



THE AD DHARM

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Ambedkar Times / Desh Doaba

The Ad Dharm movement, the glorious Dalit movement that not only envisaged an egalitarian social set-up but also struggled hard for the same, was founded formely on June 11-12, 1926 in village Mugowal near Mahilpur (Hoshiarpur) under the dynamic leadership of Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia, a famous Gadhrite. Sarva-shri Basant Rai, Thakur Dass and Shudranand were the equally powerful other lieutenants of the Ad Dharm movement. However, when it comes to the brass stack, it was Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia who emerged as the leading star of the movement.

Ad Dharm is a name of the indigenous religion of the Dalits of the region who are the natives of this land (India). The invading Aryans subjugated them and established their rule over the natives. They see to it that the culture and religion of the natives had to be wiped out fully so that they could not stage a revolt. Mangu Ram Mugowalia thought it appropriate to relocate the lost native religion in order to re-establish sovereign Dalit Raj once again. He named his movement deliberately after the name of the religion of the natives: Ad Dharm. Thus Ad Dharm is both 'Religion' as well as 'Movement'.

Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia made concerted efforts in the direction of laying solid ground for the revival of Ad Dharm in Punjab . He was of the opinion that if the ex-untouchables have to live a dignified life they had to revive their gurus, religious scriptures, festivals and religious places as well. He approached Sant Sarwan Dass Ji Maharaj at Dera Sachkhand Ballan for concretizing the Bani of Sahib Shri Guru Ravidass Ji Maharaj and the proliferation of his mission. The Ad Prakash, a holy Granth containing the Bani of Sahib Shri Guru Ravidass and other Dalit Gurus was prepared. Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia expressed his will among close circle that his last rites should be performed amidst the chanting of the holy Bani of Ad Parkash.

The Ad Dharm Mandal approach, it is clearly mentioned that every Ad Dharmi should live his/her life according to the tenets of Ad Dharm and should not believe in any other religion. He said our Gurus are Guru Nam Dev Ji, Guru Ravidass Ji, Guru Kabir Ji, Guru Valmiki Ji and all other Dalits saints. Thus Ad Dharm movement has very early shown the vision for the establishment of a separate Dalit identity based on distinct Dalit native religion: Ad Dharm.

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak's first job: Develop a political persona, steady the ship

By Meghnad Desai

An unusual event in the annals of UK as well as Indian history took place — Rishi Sunak, a young man in his early forties, became the prime minister of Great Britain. I know that many Indians now think an Indian will rule over the old colonial masters. But the important point is that Sunak is a British citizen — British-born of Indian ancestry. He has made it to the highest political office not through family connections but because of his ability and determination to fight for the top job twice in open competition.

Ironically, it is his loss to Liz Truss — in a vote within the Conservative party — that eased his way to the top. Truss made extravagant promises of tax cuts to stimulate economic growth. Rishi had warned then that such tax cuts were unaffordable, given the state of the public finances. Yet, she went ahead with them soon after she became PM. The financial markets gave a loud, negative reaction to this move. The pound collapsed against foreign currencies and the Bank of England had to intervene to stabilise the market for the national debt. The tax cut cost the bank billions of pounds in supporting government securities and the higher interest rate incurred on government debt as a result of Truss's precipitate action will remain a burden for some time.

Truss had to resign just 44 days after becoming PM, the shortest tenure in British history. In the ensuing melee, new names cropped up. Boris Johnson also seemed to be in the race for a comeback. But this time around, the 1922 committee of (Conservative) party members in the House of Commons upped the bar at securing at least 100 members' nominations before a candidate could compete. Johnson tried but failed to garner enough backers. Penny Mor-daunt, who has competed on earlier occasions, threatened to run but finally admitted just minutes before the deadline of 2 pm

British time on Monday that she too will drop out. Sunak was able to show the support of 190 members — more than half of the 370 Tory MPs. So, it was more a coronation than an election when Sir Graham Brady, chairman of the 1922 committee, announced at a meeting of Tory MPs that Rishi Sunak will be the next prime minister of the UK. Sunak's first job will be to steady the ship. In other words,

Truss that neither she nor her chosen chancellor Kwasi Kwarteng could add or subtract.)

Sunak fared well as chancellor and demonstrated that he knows the importance of fiscal responsibility. But now, he has to be a politician, not just a techno whiz kid. Being a British politician is a much trickier task than people imagine. I have had a great time here watching many political leaders, some closely. I have



he has to not mess up like Truss did and last till 2024, when the elections are due. The Conservative Party is 30 per cent-plus points behind Labour in opinion polls. This will be a huge challenge. Even after Sunak's win, people are arguing that Boris Johnson would be a better choice when it comes to winning the election. But the MPs are fed up with Boris and they chose "dishy Rishi", as he was named two years ago by the tabloids.

Winning the next election and keeping a fractious party united will not be easy. Sunak displayed exemplary ability when he took over as chancellor at the start of the pandemic. I watched his first appearance as chancellor from the Peers gallery in the House of Commons. He was calm and impressive. Being an academic, I am always rating people as if they were students. I knew that he had been to the Stanford Business School, which is academically tougher than Harvard or Wharton. So he can handle the technical aspects of money and finance with relative ease. (It was quite clear during the thankfully brief tenure of Liz

seen how someone can be a great cabinet minister, but fail as a politician. On the flip side, someone may be technically deficient but still have the passion to be a great politician. Edward Heath and Gordon Brown were both technically good but lacked the broad reach to become great prime ministers. Margaret Thatcher was just a great politician.

Sunak will have to develop a political persona. Everyone will give him a lot of space since the country is in dire straits. I do not recall in the nearly 60 years I have been here of the country being at a lower ebb in its national confidence and international reputation. So, he will have to demonstrate that he is in charge. Jeremy Hunt, who stepped in as chancellor for Liz Truss after she sacked Kwasi Kwarteng calmed nerves, but then the manner of Liz Truss's last day in the commons once again sank the ship. Sunak can leave the finances to Jeremy Hunt and turn his attention to addressing the people who are bemused and worried as to who, if anyone, is in charge.

Minimum Support Price of Wheat: Need for Changes in Agricultural Policies

In the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs meeting held on October 18 under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a decision has been taken to increase the Minimum Support Price of six crops of rabi. The Minimum Support Price of wheat, the major agricultural commodity of rabi, was Rs 2,015 per quintal for 2022-23, which has now been increased to Rs 2,125 per quintal for the marketing of 2023-24.

The increase of Rs 110 per quintal in the Minimum Support Price of wheat works out to 5.46 per cent over last year. Agricultural production costs have been increasing rapidly since the past. Farmers and other labourers are worried about their declining purchasing power due to various reasons as a result of increasing prices. The Minimum Support Price per quintal of wheat announced by the government is lower than the price per quintal suggested by nine states of the country.

According to the government, as per quintal production cost of wheat, this increase is 100 per cent which will benefit the farmers of the country. Various farmers' organizations and some political parties have described this increase as negligible compared to increasing agricultural production costs. They demanded that Dr. Swaminathan's recommendations should be implemented. Dr. Swaminathan recommended a 50 per cent profit on C-2 production costs while fixing the Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities. C-2 production costs are all costs which include value of inputs used by farmers from the market and themselves for agricultural production.

Despite various objections and opposition regarding the fixing of Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities, these prices have helped in reducing the oppression of farmers in the open market. Although some agricultural commodities are purchased at these prices only in some states, but these prices act as a signal so that in states/regions where agriculture commodities are not purchased at these prices, there is some reduction in their suffering.

Agricultural Price Policy in the country started during the Second World War. An important phase in the country's Agricultural Price Policy

came in 1965 with the establishment of the 'Agricultural Prices Commission'. Since its inception, this commission has been making its recommendations to the central government regarding the fixing of Minimum Support Prices of some agricultural commodities and generally the central government has been announcing these prices on the basis of these recommendations. The Minimum Support Prices recommended by this commission for certain agricultural commodities proved to be beneficial to the farmers during the initial few years when there was a huge shortage of food grains in the country. The Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities recommended by the 'Agricultural Prices Commission' and announced by the central government turned against the interests of the farmers, which was sharply criticized and opposed by various farmers' organizations and some political parties. To curb this criticism and opposition, the central government in 1987 renamed the 'Agricultural Prices Commission' as the 'Agricultural Costs and Prices Commission' to give the impression that agricultural production costs are taken into account while fixing the Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities. This did not prove to be correct, due to which various farmers' organizations and some political parties have been registering their opposition in this regard from time to time.

It is necessary to fix the Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities in a profitable manner. The aspect that needs attention in this regard is that according to the agro-climatic conditions of the country, appropriate crops should be sown/planted by creating zones and ensuring that they are purchased at a profitable price. The central and state governments have to come forward to help the marginal farmers who have little or no surplus to sell in the market. It is necessary to ensure that these farmers work on their own fields under MGNREGA.

If Dr. Swaminathan's recommendations regarding the determination of the Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities are implemented in a true spirit, it will naturally benefit the farmers who have commodities to sell in the market. The

Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities have to be fixed in such a way that they are beneficial to the farmers so that they can meet the basic necessities of life - food, clothing, housing, education, health care, clean environment, and social security in a respectable manner. Farmers, agricultural labourers, and rural artisans depend on the agricultural sector for their livelihood. By following Dr. Swaminathan's recommendations, as the size of the farm will increase, so will the income of the farmers.

The categories of farmers include marginal, small, semi-medium, medium, and large farmers. According to the results of the 77th round of the National Sample Survey, marginal farmers (less than 1 hectare) are 76.5 per cent of the total farmers in the country in 2018-19. In many states, most of these marginal farmers have either little or no surplus to sell in the coal market. Agricultural labourers and rural artisans are the two rungs at the bottom of the ladder of rural and agricultural economy, which wear more, break more and are kicked more. These two classes related to agriculture are generally landless. As these two classes have no other means of production except selling their labour, they will not directly benefit from an increase in the Minimum Support Prices of agricultural commodities.

During the mid-sixties in the country, the use of machinery and herbicides in the wake of the 'New Agriculture Technology' adopted to control the heavy shortage of food grains has greatly reduced the employment opportunities for farm workers in the agricultural sector. Modern machinery in the agricultural sector, and the use of plastic and synthetic goods in daily life have not only reduced the employment of rural artisans, but also led to their displacement on a large scale in some states. Due to the massive decline in employment among marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, and rural artisans, they turned their backs to the urban areas, but there too they met with disappointment. The large-scale use of machinery and automation of machinery in industrial units in urban areas showed an exit to the already employed workers. The service units generally employ a small number of

English-speaking and computer-savvy workers, resulting in marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, and rural artisans who migrate from villages to cities in hopes of finding employment. Daily wage earners are seen waiting for their employers in the labour squares. On the days when they do not get any employment, they eat the coarse dry bread brought from their homes with expensive tea and go back to their home disappointed.

Marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, and rural artisans are required to be employed under MGNREGA as many days of the year as they are willing to work. Along with this, the wages of MGNREGA for workers should be at least equal to the Minimum Wage Rates fixed by the central and state governments. These three classes dependent on the agricultural sector should be given interest-free loans according to their needs so that this loan does not become a debt.

It should be ensured that central and state governments come forward to provide financial and all other assistance in setting up cooperatively owned agro-processing units in villages so that along with increasing employment opportunities for these sections, they also benefit from value-addition. There are shramlat and panchayat lands in villages in various states. The main purpose of the income derived from these lands is the welfare of the poor. Sikhism teaches us that the mouth of the poor is the Golak of the Guru. Therefore, the state governments should give these lands to these sections for cooperative agriculture without taking any rent and ensure financial and other assistance to them. The lives of these sections can also be improved by providing quality education and health care services.



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Goodie Takhar, PhD

Valmikiya Ramayana – The Unanswered Questions

A bird's eye view of the Valmikiya Ramayana published in the Ambedkar Times on 19th October 2022 must have been gone through by the readers. The story gives rise to many questions which call for an answer. Here is a list of some of the unanswered questions which strike the mind of a sensitive reader.

(1) As per Matsya Purana, Brahma is said to have expanded Ramayana into 100 crores (one billion) of shalokas and narrated it to his mind-born son Narada who further narrated it to Valmiki. Brahma is said to have been born from the lotus stem that had sprung from Vishnu's navel when he was sleeping underneath the waters. He was created for the purpose of creating the mortal world which did not exist prior to his birth. The question is if there was no mortal world then who and in which language wrote and preserved the Ramayana which was expanded by Brahma? How a person called Narada could be a mind-born son of Brahma? How the story of Rama could be in existence in the form of a text in the beginning of the concept of Yugas? Where is the text of Ramayana containing one billion of Shalokas?

(2) Swayambhu (self-created) and omnipotent Vishnu is said to have incarnated himself as Rama with the purpose of annihilating the Rakshasas such as Ravana etc. who were said to be the source of constant trouble to the gods or Brahmins. Ravana was said to have been blessed with a boon by Brahma that he would not be killed by anyone except by a mortal human being.

The question is as to why the Omnipotent Vishnu could not handle Ravana without causing huge bloodshed? Why could not the boon given to Ravana by Brahma be annulled or dispelled by the Almighty Vishnu?

(3) King Dashratha is said to have ruled for over 60,000 years. His queens are said to have conceived by eating divine kheer offered to them by a giant person who had sprung up from the fire pit of the Yajna. How can a woman conceive by just eating kheer? How can a giant person appear from the fire with a salver filled with sweet delicacy, and disappear again in that fire?

How could one live for 60000 years?

(4) The sage Shringa, who performed the Yajna of Dashratha is said to have been born from a doe who had conceived by consuming the semen of a human being. How can a doe conceive in this manner and deliver a human baby?

(5) Brahma is said to have commanded gods to produce Rama's associates in the form of monkeys, bears and chimpanzees equal to him in valor and strength. Accordingly the gods and sages such as Indra, Surya, Agni, Pawana, Brahaspati, Vishwakarma and Varuna etc. produced large number of monkeys, bears and chimpanzees from Gandharva, Yaksha, Naga, Kinnari, Vidyadhari, bear and monkey females for the purpose. The monkeys etc. were extremely giant like elephants and mountains.

They could fly high in the sky, catch the clouds and cross over the seas, and hold vast kingdoms. How can the animals be produced from the human females? How can the natural forces like Surya, Agni, Pawan etc. produce animals by cohabitation? How could the animals be trained in human warfare? If they could fly high in the sky and cross over the ocean then why was a bridge constructed over the ocean to reach Lanka? The questions are unending.

(6) There are different versions of the origin of Sita. She is said to have committed suicide by jumping into the fire as she did not want to marry Ravana who had proposed to her in



previous birth. She was born from a lotus in her next birth and Ravana took her in his possession. He threw her in the river on learning that she would be the cause of his death. She was found in the furrow by Janaka when he was ploughing the land in preparation for Yajna. The question is as to how Ravana was there in her previous births also? How can a child born from the lotus flower? How a child buried in the ground be found alive? Questions are galore.

(7) The story of origin and life of Hanumana too is mystical and out of the world. His mother is said to be a woman who was originally an Apsara or mermaid who was metamorphosed into a she-monkey by the curse of a sage and was blessed to assume the form of a beautiful woman at will. She was married to the monkey king named Kesri. She was mentally impregnated by the air God Pawana when she had assumed the form of a woman of bewitching beauty. She gave birth to a baby-monkey named Hanumana. In another version, Hanumana was born as Shiva's son to Anjani, daughter of sage Gautama. Shiva is said to have lost his semen on seeing Vishnu in the form of a voluptuous Mohini. The semen was injected into Anjani's ear. She got impregnated and delivered Hanumana. The question is as to how an Apsara

could be metamorphosed into a she-monkey by the word of mouth of a person, and assume the form of a woman at will? How can air (Pawana) assume the form of a human being and impregnate her mentally? How can a woman conceive with semen injected in her ear? One can raise many questions in this regard.

(8) Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Shoorpanakha and Vibheeshna are said to be the great grand children of Swayambhu Brahma, born to Kaikisi, daughter of Rakshasa named Sumali. Ravana was born as a jet black ten-headed and twenty-armed person. He performed rigorous austerities and remained on fast for 10,000 (ten thousand) years. He would chop off one of his heads and offer it as oblation in the Yajna fire pit at the end of each one thousand years. He was granted boon by Brahma that he would not be killed by anyone or anything except an ordinary human being. The question is as to whether the story of origin of the Brahma, his mind-born sons and their future generations can stand the test of natural and scientific process of evolution and procreation? How can a child born with ten heads and twenty arms survive?

How can one live without food for ten thousand years? How can one chop off his own head and survive? One can raise endless questions.

(9) A person named Vishwakarma is said to have built Lanka of gold for the Rakshasas at Trikoot Mountain. The population of the Rakshasas in Lanka is said to be more than 1,00,000 crores i.e. more than 120 times of the world population today. Total geographical area of Sri Lanka today is 65,612 km². The question is as to how could the population of this magnitude be accommodated and sustained in an island of the size? Where were the gold mines and factories producing such amount of gold used to build Lanka? Where have those gold mines disappeared?

(10) Vishwakarma is said to be the master of all trades i.e. an architect, builder, mechanic and manufacturer etc. of the cities, countries, chariots, airplanes, all kind of instruments, weaponry and machinery in all the ages on earth and in heaven. How is it possible? Why and how such an advanced science and knowledge disappear from this land?

(11) The size of Rama's army comprising only of monkeys, bears and chimpanzees or gorillas ran into number beyond human computation. For instance, the army only of Angada, son of Vali comprised of ten Shankhas and one Padma i.e. 10, 010 crore crores. How such a large popu-

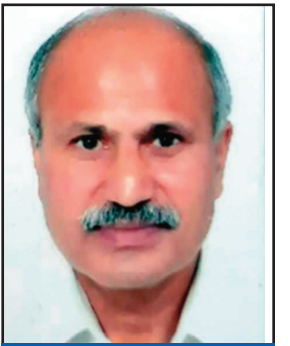
lation of monkeys, bears and chimpanzees could be accommodated, commanded and sustained at a small place called Kishkindha?

(12) Ayodhya is said to have been built by Manu Maharaj himself. Manu is said to be the first biological son of Brahma born from the right part of his body. This is the story of origin of Manu, how then the story of building of Ayodhya by him can be accepted as true? If Ayodhya was built by Manu in Satya Yuga, how is it possible that it exists even after the expiry of period of over 30 lakh years whereas no trace of civilization on this land is found prior to that of Indus Valley civilization?

(13) There are multiple versions of Valmiki's birth and lineage. Valmiki himself says in the Ramayana that he is the 10th son of Pracheta (Varuna). He is referred to as Bhargava and Pracheta in the Matsya, Vishnu, Padma, Bhagawata, Koorma and Skandha Puranas etc. and Mahabharata (Shantiparva, Vana, Udyoga, Drona and Anushasana parva). Skandha Purana gives different stories of his birth. In Vaishanava Khanda of this Purana he is shown a Brahmin named Stambha having adulterous relations with a prostitute in his one of previous births. As a result of this he was born as a hunter in next life. A sage named Shankha asks him to chant the word 'Rama' which is more powerful and beneficial than the Veda and equal to thousand names of Lord Vishnu. He does that and as a result takes birth as Valmiki in the house of sage Valmeek in the next life, and he authors Ramayana (pp.375-381). In another version given at page 708-710 of the same Purana, he is shown as son of a Bhrigu Brahmin Sumati. His name was Agnisharma, and he had joined a gang of robbers for the sustenance of his parents and family. One day Saptrishi (seven sages) happened to pass through his the area. He tried to rob them. They advised to him to chant the Mahamantra (Rama) to achieve super-consciousness.

He performed austerity and chanting of the Mahamantra for thirteen years unconscious of the huge mound of termites (Valmeeka) deposited on his body. The Saptrishis passed through that way after thirteen years and dug him out of the termite mound. They gave him the name 'Valmiki' as he was taken out of the termite mound. He composed the epic Ramayana with the blessings of Shiva. In yet another version recorded at page 1024-1027 in the same Purana, he has been shown as a robber named Vishakha son of Brahmin Shamimukha. Rest of the story is

(Contd. on next page)



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SPECIAL SPEECH DELIVERED BY SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM Ji AT 1ST WORLD DALIT CONFERENCE IN MALAYSIA ON 10TH & 11TH OCTOBER, 1998

Dalits should become rulers instead of being ruled. We must not be always at the receiving end, instead become the givers, Dalit Leader Mr. Kanshi Ram told the world Dalits. It's long we have been ruled. It is long we have been taking. Now it is time we change the destiny to rule and give, he said. Mr. Kanshi Ram who is the Founder President of Bahujan Samaj Party delivered a key-note address at the opening of the 1st World Dalit Convention 'A new vision towards a casteless society' at the Kuala Lumpur Mines Resort City.

The two day convention held on 10th and 11th October 1998 was well attended by more than 700 delegates throughout the world including famous politicians noted leaders from Dalit movement, champions of down-trodden, social reformers, renowned economists, famous educationists and great scholars.

The Malaysian Minister of Tourism, Arts and Culture Datuk Sabbaruddin Chikofficially opened the conference which saw the opening very colorful with Malaysian cultural and traditional dances performed by Indians, Malays and Chinese. Mr. Kanshi Ram garlanded the Portrait of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar while Dalit Sena President Ram Vilas Paswan garlanded the portrait of the great Periyar.

Mr. Kanshi Ram in his speech

continued to trace the history of caste and Brahminical social order. He asserted by virtue of his vast experience that elimination of caste was impossible at this stage. He also elaborated the very purpose of creating caste. In context of caste oppression and Justice Mr. Kanshi Ram referred the role of Dr. Ambedkar. He commended the merit of 'Communal Award' which he achieved after a long struggle.

Dr. Ambedkar could not sustain the going due to the constant pressure of the mighty upper caste Hindus, Mr. Kanshi Ram told the delegates who packed the hall. 'Babasaheb Ambedkar was able to get reservation for the oppressed in legislative houses, job opportunities in government departments and also places in higher educational institutions. I wish to stress upon that reservation is not the solution to our problem. We must become rulers instead of being ruled; givers instead of being takers, Mr. Kanshi Ram told the crowd to a thunderous applause. It is my duty to prepare my people not to get reservation but to grant reservation. Who can gain reservation? Only rulers can grant reservation. Hence, I will prepare my people to become rulers. If we do not become rulers, our problems will remain forever, Kanshi Ram said.

In order to become rulers we must learn how to handle caste. Dr. Ambedkar, Nehru, Gandhi and Indira Gandhi were experts in handling caste. Nehru handled caste so well that he made Dr. Ambedkar helpless and retain the Brahminical Social Order. Indira Gandhi also handled caste well to benefit the Brahminical Social Order. Dr. Ambedkar prepared the SC/ST to handle Caste. That is how we could get many benefits from the British, he added. Mr. Kanshi Ram expressed concern for 10 crores slum dweller, which are deprived of proper drinking water and electric supply. People migrating from villages to cities are also being denied of many facilities and end up in polluting the environment. But those refugees who came from Pakistan after independence were duly taken care of by the then government and a special budget was allocated to meet their basic necessities, he pointed out to the delegates.

According to Mr. Kanshi Ram, slum dwellers presently living in urban areas are the Dalit refugees who have migrated from the villages because of acrimony's & atrocities committed by upper caste Hindus.

They have not been able to influence the Planning Commission and the Government of India to allocate separate budget to provide them bread, clothes and shelter.

A decent life is a matter of fundamental right of every citizen in accordance with the constitutional mandate, Mr. Kanshi Ram asserted.

He advocated separate settlement for Dalit people as once formulated by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He was very critical of the evil impact of caste-system in India.

Wherever the Indians went they never failed to carry with them this spreading disease he told the laughing and cheering crowd. The Indians are prepared to leave anything behind. They leave behind their little property, small land and their huts. But they will never leave behind their caste. They carry with them wherever they go, he said. While urging the Dalits to unite he also called upon the Dalit intellectuals to shed away the approach of existing analysis only.

They should instead come with forward-looking approach in education, economic and social problems. They must also come up with some sort of effective solution programme, Mr. Kanshi Ram added. Mr. Kanshi Ram impressed upon the delegates that Dalit problem can only be solved through political power to rule the country. 'We must become the rulers instead of being ruled,' he told the cheering and applauding delegates.

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Valmikiya Ramayana – The Unanswered Questions

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similar to that of Agnisharma with some minor difference. He authors the epic Ramayana with the blessings of Goddess Saraswati. A similar story is found in the Nagara Khanda of the same Purana. In altogether a new version given in the Bhakatmaala of Nabha Das, a contemporary of Tulsi Das, Valmiki has been shown as a Shvapacha (Chandala – Untouchable), a devotee of Krishna. He was performing menial job at Yudhishtira's place. I leave it up to the readers to meditate over these versions and find the answers themselves to the questions that may arise in their mind.

(14) Why Bhagwan Rama - the incarnation of Vishnu and a mighty king resorted to an act of deceit to kill Vali by hiding behind the trees?

(15) When Shoorpanakha, sister of Ravana, proposed to Rama, he told her that he was already married and that she should propose to Laxmana. Why did he do so as Laxmana was also married? Why did he ask Laxmana to disfigure her by chopping off her nose?

(16) Rama was a Kshatriya king and Ravana and his family were Brahmins from Brahma's lineage. Killing a Brahmana is the greatest of the sins and crimes (Brahm Hatya) as per Hindu Code. Why Rama, who killed Ravana and his sons and clan, was not penalized for the crime of Brahm Hatya?

(17) Why God Rama could not know that Sita remained chaste while in the custody of Ravana and why did he make her suffer the ordeal of passing through the fire to prove her chastity?

When her chastity had al-

ready been established, why did Rama believe the rumor that she had conceived while in custody of Ravana? Why did Rama desert her clandestinely when she was in family way? Why did Rama want her to pass the fire test again when Valmiki brought her to his palace? How could a throne appear from the earth and take Sita down into the earth? Is it not the case of Sita having committed suicide?

(18) A Brahmin's son is said to have died because some Shudra was performing tapasya against the religious code somewhere in Rama's regime. If such an act of a Shudra could cause death of the son of a Brahmin, why only the son of a particular Brahmin died, and why the sons of all the Brahmins did not die in Rama's kingdom? The moment God Rama chopped off the head of Shambhuka, the Shudra, dead Brahmin boy came instantly to life. How could the dead person become alive on killing of a Shudra by Rama?

(19) Rama is said to have himself fixed the period of 11, 000 years for his rule over the mortal world. How could a person live for such a long period in the mortal world? Why could not the Omnipotent God Rama turn the evil into good by his godly act rather than killing enmass the mortals for protecting the Brahmins?

(20) The society of Rama's period practiced and promoted Varna and caste system and suffered from the common evils and weaknesses such as rivalry, jealousy, envy, greed, dowry, theft and dacoity, poverty, social discrimination, blind faith, superstition and myth. With such a society, how could the regime of Rama be

said to be 'Rama Rajya' or the age of truth and moral conduct' where no evil or evil doers existed?

(21) At the conclusion of period of 11000 years fixed by Rama himself for his regime in the mortal world the death god is said to have visited him and had dialogue with him on the condition that if someone heard their dialogue or came in their presence during this period, Rama would be under vow to kill him. The condition was broken when Laxmana came to see Rama during the dialogue. Instead of mortally killing Laxmana, Rama simply disowned him. How could disowning or deserting of a person be the substitute of killing? Laxmana is said to have gone to the river Saryu to take jal smadhi, but he was taken physically to the heaven by Indra.

How could a person be taken physically to heavens? Is it not the case of committing suicide by Laxmana by jumping into the river?

(22) When Rama decided to leave the mortal world, he took along his brothers and their families except their children, most of the residents of Ayodhya and large number of monkeys and bears etc. They all jumped into the river Saryu and finished their mortal life. Why did not Rama leave the mortal world alone?

(23) Crores of divine airplanes (Vimanas) are said to have been waiting on the bank of river Saryu for carrying Rama and others to the heavens. Rama entered the waters of the river and merged mortally along with his brothers into the form of Vishnu. All the others dived into the river and boarded the airplanes for heaven leaving behind their bodies and souls. The question is as to who manufactured

and brought crores of divine airplanes at the bank of river Saryu?

Where was such a place there to accommodate the airplanes? Where did these airplanes land in the heaven? How can the humans and animals board the airplanes leaving behind their body and soul? One can raise many questions on this.

(24) Having dived into the river, all the vanaras, bears and chimpanzees that were produced by gods as army of Rama are said to have merged themselves into the original form of their respective creator gods. How can the animals merge into the original form of their creator gods after death?

There may arise many more questions in the minds of the readers after going through the Valmikiya Ramayana. They can find the answer themselves to these and other questions coming to their mind to know the truth as truth and untruth as untruth.

Source: (Valmikiya Ramayana, Geeta Press Gorakhpur, 16th edition), (Shiva Purana, Geeta Press Gorakhpur, first edition, Shat Rudra Samhita, pp. 315,316), (BAWS, Vol. 4, pp. 324-331), (BAWS, Vol.3, pp. 243, 252, 253), (Sankshipta Skandha Purana, Geeta Press Gorakhpur, 4th edition), Bhakatmaala, Tej Kumar Press, Lucknow, 1962, Kavittas 74-82 as quoted in Maharishi Valmiki: Ek Samikshatmaka Adhyayana, 1980 by Dr. Manjula Sahdev, pp. 79-81), Matsya, Vishnu, Padama, Bhagawata, Koorma and Skandha Puranas and Mahabharata (Shantiparva, Vana, Udyoga, Drona and Anushasana parva).

The Bits and Pieces – As I please Political and Constitutional Morality

What is political and constitutional morality? The two elaborations got from the inter-net say - Political ethics (also known as political morality or public ethics) is the practice of making moral judgments about political action and political agents. It covers two area - the ethics of process (or the ethics of office), which deals with public officials and their methods. And similarly, the constitutional morality - Constitutional Morality means adherence to or being faithful to bottom line principles of constitutional values. What is constitutional morality according to Babasaheb Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian constitution? In this view, constitutional morality refers to the conventions and protocols that govern decision-making where the constitution vests discretionary power or is silent. Political and constitutional morality is the very edifice of a democratic

polity and also a just political and social order. Taking a cue from the current news about the PM of Great Britain, the fountain head of democracy, Liz Truss's apology on some of her recent economic decisions and policies, I thought of writing my off the cuff thoughts on the subject; particularly with regard to India. In a UK's policy U-turn, PM Liz Truss, listening to the criticism of her Ministerial colleagues, said that she was sorry for going 'too far and too fast' with her radical economic plan to snap Britain out of years stagnant economic growth. She added, "I do want to accept responsibility and say sorry for the mistakes that have been made." We in India has a democracy of 75 years standing, the largest in the world with one of the best constitutions. But, unfortunately, both our polity and society lack moral and constitutional morality. Babasaheb Ambedkar rightly said, "Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realize that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing in the Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic." If my knowledge and memory do not fail me, generally our political leadership, irrespective of all political parties, has not learnt to say sorry and admit mistakes; except the sole incident of a railway accident and the then Railway Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri resigning and taking moral responsibility. Nobody is perfect and it cannot be. There is no denying the fact that we have come long way since independence and has registered a good progress in development but we did many mistakes also in the process. But I have not heard of anyone having

the courage and honesty in owning the mistakes to list a few – partition of India, assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, Kashmir issue, 1962 China War, 1975 Emergency, Babri Masjid demolition, Assassination of Indira Gandhi, 1984 Sikh massacre, Shah Bano Case, Godhra massacre and riots and more recent; demonetization, Agricultural Bills and Farmers agitation, Release of culprits of Bilkas Bano case among others. I think the time has come to have some sort of introspection by our political bosses and also top bureaucracy and learn something from other democratic countries; especially of the developed

world. Let us inculcate a sense of political and constitutional morality to prove ourselves and our well written and documented constitution – the sooner the better. I am reminded of Allama Iqbal:

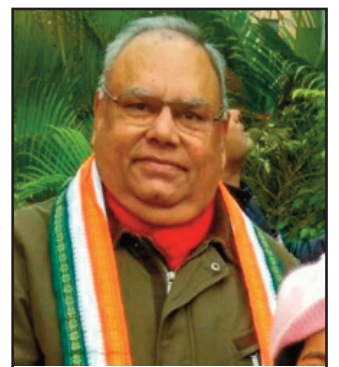
मस्जिद तो बना दी सब भर में;
इमां की हयस्त बालों ने,
मन अपना पुराना पापी है;
बरसों से नमाज़ी बन न सका।
इकबाल बड़ा उपदेशक है;
मन बालों से मोह लेता है,
गुफ्तार का तो यह गाज़ी बना;
करिदार का गाज़ी बन न सका।

Postscript: - PM Liz Truss has resigned in the wake of controversial economic policies. It has been reported in the media that speaking at the 10 Downing Street office, Truss accepted that she could not deliver the promises she made when she was running for Conservative leader and added, "I recognise though, given the situation, I cannot deliver the mandate on which I was elected by the Conservative Party. I have therefore spoken to His Majesty the King to notify him that I am resigning as leader of the Conservative Party." Liz Truss has shown the courage and duly demonstrated 'political and constitutional morality' the ingredient which is almost absent from the polity of India, unfortunately, to my mind.

Bilkis Bano Rape and Murder case –
We all know the Bilkis Bano rape and murder case of 2002, a sordid saga of unprecedented cruelty and inhumanity, known as 'Godhra communal riots. The case is again in the news because of insensitive and un-civilized reasons and more so in a democratic, secular and multi-cultural society. It is clear case of 'political and constitutional' deficit which I

mentioned in the preceding note on political and constitutional morality. With great struggle and fight, 11 culprits were brought to book by the court with life imprisonment. On complaints and petitions the case was shifted from one court to another under the directions of the Supreme Court. One can understand the sensitivity involved. Finally, where have we ended? All the 11 culprits were freed by the Gujarat Government, after undergoing 14 years of jail, and their sentence remitted for so-called 'good conduct' on the Independence Day when PM Narendra Modi spoke from the ramparts of Red

handy for directions and intent. In his speech in the Constituent Assembly on November 25, 1949, Babasaheb cautioned that the working of a Constitution did not depend on the document itself. Ultimately, its effect depended on those tasked with implementing it and said, "However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because



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those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot"

New President of Congress Party – Mallikarjun Kharge
The Congress Party of India, 137



Fort swearing to end gender discrimination and bring about communal harmony. On release the culprits of Bilkis Bano case were received and felicitated not only by the relatives but also by the vested segments of the society. The central government in Delhi tried to play it down by quoting various legal and procedural provisions. Both the central and Gujarat governments are still trying to defend the indefensible. Obviously and rightly, the decision of release of 11 culprits was challenged in the Supreme Court and the cat has come out of the bag. One can see as to where are we heading? Shedding all norms of morality and social responsibility, the Gujarat government had defended in the Supreme Court its decision to release the convicts in accordance with the 1992 remission policy since they had completed more than 14 years in prison and their conduct was found to be good. Responding to the submissions of the government, the learned Judge said "I have not come across a counter affidavit where a series of judgments are quoted. Factual statement should have been made. A very bulky counter. Where is the factual statement, where is the application of mind?" Today, October 20, it has appeared in the media that the culprits who were granted the benefit of so called 'good conduct' were found 'outraging the modesty' of women even during their 'parole' from jail and no action was taken against them. The next hearing of the case has been fixed towards the end of November. Let us see how we demonstrate our commitment to justice as enshrined in the constitution of India. Again Babasaheb Ambedkar comes

year old party, has elected Mallikarjun Kharge as its President in an election with an electoral college of about 10 thousand for the purpose. Mallikarjun Kharge, the veteran, 80 years, who described himself as a "common man from humble beginnings, a common worker who had been elected chief", said, 'No one is small or big and we have to all work like Karyakartas (workers) to strengthen the organization...' and added, "We have to together fight the threat to democracy and the constitution." With the declining stock and standing of the party in recent years, Mallikarjun Kharge, who would take office of President of the Congress Party on October 26 as the first non Gandhi after 24 years, is considered to enjoy the 'perceived proximity to the Gandhi's' representing the 'status quo'. His opponent, Shashi Tharoor, a former UN Diplomat, said to be a 'candidate of change' did a good job by giving a symbolic fight in the election. What will happen and how Mallikarjun Kharge performs to arrest the decline and restore the Congress Party's eminent position in the polity of India? Only the time would tell. Kharge would be expected to come out of the shadow of the dominant Gandhi's and deliver. It will be good not only for the party but also for the democratic polity of India. He has, it seems, the requisite experience and talent as a politician and a public functionary with – 9 times MLA, 3 times MP with responsible positions both in his home state Karnataka and the centre in New Delhi as a Minister and Leader of the opposition both in Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha and also the State Assembly of Kar

(Contd. on next page)

Political and Constitutional Morality



(Continue from page 5)
nataka, not a small fete to his credit. It is just a co-incident that Mallikarjun Kharge has come to centre stage at a difficult and crucial time to show his mettle as a dalit leader too to save the credibility of the Congress party like his predecessors; Damodaram Sanjivayya of Andhra Pradesh in 1962 in the wake of 'loss of face' in conflict with China, he stood with PM Jawahar Lal Nehru to support him in

Gandhi Congress legacy and salvage the Congress Party, the oldest political outfit of India, once again in the years to come? Only time would tell. I take this opportunity wish Mallikarjun Kharge all the very best in his new responsibilities as President of the grand-old party. I, as a common citizen, am of the firm view that his success would further strengthen the

is dwindling mural. And Jagjivan Ram of Bihar in 1971-72, he stood with PM Indira Gandhi and made history by defeating Pakistan and creating Bangladesh. Will Kharge be the third dalit in a row to stand with Nehru-



Prof. Thanthai Sivaraj and Prof. Dr. Ambedkar

Constitutional Morality Is MORE VITAL THAN THE CONSTITUTION
Ambedkar's Lessons In Democracy @ ambeth.,

TRIPUNDURAM, June 19 (PTI).

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR, Minister for Law, Government of India, declared here yesterday that constitutional morality was far more important than the Constitution.

democratic edifice of India.

Without Comment:-

Quote - Postscript: Kharge may not enthuse 'new Indi' but his stoy is no less compelling than that of PM Modi. Son of a mill worker, from a dalit family, he is a self made politician who

first rose as a labour union leader in Gulbarga. As he told me in an interview, "I am not a naamdar (elite) but a kaamdar (hard worker)" – Unquote (Rajdeep Sardesai in an article 'Congress must address an elephant in the room' appeared in the Hindustan Times of October 21)



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In solidarity with Rajendra Pal Gautam

Strong condemnation of Delhi and central government

NRI Ambedkarites from USA, Canada, UK, Germany, France, Nederland, Ireland, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Korea, Singapore, New Zealand, Belgium, Hungary, Australia, UAE, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Malaysia condemn the manner in which Delhi's Social Welfare minister Rajendra Pal Gautam had to resign from his post due to his presence at an event embracing Buddhism in Delhi on Wednesday October 5 th 2022. Rajendra Pal Gautam attended the Ashoka Vijaya Dashami celebrations at Ambedkar Bhawan in Jhandewalan, where over 10,000 people from various religions embraced Buddhism. We condemn the manner in which mainstream Indian media villainized Mr Gautam, tried to defame him by taking some vows out of context, mischaracterizing them and attempting to divide the society. The gathering, an annual affair held every October, was a peaceful event organized by a local social groups called the Buddhist Society of India and Mission Jai Bheem. Dozens of such events take place every year all over India where thousands of people embraced peacefully to Buddhism. This event in Delhi was no different. These events commemorate the 1956 mass embracing Buddhism held at Nagpur on October 14, 1956 known as Ashok Vijaya Dashmi, where Dr. BR Ambedkar led lakhs of people in adopting Buddhism by taking the famous 22 vows. The same 22 vows were also recited peacefully at the event in Delhi, where Mr. Gautam was present. Reciting the 22 vows is a common practice in all embracing Buddhism ceremonies.

These vows are nothing but a guide to an individual to stay away from superstition, not to believe in caste system and treat everyone with dignity and respect. There is nothing disrespectful to any community in the 22 vows. We condemn the attempts made by mainstream media to spread negative propaganda against the 22 vows. During this distressing time, the NRI Ambedkarites are seething with pain, sadness and are appalled at the turn of events. We offer solidarity to Mr. Gautam in this difficult time. We trust that the government will fulfill its constitutional obligation and prevent attempts by media and anti-social elements to divide the society. The world is watching.
https://twitter.com/AdvRajendraPal/status/1579071211497480192?s=20∓t=i6-ZtGpTAYc3JFu_7ulwFA

List of endorsing organizations

1. Buddhist Council of America (BCA)
2. Dhamma Waves, Canada
3. Ambedkar Association of North America (AANA)
4. Ambedkar Buddhist association of Texas (ABAT)
5. Ambedkar International Mission, USA (AIM)
6. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar International Mission Center, Houston Texas
7. Ambedkar International Mission, Japan (AIM)
8. Ambedkar International Mission, UAE (AIM)
9. Ambedkar International Center (AIC)
10. Boston Study Group (BSG)
11. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar International Association for Education, Japan
12. Coalition of Seattle Indian American's (CSIA)
13. Dr Ambedkar Buddhist Society ,New York
14. International Bahujan Organization, New York
15. International Boddhisatva Guru Ravidas Organization, New York
16. Ambedkar Mission, Toronto, Canada
17. Ambedkarites International Mission Society-Canada (AIMS)
18. Ambedkar International Coordination Society (AICS)
19. Ambedkar International Social Reform Organization (AISRO) Canada
20. Ambedkar King Study Circle, USA (AKSC)
21. Periyar International USA
22. SamataSainik Dal HQ Deekshabhumi Nagpur (SSD)
23. South Asian Dalit Adivasi Network Canada (SADAN)
24. Dr Ambedkar Buddhist organisation Birmingham UK
25. Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist Organisations UK (FABO UK)
26. Anti Caste Discrimination Alliance (ACDA)
27. Dr Ambedkar Mission Society Glasgow Scotland
28. Dr Ambedkar Mission Society Europe
29. Indian Association of Minorities New Zealand.(IAM)
30. Dr Ambedkar Mission Society New Zealand.
31. International SSD, California,USA
32. MNT News Network
33. Bhim Patrika Media
34. Ambedkar Nama
35. Dalit Dastak
36. Ambedkar Times (CA) USA
37. Blue Morning Weekly
38. Lokmanya Samiti, Maharashtra, India
39. Ambedkar Chetna Parishad, Jharkhand
40. Bodhimaggo Mahavihara
41. Human Metta Foundation
42. Awaaz India TV
43. Maitri India
44. The Asian Independent, UK
45. Samaj Weekly, UK
46. Punjab Buddhist Society (Regd) Punjab
47. The Voice of Indigenous People for Justice & Peace (VIPJP)
48. South Indian Buddhist Council
49. Desh Doaba (CA) USA



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November 11-12-13, 2022

Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's "Parkash Utsav"

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Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji's Parkash Utsav will be celebrated at Gurughar on November 13, 2022. Akhand path will start on Friday 11/11/22, at 10:00 AM and will conclude with Bhog ceremony on Sunday morning 11/13/2022. Late Pt. Kewal Krishan Sudhir and Nirmal Devi Sudhir's son Varinder Kumar Sudhir with his wife Renu Bala Sudhir, sons Puneet Sudhir and Ankush Sudhir, will host the Akhand Path and Langar Sewa. Sudhir family is requesting Sangat to come and get Guru Sahib's blessings. May Baba ji keep Sudhir Family in Chardi Kala.

Hoisting of NISHAN SAHIB

(Nishan Sahib Sewa)

Nishan Sahib Hoisting Ceremony will be held on November 12 (Saturday) at 11:00 AM. Bhai Hardial Singh Banga and Bibi Kulwant Banga will be doing the Nishan Sahib Chola Sewa. The entire Sangat and the Managing Committee is thankful to Banga family for their Sewa of getting new hydraulic Nishan Sahib installed. May Waheguru bless the dedicated Banga family for their cherished desires.

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Vinod Kumar

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Dharam Pal Chonkria

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