rumor. Somebody has told me that it is being said in the camp that after Sodhi's killing, Bhindranwala is quiet because he is incapable of doing anything. If somebody has indeed said this I appreciate his comment because, while this *Morcha* is going on I am really unable to do anything against him. All of you who are sitting here, the entire Shromani Akali Dal and the entire Shromani Committee, tell me what you have done about Harmandar Sahib? Raise a finger and speak up. I cannot strike you with a weapon. Regarding this Darbar Sahib, in our prior generations, we have brought our heads here for sacrifice; Baba Deep Singh Ji did that. Baba Deep Singh Ji was our first *Jathedar*. I, your servant, am the fourteenth in line. From among the Presidents of the Shromani Akali Dal, Sant Ji [Longowal] is also the fourteenth in line. Tell me if any of them has done anything. Getting involved in controversy with one, two or four persons, I do not wish to have your turbans

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<sup>27</sup> Struggle of the Khalsa Brotherhood.



tossed. Whatever they do I shall have patience. I have stood before them with folded hands but not out of fear. I folded my hands to ask them to have mercy upon us; that they have hurled enough accusations at us through boys and girls and slandered us accusing us of black-marketing and drinking. They killed our young man. They severed my right arm. None of you know about Sodhi. I know what role that lion, that son of his mother, played in seeking vengeance for the martyrs. I know because I was directly involved in it. What do they know? Today I have assured them that if I have attacked any of them in the last twenty-one months, they may expect that in the future too but if I have never attacked any of them in the past they should be content. Having killed [Sodhi] now they should be content even if earlier they were not. I appeal to you, the congregation as well. So long as this *Morcha* is going on, we must concentrate on winning it and not let any disturbance distract us. [At the same time] I have certainly told them that even though we are not taking any action, so long as they do not remove Gurcharan Singh, Secretary of the Shromani Akali Dal, he is going to keep on creating trouble. I have taken it but if he creates trouble with someone else, it may get out of your control and it may be impossible to resolve. I have definitely said this to them. Isn't that what I said? Why don't you speak? Why are you only nodding your heads? You should tell me what is my fault in all this? The Dictator has decided, Sant Harchand Singh Ji Longowal, the Dictator, has decided that Bhindranwala speaks for the Government and the Congress party. Let you, the Guru's congregation decide. If I am a Government agent or a congressite, I ask you why you have got me standing here? Why don't you hold me by the ear and throw me out? You have to decide this. Let me say this to you. *Khalsa Ji*, I am not your *Sant* nor am I your leader. I am only your servant, a lowly watchman for the Guru's congregation. Get me to clean what shoes you want to or to work as a common laborer or guard for you as you wish. If in your view, in your language, you feel that I am a congressite or a Government agent, you Guru's congregation, should decide right now. This might please the Akali brothers too. I shall quietly go out of here regardless of whether, once outside, I live or die. Tell me. Am I an akali or a congressite? [The congregation responds with a shout: "Akali"]. If I am an akali, I am not a kali, the President too is not a kali. Brothers, there is a difference between kali and akali. *Kali* is one who, keeping the Sikh appearance, being a leader among Sardars, goes and makes obeisance to Vaishno Devi and prays: "Aunt, save me." I call such people *kali* regardless of how high the public office they occupy. I call akali one who has unfailing faith in *Akal Purakh*<sup>28</sup> and Siri Guru Sahib. This is my thinking but out of the brothers sitting here, one will be caught though the others might escape. How many are there who have observed the Guru's commands? *Maharaj*<sup>29</sup> says:

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<sup>28</sup> Timeless All-Pervading, meaning God.

<sup>29</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

'[My Sikh] shall not, even in forgetfulness, believe in graves and cremation grounds.' Is there one among our MLA brothers who, let us leave aside the congress MLA's, has not bowed his head at Gandhi's *Samadh*<sup>30</sup>? When they take an oath in Raj Bhavan, where do they do it? One man told me: "Sant Ji, be thankful." I asked: "For what?" He said: "That they still meet with you." He added: "If there were a tunnel under Gandhi's *Samadh*, they would all have entered that tunnel even if they [the Government] were to close the door on them and keep them in hiding."

Finally, I appeal to you. I appeal with folded hands to those among you who have the name 'Singh', and have cut your hair and beards, to become my brothers. However, become my bothers only if you consider me to be good. If you think I am a rogue, do not ever become my brothers. If you say I am good, you will have to keep your hair and beard and to give up drinking alcohol. If you call me a rogue, I shall quietly sit down and you will no longer have me chasing you. Tell me my brothers who have cut their beards; am I good or am I a rogue? Why don't you speak up? Say it aloud, those of you who have cut their beards. Then, if I am good why don't you listen to me? If I ask you to keep your hair and beards and then ask you to accept me as your *Sant* or ask you to bow to me you should again shave off. If I ask you to be my disciples, you should shave off. If I ask you to oppose the *Panth*, even then you should shave off. In old times Sikhs used to shout the slogan:

ਸਿਰ ਜਾਵੇ ਤਾ ਜਾਵੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਿੱਖੀ ਸਿਦਕ ਨ ਜਾਵੇ॥

'I might lose my life but may I never lose my Faith as a Sikh.' What do you say now? There are two slogans. One is for these people [the Akali leaders]. These people have the slogan: "We might lose our Faith but may we never lose our chair<sup>31</sup>." For you, of the younger generation who have cut [the hair on] their faces, those who have cut their beards, the slogan that is left is: "We might lose our Faith but may no hair grow on our faces." Brothers, on whose faces do you wish it to grow? Either you should accept my appeal and tell me, all of you who are nicely seated here, what do you call a boy who does not resemble his father? Those who have cut their beards should tell me. Do we, who are sitting here, believe in the Tenth King<sup>32</sup>? Do we believe in the Tenth King or not? Then if we do believe in the Tenth King, do we resemble him? The Tenth King wore a *kachhera*, had a *kirpaan*<sup>33</sup> in his *gaatra*<sup>34</sup>, wore a good-looking *dastaar*<sup>35</sup>,

<sup>30</sup> *Samadh* is a structure built in memory of a deceased person or persons; here, Raj Ghat in New Delhi.

<sup>31</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>32</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>33</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

carried a nice sword, and wore an iron *kara*<sup>36</sup>. All we have is a thread around our neck - what do they call it, *Rakhri* or some such thing I do not know, tiny shorts of the kind monkeys have [in shows] and no hair or beard or turban on our heads. How shall we deserve to be called Guru's Sikhs? Would people think we have a father? If you wish to belong to your Father<sup>37</sup>, if you wish to become my brothers, then, today onwards those of you who have shaved their faces and heads should keep hair. If you do not wish to be your Father's sons, it is your choice. You should be men or become women. If you wish to remain men, keep your hair complete and if you do not wish to remain men go to Darbar Sahib and pray: "True King, kill us and reincarnate us as women and women as men." Make this exchange. You will not grow any beard and the barber wouldn't have to rub his razor on dry soles and shave you. I too shall not have to bother about it or feel angry at you. Tell me; do you wish to belong to your Father or not? Brothers whose beards are shaved, why don't you speak? Why are you just looking down? You cannot do without speaking up. Gur .... [*inaudible*] .... is standing there at the back. I am this type of an extremist; this kind of a congressite; this kind of an opponent of the *Panth* and a destroyer of the *Panth*. You, Guru's congregation, have to decide for yourselves.

I must appeal to the city-dwellers and the rest of the congregation from this area<sup>38</sup>. I made a little mistake. I did not think of it. Perhaps he has come here now. Where is Bhatia? Bring him near here so that the congregation can see him. [*Malak Singh Bhatia is brought to the stage*]. Here is the man who drank the blood of the *Singhs*, of the Bhindranwalas. He is the man who is *Jathedar* of this city, of these people [the Akali leaders]. I appeal to you too. I have told him today on my own behalf: "For the time being, I shall not say anything to you. The *Morcha* is going on. Go away, mind your own business and behave. You have taken my right arm and killed our lion." You should tell me. With our brother killed, with our right arm cut off; having provided cars and taxis to the one who killed him; having been with him in bringing the injured persons out; when he says that he did not have a hand in this, would you believe him? Having taken the injured persons out from the vicinity; having been an eye-witness to the man running away taking the pistol; having heard the man say that he was going away after killing Sodhi; how can he say he did not know anything? He arranged for the taxi. The taxi belonged to Karnail Singh Malhi's son. He is not to blame, poor fellow, because he plies his taxi for hire. How would he know who this person was? He did not want to go at night and this

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<sup>34</sup> A *gaatra* is a sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold the weapon, typically the *kirpaan*.

<sup>35</sup> *Dastaar* means turban.

<sup>36</sup> *Kara* (an iron bangle) is one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

<sup>37</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>38</sup> Amritsar.

man tells him: "I know this person very well. Take him." When you meet this man, you can think about it yourselves. He killed such a prominent brave *Singh* of ours and he is in our control. He dare not try to escape but we are not going to say anything to him yet. Let us save the honor of the [Sikh] Nation, we can attend to him later. I do not wish to harm him myself and I ask you too not to hurt him at this time. As time goes by, the Guru's congregation knows or he knows what might happen, I am not going to do anything to him. I, for my part, am quiet and am so simply for the sake of the honor of [Sikh] Nation. I am not quiet for the sake of these people [the Akali leaders]. I appeal to the congregation, *Khalsa Ji*, let no one get hold of him and beat him up. We must not do anything to him at this time. I appeal to all of you. I have disclosed this much to you because if something were to happen we have been told to always tell the truth and have not been trained to tell lies but these brothers will say: "Bhindranwala said this, Longowal said this, so and so said this." I have told you about these leaders in their presence. I have said about them in their presence and about myself too in their presence. I appeal to them too that they need not fear me or hesitate in dealing with me. Brothers: If you find in my speech anything that appears to be against the Akali Dal, get up and say it on the loudspeaker to the congregation before you leave; don't go the newspapers tomorrow and wail about it that you did not say it at that time because you were afraid it would cause commotion. There will be no disturbance; I take this responsibility on behalf of the congregation. Stand up and without hesitation speak up if you have seen opposition to the *Panth*. Why, brother Major Singh, say something. If there is none, then so far there have been lots of excesses and we have been very patient. Bhan Singh, you too, go and control your own house. I [assure] all that I never offended anyone, I do not do it now and shall not do it in the future.

[Someone in the congregation comments: "The villages are aflame. Sardar Major Singh Ji, you know everything in the villages. The awakening in the villages" .... Sant Bhindranwale interrupts him saying: "Wait a minute"] You, people of the Committee<sup>39</sup> did not know Sodhi well. Members of the public who associate with me knew him much better. I have told you these things with you sitting in the congregation because [The same person in the congregation continues to speak. "Take your cars to the villages and see what people say." Sant Bhindranwale to him: "Wait a minute, listen." Apparently, there is commotion involving roughing up of Major Singh and Sant Bhindranwale intervenes saying:] "Stop it. Look towards me. Look up this way and look at me. If you ever say such a thing to me, I have this arrow, it will break right there. I have told you earlier too that this our program is not of the Akali Dal. We are not fighting solely under Akali Dal's name. We are fighting in the name of the *Panth*; yes, we are fighting in the name of the [Sikh] Nation. If we take

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<sup>39</sup> The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

off their turbans or get ours taken off by them; if we have it off what is left there for us to get even about? We are not going to take them off. This turban is not mine or yours or Major Singh's. Bulhe Shah has decided this by saying 'I do not speak about the present or the past. But for Guru Gobind Singh, everyone would have been circumcised.' This is the Tenth King's *dastaar*. Don't talk about taking off anyone's *dastaar*. Think about establishing it"). Now brothers, go ahead and take rest. You decide for yourselves. In the congregation, with folded hands [*Aside, to someone*: "Stop it. Listen to me"] I again say that for my part I am patient. I cannot say that the limit has been reached. It is reached when one is being broken on the wheel. I have tried to be patient but do not try my patience any further. It won't be good if you test it among ourselves. That is all I have to say. I thank you and thank your Dictator who has declared me an agent of the Congress in writing. I thank him too. You may offer congratulations if you wish.

*Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa, Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh*<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> This is the Sikh greeting meaning "The Khalsa belongs to God; Victory is God's."

## CONVERSATION WITH HARRY REASONER OF CBS MAY 1984

*Note: Harry Reasoner of CBS visited Amritsar in May 1984. His report was aired on '60 minutes' on 10 June 1984 after the invasion of Darbar Sahib complex. Herein, we reproduce the actual conversation between Mr. Reasoner and Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. The transcript was provided by CBS. Translation from Punjabi has been added.*

**Mr. Reasoner:** "If I were to tell Americans, very briefly, what you want, what should I say? What do you want?"

**Sant Bhindranwale:** "We want to bring an end to the slavery which has been put around the necks of the Sikhs."<sup>1</sup>

**Mr. Reasoner:** "Some people, even some Sikhs say that this is not a religious movement but a political movement. Is that partly true?"

**Sant Bhindranwale:** "No, that is false."<sup>2</sup>

**Mr. Reasoner:** "Do you see any comparison at all between yourself and Khomeini?"

**Sant Bhindranwale:** "No. I am a Sikh of the Guru."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Harry Reasoner's report agrees with this translation.

<sup>2</sup> We have translated the exact words spoken by the Sant. Harry Reasoner, in his report stated: "Bhindranwale said that that observation was totally wrong for a paradoxical reason. In Sikhism, he said, religion and politics are inseparable from each other." It is possible that Reasoner's comments were based upon some additional dialogue that was not included in the report that was aired.

<sup>3</sup> About this answer, Harry Reasoner reported: "He either misunderstood or hedged. He couldn't be a Khomeini, he said, because he was a Sikh and a servant of the Sikhs. And in Sikhism, he said, nothing is irrational. A Sikh is never an oppressor but only defends himself and his people. I have never, he said, initiated any attack with my tongue or my pen or my sword. I only answer back or retaliate, he said, to actions initiated by the enemies of the Sikhs." It is possible that these comments also are based upon some additional dialogue that was not included in the report that was aired.

## SPEECH #44

24 MAY 1984

Guru's beloved *Khalsa Ji*: Thanks to Siri Guru Ram Das Ji 's mercy, you have assembled here and had *darshan*<sup>1</sup> of Siri Harmandar Sahib and *ishnaan*<sup>2</sup>. You have fulfilled yourselves and have been blessed with good fortune.

I welcome, from the bottom of my heart, the *Singhs* who are to go as members of the *Jatha*<sup>3</sup>. I also thank all of you, who, giving up their worldly pursuits, have become ready to work for the *Panth*<sup>4</sup>. All of you are fortunate.

### THE EDITORIAL IN SANT SIPAHI<sup>5</sup>

You, who read the newspapers, daily read the newspapers and are aware of what you get from the newspapers and the extent to which your mind achieves tranquillity or is moved to excitement. I have in my hand a magazine belonging to Bibi Rajinder Kaur. This magazine is titled 'Sant Sipahi.' Here is the magazine. They have published photos of both of us, I and Longowal<sup>6</sup>. She has published some opinions in it. She says that the activities of the *Jathedar Sahib*<sup>7</sup> and the Singh Sahibs should be limited to Sikh philosophy and Sikh tradition and that resolving differences and forging agreements is not within their competence; that this can only be done by someone who can tell the truth about the Sants to their face and expose their errors in their presence; that there was hope that Baba Nihal Singh of Harianwelan and Baba Kharak Singh Ji were capable of speaking out plainly but they too, seeing that their efforts were leading nowhere, have stepped aside but they should not remain quiet and everything should be discussed in public; that the congregation should know whosoever is not willing to forget his anger in the interest of the *Panth*; that after all the dispute has grown because of the murder of Sardar Surinder Singh Sodhi; and that Chhinda<sup>8</sup> and Malak Singh Bhatia<sup>9</sup> were both Sant Bhindranwale's men. She has written [this] herein and now both of them

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<sup>1</sup> Having someone's *darshan* means seeing that person.

<sup>2</sup> A dip in the pool.

<sup>3</sup> *Jatha* literally means an organized group of persons: here, it is the group of protestors going to court arrest as part of the peaceful agitation.

<sup>4</sup> *Panth* is the Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>5</sup> A monthly magazine published from Amritsar.

<sup>6</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, President, Shromani Akali Dal, and Dictator, *Dharam Yudh Morcha* – the struggle started on 4 August 1982 by the Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>7</sup> Jathedar, Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

<sup>8</sup> Reference is to Surinder Singh alias Chhinda who killed Surinder Singh Sodhi.

<sup>9</sup> Malak Singh Bhatia, Jathedar of Amritsar City Akali Dal who assisted in Chhinda's escape after the murder.

[Chhinda and Bhatia] are not present here<sup>10</sup>. However, relatives of one *Singh* are sitting here with us. We are not aware if any of the other are here or not. Can even one person tell us if he [Chhinda] ever joined my *Jatha*<sup>11</sup> or stayed with me like you are sitting with me now? Of these, Malak Singh Bhatia would come to us but we had nothing to do with Chhinda; there were no mutual visits. Upon release from jail, Chhinda came first to Gurcharan Singh and stayed with Gurcharan Singh. Of course, just as you are sitting in congregation at this time, he did once in a while join the congregation. Let any person tell us if I kept him as my bodyguard; or if I gave him any weapon. And she says that both were Bhindranwale's men. Further on, she also writes that, in Sant Bhindranwale's camp, the name of Sardar Gurcharan Singh, former Secretary of the Shromani Akali Dal, is mentioned in connection with the conspiracy to murder Sodhi. Later, she writes that even if for a moment it is accepted that Gurcharan Singh was involved in Sodhi's murder, couldn't Sant Bhindranwale forgive one man for the sake of the *Panth*? Yes, she says: Can Bhindranwale not forgive one man for the sake of the *Panth*? Now you can think it over. He is my murderer; he is the murderer of members of my *Jatha*; we should forgive him but they [the Akali leaders] should keep him in the saddle! On the other side, Dictator's statement has been published. This was the day I issued my statement. My statement was that unity of the *Panth* should be strengthened; that I was not setting up a separate Akali Dal; that people should provide whatever service they can for Guru Ram Das' *Langar*; and bring *Jathas*. Both the news items have been published in the same newspaper. The Dictator's statement from the stage was that the *Panth* cannot be sacrificed for the sake of one man. And Rajinder Kaur writes: Can't Bhindranwala forgive one man for the sake of the *Panth*? What relationship [with the *Panth*] does he have? What sort of a *Panth* is this? What sort of Akali Dal is this? Can't the *Panth*, in the interest of the *Panth*, expel one person who is driving the entire nation into the depth of grief? Again, she writes further that no one can be driven out of his home and this man has been a secretary. If a dog becomes rabid, do people allow it to enter their homes? [*Commotion in the congregation*]. At one place she writes that the hasty manner in which Gurcharan Singh has been dismissed does not reflect well on the Shromani Akali Dal. She has written this at one place and further along she writes that whatever punishment that the Akali Dal could inflict on Gurcharan Singh had been inflicted by appointing him Secretary and that what more could the Shromani Akali Dal do to him. On the one hand she says that his dismissal does not reflect well and, with her own pen, in the next paragraph, she writes as to what more could the [Akali Dal] do? [It is like someone saying about herself that] her forehead is clear and that she is the great blissfully married woman. She is a woman and it does not look good for me to say much about her. If it was a man and I got hold of his writing, it

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<sup>10</sup> Both were killed soon after the murder.

<sup>11</sup> Here reference is to Sant Bhindranwale's group, the *Damdami Taksaal*.



would be all right for me to give a reply. He is the murderer of *Singhs*; he has thrown the entire nation into the depth of grief; and he has set himself as the premier group within the *Panth*; they [the Akali leaders] are holding him in their embrace; and his .... [inaudible] .... then these people give advice to the Bhindranwalas! They also say that Bhindranwala's men are saying that they have to kill Gurcharan Singh. If I meet her I would ask her who has told her this.

## AKALI MACHINATIONS

### The Farce At Siri Akal Takhat Sahib

Day before yesterday, a farce was enacted here at Akal Takhat. After getting some tape-recording done by someone, he was called to the Akali stage and made to say that Bhindranwala was conspiring to get him killed. His name is Sukhdev Singh; people often call him Sukha. They say that I have hatched a conspiracy to kill him. If I had to hatch a conspiracy to kill somebody, I would pick some [more] suitable person. What organization does he have? He has no association or organization with him. He has perhaps ten or fifteen persons with him. They say I concocted a scheme to kill him! Today they see conspiracies but when warrants [for their arrest] had been issued and the Akali Dal kicked them out of Samundri Hall and Guru Nanak Niwas; when I went to Delhi to preach; yes, when warrants for the arrest of Sukha and others had been issued, I risked my life in taking them along with me to Delhi. I kept them with me for ten days. There, one person asked me. He said: "Sant Ji, aren't these people under warrants?" He was from the P.A.P.<sup>12</sup> I replied that I had to protect those Sikhs whom the Government declared fugitives. He asked [what would I do] if they came to seize them<sup>13</sup>. I told him that I would not surrender them as long as I lived and that they could pick them up after I died when I would no longer be able to help; and that if they came to effect the arrest, they should come in sufficient force. I took them along to Delhi taking such a risk and now these people - hardly worth a dime or a nickel - stand up and indulge in propaganda and that too from the stage of the Akali Dal! And then the Akali Dal says they are supporting *Panthak*<sup>14</sup> unity.

### What Has The Congregation Done To Control The Akali Propaganda?

Now you, all the Guru's Sikhs who are sitting here, tell me if this is *Panthak* unity or a program to promote disunity in the *Panth*? Come on, all of you sitting here are educated; tell us. If this is a program for disunity and they

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<sup>12</sup> Punjab Armed Police.

<sup>13</sup> Sukha and his associates.

<sup>14</sup> *Panthak* is an adjective means pertaining to the *Panth*.

abuse [me] all around; [how is it that] you keep coming in the form of *Jathas* of two thousand each and asking me "Sant Ji, what shall we do?" What can the Sant tell you to do? Does no one have his own brains? Don't you, the congregation, have any responsibility? What is the matter? Why don't you speak up? Why are you so quiet? Tell me, is it your responsibility or not? If it is, have you fulfilled it? Sodhi was killed on 14 April. So much time has passed. Tell me, of all the people sitting here, has anyone protested? Has anyone gone to him<sup>15</sup> and asked him: "This man is the murderer of the Sant, why have you seated him here?" Tell me, speak up if anyone has gone to ask? You come to me and tell me: Sant Ji, don't worry; we shall be cut to pieces; we shall die, become martyrs; you should stay firm; *Panthak* unity should be maintained." You keep pressuring and pestering me.

### I Have Preached And Practiced Unity: Akali Leadership Keeps Harassing Me

Let any man stand up and speak if, in the last twenty-two months, he has read anywhere any statement by me against the Akali Dal. They are the ones who keep on abusing me. My speaking from Manji Sahib has been forbidden; this is Longowal's own statement; and now the likes of Rajinder Kaur have also started to write in magazines. Further on it is written that Bhindranwale has vowed not to speak with Longowal; that this is against history of the Sikhs because in old texts it is written that the Sikh who is the first to greet another has his sins washed away and the one who responds has his washed away too; that sins collide and are destroyed. She says that Bhindranwala has vowed and that is against Sikh traditions. [According to her] Bhindranwale's vow is against Sikh traditions but was her father's in line with, according to, Sikh tradition? Ask her that her father undertook a fast unto death; where is it written for the Sikhs to undertake such fasts? And then did he fulfill his vow? Those about whom she is writing vowed and fulfilled their vows; those from .... [inaudible] .... did not.

### Akali Leaders Have Gone Back On Their Vows

Were the pledges of Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, myself, Badal<sup>16</sup>, and likewise of Sukhjinder Singh, Balwant Singh, Barnala<sup>17</sup>, in Manji Sahib Diwan Hall, not recorded on television? Talwandi<sup>18</sup> was in jail at the time when there was talk of pledges. He came later. Then, Talwandi too, when he reached here, took the pledge. All vowed not to go to Delhi, that we have issued clarifications many times; that it is now up to the Government to either announce its

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<sup>15</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

<sup>16</sup> Parkash Singh Badal.

<sup>17</sup> Surjit Singh Barnala.

<sup>18</sup> Jagdev Singh Talwandi.

agreement or to come here and say no; that we are not going to Delhi. *Khalsa Ji*, this is recorded on television. If someone has doubts, he can see the tapes I have. Leaving aside Longowal who did not go because he is the Dictator; tell me which of them, who took the vows, has not gone to Delhi to meet her? Now these persons<sup>19</sup>, taking a sip of water from the refrigerator, come to other peoples' homes to give advice! Is there even one person who has not gone there, to Delhi? All of them have picked up their *kachheras* and are following the *sari*<sup>20</sup> around; and then [the likes of Rajinder Kaur] argue with me.

#### APPEAL TO THE CONGREGATION

I can only appeal to the congregation. I am neither your Sant nor am I your leader. I am a watchdog of Guru's congregation; I am your servant. You can get me to do any job you wish in the name of the Faith but you have a special responsibility for that. I especially ask those who talk about [raising the] rafters. *Singhs*, you must first settle two issues.

#### Am I An Agent Of The Government?

If there is any doubt about me, get up and ask me for an answer. If any Sikh among you or any mother or brother has any kind of doubt about me, stand up and ask me: "Bhindranwala, they call you a congressite and an agent of the Government, a traitor to the *Panth*; answer this." Ask me this and I shall reply. And for the things I ask, either you should give an answer or get me an answer from the leaders. If you don't provide an answer and the leaders don't either, then you have to think about who you are going to be answerable to. I shall not talk of many old matters with you. First get these leaders to provide me answers to two things. If they do not answer, then you have to think whether you wish to go with the *Jatha* or not. Some persons keep saying this to me. Today I met a dear person who is sitting here too. He said: "If you say we shall not go [with the *Jatha*]." Why should I say this? Do I have an itch that I should say so?

My responsibility is that whenever you have to face any hardship it is for me to get you over that difficulty; to find a way to help you; to try to protect you. Then, when they abuse me and I tell you about myself, you have to think as to what you have to do. If you wish to do something do it otherwise refuse to act and say so. First of all, ask them - the Akali Dal and Longowal - why they killed our Sodhi? Get me an answer to this from them. Secondly, if the Shromani Akali Dal is not behind the drama that was played here day before

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<sup>19</sup> The likes of Rajinder Kaur.

<sup>20</sup> Figuratively; Indira Gandhi.

yesterday on the stage of the Shromani Akali Dal, who is? If they have a hand in it, they should admit it.

### Meeting With Gurcharan Singh Tohra

Yesterday, Tohra Sahib met me. I asked him: "Mr. President, these remarks were made from your stage in your presence; answer me why was this done; if I have done something, investigate it, interrogate me. If I am found to be guilty, I shall not stay in this place any longer; I shall suffer any punishment you decide upon; I shall leave this place and go away." He answered that I was not at fault. I said that if I am not to blame, then considering the appeal issued by the five Singh Sahibs, have all of you lost all sense of decency?" A *Hukamnama*<sup>21</sup> is issued - and the entire [Sikh] Nation accepts it - that we are not to have any dealings with the *Narkdharis*<sup>22</sup>. [In violation of that], leaders of the Akali Dal go to the *Narkdharis*<sup>23</sup>, call him their father and seek Nirankari votes; why is there no judgment against them? The five Singh Sahibs have appealed. Basically, I am against appeals; there are never any appeals from the *Takhats*<sup>24</sup>, there are only orders. However, here at this odd time, there is weakness in us and appeals have started to issue from *Takhats*. Anyway, that appeal was issued. Did Bhindranwale act in violation of that appeal or was it the Dictator? Answer this. What is the reason that an appeal is issued from the *Takhat*<sup>25</sup>, someone [Longowal] violates it and there is no punishment; a *Hukamnama* is issued from here, they [the Akali leaders] violate it and there is no punishment? If Talwandi calls a meeting, he is summoned to this place [the Takhat]; if Bhindranwala calls a meeting, he is boycotted; if any other Sikh insists on talking about the truth he is summoned hither; but do they [the Akali leaders] have a divine permit forgiving them all their trespasses?

### Has Anyone Asked The Akali Leaders About Their Misdeeds?

*Khalsa Ji*, tell me who among you is going to ask them these questions and bring us the answers? Who is going to answer these? If you do not answer these questions, don't get angry with me - I am much younger than you - but I cannot help saying that all of you are eunuchs. None among you is a man. You might

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<sup>21</sup> *Hukamnama* is an order or directive issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib. Here, reference is to the *Hukamnama* issued on 10 June 1978 advising Sikhs to avoid close interaction with the Nirankaris..

<sup>22</sup> Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.

<sup>23</sup> Here the reference is to Gurbachan Singh, the Nirankari Guru assassinated in 1980.

<sup>24</sup> Five seats of authority in Sikh religion where the Gurus lived and preached, viz., Takhat Siri Akal Takhat Sahib; Takhat Siri Kesgarh Sahib; Takhat Siri Patna Sahib; Takhat Siri Hazoor Sahib; and Takhat Siri Damdama Sahib.

<sup>25</sup> Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.

not like what I say but, all who are sitting here are eunuchs. None among you is a man. Let any son of his mother get up and accept my challenge. Find a single statement by me against the Akali Dal in twenty-two months. [*Aside to someone: O Singh, sit down. Find out and then tell me. Sit down*]. Singhs, tell me; if you can prove that over twenty-two months I issued a single statement against the Akali Dal, I shall accept punishment. What is the reason that one party keeps shoe-beating the other and you keep asking the one who is getting beaten up to stay cool. Brothers, why don't you answer? Have you all fallen asleep? What is the matter? Why are you looking at each other? If what I said is wrong, go and take it easy. If what I said is correct then get me an answer to these things from them. When I don't speak against any mother or brother, when I don't speak against any Sikh leader, when I don't say anything about any worker, [why is it that] these people have started to make provocative remarks from their stages? You come to me and wail: "Sant Ji, you have saved the Nation." The Secretary<sup>26</sup> has destroyed it.

### We Are The Targets Of Oppression And Akalis Call Us Agents!

I have received a message today. That too will be taken care of. We shall clear that too. It is a message from Ganganagar. There are cases against four hundred *Singhs*; yes, against four hundred *Singhs*. I alone am fighting for three hundred and seventy-five. The entire Akali Dal and the Committee<sup>27</sup> are fighting for the other twenty-five. And even then they say I am a congressite! Yesterday I asked the President, Gurcharan Singh Tohra. I said: "Mr. President, you are an akali; Badal too is an akali; both the Balwant Singhs are akali; Barnala too is an akali; Cheema too is an akali; and the Youth Wing [of the Akali Dal] is akali. You even tore up the Constitution but were released from jail; but Bhindranwala is a congressite, the Federation<sup>28</sup> are congressites, Talwandi is a congressite, Sukhjinder Singh is a congressite, and all these are in jails. What is the reason for this? Why, under Congress rule, the congressites are in jail and the akalis out of it?" You have to think as to what this is leading us to? I asked him a couple of other things too. What were they? First, I asked him: "Mr. President, tell me if, in the last thirty-seven years, any akali worker has avenged the death of any martyr." All of you are workers of the Akali Dal, let any of you too tell us. Why, brothers, let any man get up and tell if in thirty-seven years anyone has avenged the death of even one martyr of Nankana Sahib. Of which martyrs is your organization? There have been fourteen presidents of the Akali Dal so far. Not one of them became a martyr. No one fulfilled the vows he took. Tell me if any of these fourteen became a martyr. I have said two things; if anyone has an answer, let him give it. And they

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<sup>26</sup> Gurcharan Singh; Secretary Shromani Akali Dal.

<sup>27</sup> The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

<sup>28</sup> All India Sikh Students Federation.

constantly keep hurling abuse that Bhindranwala has linked up with the Congress. I have joined the Congress but they [the Akali leaders] have become relatives of the Congress. Now they have become 'in-laws' to them<sup>29</sup>. What are they now going to tell people? Now, if the Congress loses, it is the son-in-law losing; if Badal loses, it is the father-in-law losing. What answer will they give? Then they say "Bhindranwala speaks in anger." I have been beaten upon for twenty-two months; I have gone around preaching *Panthak* unity; and then people hardly worth a dime start hurling abuse! How long can one sit with cotton plugs in one's ears? You can think about what you have to do. You, *pattiwalas*, have a special responsibility today. [*Commotion in the congregation*]. I am not saying that you should apply the *patti*; it is your responsibility, not mine. My responsibility is when there is oppression against you.

The person from Ganganagar has come and told me. I shall take over their responsibility. [*A lady starts to speak. Sant Bhindranwale addresses her: "Tell me, mother." Then, to someone who is interrupting: "Listen to what she says." Addressing the lady: "Ycs, mother; that is just what I have been saying; you should ask them, yes, you should ask them." There is commotion and Sant Bhindranwale addresses those persons causing the disturbance: "O Singhs, listen." To the lady: "Mother, just a minute". Addressing the other persons: "O Mehta, wait a minute. Singhs, what are you up to?" The lady again starts to speak and Sant Bhindranwale interrupts her saying: "Mother, just wait a minute; listen." Addressing those causing the disturbance: Singhs, what has come over you? Listen to what I am saying, listen carefully." To the lady: "Mother, just wait a minute." Addressing the other persons again: "This lady is speaking and you start laughing. What is this? She just spoke of those who are *jathedars*. All of you are not *jathedars*. The one or two who are may or may not stand up and object but why are you kicking up a row? Is this a prostitutes' festival? You are Guru's Sikhs; you are sitting at one place in Guru's *Langar*. Why are you creating an uproar? Answer what the lady is trying to ask." Addressing some individual: "You just keep sitting; you are not going in any *Jatha*." The lady starts to speak again and Sant Bhindranwale addresses her: "Bibi, wait a minute. Addressing the congregation: Let me make another observation too. It is not a matter of knees<sup>30</sup> etc. with me. To the lady who is still trying to speak: "Wait a minute." Again addressing the congregation: The question is of interest of the *Panth*; as to who is doing what to the *Panth*. You should answer this. The lady continues to speak and there is commotion. Sant Bhindranwale addresses her: "Sister; mother, sit down for a moment. You should sit down. These Brothers, these *Singhs* are asking if they are our *jathedars*. I do not know whose *jathedars* they are." There is commotion and*

<sup>29</sup> Reference is to Parkash Singh Badal's daughter marrying Surinder Singh Kairon's son.

<sup>30</sup> Having the guts, having the courage.

*Sant Bhindranwale addressing the lady says: "Ask him. I do not know. Ask them this, Ask the Jathedars." The commotion continues with the lady continuing to speak. Sant Bhindranwale addresses her: "Yes. O Mother, that is just what I keep wailing over. You should go and ask them. Mother, listen to this one thing I am saying." Addressing somebody else: "Stop it. Listen, O Singh. Look at me. You keep on acting like a child." Again addressing the lady: "Mother, this .... [inaudible] .... has not been fulfilled. I keep on crying about it. That is why I keep saying you should ask them. Why do you ask me? If I do not cooperate you should ask me." The lady goes on speaking and the commotion continues. Sant Bhindranwale again addresses the congregation] "Don't shout the Jaikaara<sup>31</sup>."*

## HOW SHALL WE RESPOND TO OPPRESSION

### If Attacked, Fight Back

A bullet hit the wall. C.R.P.<sup>32</sup> is sitting here<sup>33</sup>. They fired the bullet. It went through the folds on one side of the turban of one of the workers of the *Jatha*. Yes, it went through his turban and hit the wall here. The newspapers reporting about the piles [of dead bodies] that were made day before yesterday and the before that have said that this is the response to the bullet that hit the wall of the *Langar* building. The business is not finished yet; it continues. Those in the C.I.D.<sup>34</sup> should note this and the Police too. If the [Sikh] Nation feels so strongly about one bullet hitting the wall of the *Langar* building, then they should figure out how would it be when there is firing on the congregation sitting in this building. I appeal to the entire congregation as well [as to what to do] if you come to know about this place.

### Mrs. Gandhi Is Planning To Attack Harmandar Sahib. How Should We React

Today there was a statement by Indira<sup>35</sup> that she will act with firmness. My reaction was that it was all very well. If you come to know that the police have entered [this place], you should keep a watchful eye on Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram<sup>36</sup> in Punjab. There you should not be lax in the bazaars. Don't be the first to hurt anyone. We do not have any personal enmity against the Hindus but, if the Government of the Hindu rulers make it their goal that the religious

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<sup>31</sup> *Jatkaara* is the Sikh slogan.

<sup>32</sup> Central Reserve Police Force.

<sup>33</sup> The police force was deployed around Darbar Sahib.

<sup>34</sup> The Criminal Intelligence Division of the Police.

<sup>35</sup> Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister of India.

<sup>36</sup> Chhalli Ram and Gulli Ram are fictitious Hindu names contemptuously coined by Sant Bhindranwale. Chhalli literally means an ear of corn and Gulli is a wooden toy.

temple has to be destroyed and the Sikhs have to be finished off; then there is no need for unity. That day you should strike with your *khandaa*<sup>37</sup>. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*].

Here is the *Singh* who has come to me from Ganganagar. He barely managed to get out of there. He tells me that in Ganganagar, only Sikhs are searched and none others. Pay full attention to these things. Also, listening to our program that has started, do not assume that we have to work separately from the *Panth*. We have to go along with the *Panth*. We have to stay under the saffron *Nishaan Sahib*<sup>38</sup>. We have to accept Guru Granth Sahib as our Guru.

### Be Wary Of False Leaders And Slanderers

However, we have to definitely note this one thing. We have to protect ourselves against any man who, beating the drum of the name of the *Panth*, in the name of *Nishaan Sahib*; pleading in the name of Siri Guru Granth Sahib, in violation of the *Hukamnama*, having drunk the blood of the martyrs, calling the *Narkdharis* his Father and getting their votes, seeks to keep or has kept his chair<sup>39</sup>. If I have ever visited the *Narkdharis'* homes, none of you should come to me again. If some other fellow has gone to them, you should investigate as to who are those that have gone and as to how to protect yourselves against them. This is my decision and regarding the *Jatha*, the *Singhs* have already told you. You can sit down and decide for yourselves. If I am at fault, do not go down and talk to anyone; stand up right here and blacken my face. A friend is sitting here. He told me that they asked Talab Singh Sandhu, President of the Akali Dal of Ludhiana District, as to why he called Bhindranwale a traitor to the *Panth*. He responded that he was fully with Bhindranwale and that they should show where they saw it in writing. On that I told a *Singh* that I would provide him with one proof and that he could go to the cities to get additional proofs and could read in the libraries. The [Daily] *Ajit* of September 6; yes, of September 6, the month that passed some time back; in the *Ajit* of September 6 there is the statement by Talab Singh Sandhu, Hari Singh Zira, Sucha Singh Chhotepur, and Jaswant Singh Advocate from Bathinda, that Jathedar Jagdev Singh Talwandi and Bhindranwala are agents of the Congress<sup>40</sup> and traitors to the *Panth*. If anyone has any doubts, he can read this in the *Ajit* of September 6. It is in that. Somebody asked me for a cutting of this. I have told him that I shall get it for him from the library. [*Someone makes a comment and Sant Bhindranwale addresses him: I have named Sandhu. You should give it to the newspaper. The person continues to speak and Sant Bhindranwale answers*

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<sup>37</sup> *Khandaa* is a double-edged sword.

<sup>38</sup> *Nishaan Sahib* is the Sikh religious flag.

<sup>39</sup> By chair, Sant Bhindranwale means public office or position of importance.

<sup>40</sup> Congress party, the ruling political party at that time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.



him. Why do you name Khushipur?] These people do not know. They are new boys here and have not met me anywhere. You know why he is naming Khushipur? Khushipur belongs to Talwandi Group and he walked out of the room when these people talked about this thing<sup>41</sup>. To hide that walkout, they are naming Khushipur. There were discussions after Sodhi was murdered. It was then that such talk started.

## SODHI'S MURDER AND THE AKALI LEADERSHIP

### Gurcharan Singh Led The Conspiracy For Sodhi's Murder

I declare this today - and I have done this earlier too when they issued a contradiction - that the Secretary, Gurcharan Singh of the Longowal group of Shromani Akali Dal, is our murderer. Yes, he is our murderer. Malak Singh Bhatia's name got mentioned and he confessed.

### The Five-Member Committee

A five-member committee was appointed. I told all this to the five-member committee, in detail. They told me at Akal Takhat Sahib that Gurcharan was a liar. I asked that in that case they should announce their decision. They said this to me at that place and upon going to Longowal they gave the decision that Gurcharan Singh was cleared and with Malak Singh Bhatia's name they wrote in brackets 'Talwandi group'. There my P.A.<sup>42</sup>, Rachhpal Singh, asked them as to why they had written the words 'Talwandi group' in brackets and what about Gurcharan Singh? They replied: "You had mentioned the Talwandi group regarding Bhatia." He [Rachhpal Singh] said: "Yes, we said this; but regarding Gurcharan Singh the Secretary, the Sant<sup>43</sup> himself has been saying [that he belongs to Longowal group]." All the five looked down [in embarrassment].

That day, it was Khushipur alone. There was Kuldeep Singh Wadala too at that meeting, the one on September 5. Kuldeep Singh Wadala tried to stop them but they would not desist. At that Khushipur walked out. They say about the one who walked out that he says these things. They are lying outright. They are bent upon telling lies. Show me Khushipur's statement in any newspaper. I shall show you theirs.

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<sup>41</sup> That Bhindranwale and Talwandi are traitors to the *Panth*.

<sup>42</sup> Personal Assistant.

<sup>43</sup> Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

### Longowal Has Declared Me A Government Agent

I shall give you a tape-recording of Longowal's statement; let him give you any of mine. I did not adopt this line of action so far but I shall do so now. I have a tape-recording of Longowal's with me. My name, the words of my name are not mentioned in it. It was at the gathering in connection with a conference of the Youth Wing. In that gathering the boy Iqbal Singh, of village Phagla in Ludhiana District, who is an advocate, a lawyer, and Talab Singh Sandhu's right arm, had come with people from seven villages. They had a list of five or six points with them. They went up to the stage and gave that note to Longowal. They sought answers to some of the points listed on that note. Longowal himself had it recorded on tape that he had found out about Government's agents and that up to that time he was not aware that there were Government's agents in the Youth Wing too. Those boys were caught hold of. Having caught them, the Babbar started to beat them up. At that time, Talab Singh Sandhu went to the door of Samundri Hall and said that these were his men. The boys asked the reason why they did not invite Bhindranwale to that place. Longowal replied that was the Shromani Akali Dal's stage and that Government's agents would not be allowed to speak from it. This raises two issues, two questions. If the boys of the Youth Wing are Government agents, Longowal should answer as to who created the Youth Wing. If they mean that the person they are talking about inviting is a Government agent, it must be I. Then he should name me; why is he veiling his comments? Then he should provide proof. I have this tape-recording. I have had Tohra Sahib listen to it and also the older Balwant Singh, the former Finance Minister .... [inaudible] .... I have the tape which I had both of them listen to. Let any son of his mother among you present a tape in which I have preached against these people. These people have made up their mind to tell lies day in and day out.

### Meetings With The Five-Member Committee

The five-member committee was set up. They agreed with me at Akal Takhat Sahib that I was not to blame and then they go there and declare Gurcharan is not to blame. A five-member committee of *Jathedars* was set up; there were three *Jathedars* and both the *Singh Sahibs*. The five of them summoned me to the entrance to Darbar Sahib. One meeting lasted three hours and another two and a half hours. I met with them for five and a half hours. After five and a half hours' meeting, listening to everything, they said that I was not to blame. I said: "If I am not to blame, go to Manji Sahib and say so." They replied: "It won't be possible to say this at Manji Sahib."

### Let The Congregation Decide If I Am An Agent

If the *Jathedars* of the *Takhats* say this; if they come here and say that I am right but that they cannot go to Manji Sahib and say on my behalf that I am

right; the debate has to come to you. You should tell me. You are the Guru's congregation. I consider you to be mediators, the arbitrators. You should give your decision today. If I am a congressite, tell me why you have allowed me to stay here? If you get up and say I am a congressite, I shall immediately get out of here even if I am killed as soon as I step out. I administered *amrit*<sup>44</sup> to forty-five thousand persons in one month, the month of *Chet*<sup>45</sup>; yes, to forty five thousand *Singhs*, mothers and brothers. On *Vaisaakhi*<sup>46</sup>, I administered *amrit* to twelve thousand persons in a single day. If administering *amrit*, getting people to keep their beards uncut and to give up drug addictions, is the business of the Congressites, then what is the business of the Akalis? Answer me. Tell me brothers; am I an akali or a congressite? Why don't you speak up? Why are you quiet? [*The congregation responds saying: "Akali"*]. Then, if I am an akali, why don't you ask those who call me a congressite? [*There is commotion in the congregation*]. No, that is not what I mean to say. I have only one question: if I do not say anything about anyone, why is the Akali Dal carrying on a propaganda against me? This is my only question. [*Someone asks Sant Bhindranwale a question. Bhindranwale responds: "Yes, Sir." The questioner asks: "Did you send a messenger to them and they did not answer?" The Sant replies: "No, I did not send a messenger to ask; I asked them myself. Yes, [it is like the saying that] she cried and cried and no one had died. I shall tell you later. Sit down"*]. This *Gurmukh*<sup>47</sup> asks if I have asked them or not. I did go. I gave my questions in writing to the first five-member committee and twenty-one questions to the second committee. There were face to face talks for two and a half to three hours. There were two meetings. There were three meetings with the first five-member committee and two with the five-member committee of the *Jathedars*. I gave them in writing that they should answer these questions I have. They have given answers to my questions but they have not given a complete answer to one question. I had asked the members to look at the answers that they had brought and to compare them with the published news. [I asked them as to] why do they call me a traitor; why don't they stop it?

Today, Rajinder Kaur has written in the journal *The issue is lying here*. In it she has written: "Can't Bhindranwale forgive one man for the sake of the *Panth*?" But, [one might ask], for the sake of the nation, for the sake of the Faith, can't the *Panth* expel one man? I am not just saying this. You may bring tapes. I shall get it recorded over again. I have seventy questions; yes, seventy of them. Most of these are of the Government but there are some for the Akali Dal as well. Prove even one of these questions wrong and I shall cut my head

<sup>44</sup> Administering *amrit* means formally initiating people into the Sikh faith.

<sup>45</sup> A month in the Bikrami calendar beginning in Mid-March.

<sup>46</sup> The first day of the month *Vaisaakh* of Bikrami Calendar corresponding to April 13.

<sup>47</sup> *Gurmukh* means Guru's devotee.

off with a *kirpaan*<sup>48</sup> and offer it to you. The first question is this. If until today I have given any statement to any newspaper against the Shromani Akali Dal, I shall accept any punishment you award me. The second is that you should tell me if I have ever opposed any meeting of the Akali Dal through any newspaper wherein I have stopped the public [from participating in such meeting]; if I have ever prevented any member of the public from going with the *Jatha* [to court arrest]. Even today it is you who are saying that you do not wish to go; I am not going to say that you should not. I have merely said that you should first decide between truth and falsehood; then you can think about it. The Dictator, the President of the Shromani Akali Dal, has said that the Shromani Akali Dal has no connection with Bhindranwale's meeting; have I ever said that I have no connection with the Akali Dal? If there is no connection with me, tell me why has it been broken? Secondly, the President of the Shromani Akali Dal has said that he appeals to the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee that Bhindranwale should not be allowed to speak from Diwan Hall Manji Sahib. This is a statement by Longowal. Has any of you Sikhs asked him why? It is eight months since I spoke at Manji Sahib. Has anybody asked why I do not speak [from there]? Let any of you answer this. Then, it is Longowal's own statement: "I expel Nirlep Kaur from the Shromani Akali Dal for six years." He vowed at Diwan Hall Manji Sahib in public and the next day came the statement that .... [inaudible] .... we have differences of opinion. Have I ever said I have difference of opinion. It is a different matter whether they exist or not. Have you ever heard me say this? The Dictator said that these were the differences of opinion.

#### Longowal Has Told Lies About Me

Then, the Dictator said: "Bhindranwale advised me to buy motorcycles and pistols; he talked to me about this." Along with this he issued the statement that this had been said to him in order to kill members of one community. Then the next day the news appeared that there had been no consultation regarding the purchase of motorcycles and pistols while I maintain that I did discuss this with him. I always tell you to buy them. The Dictator has gone back on the thing that I do say and the thing that I have never even dreamed about - that we have to kill members of a certain community - has not been contradicted by the Dictator. Doesn't this amount to the Dictator furnishing evidence against me as Gandhi did against Bhagat Singh? If I did not say this why has he issued this statement? And if he did, why has he not withdrawn it? If he does not withdraw it, he should go to a court and depose that Bhindranwale has given this advice. Have I ever issued any such statement? The third day the news came that the original report was correct and that the contradiction issued by the newspapers

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<sup>48</sup> *Kirpaan* is the Sikh sword, one of the five k's a Sikh is always expected to wear.

was done of their own accord. These are three news-items, one after the other, initiated by the Dictator.

### I Always Mean What I Say

What is our stand? I challenge you to show me even one instance where I issued a statement and then withdrew it. There was one statement, which I did contradict. Which one was it? It was one that I had not issued. The newspapers had concocted it themselves and attributed it to me. That one news I did contradict saying: "*Khalsa Ji*, this is not issued by me." That was all I said. Otherwise, over twenty-two months, whatever I said I have never withdrawn. I have recently stated, - some of you might have read it, it appeared several days back - that we have to put Bhajan Lal, the Chief Minister of Haryana, on the train [of death]. [*The congregation shouts the Jaikaara*]. *Singhs*, don't shout the *Jaikaara* as yet; not yet. We are still cunuchs. You may shout the *Jaikaara* after he has been put on the train; our sisters have been stripped naked and dishonored in Haryana and you shout *Jaikaaras*! I have issued this statement to the press and do not deny it. Some have even said to me that if he is put on the train I would be tortured. You put him on the train, I shall suffer the torture. I have never denied my statements. I talked about five thousand people. At that time many leaders advised me to withdraw it. I replied that I would not do that at all. They asked me why. I told them that I had only responded. I have never attacked first. I have never done it in the past, I do not do it now and will never do it in the future. At the same time, I have never let an attack go without response. It has to be answered. Sometimes it takes a while, at others the response can be given promptly as was done in Chhinda's case. Chhinda had killed Sodhi. Within twenty-three hours we cut off his head and placed it on his legs at the Mananwala bridge. Let no one think someone else did it. We avenged [the death of] our brother. Show me even a single instance of my denying anything. Then, you ask me for proof; what more proof can I provide? Leave aside the statement by others of various standing; these are the statements of the Dictator. Show me a single one by me against the Dictator and I shall accept the consequent punishment. Then why have all of us plugged our ears with cotton? First, they placed restrictions on weapons and then said they had not done so. I said it was all right that they had done it. I have given you so many proofs. What more can I do?

### Some Sikhs Say My Presence At Harmandar Sahib Violates Its Sanctity

You have many times read Nirlep Kaur's statements. For the last few days, she has stopped. I do not know why. There has been no statement since Manchanda<sup>49</sup> was put on the train. Brothers, you should tell me. Her

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<sup>49</sup> Harbans Singh Manchanda, President Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

statements appeared. Umranangal's keep appearing all the time that Bhindranwala should be removed from here because the sanctity [of Darbar Sahib complex] is being violated. You should ask her, Nirlep Kaur: was sanctity violated when her father, Rarewala, used to visit here? Was sanctity violated when Jathedar Mohan Singh Tur stayed in the very room where I am staying? Sant Fateh Singh had his bed in this room while I only use the floor. Was sanctity violated at that time? [They bemoan that] this Bhindranwala has come here. I have been told by employees of over twenty years' service here that, in the last twenty years, with the exception of *Vaisaakhi* and *Deepmala*<sup>50</sup>, four hundred persons have never simultaneously received *amrit* here. Currently, on every Sunday and Wednesday, we have four hundred. Does this violate sanctity? Have you ever asked these women? If anyone has asked let him speak up. Gurbachna, the *Narkdharia* was acquitted on the basis of Umranangal's statement. I shall give you proof of this. Let a couple of you educated boys go and enter Samundri Hall. In the office in Teja Singh Samundri Hall, take out the register containing the judgment of the court of Judge Gupta of Karnal and read it. It contains Umranangal's evidence. He described me as a liar and Gurbachna as truthful. That is how Gurbachna was acquitted. If Gurbachna was not acquitted on the basis of these statements, I vow that I shall offer my head to you in public. They went to the *Narkdharis'* home to ask for their votes in 1979 in Chananke village. They went to give *Saropao*<sup>51</sup> to the family of the *Narkdharis*. Has the Akali Dal ever taken action against that person? Now he is asking for permission to die, to immolate himself. I even said this to him. He says that if he was permitted he would immolate himself. I said that one of the two has to happen: either one has to be burnt and die or die and then be burnt. All Sikhs have to be burnt [cremated] anyway. You should ask him. He should feel ashamed now that he has grown old. We have had to build rooms in place of their crematoria at Akal Takhat Sahib. The *kunds*<sup>52</sup> they built have recently been torn down. Has anyone immolated himself in it after having vowed to do so? He wore long black robes. Buckets of yogurt were kept in readiness for him to bathe in before self-immolation. Tell me which of them [the Akali leaders] ever immolated himself after vowing to do so? Mere talk is easy. Can anyone provide an answer?

### More About The Akali Allegation That I Am An Agent

Every day they wail that I am a congressite! You should decide who is one. Who has established a relationship with the congressites? Have I done so? Then, which is the family with which this relationship has been established? This Kairon family is the one which laid Jathedar Mohan Singh Tur on ice. He

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<sup>50</sup> The festival of lights; anniversary of Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib's release from imprisonment in Gwalior.

<sup>51</sup> *Saropao* is robes of honor.

<sup>52</sup> Large vessels, built for, planned but never executed, self-immolation of Sant Fateh Singh.

was President of the Shromani Akali Dal at that time. Jathedar Mohan Singh Tur's home was confiscated. That family spent their days as homeless people. The child Inderjit Singh was chopped up and thrown into a well in Karnal. Bones of Chanchal Singh of .... [inaudible] .... were crushed. He died in Bathinda Jail. They became martyrs at that place. And, fifty-seven thousand turbaned people went to jail. All this was the dispensation of the Kairon family. Hasn't your senior leader<sup>53</sup> entered into a relationship [with Kairon family]? Didn't all the thirty-seven M.L.A.'s dine at the home of Darbara Singh, who was formerly the Chief Minister, the like of *Zakariya*<sup>54</sup>? Yes, didn't all the thirty-seven M.L.A.'s do this? It is unfortunate that the newspapers do not report what I say. Let me know if you have an answer to any of these things. If they have anything about me, go and bring me their questions. I shall provide answers even in a gathering of a million people. Is this their leadership, their distinction, their superiority that if some boy gets up or some young or old man or woman from the congregation asks a question, the leader snaps at him as to why he or she is asking the question? What sort of leadership is that? I challenge you to ask me anything you wish to. If I fail to answer even one of your questions, I shall offer you my head. Go ahead. Let anyone ask anything. Here is a man prepared to die; our busses have been burnt; men around me have been killed; homes of *Singhs* have been destroyed, their homes have been set on fire; *Singhs* have not been able to visit their homes for up to three years; and they turn on us and say .... [inaudible] .... [Aside to some lady: "Mother, sit down, sit down right here."] Let any of you say if I have, until today, stopped you from going with the *Jatha*. Even today we have discussed this. Which of you have I asked not to go with the *Jatha*? Of course, I have said one thing with a challenge. I never said this earlier that you should first ask them as to why they killed Sodhi? You do not know much about Sodhi. From riding a cycle to working as a pilot of a plane, he could do everything. He could ride his motorcycle three miles on a rail. Yes, three miles. If Sodhi had lived another fifteen days, Bhajan Lal would not have been alive today. They have broken our back; severed our arm. Now, you can think it over. This Bhajan Lal is the murderer of us Sikhs; an enemy of our *Isht*<sup>55</sup>. He [Sodhi] was the one seeking to avenge this against him; the Secretary of the Akali Dal gets that person killed and the President of the Akali Dal holds him in his embrace! And they lecture to me about unity! Have you read today about the row they have kicked up about Sukha? They say that Bhindranwala has hatched a conspiracy to kill Sukha. The person whom I rocked in my arms; whom I fed; whom I protected from the Government; today that man is getting up on the stage to speak against me. He is a nonentity. Which organization do the Babbars have? It is true that Sukha has made sacrifices. I value them too. Of the other fifteen or

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<sup>53</sup> Reference is to Parkash Singh Badal.

<sup>54</sup> Zakariya Khan, known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century.

<sup>55</sup> *Isht* is Punjabi for Beloved, object of reverence: here the reference is to Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

sixteen persons that tag along with him, tell me if any of them has as much as broken the leg of an ant? And they write in the newspapers demanding answers!

#### Meeting With *Jathedar* Of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib

I asked the *Jathedar* of Akal Takhat Sahib. I said: "*Jathedar Ji*, answer me." He said: "What is it?" I said: "You received letters, which were distributed, in the form of leaflets, in the *Parkarma*; in this park and in the procession. In these I was asked to answer nine or ten questions." I asked the *Jathedar* to answer my one question. He said: "What is it?" I said: "You are *Jathedar* of the Akal Takhat?" He said: "Yes." I asked: "Did you not go to perform the marriage of *patit*<sup>56</sup> boy and girl?" He answered: "Yes, I did." I said: "What kind of a leader of the [Sikh] way of life are you?" Have Badal's daughter and Kairon's son received *amrit*? What right does the *Jathedar* have to perform the marriage of non-*amritdhari*<sup>57</sup> boy and girl? I asked him: "A boy and a girl do 110 recitations of Jap Ji Sahib; are born in the home of poor people and regard you as an elder; tell us publicly if you have ever performed the marriage ceremony of such poor couple." He replied: "No." I said: "Then why did you go to the home of rich people to perform the marriage of non-*amritdharis*?" Is there no restriction on him? If the *Jathedar* of the *Takhat*<sup>58</sup> performs the marriages of *patit* boy and girl, what must be the situation of the others? If he has not done it, I shall undergo punishment. Bring the five Singh Sahibs. Assemble them here. Let them sit with me. I shall sit with them. What would you say if I get all the five of them to admit they lied about me?

It was the seventh point in that paper. I did not express agreement with that; I asked for a reply. They had written that all should forget their differences and work for the *Panth*. I asked them a question. I said: "All of you five *Jathedars* should first tell me whether differences of opinion exist between us: if they do, then study and investigate as to who is responsible for creating them and punish the one who initiated them; if I started them, punish me; if they were initiated by Longowal, punish him; if they originated with Talwandi, punish him; punish whoever started the dissensions." They said I was right. I asked: "If I am right, go to Manji Sahib and say so." They replied that they could not say this at Manji Sahib. Who do we go to in order to get a decision? I express disagreement and say that I do not agree and the next day, a statement written on Siri Akal Takhat Sahib's stationery, was given to the newspapers stating that Bhindranwala has agreed to this. The following day we again had a meeting. I asked the five of them: "*Singh Sahibs*: did I ever say yes to this

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<sup>56</sup> One who has violated one of the major taboos of the Sikh faith.

<sup>57</sup> Not formally initiated into the Sikh faith.

<sup>58</sup> Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.



resolution?" They replied that I had not. I asked: "Why was this published in my name, isn't it a total lie? They said it was indeed a lie. I asked them as to who would be responsible for this lie and they all fell silent. If this [conversation] did not take place, I shall undergo any punishment you award me. If the *Jathedar* of the *Takhat* and all the *Singh Sahibs* of this place sign their names saying that Bhindranwala has expressed agreement when I say I do not agree, tell me where shall we look for justice? .... [inaudible] .... If any son of his mother has an answer let him give it.

### Bhindranwale Jatha Is A Special Target Of The Government

If any Sikh has read in any newspaper that a martyrs' fund has been opened in Bhindranwale's name or by Bhindranwale, let him stand and speak up. A martyrs' fund was opened in the name of the Akali Dal; another in the name of the Shromani Committee; and there might be some in the names of others but if anyone has seen a fund opened in my name, speak up. Out of [legal] cases against four hundred *Singhs*, I alone am paying for the defense of 375. Have I ever asked you for a single penny? We have a mere four acres of land in Mehta which barely provide for onions for two months use in the kitchen; so many people come and go. I cannot say I get the rest of the expenses from my home: I live with you [at your cost] but I have never asked for money. I spend whatever is received as it comes. If they [the Akali leaders] can prove that in all my life even a nickel of public funds was used for my family, I shall blacken my face, wear a garland of worn-out shoes, and beg the *Panth* for forgiveness. And what do we have here? I shall show you photos of the vice-president of the Shromani Committee. He gets paid his salary regularly from Darbar Sahib but goes about cutting fodder. He gets a salary from Darbar Sahib and goes to plaster bungalows. I am not saying this myself; the photos tell you. Some *Singhs* have come here today from the village in which I was born and raised and the public here knows it as well. You may ask them or go and look at our home in the village. Some press representatives had come from America. Looking at the home they were surprised. I asked them what the matter was. They said: "You are so popular, so many in the public are with you; you receive so much money; and such is the condition of your home?" There is no enclosure; .... [inaudible] .... from *kikkar*<sup>59</sup> fall on us while we eat. They asked me what the reason was for this. I told them that this was the reason that so many in the general public were with me. They asked how was it. I told them that whenever a tyrannical government was uprooted it was done by those living in huts; never have those living in bungalows overthrown a cruel rule. If they have done it, stand up and tell us. Those living in bungalows are worried about their bungalows; about expenses, about their corrupt ways. But one living in a hut can pick up his few belongings and move on to another home. Whether I have grown up living in a

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<sup>59</sup> A tree which has branches with long hard thorns.

hut or in homes of straws; whatever the circumstances of my upbringing; tell me if, in all my life, I have ever bowed before the Government. I shall accept whatever punishment Guru's congregation awards me. I might have my head cut off but I shall not bend before the Government. I shall always prostrate myself before the public. I have no pride in front of the [Sikh] Nation but shall not bow before the Government. If I ever bend, then you will have the last word.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANANDPUR RESOLUTION

### Attempts To Modify The Resolution. We Cannot Let That Happen

We have to get the Anandpur Resolution implemented, in its entirety. A moment of reckoning will come upon us all; upon you too and upon me as well. When the time comes for a decision, if all the things written in the Anandpur Resolution are accepted and I am convinced about it, I shall tell you that it is correct. But if they try to taint it, it will be my responsibility to tell you the truth. I do not in the least fear any leader nor do I frighten anyone. I shall not hesitate in telling the truth. If they taint it and there are things left out; I shall show you a copy [of the Resolution] and tell you: "*Singhs*, these are the things left out; now you, the Guru's nation, should tell us what to do." Then it will be your responsibility. If you wish to follow the beaten track, and wish to get shoe-beaten again after shouting the *Jaikaaras*, go ahead and shout the *Jaikaaras*. But, if you wish to follow the path of truth, say that you wish to get the Resolution implemented in its entirety. Things will sort themselves out. Our *Jathedar* is sitting here too. [Addressing Mr. Tohra] Tohra Sahib, tell us if ever since the *Morcha* started, you have ever read about Ganganagar in the newspapers?" Why, has anyone read any leader's statement that we shall insist on getting the six tehsils of Ganganagar? Tell me if you have read any. Has anyone mentioned the sixth paragraph to you? In the sixth paragraph of the copy of the Anandpur Resolution it is written that it is not necessary to get a license for weapons ranging from a 12 bore [shotgun] up to a carbine. If any leader has told you this, stand up and tell us. Then [if they did not mean what is written in the Resolution] were they not lying? I keep saying all the time that you should keep cannon, bombs, grenades, sten, bren or whatever you can; but has any leader told you to keep them? [The congregation responds in the negative] It is written in the Anandpur Resolution. Why don't they mention it to you? Why don't you answer? I am not going to say where .... [inaudible] .... Why don't they tell the truth? They themselves prepared the Anandpur Resolution. Whose signatures appear on it? They are of Tohra, Barnala, Jaswinder Singh Brar, Amar Singh Ambalvi Advocate, Bhag Singh M.L.A., Rarewala, Gurmeet Singh, Balwant Singh; signatures of all of them are on it.

They passed the Resolution. And there was Kapur Singh, I.A.S.<sup>60</sup> They drafted the Resolution. Keep a copy of the Anandpur Resolution, and a carbine. Thirty rounds can be loaded in it. If a policeman asks for your license, tell him: "Here is the Anandpur Resolution." If he says he does not know as to which Anandpur Resolution, put three [bullets] through his side and the Anandpur Resolution will have been implemented. Many young men ask me: "Sant Ji, wherefrom shall we procure weapons; where is the factory?" Wherever there are four or five C.R.P. men standing they are all factories. You can snatch these from them. [*Laughter in the congregation*]. You come to me after getting beaten up. How many times have I said that you should come after beating them up. .... [*inaudible*] .... They come after getting beat up. If we ask how many were they; the reply is: "They were two and we were five or six." Don't you feel ashamed? Our Father<sup>61</sup> says: "I shall get each one to fight one hundred and twenty-five thousand, get the sparrows to hunt the hawks, and only then be called Gobind Singh." The Father says that he will get each to fight a hundred and twenty-five thousand and you, five or six of you, get beaten up by two C.R.P. men and come here. Have we lost all sense of shame? A few days back there were about fifteen Sikhs and twenty-five C.R.P. men. For two hours they kept the Singhs and ladies standing on the road in the sun. The C.R.P. men took off the *gaatras* of the ladies. They came to me here. .... [*inaudible*] .... With good luck you had got an opportunity. There were twenty-five C.R.P. men. You should have snatched away [their weapons]. You would get weapons and also they would know not to surround *Singhs*. What do you come to me for after getting beaten up? It is a different matter when a single *Singh* or a couple of them get surrounded and they are helpless: even lions get captured.

#### THE GOVERNMENT IS PLANNING TO CORDON AND SEARCH BORDER VILLAGES

[*Aside to someone*: What is the date today? Is it twenty-fourth, brother, or is it twenty-fifth?] Today is the twenty-fourth. Tomorrow, they, the masters of Hindostan, are going to seal the entire border from Pathankot all the way up to Rajasthan. [What is going to happen] if the Sikh responds to it? The army is being moved to the border [with Pakistan]. The B.S.F.<sup>62</sup> has been given the responsibility to search all the villages from Pathankot to Rajasthan. This is because most of the population there is Sikh. I appeal to all of you who have come here: convey my message to all wherever they are living, to all the Sikh villages from Pathankot to Rajasthan. I appeal and request that people from four or five neighboring villages should assemble at various places. When they come to any village, take away the weapons from all of them. How many of the

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<sup>60</sup> Indian Administrative Service.

<sup>61</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

<sup>62</sup> Border Security Force.

public can they kill? If the public from all the villages gets together, nobody will have the courage to kill you. If you do not adopt this tactic, they are going to take away all the gold, silver, cash, grain and other valuables. If you all wish to go hungry and get shoe-beaten, it is up to you. Day before yesterday a person came from Muktsar to see me. Men from the C.R.P. took away grain from the homes of two Sikhs. They do not bother the Hindus but do not spare any Sikh. In Karnal too Sikhs were beaten up. At that time too I told the Sikhs. I appeal to you and give you this message; you can take it whichever way you please. I have learnt that on the twenty-sixth - the night of twenty-fifth and the morning of twenty-sixth - they are going to carry out the search in the villages. Here is the report I have received. I am telling you according to it. If they do such things, then, young men, death is preferable to a life of such cowardice. It is better to die. They should not go unscathed from the villages.

#### THE AKALIS HAVE ANNOUNCED A NEW PROGRAM. WAIT AND SEE IF THEY MEAN IT

I have read the newspapers today. Here a news has appeared. Many *Singhs* tell me to offer congratulations. I told them that I would like to wait a day and offer them tomorrow. If this statement is not contradicted by tomorrow, well, it is worthy of praise; but if it is contradicted I shall not say anything. Today it came [in the news] that there is going to be non-cooperation. If they [the Akali leaders] stick to this stand it is good. Even if someone is an enemy, if he says something nice, it is proper for one to commend him. [*Someone tries to interrupt Sant Bhindranwale. Sant Bhindranwale addressing him: "Yes, tell me my Gurmukh brother." A conversation ensues with the man making some statements and Sant Bhindranwale repeatedly saying "yes." The man says: "We have one home. My father is a granthi. We are three brothers and are Singhs. God willing, we shall do our best." Sant Bhindranwale says: "If all the Sikhs come to this decision, they won't do it; they will back off. If the Sikhs do not allow this. .... [inaudible] .... there are hundreds of thousands of Sikhs up to Rajasthan." The man says: "A few days back I saw a photograph of yourself and Longowal. Under it was written: Who says they are separate? .... This point onwards the man's words are inaudible but Sant Bhindranwale says at intervals: "Show me any against them by me." .... "Not like this; that sometimes they are one man's and then others'. Show me any by me. Ask them about what they have said". .... "Ask me if there is any question you have of me". .... "Who wrote this? Did Jarnail Singh do it or did Longowal or was it written by the newspaper? There is one Pammi Rajbir. That man has written it; hasn't he? Isn't he the one saying "who says we are Separate?" I never said this: he did. Now you are going back after visiting with me. I have preached about receiving *amrit* and about keeping the *Rehit*<sup>63</sup>. If you go out and say that*

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<sup>63</sup> Sikh *Rehit* or *Rehit Maryada* means the principles of Sikh living.

Bhindranwale told you to go about in the company of a prostitute, what can I do?" *The man says*: I say no such thing." *Sant Bhindranwale explains*: "I have merely answered your question." *The man again says*: "I did not say that." *Sant Bhindranwale impatiently says*: "What sort of a man is he?" *Then, to the man*: "I have given you an answer to what is given in the periodical. You have met me and I have told you that you should receive *amrit* and live by the *Rehit*; that you should acquire weapons and seek justice. And if you go out and write that Bhindranwale says you should engage in prostitution, what can I do about that? Was this written by that man or by me? In it is written: who says they are separate? That is all that is written; isn't it? Have you ever heard from my tongue that we are separate? Have you ever read any news given by me to that effect? *The man says something and Sant Bhindranwale responds*: Then, go and show the photograph to the one who has said that we are separate and ask him what he has written. You should go and see him; I have no control over it."] .... [*inaudible*] .... They say that it might perhaps have even been tape-recorded. The Dictator got up here and, in my presence, issued the statement: "He is one person; this could be his program; our *Panthak* program is peaceful." Now he said this about me in open session. He said that I was with the Government; that I was with those who hurl abuse at Guru Gobind Singh Sahib. Who among you confronted him; tell me. Then they said that I would not be allowed to speak in Diwan Hall Manji Sahib. This is a statement by the Dictator. I asked that brother, Major Singh, the answer to this. He told me that he had asked and that he had been told that they had not stopped me and that I could speak whenever I wished to. He got these four inside and told them but then why did he get it published in the newspapers? The four of you were told this thing but millions read the opposite in the newspapers. What is the reason for this; who is going to answer this? I learnt about another thing three days back. Until today I did not pay attention to it. I shall let you in on it. Bhag Singh has not met me. Later, we shall meet him, get hold of him and ask him what this is all about. Bhag Singh went there and met Buta Singh. He told Buta Singh that, on behalf of the Shromani Committee, he was regularly providing Bhindranwale with two cans of *ghee*<sup>64</sup> and twenty kilograms of shelled almonds. This went up to Buta Singh and from him, through someone, it reached Harcharan Singh and others in Delhi Jail. Bhag Singh went to visit them. They all asked Bhag Singh as to why he had said this to Buta Singh. He admitted he had done so. Now these Secretaries know what this is all about and, from among them, Bhai Major Singh is sitting here. Now you can see that if I was eating two cans of *ghee* and twenty kilograms of shelled almonds, would I be like I am? Tell me, brothers. [*Laughter in the congregation*]. Then they say about me that I am in league [with the Government]. Here is a Secretary of the Shromani Committee who goes and tells a Minister belonging to the Congress that he is providing two cans of *ghee* to Bhindranwale; then

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<sup>64</sup> *Ghee* is clarified butter.

who is in league? If this information is false, go and ask Harcharan Singh of Delhi; he is the one who told me. Also, he is the your President, of the Akali Dal of Delhi.

If anyone has ever heard it from my tongue, let him present himself to me and say so. I shall accept whatever punishment is given me. I ask the congregation: brothers, why there is no punishment for one who, from the stage of the Shromani Committee and Shromani Akali Dal, has violated the appeal issued by the Five Singh Sahibs; and, if one like me - who has never until today said such things - happens to inadvertently utter a word like this, all of you start wailing here that Bhindranwale has said such and such thing. I ask the congregation as to why they do not ask these people. Why was this baseless propaganda carried out against me from the stage of the Shromani Committee. We are going to call Major Singh. He shall be speaking in a couple of minutes. Ask him, Major Singh, in connection with Sukha Singh. Tape-recordings were made at the stage. In connection with Sukha Singh, people were invited to oppose me. And up to this time I had been telling [my men]: "You have not yet gone to Sukha Singh's home and tilled his land: grass is growing tall and you should go and provide his this help with a tractor." This is what I keep saying and here they give out a program saying that Bhindranwale is looking for a place to kill Sukha Singh. What propaganda can be more false, more hypocritical, and more deceitful than this? How many people are they going to turn against me?

I have one question to ask of you and of these people too, those who have lied. *Khalsa Ji*, I have one question to ask of you. First of all you should tell me this. Ask the Akali Dal as to why they killed our Sodhi. What sin did Sodhi engage in? What improper activity did he engage in here? Did Sodhi break the *golak*<sup>65</sup> or steal *parshad*<sup>66</sup>? Did he use abusive language towards any member of the Committee or of the Akali Dal? Did he forcibly evict anyone from his room? What were the allegations for which the Akali Dal had Sodhi killed? Have you ever asked these brothers? You tell me that we have been victimized, injustice has been perpetrated against us. Then you go there and exonerate Gurcharan Singh. Gurcharan Singh is our murderer. Gurcharan Singh gave four hundred thousand rupees to Chhinda to get me and another three *Singhs* associated with me. On *Vaisaakhi* day that woman<sup>67</sup> sat, with a loaded pistol, at the meeting place of the *Singhs* for twenty-five minutes. At that time the stage

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<sup>65</sup> *Golak* is the box containing offerings to the Guru.

<sup>66</sup> *Parshad* is the same as *Karah Parshad* - a preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar, - distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<sup>67</sup> Reference is to Baljit Kaur who was part of the conspiracy to murder Surinder Sigh Sodhi and who confessed her role to Sant Bhindranwale. In spite of Sant Bhindranwale's instructions that no harm should come to her, she was brutally murdered the day after Sodhi was killed.

was here. At the time of investigation, the *Singhs* asked her why she sat with the loaded pistol and did not use it. She told them she was unable to bring up the courage to get up and fire; that she was afraid. I brought all these things to the notice of these people. Earlier I did not know about room #102. It is noted in the register as well. I did tell them that the conspiracy was hatched in room #102. When the members of the five-member Committee went there and saw the register, they told me that room was reserved in Gurcharan Singh's name. I did not know that this room was in his name. Our man is killed and there have been confessions made about everything. If still they go about saying that Bhindranwale speaks against the *Panth*, tell me what can I do about it? Tell me, *Khalsa Ji*. Dear congregation, I am asking you.

### We Cannot Hope For Victory When We Constantly Lie

There is another thing being said: "Sant Ji, let us win in this *Morcha*; then we shall go whichever way we have to." But how can we achieve victory in this struggle with falsehood? I ask that if I am to blame; if in your eyes I am in league with the Congress; if I have hurt the *Panth* in any manner; stand up and say this in the congregation. Propose a punishment and I shall undergo it. If I am a congressite, why have you allowed me to stay here? Turn me out of here. I showed the Dictator's Press-note to brother Major Singh: the one in which it is written that the money collected in the names of the families of the martyrs is being used to destroy the Shromani Akali Dal, the organizations of martyrs. Of all of you brothers sitting here, can anyone of you stand up and say if I have ever asked any of you for money? Let any man say this. Yes, brothers, let any man or woman stand up and say if I ever asked you for money. There are proceedings going on against five hundred, yes, five hundred *Singhs*. He is a Secretary of the Committee. If the Committee and the Akali Dal can prove that they are defending [even] twenty-five, out of the five hundred, I shall leave this place. Who is defending four hundred and seventy-five? Tell me if you have ever read in the newspapers or heard about a martyrs' fund in my name. *Khalsa Ji*, we started after solemn resolve.

I also said that we have to keep going in *Jathas*. We must not stop the *Jathas*. The *Morcha* has to be won. We must not be envious. Send as much provisions to the *Langar* as you can. What further proof can I give of unity? This was my statement that was published.

### The Akali Leadership Does Not Stand By The Sikhs

The same day the Dictator's statement was published in the newspapers that the *Panth* cannot be sacrificed for the sake of one individual. Who is that individual? Why don't they write that? Why the veiled statements? My statement is that the *Morcha* must be won and the Dictator's is that the *Panth*

cannot be sacrificed for one individual. It cannot be sacrificed for the *Taksaal*<sup>68</sup> but can definitely be for Gurcharan Singh. There was a *Gurmukh*, Talwinder Singh, in Punjab at one time. He was known as a Babbar<sup>69</sup>. That valiant man preached *Gurmat*<sup>70</sup>. He was a very good preacher. *Khalsa Ji*, warrants for his arrest were issued. He went abroad to Canada. He was arrested in Germany. That brave man did much for the glory of the *Panth*. He preached and in sacrifice too he was second to none in the *Panth*. He reached Germany. There, I shall not name names but according to the report I have I shall only say that traitors had him arrested. After his arrest there was litigation and, in that litigation, everyone tried to help according to their resources. I too helped as much as I got the opportunity to do. Mr. Sethi sent off a letter to them. Only yesterday a reply to that letter has been received that the letter influenced the Government there not a little but significantly. They have asked for my statement regarding Talwinder Singh. Brothers, I shall only say this. If the Government of Canada or the Government of Germany send Talwinder Singh back to India, the Indian Government will not hesitate in drinking Talwinder Singh's blood just as it did not in drinking the blood of Bhai Amarjeet Singh of Daheru, of Daljeet Singh and Gurmeet Singh, of Kulwant Singh of Nagoke, of Labh Singh, Kashmira Singh, Jagdev Singh, Sukhdev Singh and the other martyrs. I certainly like to tell the Government of India, as I have done on a couple of occasions earlier, that they should not think that they can seize Talwinder Singh, Tarsem Singh, and Wadhawa Singh; bring them here to India; and trapping them under some law, hang them or drink their blood in fake encounters. Let them keep in mind the pyres of those who have earlier drunk the blood of Sikhs. The announcement regarding them [Talwinder Singh and associates] is the same that only such a police officer should try to hang them or shoot them to death who came from his mother's womb with two heads. Those who came with one head should not get involved with the thought of hanging [them] or shooting them dead.

[Someone in the congregation says something. Sant Bhindranwale tells him to listen and comment]. This man says: "They have been nice to us; ask us about it." If they were not kind to you and then they become their relatives ... . [inaudible] .... This is what I keep crying about. That is why I am saying all this. Then they say about me that I have teamed up with the Congress. And who is saying this: it is the Dictator. I do not care about what the others say. If I have said anything about any akali Sikh, stand up and ask me.

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<sup>68</sup> *Damdami Taksaal* is the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head at that time.

<sup>69</sup> Member of the Babbar Khalsa.

<sup>70</sup> *Gurmat* is Guru's teachings.



## Even *Jathedars* Of *Takhats* Tell Lies

Some time back a five-member committee, of three *Jathedars* of *Takhats* and two Singh Sahibs, was formed. Yesterday a letter was published stating that I criticize the *Takhats*; that this was unacceptable; that action will be taken. I ran into Nihal Singh Ji. Ujagar Singh Sekhwan was with him. I asked: "*Jathedar* Ji, did you sign it?" I had the letter with me. He said that he did not. Then I asked him if he had been given the authority to tell lies. What is this that a *Jathedar* of a *Takhat* tells lies and the tell others they cannot criticize! Why can there be no criticism? I shall provide proof that all the three *Jathedars* have lied. The Head *Granthi* of Harmandar Sahib, who wishes me to be punished, has lied. I shall get each one of the *Jathedars* to confess that he lied. Are the Akali Dal and the *Jathedar* exempt [from telling the truth]? What ways have they adopted! They quietly write that reverence must be maintained. Isn't it the duty of the *Jathedars* as well to maintain reverence for the *Takhats*? Why has the *Jathedar* of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib performed the marriage of *patit* boy and girl? They are the prima donnas of *Rehit Maryada*. They go about abusing others saying that they cannot open their mouths. No one has told you up to this time; everyone who came dusted your shoes. .... [inaudible] .... They say an edict will be issued about me. I challenge them to issue one; I shall bear it. Issuing edicts it appears you have cabbage in your bones, lentil in your knees; where is the truth in you? The five *Jathedars* told me - they were the two *Singh Sahibs* and three *Jathedars* [of the *Takhats*]. The meeting went on for three hours on one day and for two and a half hours the other day. I asked: "Singh Sahibs, am I at fault?" They said: "No, you are not to blame." Then I said: "If I am not to blame, tell him [Longowal]." They replied: "You know how it is." I said: "Yes, I know that but you are the judges." They said that I was right. I said: "If I am right then come to Manji Sahib and say so." They said they won't be able to say this at Manji Sahib. All the five *Jathedars* said this. Then who shall we get to do this? There was the seventh point in which it was written that we should act together, forgetting all differences of opinion. I did not agree with this. Why didn't I agree? I raised this question in the meeting of the five. I submitted: "Singh Sahib Ji, first you should decide whether we do have differences. If there are no differences, why do you write about them? If there are differences, then find out who started them; tell the congregation about it and award punishment to the one who did. Then everything will be right in the future." They replied: "You are right." Then I told them that I did not agree with this resolution. They said it was all right. I said this and came away from that place after saying good-bye. They wrote on the pad of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib that I had expressed agreement with all the seven points. The next day we were to meet again. When I went there and sat near them they asked me to say something. I said: "You should tell me where the five of you got the certificate to tell lies?" They asked why I said this. I told them: "Tell me, did I express agreement with this the seventh resolution?" They replied: "No." I asked them: "Then why did you write on the pad of Siri Akal Takhat Sahib that

Bhindranwale is in agreement?" They replied: "This was an error." I said: "If this is an error, declare so in the newspapers. In order to hide your sins you are going ahead; why don't you speak, why don't you?" I also told the Singh Sahibs. I said to them: "Singh Sahib Ji, this is correct that you can use the prestige of the *Takhats* and the authority of Harmandar Sahib against me through the power of your pen; I shall not say that you cannot do it; but keep in mind that [in God's court]

ਓਥੇ ਸਚੇ ਹੀ ਸਚਿ ਨਿਬੜੈ ਚੁਣਿ ਵਖਿ ਕਢੇ ਜਜਮਾਲਿਆ॥

'Only the truthful will be saved by virtue of their truth and the evil-doers are picked out and separated'. Chetoo, the Masand, took the *choora*<sup>71</sup> that a Sikh of the Guru had brought; did not let it reach the Guru's home and gave it to his own wife. The Sikh came to make obeisance [to the Guru] but [Chetoo] did not let him do so. The Sikh kept pleading all day. *Khalsa Ji*, when the evening set in, the Tenth King<sup>72</sup> sent Bhai Daya Singh Ji to bring that Sikh. He asked the Sikh to come near him and asked him: "What is the matter, my Sikh, that you are unhappy?" He replied: "*Maharaj*<sup>73</sup>, so much pride has crept into your home." The Sikh said this and *Maharaj* asked why he said so. He said: "*Maharaj*, I had sent a *choora*." *Maharaj* said: "My dear man, it has been received." He asked: "Then show it to me." *Maharaj* asked: "Who did you give it to?" He replied that he had given it to Chetoo. *Maharaj* said: "Chetoo, the Sikh has brought that *choora*; bring it over." He was a responsible person. He had the authority similar to that of the *Jathedar* of the *Takhats*. He was the most respected Masand in Punjab. In *Maharaj's* presence he said that he had not been given it. *Maharaj* again said: "Brother, the poor Sikh will not lie." But he insisted that he had not been given it. *Maharaj* asked him to sit down there in his own presence and told Bhai Daya Singh that it was lying tied up in a box in a cupboard in the wall on the south side of his [Chetoo's] house and that he should go get it from there. Bhai Daya Singh went to his home, brought the box, took out the *choora*, and placed it there. *Maharaj* said: "Chetoo, nothing is lost yet; confess that you erred, that you became greedy, and took the *choora*." But he was proud of his *Manji* and of the *Langar*. He said in the presence of Satguru that Bhai Daya Singh was lying and that the *choora* had not come from his home. When, stricken by greed, he showed such persistence in lying, *Maharaj* asked Bhai Daya Singh to tie his legs and arms and to burn him by pouring ladles full of boiling molasses on his head. I said: "Singh Sahib Ji, keep in mind that you are being hypocrites; you are lying to your heart's content; you can lie and even issue an edict against me; that this edict might even have some effect on the public for a few days; but remember that we all

<sup>71</sup> *Choorā* is a set of bangles.

<sup>72</sup> Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib, the tenth Guru.

<sup>73</sup> *Maharaj* meaning the Great King is a reverential reference to Siri Guru Granth Sahib or any of the other Gurus; here Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.

have to go together [to God's presence]." They all looked down just as that person there is doing. When I am challenging them to tell me what I have done wrong, why this propaganda against me? All I do is speak for ten or eleven hours daily telling the people: "*Singhs*, keep your beards and hair; give up drinking alcohol; support the *Panth*; stoutly participate in the *Morcha* to the greatest extent possible; protect the honor of daughters and sisters; preserve respect for the *Panth* and reverence for Guru Granth Sahib; seek justice against those who have dishonored our daughters and sisters and work together." Still they go on saying I am a congressite. What can I do to correct it? The newspapermen asked me about Bhajan Lal. They asked me: "Tell us about the Chief Minister of Haryana." These were their words: tell us about Haryana. I told them: "The only thing about Haryana is that we shall not be satisfied until we have put on the train those who have burnt copies [of Siri Guru Granth Sahib], set fire to gurdwaras, set fire to trucks, shaved the hair of Sikhs, and dishonored our sisters." Bhajan Lal, Chief Minister of Haryana is at the root of all this and we do have to put him on the train. This is not merely wishful thinking; we have to put him on the train by any means possible. The message has reached him and a tape-recording has reached him as well. He has made some arrangements [to protect himself]. We have told him that even if he builds himself a home in the ocean, we shall meet him. But they say I am in league with the Congress! It is not mere talk: if the Guru has mercy, we shall prove that we can find him. I also told him to see me while I live but in any case, through Guru's mercy, many young men have become prepared and that the Nation will definitely meet him. What is the reason for this meeting? We need to remind him that we have, in the past, rescued up to thirty thousand of their [Hindus'] women. ....

*[The recording ends here. The last part of the speech is not available].*

## APPENDIX I

### THE SIKHS AND THEIR RELIGION

The Sikh faith was founded by Siri Guru Nanak Sahib (1469-1539) followed by nine other Gurus up to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib (1666-1708) who declared that after him the Divine Word, compiled as the Granth Sahib, shall be the Eternal Guru.

Sikhs believe in one God, the eternal reality, the creator and doer, all-pervading, without fear or rancor, unchanging, unincarnate, and self-existent. God is the benevolent provider and the forgiving father. God creates the universe and sustains it. Creation is a manifestation of God and is completely pervaded by God who yet transcends it. Everything created must end and merge into God at God's Will. The entire universe and all beings serve God's Will.

Human life is an opportunity to understand God through love. This understanding liberates one from the blinding veil of *Maya*. Such a person is free of the pains of desire, anger, and pride; leads a life marked by contentment, sharing, and devotion; and upon death returns to God. Sikhs believe in equality of all people and respect all faiths though they reject hypocrisy and empty rituals. Sikhs formally initiated into the Faith observe the five k's: *kes* (hair), *kara* (a steel bangle), *kangha* (a small comb for the hair), *kachh* (a type of shorts), and *kirpaan* (a sword, a symbolic weapon). Sikh men (and some Sikh women) wear turbans to cover their hair. A Sikh must not use intoxicants (including tobacco), commit adultery, remove or trim body hair, or eat flesh of animals killed slowly. Sikh worship consists of reading, writing, reciting, singing, or listening to verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib. A Sikh place of worship is called a gurdwara. Most gurdwaras run free community kitchens.

The ideal lifestyle for a Sikh is that of a 'saint-soldier', living in prayer and service but always ready to fight oppression. For this reason, Sikhs have been persecuted by successive governments in India. They enjoyed political ascendancy in Punjab for nearly a century but after two bloody wars Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849. Though recruited heavily to the Indian army, Sikhs remained targets of suspicion. They formed less than two percent of India's population, yet over seventy-five percent of those executed by the British during India's struggle for freedom were Sikhs. In 1947, India was partitioned into Pakistan, an Islamic state; and India, a Hindu-dominated country. Promises made by India's leaders, of a homeland where the Sikhs "might also experience the glow of freedom," were broken. Denigration of Sikh practices was encouraged and devotion to their religion treated as insurrection. This persecution culminated in the June 1984 invasion of the Darbar Sahib complex in Amritsar and of numerous other gurdwaras by the Indian army. This oppression continues relentlessly.

## APPENDIX II

### GLOSSARY OF PUNJABI WORDS AND TERMS

*Note: Many Punjabi words and terms do not have single word equivalents in English. For this reason, they are used in their original form in the text and are italicized. At the first occurrence in any speech or interview, an explanation is provided in a footnote. In addition, the following glossary might be useful for readers unfamiliar with Punjabi.*

- Akal Purakh:* Timeless All-Pervading; an epithet for God.
- Akhand Paath:* Complete uninterrupted reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
- Amritdhari:* A person formally initiated into the Sikh faith.
- Administer Amrit:* To formally initiate people into the Sikh faith.
- Receive Amrit:* To be formally initiated into the Sikh faith.
- Ardaas:* A prayer said in a congregation at the beginning and end of every Sikh religious assembly. Also said individually after morning and evening *Paath* or on other occasions such as invoking divine blessing for the struggle.
- Asa Di Vaar:* A set of verses in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
- Ashtpadis:* Verses consisting, in general, of eight stanzas.
- Avatars:* Incarnations of the Deity, according to Hindu beliefs.
- Baani:* The Word (of God), Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
- Five Baanis:* The five daily prayers of the Sikhs.
- Baataa:* An iron vessel used for preparing Amrit for formal initiation into the Sikh faith.
- Baba Ji:* A respectful form of addressing a holy man.
- Bahisht:* The Muslim concept of heaven.
- Bajaanwala:* Literally, the master of the hawks; a description reverently used by Sikhs for Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib who used to keep a white hawk.
- Bandh:* A strike or stoppage of work.
- Bandichhor:* The deliverer from bondage; a phrase used by Sikhs to recall Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib's liberation of fifty-two Hindu rulers from jail.
- Bhadron:* The fifth month of Bikrami calendar beginning middle of August.
- Bhagat:* A devotee of God. In particular Kabir, Farid, Ravidas, Dhanna, Sain, Tirlochan, Namdev, Jaidev and others some of whose writings are included in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
- Bhavans:* Nirankari places of worship.
- Bhog:* Completion of the reading of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
- Bibi:* A respectful prefix to a lady's name; also a respectful way of addressing or referring to a lady.

<i>Bodi:</i>	A tuft of hair left in place when the rest of the head is shorn clean.
<i>Brahm Giani:</i>	One having divine knowledge.
<i>C.I.D.:</i>	Criminal Intelligence Division of the police.
<i>Cap-wearers:</i>	Sant Bhindranwale often referred to Hindus as cap-wearers as distinct from Sikhs who are turban-wearers.
<i>Center:</i>	The Central Government of India.
<i>Chakra:</i>	A weapon, <i>Sudarshan Chakra</i> , used by Krishan, a Hindu deity.
<i>Chandaal:</i>	An outcaste; one belonging to a class of untouchables.
<i>Charanamrit:</i>	Wash-water from the feet.
<i>Chet:</i>	A month of the Bikrami calendar starting in mid-March.
<i>Choor:</i>	A set of bangles; jewelry for forearms.
<i>Choti:</i>	Same as <i>Bodi</i> above.
<i>Chowkidar:</i>	A person assigned to guard a checkpoint or a village. Also, colloquially, a watchdog.
<i>Congress:</i>	Indian National Congress, the ruling political party in India, at the time led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.
<i>Darshan:</i>	A reverential look or view of some person or object.
<i>Dastaar:</i>	Turban.
<i>Deepmala:</i>	String of lights; the festival of lights; anniversary of Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib's release from imprisonment in Gwalior.
<i>Dera:</i>	Headquarters.
<i>Dhadi Sabha:</i>	A group of Sikh musicians who sing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument called the Dhad Sarangi.
<i>Dharam Yudh:</i>	Religious struggle.
<i>Dharam Yudh Morcha:</i>	Religious struggle. <i>Morcha</i> is struggle, protest, movement, or agitation.
<i>Dharamraj:</i>	The mythical scribe said to keep track of all people's actions for divine judgement.
<i>Dharna:</i>	Refrain.
<i>Dhoti:</i>	Loincloth.
<i>Dictator of the Panth:</i>	Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, leader of the Sikh struggle 1982-1984.
<i>Fateh:</i>	Sikh greeting: <i>Vaheguru Ji ka Khalsa Vaheguru Ji ki Fateh</i> .
<i>Gaatra:</i>	A sash slung around the head and one shoulder with a band to hold a weapon, typically the <i>kirpaan</i> .
<i>Geeta:</i>	A Hindu religious text.
<i>Ghari:</i>	A unit of time equal to 24 minutes.
<i>Ghee:</i>	Clarified butter.
<i>Gherao:</i>	Surrounding some place preventing ingress and egress; a form of protest.
<i>Golak:</i>	Box containing offerings to the Guru.
<i>Gopis:</i>	Shepherd-girls who were Krishan's devotees.
<i>Granthi:</i>	A professional reader of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.

<i>Gurbani:</i>	Guru's Word, Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Gurdwara:</i>	Literally, the Guru's door: a place of congregational worship by the Sikhs housing at least one copy of Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Gur Maryada:</i>	The principles and practice introduced by the Gurus.
<i>Gurmat:</i>	Guru's teachings.
<i>Gurmukh:</i>	Guru's devotee.
<i>Gurpurb:</i>	A celebration associated with some event in the Gurus' lives.
<i>Gursikh:</i>	A Sikh of the Guru.
<i>Gursikhi:</i>	The way of life of a Sikh of the Guru.
<i>Guru Khalsa:</i>	The Khalsa Brotherhood.
<i>Gutkas:</i>	Little prayer books containing selections from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Haarh:</i>	A month in the Bikrami calendar extending from mid-June to mid-July; the hottest part of the year in North India and Pakistan.
<i>Havaldar:</i>	Seargent in the army or the police.
<i>Hazoor Sahib:</i>	One of the five Takhats or thrones, located in Nanded in South India where Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib ended his worldly sojourn.
<i>Hazoor:</i>	<i>Hazoor</i> is reverential reference to any of the Gurus.
<i>Hindu Surakhya Samiti:</i>	A militant Hindu organization in Punjab.
<i>Hukamnama:</i>	An order issued from Siri Akal Takhat Sahib.
<i>Indira:</i>	Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India.
<i>Ishnaan:</i>	Bath; a dip in water.
<i>Isht</i>	Beloved; object of reverence: Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Jaikaara:</i>	The Sikh slogan. One person leads by shouting ' <i>Bolay so Nihaal</i> '; the congregation responds by shouting ' <i>Sat Siri Akal</i> .'
<i>Janeoo:</i>	The sacred thread worn by Hindus.
<i>Jap Ji Sahib:</i>	One of the daily Sikh prayers.
<i>Jatha:</i>	Literally, an organized group. In the text it is used for a group of protestors going to peacefully court arrest; also, for members of the <i>Damdami Taksaal</i> , the school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head; and, for members of Sant Bhindranwale's group.
<i>Jathedar:</i>	Leader of a <i>Jatha</i> .
<i>Jati:</i>	One who has controlled his sexual desires.
<i>Kachhera:</i>	The Sikh shorts, one of the five k's.
<i>Kafan:</i>	Clothing for final rites.
<i>Kalgidhar Ji:</i>	Literally, the wearer of a plume. Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib is so addressed because he use to wear a plume.
<i>Kalma:</i>	The brief Muslim statement of belief.
<i>Kamar Kassa:</i>	Cummerbund; also, preparation for going on a trip or starting some action.

<i>Kamdhenā:</i>	The mythical cow, in Hindu belief, which provides all that a person might desire.
<i>Kangha:</i>	The Sikh comb, one of the five k's.
<i>Kanghi:</i>	The wide comb commonly used by those who have their hair cut.
<i>Kar Seva:</i>	Voluntary labor at gurdwaras.
<i>Kara:</i>	An iron bangle, one of the five k's.
<i>Karah Parshad:</i>	A preparation made from equal parts of whole wheat flour, clarified butter and sugar distributed to devotees making obeisance before Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Karam:</i>	Divine mercy.
<i>Katha:</i>	Religious discourse.
<i>Kesdhari:</i>	One who has his/her hair uncut.
<i>Khalsa Ji:</i>	The Khalsa Brotherhood consisting of all <i>amritdhari</i> Sikhs, i.e., all those who have been formally initiated into the Sikh faith.
<i>Khanda:</i>	Double-edged sword.
<i>Khānde da pahul:</i>	Sweetened water - in which sugar has been stirred by a double-edged sword while reciting certain specified verses given by the Gurus - used for initiation into the Sikh faith. Receiving the <i>pahul</i> means being initiated into the Sikh faith.
<i>Kheer:</i>	Rice pudding.
<i>Kikkar:</i>	A tree which has branches with long thorns.
<i>Kirpaan:</i>	The Sikh sword, one of the five k's.
<i>Kirtan:</i>	<i>Kirtan</i> is singing praises of God, singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Kirtaniya:</i>	A professional singer of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Kund:</i>	A large vessel or tank.
<i>Kurahit:</i>	Any of the acts forbidden to Sikhs.
<i>Lambardar:</i>	Village headman who assists in collection of revenue.
<i>Langar:</i>	A kitchen and dining hall adjoining a gurdwara. Running a free kitchen is one of characteristically Sikh institutions.
<i>Maharaj:</i>	'The Great King' is a reverential reference to any of the Gurus.
<i>Mahasha:</i>	Arya Samajist Hindu.
<i>Mahatma:</i>	A great soul, a holy man.
<i>Mar-jeevras:</i>	Those who have resolved to sacrifice their lives; volunteers recruited in 1983 during the Sikh struggle.
<i>Maryada:</i>	Tradition; practice; way of doing things.
<i>Mata Ji:</i>	A respectful reference or form of addressing a mother.
<i>Maund:</i>	A unit of weight, approximately 82 pounds.
<i>Maya:</i>	The Impermanent, the Evanescent, created by God who is Eternal; manifesting as and working through lust, anger, greed, attachment and self-will. It may lead people away from



the Truth; but to those who understand its real character as merely a creature of God, it is a slave.

- Mayadhari:* The person who loves *Maya*.
- Mir Mannu:* Moin-ud-din, a governor of Punjab during the 18th century.
- Miri and Piri:* Temporal power and religious authority, combined leadership assumed and instituted by Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib.
- Morcha:* An organized struggle, protest, movement, or agitation.
- Namaaz:* The Muslim prayer.
- Namdhari:* A group of people who believe in a living guru but claim to be Sikhs.
- Nanak Niwas:* A building in the Darbar Sahib complex where Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale stayed from July 19, 1982 up to December 15, 1983.
- Narkdharis:* Nirankari, member of Sant Nirankari Mandal - a cult with a human Guru. Sant Bhindranwale refers to Nirankaris as *Narkdharis* - literally, those who have opted for hell.
- Narkdharia:* A member of the Nirankari Mandal; also, the Guru of the Nirankaris.
- Nath:* A class of yogis.
- Nauranga:* Aurangzeb, the mughal emperor of India until 1707 C.E.
- Nihangs:* A sect of Sikhs.
- Nishaan Sahib:* The Sikh religious flag.
- Paath:* Reading from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
- Pahar:* A unit of time equal to a period of three hours.
- Pahul:* Same as *Khande da Pahul* above.
- Paisa:* One hundredth of a rupee, approximately one-fortieth of an American cent.
- Palla:* A piece of cloth draped around one's neck, indicative of humility before authority.
- Panj Piyaare:* The Five Beloved Ones, the five persons who volunteered their lives at Siri Guru Gobind Singh's call in 1699; also, a group of five *amritdhari* Sikhs officiating as living representatives of the Guru.
- Panth:* The Khalsa brotherhood inclusive of all *amritdhari* Sikhs. *Amritdharis* are persons formally initiated into the Sikh faith having received *Khande da pahul*.
- Panthak:* Pertaining to the *Panth*; associated with or belonging to the *Panth*.
- Parkarma:* The marble walkway around the pool at Harmandar Sahib.
- Parkarmas:* Walkways around tanks at gurdwaras.
- Parkash:* Presence.
- Parshad:* Same as *Karah Parshad* above.
- Patit:* One who has violated one of the major taboos of the Sikh faith.

<i>Patshah:</i>	The King: one of the pronouns used to refer to any of the Gurus.
<i>Pir:</i>	A religious leader or preceptor; a Muslim holy man.
<i>Pitthu:</i>	Punishment in which the culprit is asked to carry a load on his back and go around the barracks.
<i>Poh:</i>	A month in the Bikrami calendar, extending from mid-December to mid-January; the coldest month of the year in North India and Pakistan.
<i>Pooja:</i>	Hindu worship.
<i>Pujari:</i>	A Hindu priest.
<i>Punjabi Suba:</i>	Punjabi-speaking State, the objective of a protracted struggle by the Sikhs after India's freedom from British rule in 1947.
<i>Raagi:</i>	A professional singer of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Raja:</i>	Prince, ruler.
<i>Rashtarpati:</i>	Literally, Head of State: The President of India.
<i>Rehraas Sahib, Kirtan Sohila:</i>	Evening prayers of the Sikhs.
<i>Rehit:</i>	The Sikh way of life.
<i>Rehitnama:</i>	Documents describing the discipline of Sikh living.
<i>Rehit Maryada:</i>	The principles of Sikh living.
<i>Rein-sabhaee Kirtan:</i>	All-night singing of verses from Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>The Sacrificer of his Sons:</i>	A description used to refer to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib all four of whose sons became martyrs.
<i>Saadh:</i>	A holy man.
<i>Saadha:</i>	A rude form of addressing a holy man.
<i>Sabad:</i>	Word; the Word of God; any of the verses contained in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
<i>Sadhu:</i>	An ascetic.
<i>Sahib:</i>	Following a noun it denotes profound respect for the person or object.
<i>Sahibzada Ji:</i>	Son of the Guru.
<i>Sahibzadas:</i>	Sons of the Guru, often referring to Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib's sons.
<i>Samadh:</i>	A structure built in memory of a deceased person or persons.
<i>Sangraand:</i>	The first day of the month in the Bikrami Calendar.
<i>Sant:</i>	A holy man.
<i>Sarh-Sati:</i>	Seven-a-half-years of ill omen under the influence of Saturn.
<i>Saropao:</i>	Robes of honor.
<i>Sarpanch:</i>	Head of the elected village council.
<i>Sat Siri Akal:</i>	The 'response' part of the <i>Jaikaara</i> .
<i>Satguru:</i>	The true Guru: used for any of the ten Gurus and Siri Guru Granth Sahib
<i>Sehraa:</i>	Decorative headgear.
<i>Seths:</i>	Businessmen.
<i>Sewadar:</i>	Functionary.

- Shadi Lal, Ghami Lal:** Literally: a happy person, and a sorrowful person; names coined by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale to describe a living person and a dead one.
- Shariat:** Islamic way of life.
- Shastras:** Hindu sacred texts.
- Siddh:** Person who possesses miraculous powers.
- Singh:** An *amritdhari* Sikh.
- Singh Sahibs:** Sikh religious leaders. Heads of the five *Takhats*.
- Suvarag:** The Hindu concept of heaven.
- Takhat, Takhat Sahib:** One of the five seats of authority in Sikh religion. These are some of the places where the Gurus lived and preached, viz., Takhat Siri Akal Takhat Sahib; Takhat Siri Kesgarh Sahib; Takhat Siri Patna Sahib; Takhat Siri Hazoor Sahib; and Takhat Siri Damdama Sahib.
- Taksaal:** Sikh religious school; e.g., the *Damdami Taksaal*, the religious school of which Sant Bhindranwale was the head.
- Tilak:** Saffron mark that devout Hindus wear.
- Thanedar:** Station House Officer at a police station with the rank of an Inspector or Sub-inspector.
- Tokra:** A large shallow tray made of cane or agricultural fibers.
- Toori:** Wheat chaff.
- Topi:** Cap
- Turk** Muslim
- Vaheguru:** God.
- Vairaagi:** Recluse, ascetic, a person who has given up worldly pursuits.
- Vaisaakhi:** The first day of the month of Vaisaakh, in the Bikrami Calendar corresponding to April 13.
- Varaan ton Vadheek:** Part of the title of a collection of verses towards the end in Siri Guru Granth Sahib.
- Vedas:** Hindu scriptures.
- Wazira:** Wazir Khan, the Faujdar at Sirhind at the time of martyrdom of the four *Sahibzadas*, sons of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.
- Yogi:** One who practices some form of yoga.
- Yogini:** A female yogi.
- Zakariya:** Darbara Singh, Chief Minister of Punjab up to October 1983. (Sant Bhindranwale contemptuously referred to Darbara Singh as *Zakariya* drawing comparison between him and Zakaryia Khan known for his persecution of Sikhs in the 18th century).

### APPENDIX III

#### SOME OF THE PLACES MENTIONED IN SANT BHINDRANWALE'S SPEECHES

*Note: This is a partial listing of places mentioned in Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's speeches and conversations included in this book. For places in Punjab, we only give the name of the district where they are located. For places outside Punjab, the name given is of the state. For the reader's convenience, maps of India and Punjab are included at the end.*

- Abohar: a city in Ferozepur District.
- Ajnala: a village near Amritsar.
- Ambala: a district city in Haryana, located on the Grand Trunk Road.
- Amrasar: village near Sirsa, stronghold of Namdharis.
- Anandpur Sahib: a city in Ropar District. Takhat Siri Kesgarh Sahib is located here.
- Attari: a village located on the Grand Trunk Road near the border with Pakistan.
- Baba Bakala: a village in Amritsar District.
- Batala: a city in Gurdaspur District.
- Bathinda: a district city in Punjab.
- Beas: a city half-way between Amritsar and Jalandhar on the Grand Trunk Road.
- Bhikhiwind: a village in Amritsar District.
- Bhindran-Mehta: village in which Sant Bhindranwale had his headquarters: the home of the *Damdami Taksaal* and Gurdwara Gurdarshan Parkash. Also referred to as Chowk-Mehta, Mehta-Chowk, or simply as Mehta.
- Bhilai: an industrial city in the state of Madhya Pradesh.
- Bihar: a state in eastern India.
- Bolewal: a village near Mehta.
- Bude Jauhar: a village in Rajasthan State.
- Buttaran: a village near Mehta.
- Calcutta: the capital city of the state of West Bengal.
- Chabba: a village near Amritsar.
- Chamkaur: a village in Rup Nagar District.
- Chandigarh: the capital of Punjab and Haryana.
- Chando-Kalan: a village in Haryana.
- Chowk-Mehta: village in which Sant Bhindranwale had his headquarters; the home of the *Damdami Taksaal* and Gurdwara Gurdarshan Parkash. Also referred to as Bhindran-Mehta, Mehta-Chowk, or simply as Mehta.
- Chupkiti: a village in Faridkot District
- Daheru: a village in Ludhiana District.
- Dauke: a village in Amritsar District.
- Dharde: a village near Mehta in Amritsar District.

Dhariwal: a city in Gurdaspur district.  
 Dhulkot: a village near Moga in Ferozepur District.  
 Faridkot: a district city in Punjab.  
 Fatehgarh Sahib: a city near Sirhind in Patiala District.  
 Fattu-Dhinga: a village in Gurdaspur District.  
 Fazilka: a city in Ferozepur District.  
 Ferozepur: a district city in Punjab.  
 Ganganagar: a district city in Haryana with a significant Punjabi-speaking population.  
 Gaya: a city in Bihar, a place holy to the Buddhists.  
 Ghall Khurd: a village in Moga Tehsil, Faridkot District.  
 Gharinda: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Ghuman: a village in Gurdaspur District.  
 Goindwal: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Gurdaspur: a district city in Punjab.  
 Gwalior: a city in Madhya Pradesh.  
 Haryana: a state to the south of Punjab.  
 Hazoor Sahib: One of the Takhts located in Nanded in Maharashtra.  
 Himachal Pradesh: a state to the northeast of Punjab.  
 Hoshiarpur: a district city in Punjab.  
 Howrah: a city near Calcutta.  
 Indore: the capital city of Madhya Pradesh.  
 Isapur: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Ittanwali: a village in Moga Tehsil, Faridkot District.  
 Jalalabad: a village near Fazilka in Ferozepur District.  
 Jalandhar: a district city in Punjab located about 50 miles from Amritsar on the Grand Trunk Road.  
 Jandiala: a village near Amritsar on the Grand Trunk Road.  
 Jhabaal: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Jhindwala: a village near Muktsar.  
 Kailash: a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.  
 Kanpur: a district city in Uttar Pradesh.  
 Kapurthala: a district city in Punjab.  
 Karnal: a district city in Haryana.  
 Kartarpur: a city in Jalandhar District.  
 Karniwala: a village near Sirsa, stronghold of Namdharis  
 Kashmir: a state to the north of Punjab.  
 Kasur: a city in Pakistan.  
 Kathunangal: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Khadoor Sahib: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Khatra: a village in Ludhiana district  
 Kidarnath: a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.  
 Kiratpur Sahib: a village in Ropar District where the Ninth and the Tenth Guru Sahibs lived for some time.  
 Kishanpur: a village in Jalandhar District.

Kup Kalaan: a village in Sangrur District.  
 Ladakh: a place in Jammu & Kashmir.  
 Lahore: a metropolis in Pakistan.  
 Leh: a place in Jammu & Kashmir.  
 Machaki: a village in Moga Tehsil of Faridkot District.  
 Madhya Pradesh: a state in central India.  
 Maharashtra: a state in southwest India.  
 Makrana: a village in Nadaur district of Rajasthan.  
 Malseehan: a village near Jalandhar.  
 Manawala: a village a few miles from Amritsar on the Grand Trunk Road.  
 Mathura: a holy city of Hindus in the state of Uttar Pradesh  
 Mattewal: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Meerut: a district city in Uttar Pradesh.  
 Mehta: village in which Sant Bhindranwale had his headquarters; the home of the *Damdami Taksaal* and Gurdwara Gurdarshan Parkash. Also referred to as Bhindran-Mehta, Mehta-Chowk, or Chowk-Mehta.  
 Mehta-Chowk: same as Mehta.  
 Moga: a city in district Faridkot.  
 Mukerian: a city in Hoshiarpur District.  
 Muktsar: a city in Faridkot District.  
 Mussourie: a hill city in the state of Uttar Pradesh.  
 Nagokc: a village in Amritsar District.  
 Nanded: a city in Maharashtra State where Takhat Siri Hazoor Sahib is located.  
 Nathawan: a village in Amritsar District near Chowk-Mehta.  
 Panipat: a city in Haryana located on the Grand Trunk Road.  
 Pathankot: a city in Gurdaspur District.  
 Patiala: a district city in Punjab.  
 Patna or Patna Sahib: capital city of the state of Bihar; the birthplace of Siri Guru Gobind Singh Sahib.  
 Patti: a village in Amritsar district.  
 Pehowa: a village in Haryana.  
 Phaggu's Saraan: a village in Bathinda District.  
 Phagwara: a city in Kapurthala District located between Jalandhar and Ludhiana on the Grand Trunk Road.  
 Qadian: a city in Gurdaspur District.  
 Rahon: a village in Jalandhar District.  
 Raja Sansi: a village near Amritsar, the location of the Amritsar airport.  
 Rajasthan: a state to the southwest of Punjab.  
 Rama Mandi: a place about three miles south of Jalandhar wher the road to Hoshiarpur branches off from the Grand Trunk Road.  
 Ramsar: place where Siri Guru Hargobind Sahib moved to after leaving Amritsar.  
 Rara: a village in Ludhiana District.  
 Rayya: a city between Amritsar and Jalandhar on the Grand Trunk Road.

- Rode: a village in Faridkot District, the birthplace of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale.
- Samrala: a city in Ludhiana District.
- Sainwal: a village in Ferozepur District.
- Shikarghat: a place near Nanded on river Godavari.
- Sialkot: a district city in Pakistan.
- Sirhind: a city in Patiala District.
- Sirsa: a city in Haryana.
- Tarn Taran: a city in Amritsar District.
- U.P.: Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state in India, east of Haryana.
- Usmanwala: a village in Faridkot District.
- Vaishnodevi: A place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.
- Wagah: a village at the border between India and Pakistan, located on the Grand Trunk Road.
- Walha: a village in Amritsar District.

### APPENDIX III

## THE POLICE HIERARCHY IN PUNJAB

The purpose of this appendix is to clarify, for the convenience of a reader unfamiliar with the police set-up in Punjab and the peculiar nomenclature in use there, the relative situation of various ranks of officials mentioned by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale in his speeches and conversations. The diagram on the following page graphically describes the command structure. The numbers listed in the description below have been taken from the "Statistical Abstract of Punjab" published annually by the Punjab Government. These show the dramatic increase in the size of the police force in Punjab after the June 1984 attack.

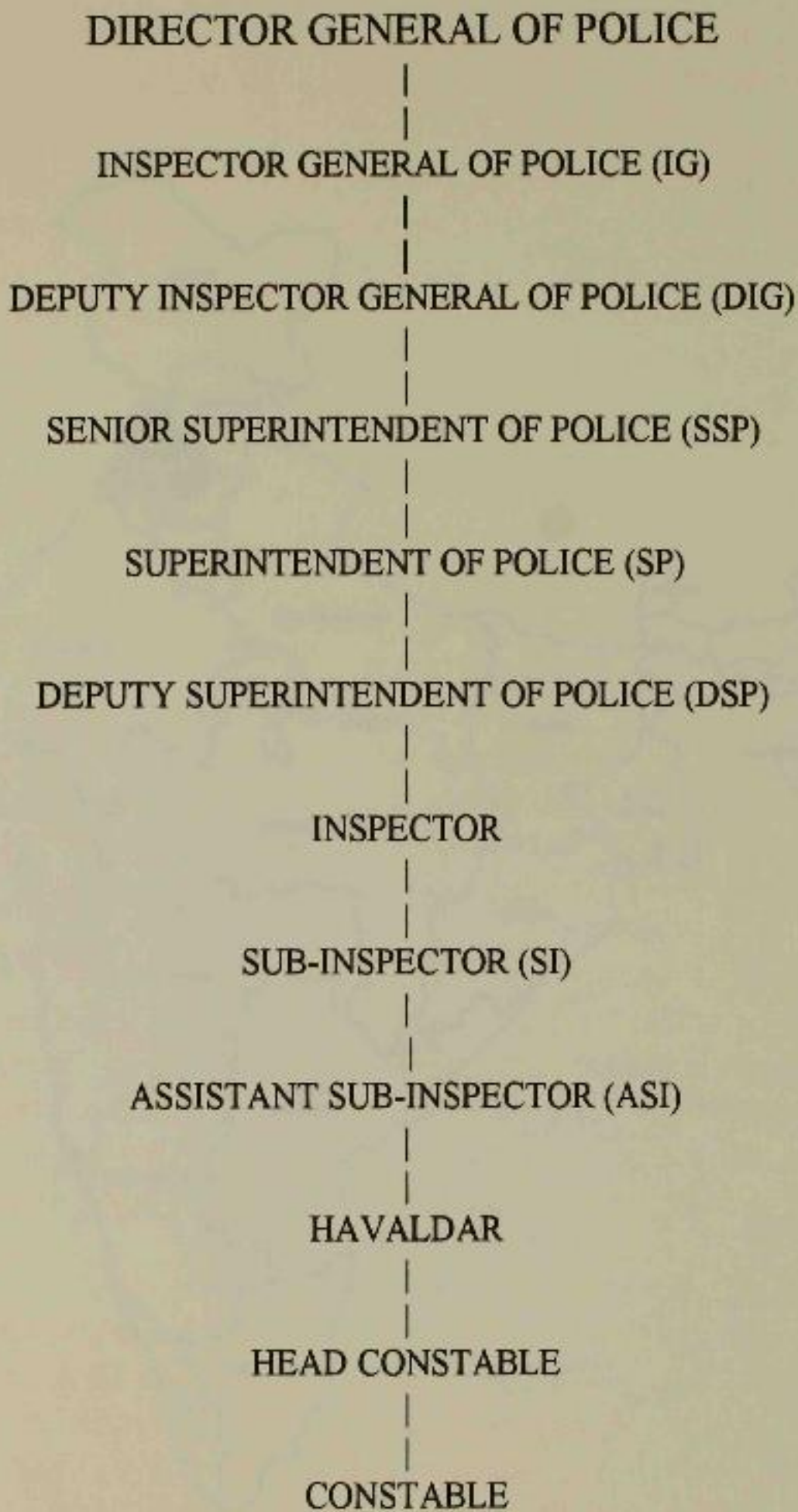
Up to 1984, the police force in Punjab was headed by an Inspector General of Police assisted by a few Deputy Inspector Generals and Assistant Inspector Generals. With expansion of the force, the chief of police was upgraded to Director General who is assisted by a number of Additional Director Generals, Inspector Generals and Deputy Inspector Generals. The number of officers in the rank of Deputy Inspector General and above was seven up to 1984 but rose to twenty-four in 1985 and to twenty-eight in 1992.

A police district is headed by a Superintendent of Police and, in the case of some districts, by a Senior Superintendent of Police assisted by Deputy Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents. The number of officers in these ranks was 196 in 1980 but rose to 337 in 1985 and was 401 in 1992. At one time the police districts and the administrative districts in the state were the same. However, with expansion in the police force, smaller police districts were created.

An Inspector of Police or a Sub-Inspector typically heads a police station. A police station is *Thana* in Punjabi and a Sub-Inspector is a *Thanedar*. He/she is assisted by Assistant Sub-Inspectors. The number of officials in these categories was 3,025 in 1980, rose to 3,871 in 1985 and to 5,980 in 1992. However, the number of police stations has not changed much. In 1983, there were 217 police stations and 84 police posts. In 1992, the numbers were 228 police stations and 94 police posts, a change of only 21 or about seven percent.

Havaldar and Head Constable are the lower ranks and a Constable is at the bottom of the ladder. The number of persons in the rank of Havaldar was 4,664 in 1980, 6,428 in 1985 and 8,631 in 1992. The number of constables including head constables and the mounted police was 20,965 in 1980, 24,495 in 1985 and 38,986 in 1992.





## RANKS OF POLICE OFFICIALS IN THE STATE

# DIRECTOR BUREAU OF POLICE RANKS IN ILLINOIS

The Bureau of Police Ranks in Illinois is a comprehensive study of the ranks and titles of police officers in the State of Illinois. It is a guide for the police officer who is interested in the ranks and titles of police officers in the State of Illinois. The Bureau of Police Ranks in Illinois is a comprehensive study of the ranks and titles of police officers in the State of Illinois. It is a guide for the police officer who is interested in the ranks and titles of police officers in the State of Illinois.

## DEPARTMENT OF POLICE

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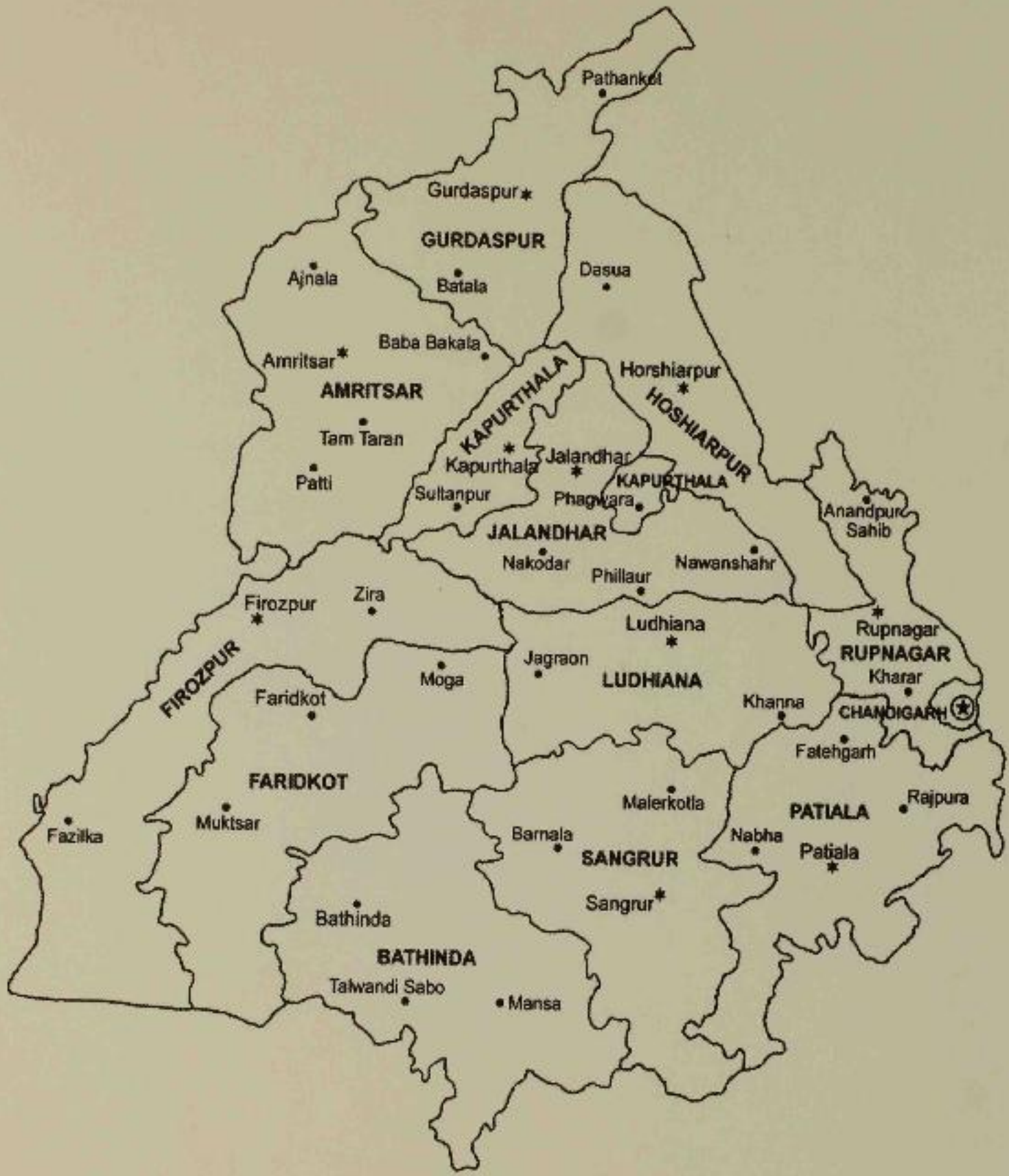
## RANKS OF POLICE OFFICERS IN THE STATE



MAP OF INDIA



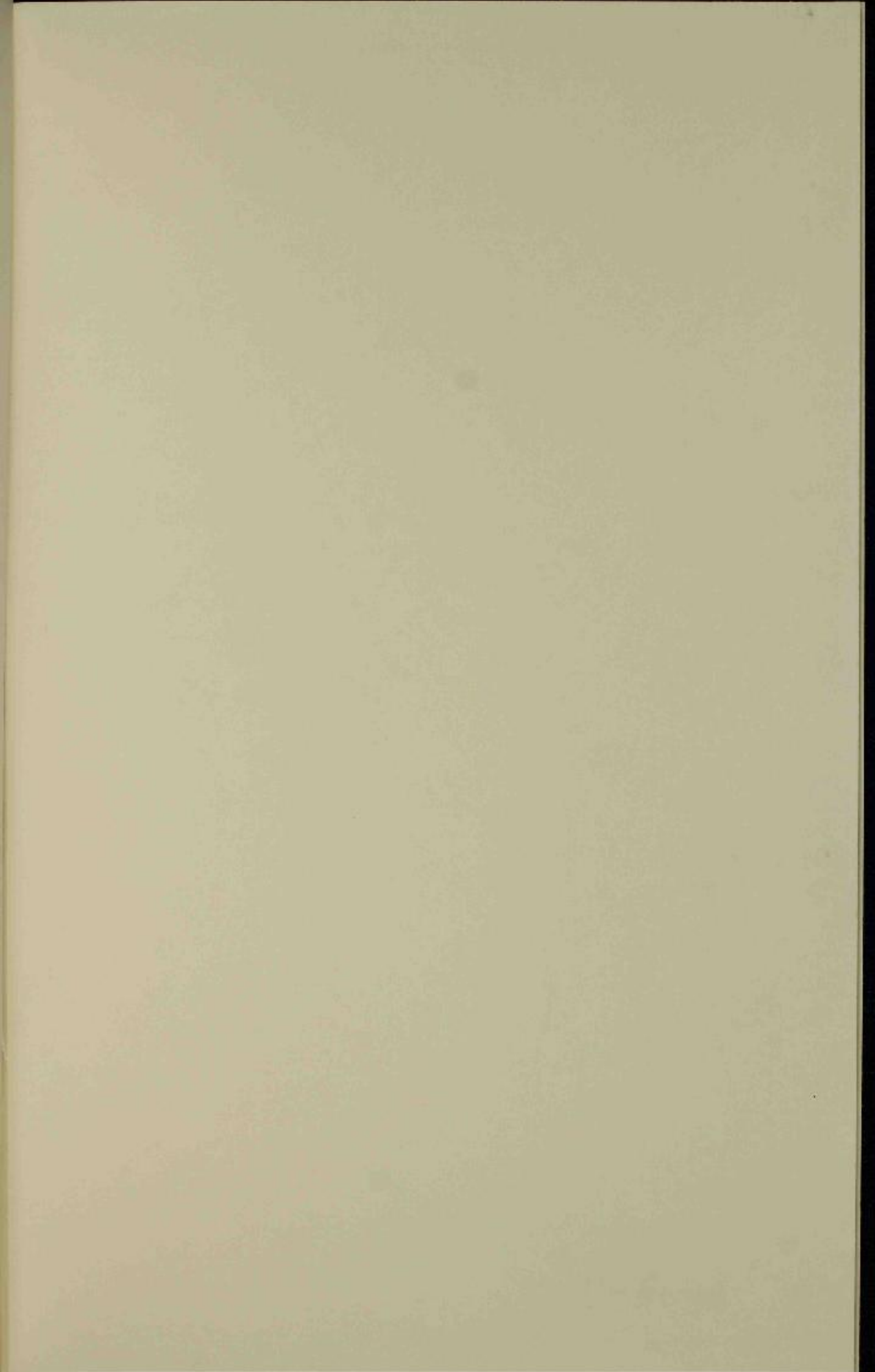
MAP OF INDIA

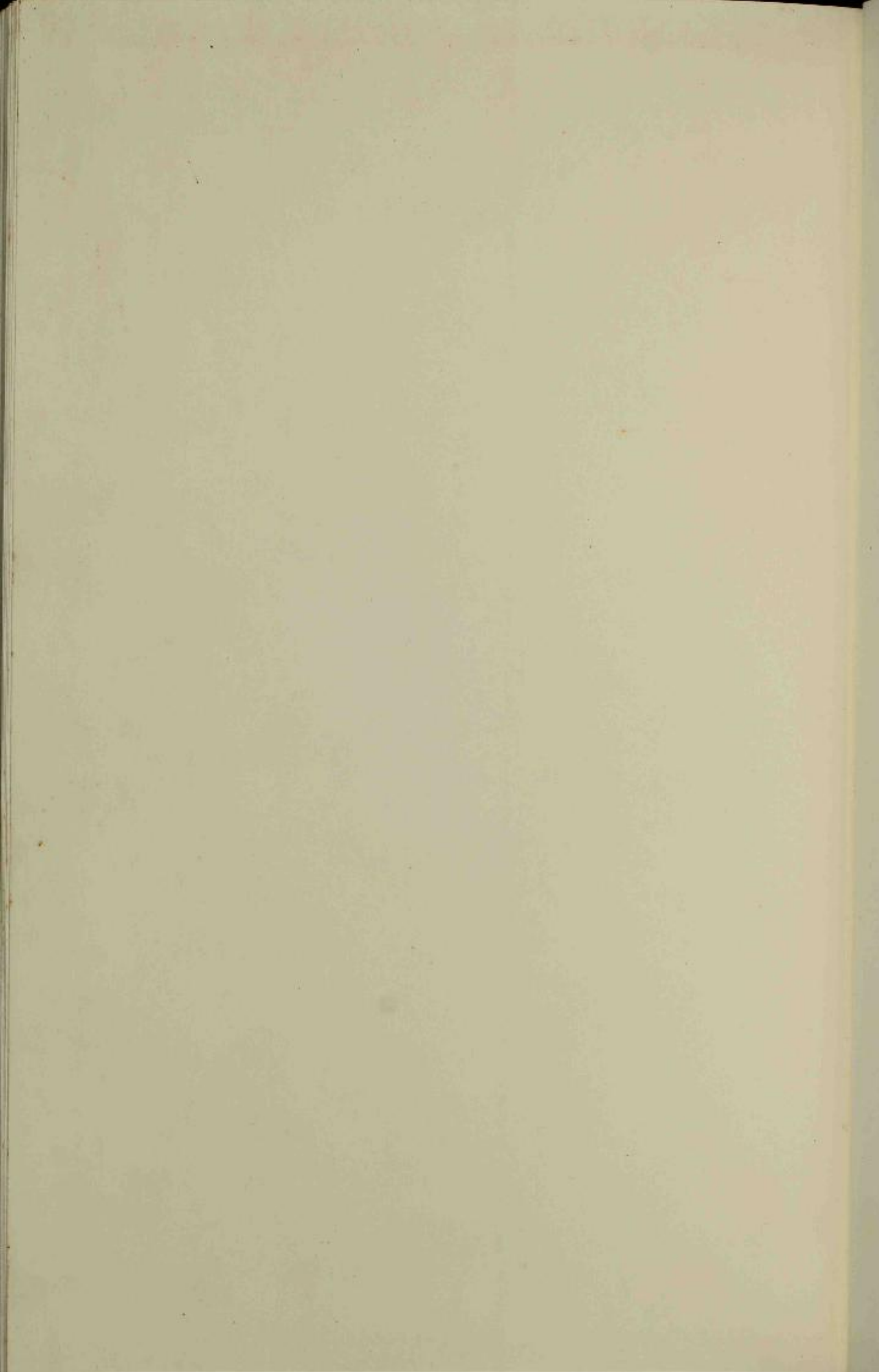


**MAP OF PUNJAB**  
 (SHOWING DISTRICTS AND IMPORTANT CITIES AND TOWNS)



MAP OF TAIWAN  
SHOWING DISTRICTS AND PORTS







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