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Ik oānkār saṭ nām kartā purakh nīrbha'o nirvair akāl mūrati ajūnī saibha'n gur parsād.



THE SIKH BULLETIN GURU NANAK AND HIS BANI

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EDITORIAL

UGLY AMERICANS II MY COUNTRY I CRY FOR THEE

The years were 1958-1960. I spent those two years teaching Geography at the **Air Force Central School, New Delhi**. The Govt. of India was so secretive about its topographic maps that even I, teaching for the Air Force, had no access to them for teaching map interpretation to senior classes. Since Embassy Row was close by, I decided to visit the **US Embassy**. My first pleasant surprise was that this Embassy had a '**Geography Attaché**' and he had every topographic map of India the British ever published, stacked along the walls of this high ceiling room and I could use any of them, which I did. There was also a big library of audio-visual materials on the United States.

On the way to the Embassy from the Air Force complex was the brand new **Five Star Ashok Hotel**, built in 1956, adjoining the Diplomatic enclave.

<http://sikhbulletin.com/Files/AshokHotel.pdf>

I had many occasions to visit this hotel. Aside from the impressive building what sticks out most in my memory is **white middle aged American males** with fist full of brand new uncirculated Indian Rupee bills talking with other middle aged white American males and explaining that yes they were checking out that day and this is for the '**Boys**'. '**Boys**' were the **fathers** and **grandfathers** who worked at the hotel. One **US\$ was equal to Rs 4.85** at that time. My teacher's salary at the **Air Force Central School** was **Rs. 195.00** per month which was **Rs 10.00** increase over my salary as lecturer and Vice-Principal at **Khalsa Teacher Traing College Miktsar, Panjab** the year before.

These people were bringing their **then traditional American values, “Slavery & White Superiority”** with them. That is why Indian media dubbed them ‘**Ugly Americans**’.

Another factor was the stark contrast between old arrogant American tourists flashing their dollars and young European and Australian and New Zealander tourists who typically would have hitchhiked to Pakistan and India from Western Europe through the Middle East, route that I took in my three month long 15,200 mile hitchhiking journey from New Delhi to the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington State, in 1960 with \$18.00. Once in the sub-continent they travelled on well developed railway network in these two countries without buying a ticket and if the city did not have a youth hostel or YMCA/YWCA, spent nights at the railway station First Class Waiting rooms.

Still another aggravating factor was the official attitude of the US Government fostered by **John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State under Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower, from 1953 to 1959.** This was the **Cold War** period and United States was applying extreme pressure on newly independent from European Colonial powers Asian and African nations to join their block against USSR and China. His slogan was **‘if you are not with us, you are against us’**.

United States stage managed the creation of **CENTO** in the Middle East and **SEATO** in South East Asia to encircle two communist giants, **USSR** and **China** and all countries in the region were supposed to tow the line or else. But two did not. **India under Nehru and Egypt under Nasser** did not comply. They were joined by a Communist country that is no more, **Yugoslavia under Tito.** This **Nehru, Nasser, Tito** trio that set up the **Non-Aligned** nations club was punished by the United States. In case of India the United States got its revenge by favouring Pakistan that did their bidding and even winked as Pakistan set upon the

goal of going nuclear just as it had winked in case of Israel.

Now in 2017, the dawn of **Trump Era, Ugly American II** is back in the fore front but it is no longer confined to old white males. **It includes every one of Americans who voted for Trump** including **young college educated white women** whom he humiliated by using disgustingly vulgar language as to where he likes to grab them; every black like **Ben Carson**, one of ‘**his black men**’ as he is fond of saying; every rich Indian like **Harmeet Kaur Dhillon**, as if one Indian, **Nikki Haley**, was not enough; **all the elected Republicans in the Senate and the House** all the way down from **Mitch McConnell** and **Paul Ryan**, Tweedledum and Tweedledee.



2017 Re-emerged Ugly Americans II, all Top Republicans

Trump has an uncanny ability of shredding social norms of a civilized society. He has no compunction about brushing aside legal technicalities and feels no shame in demanding his subordinates’ loyalty to him and not to the Constitution. His National Security Advisor **Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster** and **Dan Coats**, Director of National Intelligence, both seasoned and reputable individuals, until now, were **rendered impotent** when appearing before the Senate committee they refused to publicly acknowledge that Trump had asked them to publicly say there was no collusion with the Russians by the Trump campaign. Only honourable exception in the crowd turned out to be **James Comey**. United States needs more



Elaine Chao

people of Comey's **character and integrity**, not the ugly kind.

He humiliated his entire appointed cabinet by demanding they praise and appreciate him in public over national television and like sheep they all complied, including, **Mitch McConnell's**

wife **Elaine Chao**. Elaine Chao's defense of Trump for his spoiled kindergartener bully behaviour in pushing aside the head of **Montenegro** to be at the center front of the group for picture taking and disgusting comments on MSNBC co-host **Mika Brzezinski** were "**He is new at it**" meaning being President. Perhaps she is ignorant of the fact that so were Abraham Lincoln and Barak Obama.

According to **Sikh Free Press**, of April 23, 2017 **Harmeet Kaur Dhillon [P.17]** a lawyer and the first vice chairwoman for the **Republican Party in California**, stood in front of an audience of Republican delegates and supporters, beginning the invocation by expressing the values that both the religion and Americans share, "**Humility, truth, courage and justice for all**".

Not all Americans share those values; not the ones she was addressing. Out of total **231,556,622 eligible voters** only **138,884,643** (57.9%) actually voted. Of these **65,844,954 (48.2%)** voted for **Hillary** and **62,979,879 (46.1)** for **Trump**.

According to **Harmeet 'voters will make a decision based on the issues and values that are most important to them'**. However, when asked about Trump's tendency to make off-the-cuff comments about certain groups of people, **Dhillon declined to answer. "I don't want to be a part of any slandering of Trump," she said. Now the whole world knows what the most important values atleast 62,979,879 Americans hold.**

The real electors of Trump were the 42.1% who did not vote in this crucial election; **Shame on them**. The reason Trump won with fewer votes goes back to the time when North, mostly Republican, defeated the slave owning South, mostly Democrat, in their Civil War and gave the vanquished South unfair advantage in electing the President through the practice called **Electoral College**.

During my last two years in India we believed the Republican and Democratic parties to be the two sides of the American dollar. **For both parties America was First**; Today **Trump makes America disdained again**.

Imperceptibly since 1960 I have seen the gradual reversal of roles by these two parties. Lincoln's Republican Party that went to war over issues of slavery with the Democratic South is now the home of **Ku Klux Klan** and former Democratic Party is the champion for immigrants like me and **Harmeet Dhillon**.

Republicans have become party of Putin. Trump/Putin alliance is natural; both are racists and authoritarians. G. W. Bush's **Compassionate Conservatism** was **FAKE**. The Senate GOP's health-care bill is real Republican Conservatism. **Trump cannot tell the difference, or he is faking it, between fake news and real news.** He loves to watch Fox and Friends that distorts the news and heaps Fake Praise on Trump. Mainstream media for this man is Fake News. Fox and Friends were promoters of his theory during Obama's administration that he was a Muslim and born in Kenya.

Recently Trump seems to have touched a nerve in the main stream media when he tweet attacked **Mika Brzezinski, co-host of Morning Joe on MSNBC** because this show, although Conservative, is main stream and they joked about **Trump's portrait on a Fake Front Page of Time Magazine** displayed in his businesses. Besides their slogan is that if **he lies, which is almost**

always, they will report it.

MSNBC's response to Trump's Twitter attack on Morning Joe co-host **Mika Brzezinski**, because this show does not shower praise on Trump as Fox and Friends do all the time, sums up this man's obsession against truth-telling media. Next day comments in the media ranged from **"disgusting vulgar pig to...It's a sad day for America when the president spends his time bullying, lying and spewing petty personal attacks instead of doing his job"**.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/06/23/opinion/trumps-lies.html>



Jeff Sessions

Jeff Sessions is an old Southern segregationist Democrat. He was appointed the Attorney General of the United States by Trump. This person, who is supposed to uphold the law of the land, lied under oath during his confirmation hearings in the Senate about his meetings with **Spy Ambassador of Russia**. When his lie was discovered he was forced to **recuse** himself from FBI's investigation of Trump campaign's collusion with Russia.

Then there is Jeff Sessions!

As Asia Samachar [p.18] **writing** about **Harmeet Kaur Dhillon** reports, **"her parents supported Republicans after they became naturalized U.S. citizens. Their politics were driven in part by her father's contempt for trial lawyers because of medical malpractice lawsuits."** **"Harmeet's parents hosted fundraisers for Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), a conservative with strong views on foreign policy. He, in turn, spoke out against persecution of Sikhs, the report added."**

Thirty one years ago Senate had rejected Sessions for a judgeship. A letter by Martin Luther King Jr's widow Coretta Scott King played a significant role in that decision. Here is the key passage of King's letter opposing Session's nomination as a judge in 1986: **"Anyone who has used the power of his office as United States attorney to intimidate and chill the free exercise of the ballot by citizens should not be elevated to our courts. Mr. Sessions has used the awesome powers of his office in a shabby attempt to intimidate and frighten elderly black voters."**

Every American is free to belong, or not to belong, to a political party. **Harmeet's father, Dr. Dhillon**, chose to join the Republican Party, as Asia Samachar reports, **"driven in part by her father's contempt for trial lawyers because of medical malpractice lawsuits."**

I know that opposing the Trial Lawyers is one of the Republican Party's talking points and policies. But I do want Dr. Dhillon to know that Trial Lawyers do serve a useful purpose by defending patients who cannot afford to defend themselves against powerful Insurance Companies or Medical Professional Groups when they are wronged by medical practice.

I am talking from my personal experience with Kaiser Permanente of Northern California for bothching my left knee replacement in 1994 (joining two pieces of my leg **40** degrees out of alignment) and overdosing me with radiation for my prostate in 2011 without any follow up check ups either by Radiologist or the Urologist. When after one year my bladder failed and started bleeding, without going inside to do the visual check, treated me with antibiotics for many months until I started ending up in emergency five days in a row only to be sent home after a few hours of flushing my bladder and inserting catheter that would get clogged with blood clots. I had to leave Kaiser and under regular Medicare get treated at **Stanford University**. I not only got proper medical care but also found **bladder**

therapy that Kaiser never mentioned existed. It was then that I decided to write to three Law firms to take my case but two politely declined without any explanation and one did call me and explained to me that in California non-economic loss limit is only \$250,000.00 and because I was retired and a 79 years old without any dependants they will take my case only if I paid them \$10,000.00 for an expert opinion. I was not going to throw good money after bad and get myself entangled in a law suit with Kaiser Permanente which was both an insurer and provider of health services.

Eugene Robinson says **'Fake Hero president is an insult to our Founders'**. No, He is a **beast** and is **an insult to entire humanity, including the people who have voted for him.** They should **redeem themselves** by openly expressing their regret at the choice they made at the ballot box. If they do not America may have to wait for another generation or two for these people to complete their journey on this beautiful place we call Earth. **Since 1960 until now I was delighting in the choice that I had made and found two countries, United State and Canada, marching towards the world that Guru Nanak envisioned. Now only one is left, Canada. That is real SAD!**

Hardev S Shergill

RACISM MOTIVATED TRUMP VOTERS MORE THAN AUTHORITARIANISM

Washington Post
PRIL 17, 2017

According to [Census Bureau estimates](#), the United States will become “majority-minority in 2044.” It also notes that “more than half of the nation’s children are expected to be part of a minority race or ethnic group” by the time of the 2020 Census. Whites won’t be the majority, but they will be a big part of the minority. Dealing with that change in status should force a nation that either ignores race or addresses it through code words, dog whistles and stereotypes to seriously engage in an uncomfortable conversation. We must figure out

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how to deal with real problems facing all Americans, problems that have become inextricably linked with intolerance and hate.



Supporters cheer for then-candidate Donald Trump during a campaign rally last year in Tampa.

(Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images)

Washington Post June 6, 2017

“Donald Trump has become a white working-class symbol because he is the one who has returned them to prominence in American politics.”

A new U.S. Census Bureau report released today provides an in-depth analysis of the nation’s population looking forward to 2060, including its size and composition across age, sex, race, Hispanic origin and nativity. These projections are the first to incorporate separate projections of fertility for native- and foreign-born women, permitting the Census Bureau to better account for the effects of international migration on the U.S. population.

According to the report, *Projections of the Size and Composition of the U.S. Population: 2014 to 2060*:

- The U.S. population is expected to grow more slowly in future decades than it did in the previous century. Nonetheless, the total population of 319 million in 2014 is projected to reach the 400 million threshold in 2051 and 417 million in 2060.
- Around the time the 2020 Census is conducted, more than half of the nation’s

children are expected to be part of a minority race or ethnic group. This proportion is expected to continue to grow so that by 2060, just 36 percent of all children (people under age 18) will be single-race non-Hispanic white, compared with 52 percent today.

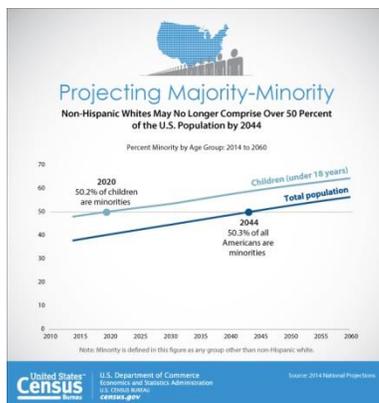
- The U.S. population as a whole is expected to follow a similar trend, becoming majority-minority in 2044. The minority population is projected to rise to 56 percent of the total in 2060, compared with 38 percent in 2014.
- While one milestone would be reached by the 2020 Census, another will be achieved by the 2030 Census: all baby boomers will have reached age 65 or older (this will actually occur in 2029). Consequently, in that year, one-in-five Americans would be 65 or older, up from one in seven in 2014.
- By 2060, the nation's foreign-born population would reach nearly 19 percent of the total population, up from 13 percent in 2014.

To access previously issued population projections visit:

www.census.gov/topics/population/population-projections/data.html.

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Note: The figures in the report are based on the 2014 National Projections, the second series of projections based on the 2010 Census (updating projections released in 2012). No news release associated with this report. Tip Sheet only.



See enlarged version on last page.

HOW A 'SHADOW' UNIVERSE OF CHARITIES JOINED WITH POLITICAL WARRIORS TO FUEL TRUMP'S RISE.

By Robert O'Harrow Jr. and Shawn Boburg
June 3, 2017 Washington Post

The crowd rose to its feet and roared its approval as **Sen. Jeff Sessions** bounded onto the stage at the Breakers, an exclusive resort in Palm Beach, Fla. **Stephen Miller**, an aide to the Alabama Republican, handed him a glass trophy honoring his **bravery as a lawmaker**.

"Heyyyy!" Sessions yelled out to the crowd.

The ceremony that day, **in November 2014**, turned out to be a harbinger: It brought together an array of hard-right activists and a **little-known charity** whose ideas would soon move from the fringes of the conservative movement into the **heart of the nation's government**.

The man behind the event was **David Horowitz**, a former '60s radical who became an intellectual godfather to the far right through his writings and his work at a charity, the **David Horowitz Freedom Center**. Since its formation in **1988**, the Freedom Center has helped cultivate a generation of political warriors seeking to **upend the Washington establishment**. These warriors include some of the **most powerful and influential figures in the Trump administration: Attorney General Sessions, senior policy adviser Miller and White House chief strategist Stephen K. Bannon**.

Long before Trump promised to **build a wall, ban Muslims and abandon the Paris climate accord**, Horowitz used his tax-exempt group to rail against illegal immigrants, the spread of Islam and global warming. Center officials described **Hillary Clinton as evil, President Barack Obama as a secret communist and the Democratic Party as a front for enemies of the United States**.

The **Freedom Center** has declared itself a **"School for Political Warfare,"** and it is part of a

loose nationwide network of like-minded charities linked together by ideology, personalities, conservative funders and websites, including the for-profit **Breitbart News**.

Horowitz's story shows how charities have become essential to modern political campaigns, amid **tax enforcement of the federal limits on their involvement in politics**, while taking advantage of millions of dollars in what amount to taxpayer subsidies.

In interviews with The Washington Post, Horowitz, 78, acknowledged the Freedom Center's partisan mission and said its aim is to protect "**traditional American values**" against adversaries on the left, who operate their own network of charities. "This is a shadow political universe," he said.

Horowitz makes a good living as the Freedom Center chief executive, earning \$583,000 from a charity that received \$5.4 million in donations in 2015, according to the latest available records. But he said he has come to believe that his group and others across the political spectrum ought to be reined in to ensure they fulfill the original spirit of the Internal Revenue Service's charitable rules, even though such overhauls would be "personally devastating for me."

"They should redefine what a charity is," he said. "A charity should be something that helps everybody." The IRS prohibits charities from directly or indirectly participating in political campaigns, for or against candidates.

In an essay he published online in response to The Post's questions after refusing further interviews, Horowitz wrote the center "does not engage in political activities in the narrow sense used in the I.R.S. code."

A lefty moves right

Horowitz looks like a professor, with a salt-and-pepper goatee and small oval glasses. He speaks

with a scratchy voice that carries strong hints of his New York roots. He is quick to use fiery rhetoric and no-holds-barred tactics he had learned as a student radical.

Horowitz was a "**red diaper baby**" of communist parents in New York City. After attending Columbia University in the 1950s, he enrolled as a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley, an anchor of leftist thinking.

Over the next two decades, he took on prominent roles in the New Left. He served as an editor of Ramparts, an influential muckraking magazine in San Francisco.

But by the late 1970s, he had decided that the left represented a profound threat to the United States. On March 17, 1985, he and a writing partner came out as conservatives in a surprising Washington Post Magazine article headlined "**Lefties for Reagan.**"

In August 1988, Horowitz launched the Center for the Study of Popular Culture in Los Angeles, a nonprofit group that would become the Freedom Center.

Charities have been around since the nation's beginning, as citizens sought to help schools, churches and the poor. Decades ago, Congress created a special section of the IRS code to define and regulate charities, which are known as 501(c)(3) groups under the code. They have a special allure for donors: They can deduct contributions from their taxes.

IRS rules give charities wide latitude, but they may not devote a "substantial part" of their resources or activities to lobbying or "carrying on propaganda." And they "are absolutely prohibited from directly or indirectly participating in, or intervening in, any political campaign on behalf of (or in opposition to) any candidate for elective public office," according to the IRS.

In his IRS application for tax-exempt status in

August 1988, Horowitz wrote his center would be “entirely non-profit, non-partisan,” according to records obtained through a public records request. “It will not be organized to promote any particular political program.”

Twenty years later, a brochure for one of the charity’s events would sharply contradict that claim: “In 1988, Horowitz created the Center for the Study of Popular Culture to institutionalize his campaigns against the Left and its anti-American agendas.”

From the start, Horowitz was supported by contributions from stalwart conservative groups, including the John M. Olin Foundation and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, along with donations from the wealthy Scaife family of Pittsburgh.

In 1989, he co-wrote “Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts About the Sixties,” a harsh critique of the radical left. He also began hosting events. A gathering called the Wednesday Morning Club catered to conservatives in liberal Los Angeles. In the 1990s, one of the regular guests was **Bannon**, then a former Wall Street investor seeking to make his mark in Hollywood, according to Lionel Chetwynd, the event’s co-founder.

“Conservatives are nervous around me, and they’re nervous because I’m very outspoken,” Horowitz told The Post. “Steve Bannon was not nervous because he’s like me.” Bannon did not respond to requests for interviews.

The origin of Stephen Miller

After the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, Horowitz and his center argued that liberals had been too tolerant of radical Islam and illegal immigration.

Open to that message was Stephen Miller, a 16-year-old high school student in Santa Monica, Calif. In the fall of 2001, Miller asked Horowitz

for help in disputes with administrators at his school. Miller complained his teachers and classmates were insufficiently patriotic and refused to say the Pledge of Allegiance.

Horowitz’s charity launched a group called Students for Academic Freedom, framing it as a counterweight to the dominance of the left in high schools and on college campuses. Miller formed a chapter and sought permission from school officials to invite Horowitz to the school to speak. When administrators delayed, Miller and Horowitz accused them of stifling free speech.



Stephen Miller

Horowitz eventually spoke at the school, and in November 2002, Miller wrote about the visit in an essay in Frontpagemag.com, the online news and opinion site run by the center. Miller portrayed himself as the victim of indoctrination and called on the system’s superintendent to ensure “that his schools stress inclusive patriotism, rather than multiculturalism.”

When Miller went on to Duke University, he formed another chapter of Students for Academic

Freedom and again invited Horowitz to speak. At the time, Horowitz had just published “The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America,” a book some condemned as a political blacklist.

After graduation, Miller wanted to work in Washington. Horowitz reached out to conservatives on Capitol Hill who had supported his group. He helped Miller land jobs with four lawmakers, including former representative Michele Bachmann (R-Minn.) and Sessions. “I highly recommended him to Jeff,” Horowitz told The Post. Miller did not respond to requests for interviews.

By 2006, Horowitz’s charity, now operating as the David Horowitz Freedom Center, was staging events, publishing books and pamphlets, and operating a website devoted to “news on the war at home and abroad” against the left.

That same year, Horowitz wrote “The Shadow Party: How George Soros, Hillary Clinton, and Sixties Radicals Seized Control of the Democratic Party.” He and a co-writer argued that Soros, a hedge fund billionaire, was a “political manipulator” who financed a vast movement on the left, with help from charities and other nonprofit groups.

The Freedom Center stepped up its anti-Islamic rhetoric, sponsoring an “Islamofascism Awareness Week” on college campuses. Horowitz accused U.S. college campuses of fostering “Jew hatred” and supporting Islamist militant terror.

It also formed an alliance with another charity called Jihad Watch, which would become a leading voice in calling for restrictions on Muslim immigrants.

“Our work at Jihad Watch relates to dispelling falsehoods and disinformation spread by The Washington Post and others regarding the

motivating ideology, nature and magnitude of the jihad threat worldwide and within the U.S.,” the group’s chief, Robert Spencer, told The Post in a statement last month.

In the 2000s, the Freedom Center continued receiving millions in support from conservative donors, more than \$4 million annually. The **election of Barack Obama in 2008 provided an extra boost to fundraising.**

It also affirmed the center’s belief that “the political left has declared war on America and its constitutional system, and is willing to collaborate with America’s enemies abroad,” according to the center’s website. “For most of those years the Center was a voice crying in the wilderness with few willing to recognize the threat from the enemy within, a fifth column force that was steadily expanding its influence within the Democratic Party.”

This was all too much for some prominent mainstream conservatives such as William Kristol and George Will, who formerly sat on the board of the Bradley Foundation. “Some people seem not to feel fully alive unless they are furious,” Will wrote in an email to The Post. [Will writes a twice-weekly column for The Post] “Perhaps this is because they gain derivative significance from the feeling that they are personally involved in momentous events.”

Minimal IRS regulation

The Freedom Center was among a growing group of allied charities that received funding from large, conservative foundations such as Donors Capital Fund, Donors Trust, the Bradley Foundation and the Scaife family. For decades, those foundations and others had financed nonprofit organizations that promoted free enterprise and small government and opposed the environmental movement and other issues favored by progressives.

In general, charities have been able to operate with little scrutiny by regulators. The number of

enforcement officials at the IRS and the audits they conduct have dwindled over the past decade.

The IRS became especially reluctant to enforce limitations on political activity, following a furious backlash from conservatives and Republicans in Congress in 2013 over allegations the agency was illegally targeting tea party groups seeking tax-exempt status. An IRS spokesman declined to comment.

Cleta Mitchell, a lawyer, Bradley Foundation board member and recipient of a Freedom Center award, said conservative charities “take great pains to stay within their lanes from a legal perspective.”

Matthew Vadum, senior vice president of the tax-exempt Capital Research Center and a prolific contributor to the Freedom Center’s Frontpagemag.com, said there is no question the conservative charities work in concert. But the IRS rules are open to interpretation and unclear about the limits, he said.

“It’s a network,” Vadum said. “[C]onservative activist groups try to push the envelope. And it’s not always clear how far they should go.”

Ron Robinson, president of Young America’s Foundation and another ally of the Freedom Center, said ideological alliances and shared financial support are commonplace across the political spectrum, not just on the right. “This is a reality of the modern world,” Robinson said. “I don’t view it as pernicious. They make it possible to enrich the world of ideas.”

By 2008, the Freedom Center had assumed a leading role in the hard-right branch of the network, spending \$2.7 million on seminars and meetings that routinely attracted the luminaries of the conservative movement.

The most popular of these annual gatherings was “David Horowitz’s Restoration Weekend,” which

was often held at the Breakers in Palm Beach, a stunning hotel complex modeled on the Medici palaces of Renaissance Italy.

These were lavish affairs. In November 2009, the center paid \$438,000 to produce the event at the Breakers, an IRS filing shows. That covered well-produced videos and cocktail parties and, for major donors, spa and golf privileges.

A marquee event that weekend was the Citizens United Film Festival. It included a documentary written and directed by Bannon about the ravages of the financial meltdown called “Generation Zero.” The Citizens United Foundation, another conservative tax-exempt charity, would soon pay Bannon hundreds of thousands for fundraising and film consulting.

Bannon was becoming an important ally for Horowitz and a pivotal figure in the growing network. Bannon and a partner once suggested including Horowitz in a proposed documentary to be called “Destroying the Great Satan: **The Rise of Islamic Fascism in America.**” The movie’s draft outline warned of an Islamic takeover of the United States.

In March 2012, Bannon was named the executive chairman of the online Breitbart News site, following the unexpected death of his friend and collaborator, Andrew Breitbart. Bannon immediately began steering the site even deeper into the **anti-establishment movement.**

The meet-and-greet

On Nov. 12, 2013, Bannon hosted a book party for Horowitz at a Washington, D.C., townhouse that served as Breitbart’s capital office and Bannon’s living quarters. Horowitz had just published a compendium of anti-liberal writings called the “Black Book of the American Left.”

As Horowitz mingled, Bannon introduced himself to Ronald Radosh, a prominent conservative

intellectual and historian. Radosh had known Horowitz for a half-century and also worked his way through the ranks of the New Left before becoming a conservative.

“I’m Steve Bannon and this is my house,” Bannon said, according to an account that Radosh wrote about for the Daily Beast in August and discussed with The Post.

“I’m a Leninist,” Bannon said, according to Radosh. “Lenin wanted to destroy the state, and that’s my goal, too. I want to bring everything crashing down, and destroy today’s establishment.”

A few days later, Horowitz traveled to Palm Beach to host another Restoration Weekend at the Breakers. Bannon was going, too — in part to raise money for a documentary film about Horowitz. Bannon said he needed \$1 million and there were few venues better for finding wealthy donors. As it happened, Bannon could not raise the money, according to two attendees who heard his pitch. But he received an unexpected gift.

It came from Patrick Caddell, a veteran Democratic pollster who had once worked for President Jimmy Carter. He was speaking about his recent study of Americans’ sentiments toward Washington, the economy and the nation’s future. He said Americans were feeling glum: Two-thirds blamed self-serving elites in both parties for their troubles. They craved an outsider to shake things up.

His findings thrilled the crowd, Caddell told The Post in a lengthy interview. He earlier gave a similar account to the New Yorker.

Caddell said Bannon arranged for a private briefing the next day, to include Robert and Rebekah Mercer, a hedge fund billionaire and his daughter.

For two years, Bannon had worked with the Mercers, who invested millions in Breitbart News.

The family also helped Bannon launch a Florida-based charity called the Government Accountability Institute, which describes itself as a nonpartisan investigative organization.

Bannon and the Mercers huddled with Caddell in a second-floor lounge at the Breakers. The Mercers were entranced by what they were hearing, Caddell told The Post, and Bannon “was ecstatic.” “Being a basic rabble-rouser, it fit his views,” Caddell said.

Robert Mercer asked Caddell to confirm the poll’s findings, offering to pay the costs. Caddell told The Post the follow-up poll did just that. The charities and their media allies began to coalesce around the discontent that Caddell documented.

“You don’t find a lot of cooperation between conservative groups, but now this network, we have Breitbart, Drudge . . .” Horowitz told the 2013 Restoration Weekend attendees, according to video of the speech. “It’s going to be very, very powerful over time.”

‘Fighting fire with fire’

By late 2013, the Freedom Center barely resembled the charity the IRS had approved for tax exemption. When it began, he told the IRS that it planned to serve the “broad public community as an educational institution.”

Now it was openly involved in fighting a political war with the left. “You can counter their attacks by turning their guns around,” Horowitz said in a speech at the time. “You can neutralize them by fighting fire with fire.”

Among the center’s targets was **climate change**, which it attacked repeatedly as a ruse by the left. Frontpagemag.com writers made fun of global warming in stories with headlines such as “New Study Says Global Warming Is Good For Polar Bears” and “Global Warming Ended in 1996.”

The site also ran stories insinuating that

Democrats were cooperating with Islamist militants: “Jihad Migrating to Red States — With Obama’s Blessing,” “The Left’s Embrace of Islamic Rape,” and “Sanctuary Cities’ or ‘Safe Havens’ for Terrorists?”

In March 2014, the center made the first of \$175,000 in contributions to the Party for Freedom, a group founded by Geert Wilders, one of **Europe’s most ardent anti-Muslim politicians**, according to documents released by the Dutch government and originally described by the New York Times and the Intercept. He was campaigning on a platform of preventing the **“Islamization of the Netherlands,”** proposing a ban on Muslim immigration and the shuttering of mosques.

Later that year, Wilders spoke at Restoration Weekend.



Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-Ala.), then a nominee for U.S. attorney general, walks through the halls of the Capitol in Washington on Feb. 1. (Melina Mara/The Washington Post)

“The truth is that our own Western culture — based on Christianity, based on Judaism and humanism — is far superior, far superior, than the Islamic culture that immigrants have adopted,” Wilders said to applause.

On hand that weekend was Jeff Sessions, a regular at the annual retreat. He was honored with a glass trophy for helping to derail a bipartisan bill aimed at overhauling U.S. immigration law. He acknowledged Horowitz from the stage. “I’ve seen some great people receive this, David. And it’s a special treat and pleasure for me, David, because you know how much I admire you as we battle for right and justice and law,” Sessions said.

Later that night, **Sessions and Miller** went to a lounge at the resort. Joining them was **Ann Coulter**, another regular and a contributor to Frontpagemag.com. She was writing a book called “Adios, America: The Left’s Plan to Turn Our Country into a Third World Hellhole.”

As Sessions sipped on a drink, she and Miller batted around ideas about **how to crack down on immigration** until long after midnight. “There was obviously a major meeting of the minds,” said one person in the lounge at the time who spoke on the condition of anonymity out of fear of repercussions. “They thought immigration was the single most important issue in the country.” Coulter did not respond to requests for comment.

‘It’s quite an impressive list’

As the presidential campaign heated up, Horowitz’s group and the conservative network shifted into high gear.

“Hillary Clinton May Go to Prison,” said a **Breitbart headline in August 2015**, when **Bannon was still its chief.**

That same month, Frontpagemag.com ran stories titled **“Hillary Under Siege”** and **“The Last Days of Hillary.”**

Peter Schweizer, president of the Government Accountability Institute, Bannon's charity, published "**Clinton Cash**," a searing critique of Bill and Hillary Clinton's foundation and personal enrichment. Schweizer worked with Bannon as an editor at large at Breitbart, and the two men were preparing to make a documentary based on the book.

For his part, Horowitz fired off contentious remarks about the race at every turn, and not only about Hillary Clinton. **He also denounced the Republicans who branded themselves "Never Trump."**

In May 2016, when it became clear Trump would be the Republican nominee, he called conservative columnist William Kristol a "Republican spoiler" and "renegade Jew" in Breitbart News because of his opposition to Trump. "To weaken the only party that stands between the Jews and their annihilation, and between America and the forces intent on destroying her, is a political miscalculation so great and a betrayal so profound as to not be easily forgiven," Horowitz wrote.

The article created an uproar, with some critics accusing the Jewish Horowitz of making anti-Semitic remarks. In response to questions from The Post, Kristol played down the episode and dismissed Horowitz as a bombastic self-promoter. "David is an angry man. He thinks he's been denied the power and recognition he deserves. So he lashes out. I shudder to think of David's rage when he realizes he's been taken for a ride by a con man," Kristol said.

"I look forward to the day when American conservatism regains its moral health and political sanity, and the David Horowitz center is back on the fringe, where I'm afraid it belongs."

But the Freedom Center and others in the network were rising on the Trump tide. The campaign named Bannon the chief executive, David Bossie

of Citizens United the vice president and Miller an adviser.

In August, Horowitz took advantage of his ties to the campaign to offer a proposal for spending **billions on school vouchers for poor, largely minority children** — who Horowitz said had been underserved by Democrats. Miller made sure it became part of Trump's platform — along with a **proposed ban on Muslims**, a **border wall** and other ideas long supported by the Freedom Center and its ideological allies.

On Dec. 14, 2016, during a videotaped event, **Horowitz** expressed happiness about Trump's victory and said Republicans had finally woken up to his approach to politics. **He pulled from his suit coat a piece of paper listing Freedom Center supporters already in the administration.**

"It's quite an impressive list," Horowitz said, rattling off the names: Sessions, Bannon, Vice President Pence, Reince Priebus, Kellyanne Conway and at least six others.



From left, senior adviser Jared Kushner, senior policy adviser Stephen Miller and chief strategist Stephen K. Bannon, shown in the Oval Office of the White House on April 20, are part of President Trump's key inner circle. (Jabin Botsford/ The Washington Post)

"My personal favorite is Steve Miller, because

Steve, who was today appointed the senior policy adviser in the White House . . . is a kind of protégé of mine,” he said. “So the center has a big stake in this administration.”

The White House and Justice Department did not respond to requests for comment.

Two weeks later, the Freedom Center named Bannon its Man of the Year.

“Over the years people would refer to my Freedom Center as a ‘think tank’ and I would correct them, ‘No, it’s a battle tank,’ because that is what I felt was missing most in the conservative cause — troops ready and willing to fight fire with fire,” Horowitz wrote in Breitbart in February. “The Trump administration may be only a few weeks old, but it is already clear that the new White House *is* a battle tank.”

FOR REPUBLICANS PARTY FIRST NOT THE COUNTRY

Reporting from Washington

While several turbaned Sikhs were seen participating in the Democratic National Convention during prime time, none were seen at the Republican National Convention

The Republican Party is not known for diversity but many Sikhs are registered Republicans. No Sikhs were seen at the Republican convention, at least not ones with turbans.

Earlier in his campaign, **Arish Singh** and another man quickly escorted out of an Iowa rally in January after they unfurled a banner that said, **“STOP HATE.” Trump verbally attacked his red turban.**

“He wasn't wearing one of those hats, was he?” Trump said, referring to his campaign’s red baseball caps with the “Make America Great Again” slogan. ***“Was he wearing one of those?”***

And he never will. And he never will. And he never will.” The audience chanted, “USA!”

But there was a notable moment at the Republican convention when **Harmeet Dhillon** began the second day of the convention with a **traditional Sikh prayer**. However, when asked about Trump's tendency to make off-the-cuff comments about certain groups of people, Dhillon declined to answer. ***“I don't want to be a part of any slandering of Trump,” she said,*** referencing a previous SFP story written about the presidential candidate.

Her parents supported Republicans after they became naturalized U.S. citizens. Their politics were driven in part by her father’s contempt for trial lawyers because of medical malpractice lawsuits.

Harmeet’s parents hosted fundraisers for **Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.)**, a conservative with strong views on foreign policy. He, in turn, **spoke out against persecution of Sikhs**, the report added.

Courtesy **‘Sikh Free Press’**

FALSE LURE OF THE PAST: Lap Dogs, Watch Dogs & Attack Dogs?

I. J. Singh

I could just as well have dubbed this column “My Trump Moment.”

Donald Trump seems to be trumping all and sundry rivals, on his drunken sailor’s merry dance, to the prize at the end of the rainbow. He has triumphed handsomely over the past six months, ever since the Republican Party launched its campaign to identify its presidential nominee. His demise was predicted at every turn of the primary fight by his own party leaders but he emerged stronger every time. Many party stalwarts are now in a major dilemma: how to deny Trump his opportunity, his day in the sun.

*The party elites don't want Trump to be around but the base obviously loves him, regardless of his teeny bopper's angst towards the world he wants to lead. Such rupture and factionalism is almost unique in political history with one notable exception; I can never forget the 1968 Democratic convention which was pure shambles. **I never realized until then that responsible people could be so irresponsible. This year it is the Republican's turn.***

*The question that remains in the realm of guess work by the political talking heads and pundits is how and why such an abyss opened between the two defining wings of the party – its base and its elite leadership. Can the rift be healed and spanned in time for the 2016 elections? If not, **will it damn the Republican Party to a historic disaster, never before seen or understood very well?***

*

**Truth to Power:
Sign in front of a Black Church in a small
Alabama Town
"TRUMP DECEIVED POOR WHITE
FOLKS."**

**SIKH SIGHTINGS
AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS**
Sikh Free Press, April 23, 2017

Reporting from Washington - While several turbaned Sikhs were seen participating in the Democratic National Convention during prime time, none were seen at the Republican National Convention.

The highlight of the Democratic convention was the appearance of **Army Major Kamaljeet Singh Kalsi** who wore a pink turban and stood behind retired Marine Corps Gen. John Allen as he delivered a prime-time speech in support of Hillary Clinton. Allen spoke on the final day, shortly before the candidate accepted her party's

nomination for president. The cameras captured the Sikh soldier for nearly the entire address.



The Democratic convention was held in Philadelphia from July 25 to July 28. “(I was) invited to lend my voice at the DNC and basically support General Allen’s remarks,” he told SFP. “It was a wonderful speech that was very pragmatic and to the point.”

Kamaljeet Singh became the first Sikh soldier, in 2009, to be granted an accommodation to wear his unshorn hair and beard, known as Kaes, and turban, known as Dastaar, while serving in the military. The decision ended a 28-year-old ban barring Sikhs from enlisting with their articles of faith.

In November 2015, Kamaljeet Singh successfully convinced 27 retired Army and Air Force generals to ask Defense Secretary Ashton Carter to lift the decades-old prohibition against Sikhs. Gen. Allen was one of the 27 who signed the letter to Carter.

A 2011 recipient of the Bronze Star Medal, the fourth highest combat award in the U.S. Armed Forces, the Sikh Army major was invited on stage along with other veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, and other retired generals and admirals.

Kamaljeet Singh agreed with Gen. Allen in asserting that the Republican nominee, Donald Trump, could not be an effective leader. For the major, Clinton is the only candidate with the

understanding and demeanor it takes to run a distinct nation and its military.

“Trump has never really understood the military,” he said. **“His claim that he has sacrificed for U.S. is ridiculous.** The military would be jeopardized under Trump.”

About a week earlier, Trump had denigrated Arizona Sen. John McCain, a Navy veteran, for being captured during the Vietnam War. “He’s not a war hero,” said Trump at the Family Leadership Summit in Ames, Iowa, on July 16. “He was a war hero because he was captured. I like people who weren’t captured.” Still, Trump continued to lead Clinton by 19 points among members of the military, according to a Sept. 7 NBC News poll. And he also boasted 88 military endorsements albeit they were not well-known names.

This week, Trump again raised the ire of members of the military when he made comments to suggest that soldiers who suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) might not be as strong as those who don’t. “When you talk about the mental health problems - when people come back from war and combat, and they see things that maybe a lot of the folks in this room have seen many times over, and you’re strong and you can handle it. But a lot of people can’t handle it,” he said at an event organized by the Retired American Warriors political action committee on Oct. 3.

Kamaljeet Singh was among several Sikhs sighted at the Democratic convention, including Harpreet Singh a former councilman from Richmond, California, and community activist. He was a Barack Obama delegate to the 2008 Democratic convention in Denver, and attended both inaugurations.

Rajwant Singh, a community activist and long-time Clinton supporter, was also seen at the convention. He hosted a fundraiser for Clinton in 2006 at his home in Potomac, Maryland, where she continued to refer to herself as the “Senator

from Punjab as well as New York.” Candidate Barack Obama’s campaign released a memo to reporters shortly after slamming her for promoting Indian off-shoring corporations at the expense of American workers. Sikhs were also featured in Clinton’s introductory video before her acceptance speech.

The Republican National Convention was held the week before the Democratic convention, from July 18 to July 21, in Cleveland. **The Republican Party is not known for diversity but many Sikhs are registered Republicans. No Sikhs were seen at the Republican convention, at least not ones with turbans.**

Earlier in his campaign, **Arish Singh and another man quickly escorted out of an Iowa rally in January after they unfurled a banner that said, “STOP HATE.” Trump verbally attacked his red turban.**

“He wasn’t wearing one of those hats, was he?” Trump said, referring to his campaign’s red baseball caps with the “Make America Great Again” slogan. “Was he wearing one of those? And he never will. And he never will. And he never will.” The audience chanted, “USA!”

But there was a notable moment at the Republican convention when **Harmeet Dhillon** began the second day of the convention with a **traditional Sikh prayer.**



Harmeet Dhillon, a lawyer and the first vice chairwoman for the Republican Party in California, began the second day of the Republican National Convention with a Sikh invocation, Ardaas, on July 19 in Cleveland.

Dhillon, a lawyer and the first vice chairwoman for the Republican Party in California, said an invocation known as Ardaas. She expressed gratitude for being given such a great opportunity. “(After being approached) I immediately accepted,” Dhillon told SFP. “I worked with SALDEF (Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund) to come up with the right text for the allotted time.”

Dhillon stood in front of an audience of Republican delegates and supporters, **beginning the invocation by expressing the values that both the religion and Americans share.** **“Humility, truth, courage and justice for all”** are some of the values that were mentioned, before she covered her hair with a blue headscarf, noting that traditionally, “a Sikh always covers her head when offering this prayer.” With heads bowed across the arena, Dhillon began to sing the Ardaas in Punjabi. She then offered an English translation that asked for a blessing of integrity for the delegates as they “perform our duty to nominate leaders to take America in the right direction.”

However, when asked about Trump's tendency to make off-the-cuff comments about certain groups of people, Dhillon declined to answer. “I don't want to be a part of any slandering of Trump,” she said, referencing a previous SFP story written about the presidential candidate. She instead echoed sentiments similar to her words at the convention about the choice voters have in choosing the next leader of this nation.

Dhillon, who has had a lot of success as a Republican in a majority Democratic area, believes **voters will make a decision based on the issues and values that are most important to them.** She concluded the prayer by saying: “Through our prophets, teachers and spiritual guides, may your name forever grow God and may your spirit be exalted and may all humanity prosper by your grace.”

Though a symbol of inclusion on the part of convention organizers, there was still a recognizable lack of diversity at the Republican Convention; a characteristic that Major Kamaljeet Singh Kalsi said will never be in short supply under a Clinton administration.

He described Clinton as a “nerdy intellectual...in a good way” who promises to be more diverse. “The sky is the limit,” he added. “She has a diversity platform with policy advisors from all walks of life...from every culture and religious background. I have no doubt that she is the better candidate for diversity.”

NC Republican Party that Dhillons belong to:

[Supreme Court will not consider reviving controversial N. Carolina voter ID law](#)

A lower court had said that state (Republican) legislators acted **“with almost surgical precision” in seeking to blunt the influence of African American voters.** Last summer, the Supreme Court had divided evenly on whether the law could be used in last fall’s election while the appeals continued.

The outcome last year was a major victory for the Obama administration, the Justice Department and a wide group of civil rights organizations that challenged North Carolina’s law, which was one of the country’s most far-reaching. May 15, 2017

**Harmeet Dhillon:
Performed model ardas when Republicans
nominated Trump**

By **Asia Samachar** -

January 21, 2017

President Donald Trump has now taken office as one of the most powerful politicians on planet earth. His route to the White House saw a Sikh woman lawyer saying an ardas (prayer) at the Republican Party Convention in July 2016 that officially named Trump as the party’s presidential candidate.

At that convention in California, on 19 July 2016, lawyer **Harmeet Kaur Dhillon** was given the honours to say the opening prayer of the convention's second night session.



Harmeet Kaur Dhillon – PHOTO / San Francisco Daily Journal

She led the convention, mostly made up of white men and women, with the traditional Sikh ardas, beginning with the *'Tu thakur tum peh ardaas'* couplet from the Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh scripture.

"Please give us the courage to make the right choices, to make common cause with those with whom we disagree, for the greater good of our nation," she said in the prayer.

Wearing an Escada jacket and draped a silk navy-and-gold scarf over her long hair, Harmeet may have delivered a model ardas for Sikhs should they be called upon to say a prayer before a mixed audience. Harmeet, 48, is a Republican National Committeewoman from California, one of the three RNC members from the Golden State.

When Harmeet first ran for vice chairwoman of the California GOP, rivals whispered that the Indian-born Sikh would **slaughter a goat at the lectern, ran a *Los Angeles Times* report.** On Tuesday night, it noted that Harmeet opened the second night of the Republican National Convention by singing the invocation in Punjabi and then translating it into English.

Born in Chandigarh, India, she immigrated with her parents to England and then to the Bronx, N.Y. Her father, an orthopedic surgeon, soon moved the family to rural Smithfield in central North Carolina.

Dhillon says she was an awkward, chubby child who didn't fit in at school. "I had two long braids and a funny name and my mother didn't dress me in fashionable clothes. I was not popular at all," she was quoted in the [report](#).

The report added that she was raised as a devout Sikh. "I had a very religious upbringing at home. That was very central to my life from day one," she recalled.

Her parents supported Republicans after they became naturalized U.S. citizens. Their politics were driven in part by her father's contempt for trial lawyers because of medical malpractice lawsuits.

But they also were formed by turmoil in India in the 1970s, when an insurgency in Punjab led to temple raids and attacks on some Sikhs. Harmeet's parents hosted fundraisers for Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), a conservative with strong views on foreign policy. He, in turn, spoke out against persecution of Sikhs, the report added.

Harmeet attended Dartmouth College, where she wrote for the college's conservative paper, the Dartmouth Review, and ultimately was named editor. She went to law school at the University of Virginia and worked in New York City and London before she settled in San Francisco.

Her career in law began with a clerkship with the Paul V. Niemeyer of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. Her practice in New York, London, and the San Francisco Bay Area has focused on federal and state commercial litigation and arbitration, according to a [note](#) at her company website. It added that her practice had a

particular emphasis on unfair competition/trade secret misappropriation, intellectual property (including trademark litigation and internet torts), complex contractual disputes, and First Amendment litigation (including defamation, trade libel, right of publicity, and anti-SLAPP motions). In one interview with *San Francisco Daily Journal* (24 Oct 2014), Harmeet said she doesn't compete on price and doesn't pursue work based on volume. **The firm charges \$550 per hour for her time and between \$275 and \$425 for associates.** Projected revenue for the firm was roughly \$1.5 million for that year.

She is also a celebrated leader in the Sikh community, having taken up the cause of representing Sikhs who were persecuted across the country after 9/11 for wearing turbans that perpetrators mistakenly associated with terrorists, according to the same report.

“In her role as the vice chair of the Republican Party of California, she is the highest ranking Sikh party official in the country,” said Amar Shergill, a fellow Sikh civil rights attorney and founder of the South Asian Bar Association of Sacramento. “I can't think of a firm led by a South Asian attorney that is her peer.”
Courtesy Asia Samachar

[ASIA SAMACHAR is an online newspaper for Sikhs in Southeast Asia and surrounding countries. We have a Facebook page, do give it a LIKE. Follow us on Twitter. Visit our website: www.asiasamachar.com]

SIKH MOTHER

[Parminder Kaur was my student at the Air Force Central School New Delhi from 1958-60 and she is mother of Harmeet Kaur Dhillon. This article first appeared in The Sikh Bulletin of January 2002 and shows that Harmeet was raised by a Gursikh mother in Sikhi values. ED]

My given name is Parminder Kaur. I have been married to Dr. Tejpal Singh Dhillon for 34 years. My parents came to India as refugees from District Sialkot (now part of Pakistan) during Partition in 1947. At the time, my father was a final year

student at King Edward Medical College in Lahore. Abandoning their property, homes and all of their worldly possessions, my family was forced to walk for days without food and water to cross over to India. My father has saved some great photographs of that historic journey. Because he could not finish his medical education in Lahore, he took his final exams in Amritsar in 1948, and then joined the Indian Air Force. I have lived all over India, as my father was transferred to all the corners of the country as he rose through the ranks to become a general.

My mother did not work outside the house; she had her hands full raising my sister and me. Both of my parents are soft-spoken, pious people. While we were growing up in New Delhi, they took us to Sis Ganj Gurdwara every Sunday for Asa di Vaar and to Bangla Sahib Gurdwara in the evenings for keertan. In the morning we would recite Japji Sahib and one Ashtpadi of Sukhmani Sahib; this allowed us to memorize Sukhmani Sahib at a very early age.

Before we went to school in the morning we always went to the room where we had Parkash of Guru Granth Sahib Ji. My father would read from the Guru Granth Sahib Ji, and then explain what he had just read to my sister and me, so that we, too, could appreciate the meaning of the verses. In the evenings we all went for walks, reciting Rehras Paath while we walked.

My father is a humble man. He reached the top of the armed forces medical corps as Director of Medical Services, Air Force and retired in 1985 as a four-star Air Vice Marshal. He attributes all his worldly success to Vaheguru.

I completed most of my education in Delhi. I attended High School at the Air Force Central School. I then obtained a B.S. from Lady Irwin College, which is affiliated with Delhi University. I also have a business degree from the US. I refer to myself as a domestic engineer! I have lived all over India, as my father was transferred to all the

corners of the country as he rose through the ranks to become a general.

I moved to UK with my husband and infant child in 1969, where we lived for two and a half years while my husband continued his medical training in orthopedics. In 1971 we moved to New York City where my husband completed his training. We have lived in North Carolina, since 1975.

I have two children, Harmeet Kaur and Mandeep Singh. Harmeet Kaur was born in Chandigarh, India and Mandeep Singh was born in Wigan, Lancashire, England. Mandeep went to Duke University in Durham, NC, then to the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, for his MBA and Law degrees. Harmeet Kaur went to Dartmouth College in New Hampshire and graduated with Classical Studies as her major. She was also the Editor-in-chief of the Dartmouth Review, a well-known off-campus newspaper, where she was once featured on *60 Minutes*. She also went to the University of Virginia, Charlottesville for her law degree and was on the Law Review there. She also clerked for a federal court of appeals judge in Baltimore before going into private practice.

Both of my children currently live in California, where they are very active in the Sikh community. Mandeep is a corporate lawyer with an international law firm in Menlo Park. After the events of September 11th they have both been very active and been on various radio and television talk shows, trying to educate the public about our religion. A couple of weeks ago Mandeep Singh was on the Peter Jennings show. Harmeet is a senior litigator and works with a national law firm in Palo Alto. She does a lot of volunteer work and does a lot of pro bono work in the civil rights, domestic violence and human rights areas. As a volunteer she is also the director of a domestic violence shelter in her county. She also sometimes writes op/ed articles for major newspapers. My children are both married and have wonderful spouses. My son-in-law, Kanwarjit, has an undergraduate degree from St.

Stephens College in Delhi, a B.S. and M.S. from Oxford University in England, a MBA from MIT and an M.D. from Columbia University in New York. My daughter-in-law has a B.A. from Loyolla, taught English in Japan for a year, married my son and then joined Curry School of Education, University of Virginia, where she earned her masters' degree.

My husband, son, son-in-law, and other male relatives wear turbans. In 1995 my son in law was shot in the chest on an NY City bus, in part because of his appearance as an observant Sikh. He was on his way back from the hospital after a night call. With Vaheguru's grace he survived the hate crime in good humor and is in good health today.

So some people refer to me as Mrs. Tejpal Singh or Mrs. Dhillon. Some call me Bhenji or auntieji; our giani ji would refer to me as bibiji. My friends were very disturbed by this – “why do you let him call you “bibi” Parminder Kaur, since you are not old!” I replied that “it's OK, I am not going to hurt his feelings by correcting him; he does not mean any harm.” My children call me Mom or Mother, as do their spouses. My children's friends refer to me as Harmeet and Mandeep's mom.

When we first moved to the US, my parents gave me a small BIRTH of Guru Granth Sahib ji. They said, even if you do not have space, please read Gurbani regularly. At times we lived in very small apartments and with two small children we had no room. So we used to do Parkash every morning, do Ardas, read a little and do Sukhaasan.

I always took the responsibility of raising my children very seriously. My home and my children have always been a priority for me. When they were little I started teaching them Japji Sahib and short shabads. I figured if they could repeat Hickory Dickory Dock after me, they could very well repeat shabads and learn them. They repeated after me while I braided their hair and while we traveled; before going

to bed I sat with them to repeat Keertan Sohila paath. In New York I would dress my 4 years old daughter in a salwar kameez and parandhi in her hair, and my husband would tie a turban on our two year old son's head. They would sit in the Gurdwara for hours with us, never wanting to go out or run between parents. That was not an option. As they got older they had memorized 5 pauris of Japji Sahib.

One day I requested the Secretary of the Gurdwara to let our children recite paath. I had never seen any kids participate. I remember reciting paath in the Gurdwara in Bangalore, South India, when I was six years old, so I wanted my children to have the same experience. The sangat was so impressed that they started giving them money. The Secretary got up and congratulated them and said that even he would not be able to stand in front of the Sangat and repeat 5 pauris. They were so excited to get the money that they came to me with big smiles. I told them to please take all the money and put it in front of Guru Granth Sahib Ji; they should give to the Gurdwara and not take money from the Gurdwara. They were a little disappointed but they did as they were told. When we got home they were given some money to buy what they wanted. This encouraged them to learn more and recite in front of the Sangat whenever they got an opportunity. This, in turn, created a lot of interest among other parents to teach their children more about their religion. My husband would encourage my son to write speeches about the lives of the Gurus and speak in front of the Sangat. This gave him a lot of confidence. He was only ten years old when he spoke on Capitol Hill on a Sikh issue!

In 1975 we moved to a small town in eastern North Carolina so that my husband could start his private practice in orthopedics. The town had a population of less than 8,000 people. It was on the intersection of I-95 and Highway 70, the two major roads in the area. Soon after arriving we noticed that on all roads leading to town there were big billboards that read United Klans of

America welcome you. We asked the other two families from India who had lived there for a longer period about the signs, but they had not even noticed them. We asked them about the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and they had no idea what the Klan represented. They were so busy working in the emergency room that they had never noticed. My husband jokingly said, "they have three K's and we have Five K's so we should not worry." Within a year the signs came down!

I helped my husband in his medical practice, but only when the children were at school. For over five years I took my children to a school which was 45 miles away from my house. I drove 180 miles a day! I am not looking for a mother of the year award but I think that was the best thing that happened to all of us. It is usually impossible to have the attention of your teenage children, and I had them in the car for an hour and a half each day. In the mornings we recited Japji Sahib and then listened to keertan. In the evening I caught up with all the gossip from school.

I knew exactly who their friends were and what was going on with their lives. I got all the stories firsthand about who put the smoke bomb in the school sign, who put the goat in the principal's office, who put toilet paper on the trees, etc. Of course they were first to admit that they had nothing to do with all that! On my way back from school I listened to Keertan and Katha. I also listened to Guru Granth Sahib tapes several times over.

During the day I managed my husband's medical practice and supervised his staff and then drove back in the afternoon to pick up the children, so I had more time to listen to tapes. When we got home, they did their homework, I cooked and then we all did some activity together. Their television time was restricted and they were encouraged to read books if they had finished their homework. Before dinner we all sat together and recited Rehras.

There was another Sikh family in the small town where we first lived. Because there was no Gurdwara, we met in the homes of different families to have keertan. Both the families in town had Guru Granth Sahib at home. We used to alternate and meet in our homes each Sunday. We heard keertan tapes, translated the shabads, then as the children started learning keertan they sang shabads. Afterwards one of the mothers would sit the four kids on the dining table and have a Gurmukhi class while the other prepared langar.

The kids were never spanked by me or my husband. Neither did I have to threaten them with “wait till your dad gets home” – they just had to reckon with me! He always supported me in all my decisions and still does. On our long trips to India, they learnt Gurmukhi, keertan, how to play the harmonium and tabla. When we got back home I took over as teacher. It has been a 24 hour a day, seven days a week commitment to raise my two children.

In addition to raising my children I found time to be active in the Sikh community and do my civic duties as a citizen, including being an election monitor in my county for 12 years. I am a board member of the Interfaith Alliance in our area. I supervised the building of our Gurdwara and have been a member of many national Sikh organizations. As an active member of the sangat I have been a trustee in our Gurdwara many times, Chairperson of Langar Committee, Maintenance Committee, Education Committee, Public Relations Committee, Secretary, Treasurer, and president of our Gurdwara. I have served more than once as sevadar in these positions. I also help run Lohgarh Retreat, a summer youth camp in Pennsylvania founded by my son. This is our tenth year.

In 1983 I had the opportunity to have Sangat of some elevated souls. At that time I decided to take Khande di pahul. I was ready to make the commitment and I have never looked back since then. I am proud to be the mother of Harmeet Kaur

and Mandeep Singh, the mother-in-law of Kanwarjit Singh and Parveen Kaur, the wife of Tejpal Singh and the daughter of Puran Singh and Harvant Kaur Bajwa. However, I like to maintain my own identity as Parminder Kaur. Like everyone else, I too have had many ups and downs in my life, with the support of family and friends and a lot of Kirpa from Vaheguru I have been able to overcome these hurdles and face life every day. I am humbled by the opportunities that Vaheguru has given me. I pray for his continued blessings so that I can do the right thing and be worthy of being called a Sikh.

[Note: This piece “About Myself” appeared on the Internet in the Sikh Diaspora. I was so impressed by it that I called up the author, Parminder Kaur of Raleigh, NC, for permission to reproduce it in the Sikh Bulletin with the hope and prayer that it might inspire some other Sikh families. That is when she told me that she was my student at the Air Force Central College, New Delhi for two years 1958-1960 where I taught Geography and was Paper Setter and Head Examiner in Delhi Board of Senior Secondary Education. She also reminded me that I had told the class that I will be hitchhiking from New Delhi to Seattle through Middle East and Europe to attend the University of Washington. It is so satisfying and rewarding for being one of her teachers. ED.]

Courtesy (Sikh-Diaspora@yahoo.com)

SIKH ARDAS/PRAYER

**Campus-Community Memorial Service
For the victims of the Tsunami Tragedy
Activities and Recreational Center, U. C. Davis
Tuesday, January 25, 2005**

[Author was invited by UC Davis Chancellor’s office to join in an inter religious service for the victims of Tsunami disaster and “make remarks and/or offer a prayer that reflects their religious perspective on dealing with tragedies of this nature i.e. mourning, grieving, death and moving forward with life”. Opening prayer was offered by the representative of the Sikh community.]

Mr. Chancellor, Lady Mayor, Faculty and Student body of UC Davis and invited guests: At 500 years Sikhism is the youngest of the world’s great religions **and the least understood**. On behalf of

the Sikh Community in this country I thank you for honoring it by inviting one of its members to participate in this memorial service for the victims of tsunami tragedy.

Our Gurus bequeathed to us their writings and writings of Hindu *bhagats* and Muslim *faqirs* in the form of Guru Granth Sahib, the holy scripture of the Sikhs. For Guru's advice concerning any human experience we look to this written word.

Gurus have used every word for God that was prevalent in 15th century India, including Ram of Hindus and Allah of Muslims. **The most all-encompassing Sikh term for God is 'karta purakh', The Creator of the universe, both visible and invisible.**

This Creator is **One and is Real**. Creator existed before the creation and will be after this creation has run its course. Universe that we see is real but is ever changing. It has been created, destroyed and created again in an unending cycle. Anything that is created will come to an end. Only the Creator is everlasting and permeates the entire creation.

Entire mankind is one family. We are all children of the same God. **That God is not vengeful.** Although God created the universe and all that is in it, **God does not micromanage it.** God has established certain **immutable natural laws that Gurus have called 'hukam'**. Everything in the universe, animate or inanimate, obeys those natural laws.

Anything that takes birth must die. To mourn and to grieve at death is human but moving forward with life is to accept the '*hukam*' with equanimity. Pain and pleasure are like robes that hang in everybody's wardrobe. To accept the tragedies and triumphs of life in good grace is the essence of living in the shadow of God.

Of all the creatures, God has given to the humans the gift of intelligence that, Guru Nanak called '*bibek-budhi*', (**discerning mind**) to discover the immutable laws of nature and use the gift of

technology and self-effort to minimize the danger to humans and other life forms and maximize the comfort and quality of life. Every tragedy is a stepping stone to the triumph of human spirit.

Selfless effort to ameliorate the effects of tragedy is the best prayer. Joy and grief, the human emotions, are the gifts from the Creator. We have to learn to experience them without extremes. That is the meaning of living under '*hukam*'.

Guru says that the heaven and hell are right here on this earth. We make them by our own deeds and experience them only in this life. Man has invited tragedy by inhabiting places that are subject to natural disasters. Man can surmount any future tragedies by using caution and technology. Rim of the Indian Ocean has been converted into a hell for those directly affected. For the rest of the mankind it is an opportunity to convert this hell into heaven.

Sikh Prayer is on P.268 of GGS Holy Scripture. It makes no personal request to the Creator. It simply thanks the Creator for the bounties it itself has showered on all its Creation.

Please rise for the Sikh Prayer

You are the Lord, we pray to You.
 You have graced us with our body and soul.
 You are our mother and father and we are your children.
 You have showered us with bountiful gifts.
 Nobody can fathom your limits.
 Only you are Supreme.
 Whole universe is governed by your '*hukam*'.
 Whatever you have created obeys your command.
 Only you know the extent and condition of your greatness.
 O God, Nanak, your devotee, is sacrifice to You.
 Dear God of us all, Nanak beseeches you to **bless us all**. P.268

Thank you. Please be seated.

ਤੂ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਤੁਮ ਪਹਿ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ ॥
 ਜੀਉ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਸਭੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਰਾਸਿ ॥
 ਤੁਮ ਮਾਤ ਪਿਤਾ ਹਮ ਬਾਰਿਕ ਤੇਰੇ ॥
 ਤੁਮਰੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਮਹਿ ਸੂਖ ਘਨੇਰੇ ॥
 ਕੇਇ ਨ ਜਾਨੈ ਤੁਮਰਾ ਅੰਤੁ ॥
 ਉਚੇ ਤੇ ਉਚਾ ਭਗਵੰਤ ॥
 ਸਗਲ ਸਮਗ੍ਰੀ ਤੁਮਰੈ ਸੂਤ੍ਰਿ ਧਾਰੀ ॥
 ਤੁਮ ਤੇ ਹੋਇ ਸੁ ਆਗਿਆਕਾਰੀ ॥
 ਤੁਮਰੀ ਗਤਿ ਮਿਤਿ ਤੁਮ ਹੀ ਜਾਨੀ ॥
 ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸ ਸਦਾ ਕੁਰਬਾਨੀ
 ॥੮॥੪॥ {ਪੰਨਾ 268}

Hardev Singh Shergill

LETTER TO A READER OF THE SIKH BULLETIN

May 5, 2017

Harpal Singh Ji thank you for the suggestions you have made. Underlying cause of conflict among Sikhs is their total ignorance of Guru Nanak's philosophy.

Guru Nanak rejected all the man made religions and their Gods of his time. As I have said in one of my Editorials, God, Divine, Spiritual, Holy words have been tainted by their association with Christianity, the worst of three Semitic religions, with Islam close behind. Therefore these words must not be used in connection with Guru Nanak's Philosophy. His true name (Satnam) for the entity he described only with a symbol as was 'Kartapurakh', Creator.

Guru Nanak was only one of his kind. He rejected those religions by not exactly saying that to them

but suggesting to Muslims, Hindus and Yogis to adopt a certain way of life that will make them good Muslims, good Hindus and good Yogis; in other words make them Humans, only animal form that has 'bibek-budhi'.

Worst disservice to Guru Nanak was done when his philosophy was turned into an organized religion called Sikhism. Like the fate of all other religions, in due course Sikhs lost their Humanity but came to be called Sikhs and privilege of being world's fifth largest religion. Now the struggle is only among those who cannot agree who is a Sikh just as Sunnis and Shias cannot agree who is a Muslim or Catholics and Protestants cannot agree who is a Christian. Protestants have split into countless branches of their own. For a longtime Jews had a benign faith; never forcing conversion on non-Jews; but today even they are fighting among Orthodox and Reformed Jews.

There is no authentic Sikh left in the world today. In Guru Nanak's time and in the time of his successor Gurus only way you could identify a sikh was by his presence at Gurus' audience or living life as directed by the Guru. Sikhs were known by their impeccable conduct in their daily lives. Sikhs did not have a distinct appearance. They came in all appearances, full beards, trimmed beards, shaved hair or full length uncut hair, with multi types of turbans, topis and other head coverings or no head coverings; and they did not all come from Panjab and speak Panjabi only. Sindhis made excellent as well as Mardana's descendants. Mardana was the first Sikh of the Guru from childhood until his last breath.

In today's India there is no Sikh left even to vote for SGPC elections because recently to deny admission to a young Sikh woman, who plucked her eyebrows, in an SGPC operated Medical College, the Court used the statement in Sikh Ardas, "Sikhi kesan Swasan nal..., to explain its verdict, even though current Gurdwara Sikh Ardas is totally contrary to Gurmat as enshrined in Adi Granth. They had to resort to that because they

could not find anything in Adi Granth to support uncut hair requirement for a Sikh.

RSS, BJP, Arya Smaj are merely fishing in troubled waters of Sikhism to achieve their ultimate goal of “Hindu” India. They cannot tolerate Sikhism in India, just as they cannot tolerate Islam, who according to Hindus were Hindus before converting to Islam anyway. That same fate befell Buddhism. The Nehru family despised Sikhs so badly that Jawahar Lal Nehru in his book ‘The Discovery of India’, to spite Guru Nanak, mentions his name “Guru Nanak” only once on page 240 alongside Amir Khusrau in the heading: “The Indian Social Structure: Importance of the Group”. Not a single other word is used about Guru Nanak or his contribution to India’s Social Structure.

It is not out of goodness of their heart that BJP during its first Govt. in power gave 50 Crore Rupees, from the treasury of a Secular State, to celebrate 300 anniversary of the Khalsa but it was to assert that the birth of Khalsa was to save Hinduism from Islam, an alien religion.

Similarly, this year, 2017, BJP spent 100 Crore Rupees of the same Secular State to celebrate 350th Anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh, another Hindu God of Bachittar Natak.

Best Regards and Charhdi kala.

Hardev Singh Shergill

IN THE SHADE OF THE TALLEST TREE

Karam Singh

The Sikhi being practiced by our children is exactly the Sikhi we parents practiced in our lives. They watched, they learnt and they became us. They saw us pretend, be hypocrites, and not change at all despite our daily or weekly visits to gurdwaras. – PHOTO / PIXABAY

Guru Gobind Singh Ji’s gift of Khandey Batte Da Pahul (Amrit) is seen as something so strict, so difficult, that it frightens away many. We often hear that Amrit is broken if you do this or that. You are then told you must ask for forgiveness for this demeanor, appear before the Panj Pyare (Beloved Five) and do atonement.

Let’s look at this real experience of someone who could not sleep for two days after being told that he had sinned and thus had broken his Amrit. What was his sin? He had accidentally swallowed a mosquito and was accused of becoming a non-vegetarian! His atonement, he was told, was to retake Amrit! And until he did so, his Nitnem (daily prayer) was useless!

So a question: Is true Sikhi in name changes, longer turbans, longer beards, wearing kacherras only?

Sikhi has to be earned (kamaunni), in real life.

Our Creator is gentle, loving, compassionate and forgiving, not the misguided fanatic “mahakaal” type of a blood-sucking demon described so graphically in certain scriptures.

We must not be misled that the ‘Khandey Battey Da Pahul’ is so weak. It is as strong as the steel it was forged in. Once chhak (initiated), it remains with you for LIFE. Sad indeed that some preachers dole out silly notions to innocent Sikhs! If we come across anyone who has had a similar experience, we must not hesitate to advise them that Sikhi is simple. We need to just believe in a loving generous Creator and a Guru with the same qualities. And every Sikh’s mission is to inculcate the same qualities in his life. We must have true faith not in 10 different ‘dehs’ (bodies) but in the living eternal Gurbani of Sri Guru Granth Sahib (SGGS) Ji.

I was told that some so-called leaders are compelling youth who attend their camps to memorize and recite from non-Gurbani texts by falsely claiming these as divine scriptures. We need to be vigilant and not wait till a whole

generation is subtly brainwashed by insincere leaders who prey on emotions and fear. Parents should be alert as to what youth are being exposed to. If you need help to educate them, please reach out. Don't despair and become complacent like a 'ki farak penda' (what difference does it make) and hope all will clear up by itself.

There is a fundamental difference between religion and spirituality. Kids segregate the religion part because it is what they have been conditioned to from young. However, they are more sensitive to the spirituality aspect. They are more kind, more caring to all beings, they don't see colour or race, they don't see rules and practices to make them more spiritual. Kids today are very spiritual. And they don't think about it. They feel about it. Religion forces them to un think and un feel.

A friend shared this: "I was discussing with my 14 year old on issues of adult Sikhs who are seen as followers (a.k.a. blind faith). Her view was that adults and young adults are accustomed to a **non-thinking spiritual way of life**. They use their thinking skills in all other aspects of life (she called it reality) but never in their spiritual life. There is a mental segregation carried out. **They totally surrender themselves to corrupted practices and never question.**"

Why don't they question? The Sikhi being practiced by our children is exactly the Sikhi we parents practiced in our lives. They watched, they learnt and they became us. They saw us pretend, be hypocrites, and not change at all despite our daily or weekly visits to gurdwaras. They saw us organize Akhand Paths for the walls of our gurdwaras, get entertained by our kirtan performers cum entertainers and focus mostly on making and eating tastier langgar. They saw us dressed outwardly as devout Sikhs but tell lies, speak ill of others, gossip in the gurdwara and cheat and lie in life to get ahead. **They saw that the Sikhi of a vast majority of us parents was driven by silly rituals, blind faith, illogic and downright stupid practices.**

They saw that our Sikhi was basically nonsensical. It was nonsense because they didn't really understand why their parents took so much trouble to run around helter-skelter for a Sikhi they never intended to practice. Our kids never understood why their parents invested so much in Sikhi while they never actually intended to change themselves even one bit.

They saw that our Sikhi has been one that was totally devoid of Gurbani and its messages. They saw that our **Sikhi was one that was driven by 'bhed chaal' – sheep led by sheep.**

Deep down we knew we were undertaking pretentious spiritual journeys. Deep down our kids, too, know that, only much clearer than us. While everyone else saw the pretentious external Sikhi that we portrayed for the whole world out there to see; our children saw the "real Sikhi" that we practiced behind closed doors. Not unlike the pretentious show of "love and respect" that broken parents put up for the whole world to see. But their children see the "real love and respect" that goes on in the ugliest of behaviors behind closed doors. Nothing complicated about all that we did wrong. Not to us, not to our kids.

Making Sikhi simple is another of our pretentious demands – that Sikhi is too complicated, hence why we can't really practice it. Or that's why our kids can't really understand it. Our kids are way smarter than us. Simplicity is not one of the traits of Generation Y. Honesty and forthrightness is. Learning by watching is. Making our Sikhi REAL for us will help. Living our Sikhi by example will certainly help. But before that we will have to learn the real Sikhi for ourselves. **WE, yes, WE; NOT our kids.** Focusing on our kids' Sikhi while we parents are doing it all wrong is yet another pretentious belief. Nothing will come out of it.

Try sharing Sikhi principles with 4 to 9 years old. Their innocence and love is what makes them "spiritual." Sometimes we just can't get conceptual when sharing Sikhi with them. **Sikhi is**

a way of life. It starts with us by thinking of kindness and love foremost.

At the end of the day each child makes his own choices. Our children may come through us but they do not belong to us, to paraphrase the poet Khalil Gibran. [They come through you but not from you, and though they are with you yet they belong not to you]. We are merely their guardians and have no ownership over them or their choices, just like in the case of Guru Nanak Sahib ji's children. Gurbani says "Putree kaoul na paleyo," they chose to disobey. Hukam gives them that freedom and Guru Nanak never imposed his beliefs upon them.

ਪੁਤ੍ਰੀ ਕਉਲੁ ਨ ਪਾਲਿਓ ਕਰਿ ਪੀਰਹੁ ਕੰਨ੍ਹੁ ਮੁਰਟੀਐ ॥

Puthree Koul N Paaliou Kar Peerahu Kannh Muratteeai || (SGGS, p967)

The best way to preach Sikhi to the youth or younger ones is to be a good role model. Nothing else will work on a long-term basis. When they decide that Sikhi is for them by looking at the ideals by which their elders live, they will embrace the basic Gurmat principles and Gurbani which by then should already be part of their lives.

Forwarded by Habhajan Singh, Malaysia

[ASIA SAMACHAR is an online newspaper for Sikhs in Southeast Asia and surrounding countries. We have a Facebook page, do give it a LIKE. Follow us on Twitter. Visit our website: www.asiasamachar.com]

Courtesy: Asia Samachar

<http://asiasamachar.com/2017/02/08/shade-tallest-tree/>

HARJIT SAJJAN CANADA'S 'BAD-ASS' DEFENCE MINISTER

Harjit Singh Sajjan the 45-year old defence minister of Canada gets 2,992 words in Maclean's, Canada's national weekly current affairs magazine. He is turban-wearing member of British Columbia's Sikh minority, a community that has often attracted more than its share of bigotry from

outside and been riven by more than its share of strife from within.

By **Asia Samachar** -
January 11, 2016



*Harjit Sajjan – Courtesy of Maclean's
(Liam Hennessey/Applehead Studio)*

Harjit Sajjan has an understated way of talking about his days combatting drug gangs as a Vancouver police detective or uncovering the secrets of Taliban networks as a reserve officer during three tours of duty in Afghanistan. But the voice of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's surprise choice as his minister of national defence takes on a tone of greater urgency when the subject is picking berries.

Sajjan, now 45, came to Vancouver from a village in India as a five-year-old with his mother and sister, joining his father who had immigrated to British Columbia a few years before to find work in a sawmill. As the family struggled to get established, the way immigrant families always have, his mother made money by working through the summer months on the berry farms of B.C.'s Lower Mainland.

So from the time Sajjan and his sister, who is two years older, were small children, until they were in adolescence, their mother would wake them before sunrise on summer days to catch a van that swung

though their south Vancouver neighbourhood, picking up immigrants and driving them to the fields. “I hated it,” Sajjan says. “Imagine every single day getting picked up at 5 a.m. and you’re not going to get back until 7 or 8 p.m.”

SEE ALSO: 4 Sikhs take up Cabinet berth in Canada

Sajjan’s sister, now a Harvard-educated entrepreneur living in Seattle, still teases her little brother about how he played too much to be a good picker, and was too focused on eating the lunch their mother packed. “I whined about it for myself, but later I realized how hard my mom had to work,” he says. There were blueberries and raspberries at different stages in the picking season, but strawberries, which grow on lower bushes, were hardest to pick. “Either you’re on your knees or you’re sitting down,” he recalls.

While Sajjan’s combat-zone and policing exploits seem to be what set him apart from most politicians, his experience with agricultural piecework may have been more definitive. “My generation, other friends I grew up with, a lot of whom are very successful now, we met berry picking,” he says. “We’re the only kids that wanted a longer school year and wanted it to rain in the summertime.” Wet weather meant the vans wouldn’t be coming that day to collect the pickers.

In his early weeks as Trudeau’s defence minister, immigration figured prominently for Sajjan. His first pressing assignment was making sure the Canadian Forces contributed to the new government’s signature goal of bringing thousands of Syrian refugees to Canada quickly. Others might wonder how those Syrians will adjust, but Sajjan professes to have no doubts. “They’re going to be up and on their feet so fast—that’s how I remember it,” he says. “It’s not just about skills. It’s about the kind of people you bring in.” He sees the Syrian refugees as certain to be hard working, and their children as “the real immigration strategy.”

SEE ALSO: Harjit Sajjan visits Syrian refugee camp in Jordan

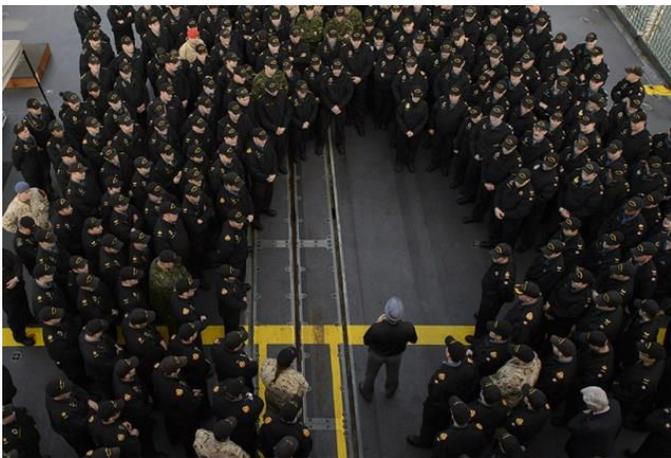
To hear him enthuse about the benefits of immigration for Canada, and the near certainty of newcomers achieving the Canadian dream, it’s possible to imagine that his own path might have been—those early berry-picking mornings notwithstanding—a smooth rise to success. That hasn’t been the case. Sajjan is a turban-wearing member of British Columbia’s Sikh minority, a community that has often attracted more than its share of bigotry from outside and been riven by more than its share of strife from within.

Sajjan talks of facing overt racism, particularly when he was training as a reservist in the Canadian military. As well, his entry into politics in 2014 as Liberal candidate in the Vancouver South riding revealed fault lines between Sikhs, although he says those tensions eased in 2015. He is one of four Sikhs in Trudeau’s cabinet—a remarkable contingent for a minority that represents only about 1.4 per cent of the country’s population. The others are Innovation, Science and Economic Development Minister Navdeep Bains, Infrastructure and Communities Minister Amarjeet Sohi and Small Business and Tourism Minister Bardish Chagger.

Bains is arguably the most powerful of the four, as an insider in Trudeau’s circle and a key lieutenant in the retaking of dozens of suburban Toronto ridings from the Conservatives in the Oct. 19 election. Still, in the days after Trudeau named his cabinet on Nov. 4, Sajjan attracted by far the most attention. The main reason was that a photograph circulated showing the new defence minister in full battle gear during one of his stints in Afghanistan, grinning from behind wraparound sunglasses. Backing up that arresting image were details of glowing accounts from Sajjan’s military superiors, prompting social media to dub him the “badass” of Trudeau’s cabinet.

His first deployment to the southern Afghan province of Kandahar was in 2006, when

Canadian troops fought against fierce Taliban resistance in what was called Operation Medusa. Sajjan was on leave from his regular job as a police officer, and when he returned home, Brig.-Gen. David Fraser sent a letter to the Vancouver Police Department, praising Sajjan as “the best single Canadian intelligence asset in theatre,” and crediting him with saving “a multitude of coalition lives.” Not only was Sajjan brave, Fraser said, he had “single-handedly changed the face of intelligence gathering and analysis in Afghanistan.” Sajjan returned to Kandahar for another tour with the Canadian Forces in 2009, and then, the following year, was loaned to the U.S. as a special assistant to Maj.-Gen. James Terry, who was then commanding American forces in Afghanistan’s southern provinces.



The Honourable Harjit S. Sajjan, Minister of National Defence, addresses the ship’s company of Her Majesty’s Canadian Ship WINNIPEG on the ship’s flight deck during his visit to the ship on December 23, 2015 during Operation REASSURANCE. (Cpl Stuart MacNeil/NCSM Winnipeg Camera)

Sajjan says his success in Kandahar grew mainly out of his ability to talk to village leaders over countless cups of tea, patiently earning their trust. His turban signified something important to them. They knew he wasn’t a Muslim, but respected the “warrior culture” of the Sikhs. Sajjan was able to meet Muslim religious leaders who carry a great deal of authority and prestige in the district. As

well, there was enough similarity between his family’s native Punjabi language and a dialect spoken in Kandahar for him to converse without translators.

They came to trust him. “I don’t know how many times my life was saved and my soldiers’ lives were saved because I’d get a message [from a local leader] saying there’s going to be an ambush, or there’s going to be a suicide bomber, or you’re going to get hit tonight by mortar fire or something,” he says.

During Operation Medusa, Sajjan’s contacts among local leaders provided detailed information about where the Taliban was strong, allowing the coalition forces to strike in the right places at the right times. He also talked to Afghan fathers about keeping their sons from joining the Taliban. That was similar, Sajjan says, to conversations he’d had as a police officer back in Vancouver with parents who feared their sons were drifting into street gangs. “People think that ‘badass’ is about fighting, but we also got the population that was serving the Taliban to come back to our side,” he says. “And we reduced recruitment; a lot of sons who were fighting for the Taliban, we got them off the battlefield.”

Although Sajjan describes making sense of Kandahar mainly through a combination of street smarts and cultural sensitivity, he also kept up on academic research. In early 2007, he sent an email to Barnett Rubin, perhaps the leading U.S. expert on Afghanistan, and author of several books, including most recently *Afghanistan from the Cold War Through the War on Terror*. Sajjan had read an article by Rubin in the journal *Foreign Affairs* called “Saving Afghanistan,” and passed along his own assessment about what to do about Afghanistan’s opium economy and its connections to state corruption and Taliban financing.

Rubin and Sajjan struck up a correspondence, met at conferences, and later collaborated as advisers to the U.S. military and diplomatic leadership in

Afghanistan. In an interview, Rubin explained how Sajjan's background in police work suited the challenges he encountered on the ground in Kandahar. "Harjit's skill set as a police detective dealing with street gangs was exactly the right skill set for dealing with the Taliban," he says. "Because of his contacts he was able to finally understand the Taliban information operation, and therefore provide the information for countering it."

Sajjan also drew on a feeling for traditional rural life that stems from his family's roots in India. He spent his earliest years in Bombeli, a farming village in Punjab, where the Sikh religion was founded in the 16th century. (Most of the world's 20 million Sikhs still live in Punjab; in Canada, according to 2011 census figures, about 455,000 people reported they were affiliated with the Sikh religion.)

Although he was only five when he left Bombeli for Vancouver, Sajjan's memories are vivid. "We were a farming family," he says. "*We ate what we grew: wheat, corn, sugar cane, different vegetables for making dinner.*" He remembers his grandmother carrying huge bundles of fresh-cut fodder for their animals on her head. They owned three oxen, two that worked, and a lazy black one that preferred following around a little boy. "People had pet dogs, I had a pet ox," he says. There was no plumbing in their house; they fetched water from one of the village wells in clay vessels. Meals were cooked over an open fire. He and his sister went barefoot most of the time, not because they were too poor to own shoes, but because they preferred it.

When they moved with their mother to Vancouver in 1976, they had to get used to being indoors more often. But Sajjan says they adapted well. After-school hours were filled by "your typically Canadian things—street hockey was huge." He attended Walter Moberly Elementary School, which is not far from a large Sikh temple, and where many of the students are of South Asian

descent. "A lot of interesting characters came out of Moberly, the good and the bad," Sajjan says. "There were racial issues. But our group of friends hated bullies; we'd always band together."

As he was entering his early teens, Sajjan says he was an indifferent student. He came to a turning point. He credits a Grade 9 social studies teacher with encouraging him in his school work and instilling new confidence. It happened the teacher was also a naval veteran, and spoke inspiringly of military service. While he grew more focused in the classroom, Sajjan also decided to start wearing the turban and following a more strict form of Sikhism. "I needed a commitment to stay out of trouble, including alcohol and other things," he says. His parents didn't push him in that direction, he says, although his father was a prominent member of the World Sikh Organization, which is widely identified with a traditional form of the religion.

Deciding to wear the turban as a teenager made Sajjan a much more visible Sikh. "Some people from our own East Indian community said, 'Oh, you're going to have problems. How are you going to go dating?' I didn't have any problems with that," he says. "I realized early on that people are attracted by confidence."

Aspiring to become a military pilot, he joined the army reserves straight out of high school in 1989. Basic training in Vernon, B.C., was a jolt. "That's when some of the racial issues really hit," he says. "At that time the Canadian Forces were going through that transition to be more inclusive." Instructors told him he didn't belong in the army, and, as Sajjan terms it, "beasted" him more than other recruits. He talked to his father about quitting. "He said, 'Yeah, sure, come on home. But do realize that every other person who wears a turban, or every other person in a minority, will be labelled a failure if you leave now.' So I sucked it up."

He graduated as the top candidate from his class.

Instructors had gradually eased up on him when he outworked his peers. “If you just perform, it’s the best way to change somebody’s viewpoint,” he says. His commanding officer suggested he continue on to officer training, which led him to Gagetown, N.B., and later to bases all over Western Canada.

His first overseas deployment as a junior captain was on a NATO peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, after the former Yugoslavia’s messy disintegration. “I connected with the Serb community,” he says. “Everybody back then was saying the Serbs were evil because of what they had done. But when you talked to people in these villages, they were just regular families.”

Making friends among the Serbians was a precursor to the approach Sajjan would use so successfully in Afghanistan. “I’d be invited to their homes for meals—I had the freedom to do that. I wasn’t an intelligence officer, but they would share information. I never asked for anything; they knew the challenges we were facing. If you’re genuine and you really genuinely want to help people, they will look after you.”

Returning home, he decided against a full-time military career. Instead, he joined the Vancouver Police Department, which assigned him to his familiar South Vancouver neighbourhood as his first patrol in the summer of 1999. “I loved it,” he says. “You can make a difference every single day.” He was settling down, having married a University of British Columbia medical student in 1996. Dr. Kuljit Kaur Sajjan now has a family practice in Vancouver. Sajjan says they haven’t yet decided how to organize their family life, with their two young children, between Vancouver and Ottawa.

He served on the Vancouver police force for 11 years, rising to become a detective in a unit specializing in combatting drug gangs. Asked if he encountered any old school acquaintances on the wrong side of the law, he answers, “Quite a few.”

He describes his police work as “multi-layered.” Realizing that breaking and entering spiked near dilapidated houses after they were rented to drug users, Sajjan and his partners persuaded landlords to be more selective about their tenants. They worked at sorting out the players in drug networks, targeting for arrest the individuals whose imprisonment would most hurt distribution. But early intervention, he concluded, is the best strategy. “If you don’t prevent these kids from getting into a life of crime, and you deal with it after the fact, you may pat yourself on the back for getting somebody off the street, but they still create victims.”

Having already taken two leaves of duty from the police force to serve in Kandahar, Sajjan had to resign to accept his assignment to advise Gen. Terry for a third stint in Afghanistan in 2010. He returned to take up the position of commanding officer of the British Columbia Regiment, although still as a reservist, rather than a regular soldier. Asked about how he began the transition to politics, he is circumspect. By the winter of 2014, however, Trudeau’s team was making a point of showcasing Sajjan at a key Liberal policy convention in Montreal. Late that year, with their backing, he won the Liberal nomination in Vancouver South, after former Liberal MP Barj Dhahan, a prominent businessman and a pillar of the B.C. Sikh community, withdrew from the race. Their rivalry was reported in Vancouver as pitting fundamentalist Sikhs who backed Sajjan, including World Sikh Organization members, against non-turban-wearing moderates, who lined up behind Dhahan.

But Dhahan said in an interview he didn’t see it that way. He told Maclean’s his complaint, which led him to leave the Liberal party, was over what he viewed as Trudeau’s organizers throwing their weight behind Sajjan to a degree that distorted what should have been a local, grassroots contest. “So it wasn’t an issue about the Sikh community as such, that there was an element supporting me and an element supporting Harjit Sajjan,” Dhahan

says. “I wasn’t seeking the nomination as a Sikh candidate.”

As for Sajjan, he also argues news reports exaggerated the split between Sikh factions. To the degree that the nomination opened up rifts, he says they have healed over the past year or so. “Just because I may wear a turban doesn’t put me in a different category,” he says. “Having known my community quite well, I knew [my candidacy] was going to unite the different groups.”

After his victory over a Tory incumbent in Vancouver South on Oct. 19, Sajjan’s name circulated in cabinet speculation. However, another rookie MP, retired general Andrew Leslie, who had won an Ottawa seat, was more widely touted as a likely defence minister. After all, Leslie had commanded the army in which Sajjan merely served.

But Trudeau went with the less obvious choice, catching Ottawa by surprise and sparking an unintended social media sensation. Even those who had seen Sajjan as a rising star were surprised. “I knew that Harjit was very ambitious,” says Rubin. “I called him right after the election and we had a couple of conversations. He kind of wanted to see if I could help him get himself publicized in the press, so that people would know what he did from sources other than him.” Sajjan didn’t tell Rubin what post he was hoping for, though, and the U.S. academic says, “It never occurred to me that he would be minister of defence.”

If Sajjan is daunted, he doesn’t show it. “I have a deputy minister and a chief of defence staff,” he says. “I have full confidence in them.” Yet he faces tough early decisions. Foremost among them is how to fulfill the controversial Liberal campaign promise to withdraw Canadian fighter jets from the U.S.-led coalition bombing Islamic State terrorists in Iraq and Syria. Trudeau has pledged to instead boost Canada’s contribution to training Iraqi forces for that fight. Already, though,

Canadians advising local Kurdish forces in northern Iraq have been involved in combat.

Would an expanded training mission inevitably mean bringing Canadian troops more into harm’s way? As he ponders the alternatives, Sajjan says he views the options through the lens of his own experience. “It does give me a unique perspective,” he says. He means, in this case, his experience in combat zones. But given his background—from berry picking, to overcoming bigotry, to battling criminals and insurgents—Sajjan’s perspective is unique in many ways. If that first glimpse of him in a snapshot piqued our interest, it’s the layers behind the sunglasses and beneath the camouflage that make Sajjan a figure to watch as the Trudeau era unfolds.

SEE ORIGINAL ARTICLE [HERE](#) IN MACLEAN’S BY JOHN GEDDES January 8, 2016

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4 Sikhs take up Cabinet berth in Canada

By Asia Samachar -

November 5, 2015



Harjit Singh Sajjan appointed as Canada’s defence minister

Four Sikhs made it into the Canadian Cabinet, with two of them turban-bearing amritdharis,

sending excited shock waves to the Sikh diaspora.

Harjit Singh Sajjan, 42, was appointed Canada's defence minister while 38-year-old Navdeep Singh Bains was made Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development.

Amarjeet Singh Sohi joined the Cabinet as Minister for Infrastructure while first-time MP Bardish Kaur Jhagger has been sworn in as Minister for Small Business and Tourism.

"Komagata Maru to this – Minister of Defence for Canada. Inspiring! Did I mention how inspired I am?" said one young Sikh university student in a social media entry.

Komagata Maru refers to an incident in 1914 where a Japanese steamship, Komagata Maru, sailed from Hong Kong, Shanghai, China to Yokohama, Japan and then to Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, carrying 376 passengers from Punjab. Only two dozen of them were allowed to enter Canada when the ship was forced to return to India.

"Congratulations to the three Punjabi/Sikh gentlemen and one lady appointed as Ministers in Justin Trudeau's cabinet in Canada. First time in the world in any country that two full-fledged practising Gursikhs have been appointed full ministers at any one time," said Coalition of Malaysian Sikh Organisations (CMSO) secretary general Autar Singh in a Facebook entry.

Like him, many Sikhs will be talking about how the four Sikhs made the cut for the 31-member Cabinet appointed by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Fifteen of them are women. "It is time for leadership that never seeks to divide Canadians, but takes every single opportunity to bring us together, including in Parliament," Trudeau said in a note to the nation.

Navdeep Bains, who played a key role in Trudeau's election as the Liberal Party leader in

2013, has been awarded with an important cabinet berth, reports News East West. Bains, who became the MP for the third time last month by winning from Mississauga-Brampton, has previously served as the Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister in 2005 when he was the MP from 2004 till 2011 when he lost.

Harjit had served Canada as both a soldier and a police officer. He is a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Canadian Armed Forces and a combat veteran. He has deployed to Bosnia-Herzegovina and served three separate deployments to Kandahar, Afghanistan.

In the outgoing government, Tim Uppal was a turbaned Sikh. But he was only the minister of state. Herb Dhaliwal was the first Sikh to become a full cabinet minister in Canada in 1997, followed by Ujjal Dosanjh in 2004. Dhaliwal held the revenue portfolio while Dosanjh held the very important portfolio of health, reports News East West.

Justin Trudeau, the 42-year-old son of the charismatic former prime minister Pierre Trudeau who is credited with opening Canada to new immigrants in the 1970s, led the Liberal Party to win 184 seats in the 338-member House of Commons.



Navdeep Singh Bains: Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development, seen here in a photo with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Courtesy Asia Samachar.

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TURBANED FEMALE SIKH

Palwinder Kaur Shergill

Appointed BC Supreme Court Judge

Darpan News Desk, 24 Jun, 2017



The Honourable Jody Wilson-Raybould, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, today announced the following appointments under the new judicial application process announced on October 20, 2016. The new process emphasizes transparency, merit, and diversity, and will continue to ensure the appointment of jurists who meet the highest standards of excellence and integrity.

Palbinder Kaur Shergill, Q.C., a sole practitioner with Shergill & Company, is appointed a **judge of the Supreme Court of British Columbia in New Westminster**. She replaces Madam Justice E.A. Arnold-Bailey, who retired effective May 31, 2017.

Biography

Prior to her appointment to the bench, Justice Palbinder Kaur Shergill practised as a lawyer and mediator with her law firm, Shergill & Company, Trial Lawyers.

She has extensive trial and appellate experience and has appeared before courts and tribunals

across Canada, including the Supreme Court of Canada.

Justice Shergill was appointed Queen's Counsel in 2012 and is a recipient of the Queen's Golden Jubilee Medal for Community Service. Regarded as a leading human rights advocate, she has been instrumental in helping shape human rights and religious accommodation law in Canada through her pro bono work as General Legal Counsel for the World Sikh Organization of Canada.

Justice Shergill was born in Rurka Kalan village, near Phillaur, in Jalandhar District of Punjab, India, and immigrated to Canada with her family at the age of four. She grew up in Williams Lake, BC, and received her law degree from the University of Saskatchewan.

Called to the British Columbia Bar in 1991, she has held leadership positions both within and outside the legal community. She has been involved with the Cabinet of Canadians, the Trial Lawyers Association of BC, and the Canadian Bar Association.

From 2002 to 2008, Justice Shergill served on the Board of Directors of the Fraser Health Authority, the largest health region in the province.

Justice Shergill volunteers as a high school debate coach, plays the tabla and harmonium, and is kicking her way towards a black belt in Tae Kwon Do. She is fluent in English and Punjabi, has a conversational knowledge of Hindi, and is aspiring towards fluency in French. She lives in Surrey with her husband, daughter, and twin sons.

PUNJABI NOW THIRD LANGUAGE IN THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

By **Asia Samachar** -

November 3, 2015

With the election of 20 Punjabi-speaking MPs on Oct. 19, the Punjabi language is now the third

most common in the House of Commons after English and French.

In total, 23 MPs of South Asian origin were elected to the House last month. Three of them— Liberal MP Chandra Arya (Nepean, Ont.) who was born and raised in India, Gary Anandasangaree (Scarborough-Rouge Park, Ont.) who is Tamil, and Maryam Monsef (Peterborough-Kwartha, Ont.) who is of Afghan origin—do not speak Punjabi.

Of the 20 who do speak Punjabi, 18 are Liberals and two are Conservatives. The NDP does not have any Punjabi-speaking MPs in caucus after B.C. MPs Jinny Sims and Jasbir Sandhu both lost on Oct. 19.

SEE ALSO: [Canada politics changed forever from personal to community perspective](#)

Among the newly-elected Punjabi-speaking MPs, 14 are males and six are females. Ontario elected 12, British Columbia four, Alberta three and one is from Quebec.

Prime Minister-designate Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) is scheduled to unveil his Cabinet this week and some of these Liberal MPs are expected to be included in the front bench.

According to Statistics Canada's 2011 National Household Survey, 430,705 Canadians identified Punjabi as their mother tongue, making it the third most common language after English and French.

About 100 million people in the world are native speakers of Punjabi, most of them based in Pakistan and India. In the Indian state of Punjab, Punjabi is the official language.

In Pakistan, despite being the single largest linguistic group, Punjabi does not have official language status in the province of Punjab. Instead, Urdu and English are used in schools and offices.

In an interview with The Hill Times, Navdeep Bains, a Liberal elected in Mississauga-Malton, Ont., said that although 20 Punjabi-speaking MPs have been elected, these MPs represent all constituents regardless of their party affiliation or ethnic origin.

“It speaks to our commitment to diversity and allowing individual [MPs] to play an important role in our political institutions,” said Mr. Bains. “The main issue to understand is that we have a very clear mandate to execute our platform and we also have a responsibility to represent our constituents, which are very diverse.”

Iqra Khalid, the Liberal now representing Mississauga-Erin Mills, Ont. who was born in Pakistan but moved to Canada with her parents at a very young age, said that the diversity of the newly-elected House reflects the true make-up of Canada. “Our Parliament is finally starting to look like the people of Canada. It's a very positive step forward,” said Ms. Khalid, a lawyer by training.

The 430,705 native Punjabi speakers make up about 1.3 per cent of Canada's population. The 20 Punjabi-speaking MPs represent almost six per cent of the House of Commons.

Deepak Obhrai, first elected in 1997, won his Calgary seat for the seventh time in a row. He will chair the national caucus meeting this week to elect the interim Conservative Party leader. He said that his focus, now, is the next election when his constituents will judge him not on his ethnicity but his record in the party and how effectively he represents his constituents. “The voice of the Indo-Canadian community will now be very well represented in the Parliament. In the overall aspect of it, the South Asian community won,” said Mr. Obhrai. “We must also recognize we represent all communities. How active you play your role in the party and how active you play your role in the Parliament, you will be judged by your record, as I was.”

In the 2011 election, nine MPs of South Asian

origin were elected and eight spoke Punjabi. Former NDP MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan has Tamil roots and did not speak Punjabi. She lost her seat on Oct. 19.

Conservatives elected six of them in 2011, while the NDP elected two and Liberals did not elect any MPs who spoke Punjabi.

Mr. Obhrai is the only MP of South Asian origin from 2011 to have survived in 2015. The Conservatives who lost include Bal Gosal, Parm Gill, Devinder Shory, Tim Uppal and Nina Grewal. The two NDP MPs who lost are Mr. Sandhu and Ms. Sims.

Mr. Obhrai said the key reason other MPs of South Asian origin lost their seats was the Liberal momentum. "There's nothing more to read into it except to say that it was a red wave," said Mr. Obhrai.

Salma Zahid, a former Liberal Queen's Park ministerial staffer elected in Scarborough Centre, Ont., said voters wanted a change from the Stephen Harper Conservative government. "People wanted change and I'm very proud of our platform, which we took to the people and it is because the Canadians believed in the change we were proposing," she said.

Former Liberal Cabinet minister Herb Dhaliwal, who was one of the first Sikh MPs elected to the House in 1993 along with Gurbax Malhi, said the newly-elected MPs from ethnic communities have an opportunity to play a key role in Canada's national and international policies. "It reflects how open our political system is, that new immigrants can get elected and they can contribute to Canadian life and determining future policy. It also shows our Parliament is reflecting the diversity of our nation. That's always a good thing," said Mr. Dhaliwal, who was Canada's first full Cabinet minister with Asian roots.

During his political career from 1993 to 2004, he held the National Revenue, Fisheries and Oceans, and Natural Resources portfolios, and was the political minister responsible for B.C.

PUNJABI-SPEAKING MPS

Liberals

- Darshan Kang (Calgary Skyview, Alta.)
- Amarjeet Sohi (Edmonton Mill Woods, Alta.)
- Jati Sidhu (Mission-Matsqui-Fraser Canyon, B.C.)
- Randeep Sarai (Surrey Centre, B.C.)
- Sukh Dhaliwal (Surrey-Newton, B.C.)
- Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.)
- Ramesh Sangha (Brampton Centre, Ont.)
- Raj Grewal (Brampton East, Ont.)
- Ruby Sahota (Brampton North, Ont.)
- Sonia Sidhu (Brampton South, Ont.)
- Kamal Khera (Brampton West, Ont.)
- Raj Saini (Kitchener Centre, Ont.)
- Iqra Khalid (Mississauga-Erin Mills, Ont.)
- Navdeep Bains (Mississauga-Malton, Ont.)
- Gagan Sikand (Mississauga-Streetsville, Ont.)
- Salma Zahid (Scarborough Centre, Ont.)
- Bardish Chagger (Waterloo, Ont.)
- Anju Dhillon (Dorval-Lachine-LaSalle, Que.)

Conservatives

- Deepak Obhrai (Calgary Forest Lawn, Alta.)
- Bob Saroya (Markham-Unionville, Ont.)

Original article entitled Punjabi now third language in the House at The Hill Times (2 Nov 2015).

Courtesy Asia Samachar

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ROOTS OF PUNJABI LANGUAGE

Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan Language with roots going back to Indo-European Language. The **Indo-European languages** are a language family of several hundred related languages and dialects. There are about 445 living Indo-European languages, according to the estimate by *Ethnologue*, with over two-thirds (313) of them belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch. The most widely spoken Indo-European languages by native speakers are Spanish, English, Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu), Portuguese, Bengali, Russian, Persian and **Punjabi**, each with over 100 million speakers. Today, 46% of the human population speaks an Indo-European language natively, by far the highest of any language family.

The Indo-European family includes most of the modern languages of Europe, and parts of Western, Central, and South Asia. It was also predominant in ancient Anatolia (present-day central and eastern Turkey), the ancient Tarim Basin (present-day Northwest China) and most of Central Asia until the medieval Turkic migrations and Mongol invasions. With written evidence appearing since the Bronze Age in the form of the Anatolian languages and Mycenaean Greek, the Indo-European family is significant to the field of historical linguistics as possessing the second-longest recorded history, after the Afroasiatic family.

All Indo-European languages are descendants of a single prehistoric language, reconstructed as Proto-Indo-European, spoken sometime in the Neolithic era. Although no written records remain, aspects of the culture and religion of the Proto-Indo-European people can also be reconstructed from the related cultures of ancient and modern Indo-European speakers who continue to live in areas to where the Proto-Indo-Europeans migrated from their original homeland. Several disputed proposals link Indo-European to other major language families.

Punjabi is spoken by over 100 million native speakers worldwide, making it the 10th most widely spoken language (2015) in the world. It is the native language of the Punjabi people who inhabit the historical Punjab region of Pakistan and India.

Punjabi is the most widely spoken language in **Pakistan**, the 11th most widely spoken in **India**, fourth-most spoken language in the **United Kingdom** and third-most spoken native language (after English and French) in **Canada**. The language also has a significant presence in the **United Arab Emirates, United States, Saudi Arabia, Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Fiji, Kenya and Tanzania**. The Punjabi language is written in the Shahmukhi and Gurumukhi scripts, making it one of the relatively few languages written in more than one script.

The word Punjabi is derived from the word Panj-āb, Persian for "Five Waters", referring to the five major eastern tributaries of the Indus River. *Panj* is cognate with Sanskrit *pañca* and Greek *pente* "five", and "āb" is cognate with the Av- of Avon. The historical Punjab region, now divided between India and Pakistan, is defined physiographically by the Indus River and these five tributaries. One of the five, the Beas River, is a tributary of another, the Sutlej.

Origin of the Punjabi language

Punjabi developed from Sanskrit through Prakrit language. From 600 BC Sanskrit gave birth to many regional languages in different parts of India. These all languages are called Prakrit language collectively. Shauraseni Prakrit was one of these Prakrit languages, which was spoken in north and north-western India and Punjabi and western dialects of Hindi developed from this Prakrit. Later in northern India Shauraseni Prakrit gave rise to Shauraseni Apabhramsha, which was a degenerated form of Prakrit. Punjabi emerged as an Apabhramsha, a degenerated form of Prakrit, in the 7th century A.D. and became stable by the 10th century. By the 10th century, many Nath

poets were associated with earlier Punjabi works.

Arabic and Persian influence on Punjabi

Arabic and Persian influence in the historical Punjab region began with the late first millennium Muslim conquests on the Indian subcontinent. The Persian language was introduced in the subcontinent a few centuries later by various Persianized Central Asian Turkic and Afghan dynasties including that of Mahmud of Ghazni. Many Persian and Arabic words were incorporated in Punjabi. Punjabi has more Persian and Arabic vocabulary than Bengali, Marathi, and Gujarati due to the proximity of the Punjab with western Asia. It is noteworthy that the Hindustani language divided into Hindi, with more Sanskritisation, and Urdu, with more Persianisation, but in Punjabi both Sanskrit and Persian words are used with a liberal approach to language. Later, it was influenced by Portuguese and English, though these influences have been minor in comparison to Persian and Arabic. However, in India English words in the official language are more widespread than Hindi. Hardev Singh Shergill

MARCO POLO

By Laurence Bergreen | Pages 136-137

Consonants				Vowels			
ᳵ ka	᳴ tta	ᳶ pa	᳷ zha	᳸ ha	᳹ i		
ᳺ kha	᳻ ttha	᳼ pha	᳽ za	᳾ 'a	᳿ u		
᳼ ga	᳾ dda	᳼ ba	᳽ -a	᳾ qu	᳿ e		
᳼ nga	᳾ nna	᳼ ma	᳽ ya	᳾ xa	᳿ o		
᳼ ca	᳾ ta	᳼ tsa	᳽ ra	᳾ fa	᳿ ee		
᳼ cha	᳾ tha	᳼ tsha	᳽ la	᳾ gga			
᳼ ja	᳾ da	᳼ dza	᳽ sha				
᳼ nya	᳾ na	᳼ wa	᳽ sa				

In keeping with his aspiration to become the "universal emperor," Kublai sought to encourage a common written language for all the peoples of his empire. To bring order to the chaos of Mongol communication, he commissioned an influential Tibetan monk named Matidhvaja Sribhadra to devise an entirely new language: an' alphabet capable of transcribing all known tongues.

Endowed with prodigious intellectual gifts, the monk was said to have taught himself to read and write soon after birth, and could recite a dense Buddhist text known as the Hevajra Tantra from memory by the age of three. As a result of these accomplishments, he was called 'Phags-pa, Tibetan for "Exceptional One." Having arrived at the Mongol court in 1253 as an eighteen-year-old prodigy, 'Phags-pa later found special favor with Kublai Khan's principal wife, Chabi, and came to exert a profound influence over the court.

Although Kublai Khan professed to respect four distinct faiths, 'Phags-pa ensured that his Buddhist sect, the Sa-skyapa, ranked first among equals. To the Chinese purist, the Mongol version of Buddhism was debased, corrupt; it derived from the Tantric Buddhism of Tibet, whose lamas, "Superior Ones," demonstrated a proficiency in sorcery that alternately delighted and intimidated the deeply superstitious Mongols and impressed the skeptical Marco Polo.

For a time, 'Phags-pa directed all spiritual matters at court, and even Kublai Khan deferred to him. In exchange for spiritual validation, he bestowed on the young monk a golden mandala said to contain pearls "the size of sheep droppings." When the two met for their mystical séances, 'Phags-pa sat above his pupil, and when conducting secular business, they traded places. The see-saw relationship was intended to demonstrate a harmonious balance between spiritual and temporal matters.

In 1269, 'Phags-pa, in fulfillment of his commission, presented Kublai Khan with a syllabic alphabet—that is, one in which symbols represent consonants and vowels—consisting of forty-one letters, based on traditional Tibetan. The new written language became known as "square script," owing to the letters' form. It was written vertically, from top to bottom and from left to right, using these symbols:

The system transcribed the spoken Mongolian

tongue with more accuracy than its improvised predecessors, and even recorded the sounds of other languages, notably Chinese. Kublai Khan proudly designated this linguistic innovation as the language of Mongol officialdom, and he founded academies to promote its use. The Mongolian Language School opened the same year, and two years later, the National University. 'Phags-pa script appeared on paper money, on porcelain, and in official edicts of the Yuan empire, but scholars and scribes, devoted by sentiment and training to Chinese, Persian, or other established languages, resisted adopting it. Nor did Marco demonstrate familiarity with the new Mongol idiom.

In 1274, about the time the Polo Company arrived in Mongolia, 'Phags-pa retired to the Sa-skyapa monastery in Tibet, where he died in 1280. By that time, his version of Buddhism was falling into disfavor with the Mongols, and his clever script had failed to catch on, except among a small number of adherents who employed it on ceremonial occasions. It remained a worthy but failed experiment in artificial or constructed language.

KUBLAI KHAN'S intimate life was as structured, and as extravagant, as other aspects of his empire. Marco's high position allowed him to become familiar with Kublai's extended family, which was large

**LETTER FROM
GURBACHAN SINGH SIDHU**

Sent: Friday, July 11, 2008 10:21 AM

To: Hardev Singh Shergill

Subject: Re: Punjabi and Mongolian?

Dear Mr. Shergill: Thank you very much for sending me the universal alphabet of Kublai Khan. It is remarkable that the pronunciation of the letters matches exactly with that of the modern Punjabi Alphabet (tta, Ththa dadda, nna, gga ,nga etc). Similar names for the written symbols were

used by the Bhagats before the time of Guru Nanak (See Kabir's acrostic in Guru Granth Sahib page 340). Needless to say that religious people always use the script prevalent during their times. If the Gurmukhi characters and their names were prevalent in the time of Kabir then they must have been used for quite a long time before the advent of Kabir for people to have expertise in reading them. Gurmukhi characters have already been discovered used in the 5th century BC. Some writings in these characters were discovered at Baku.

The arrangement of the characters is also to a large extent similar although vertical. As for the shapes we cannot say that they match exactly with modern Gurmukhi characters. The shapes of vowel symbols are nowhere near our commonly used modern Gurmukhi symbols. However we must not forget that scripts have been written by hand (long hand) for thousands of years and each writer unintentionally makes some slight changes in the shapes of the letters (See the photocopies of various writings in my book ' Punjab and Punjabi'). Over time the original shapes become corrupted (Landay and Gurmukhi are examples of the same script). Now that we have printing presses, such corruptions have more or less ceased but we still find different fonts in one and the same alphabet. We do have shapes like D, d, *d* etc and in some writings the top end in "d" is left free twisted to the left hand (especially in long hand). Such variations in handwritings were comparatively more pronounced in handwritten documents in the past than they are today.

Another significant fact that needs to be noted is that the inventor was a Tibetan. In old times people from Tibet visited the Punjab and even in the times of Guru Nanak people of Punjab are on record to have visited Kailash in Tibet. Guru Nanak's visit to Tibet is recorded in apocryphal Sikh literature. Only last month a group of Hindus started on their journey to Kailash in Tibet. I read somewhere that some years ago some Tibetans too visited Amritsar and claimed that it was their

sacred place. No wonder this sort of cultural exchange may have resulted in borrowing scripts. If we can borrow the Persian script to write Indian languages or use dots under Jja, Shasha, Faffa etc to represent Persian sounds, the people in the old may also have borrowed the systems of writing.

If something written in this script is discovered, it may be helpful to gather further information about this script. Meanwhile I have kept it in my file for further study. Can somebody collect more information about such Tibetan scripts from Dalai Lama, now that he is a citizen of India? He might even know about this particular script because the inventor was a Buddhist monk.

G S Sidhu gssidhu30@yahoo.co.uk

US ARMY FITTING PRESENT FOR GURU GOBIND SINGH BIRTHDAY

By Asia Samachar -

January 6, 2017

The United States army could not have given the Sikhs a better present for the on-going 350th birth celebration of Guru Gobind Singh, the 10th Sikh Guru very much associated with valour and bravery.

On 3 Jan 2017, the US army issued a directive that requires brigade-level commanders to grant religious accommodations for hijabs, beards, and turbans with unshorn beards and hair for soldiers in all roles unless the requester's religious belief is not sincere or if the Army identifies a specific, concrete hazard. The directive makes it easier for Sikhs to serve with their religious articles of faith intact.

The 10-page document, signed by US Army Secretary Eric Fanning, revised army uniform and grooming policy to provide wear and appearance standards for the most commonly requested religious accommodations and revises the approval authority for future requests for religious

accommodation consistent with the prescribed standards.



LEFT: West Point Graduate Capt. Simratpal Singh. Right: Sketches from the 10-page directive signed by US Army Secretary Eric Fanning – PHOTO / ASIA SAMACHAR

“Since 2009, religious accommodation requests requiring a waiver for uniform wear and grooming have largely fallen into one of the three faith practices: the wear of a hijab, the wear of a beard; and the wear of a turban/patka, with uncut beard and uncut hair.

“Based on successful examples of Soldiers currently serving with these accommodations, I have determined that brigade-level commanders may approve requests for these accommodations,” he said in the document entitled ‘Army Directive 2017-03 (Policy for Brigade-Level Approval of Certain Requests for Religious Accommodation)’.

The new directive means that brigade-level commanders ‘will approve a request for religious accommodation consistent with the standards described’ unless the commander determines the request is not based on a sincerely held religious belief or identifies a specific hazard.

If not approved, the directive requires the commander to forward the request with the denial recommendation to the General Court-Martial Convening Authority

“For the past eight years, The Sikh Coalition has led the effort to build a ‘proof of concept’ that the Sikh articles of faith are completely compatible with our military’s safety and uniformity

standards,” Amandeep Sidhu, a partner at the law firm of McDermott Will & Emery and co-founder of The Sikh Coalition, told NBC News.

“The Army’s new policy is the embodiment of the cases we presented to the Army with Major Kamal Kalsi and Major Tejdeep Rattan in 2009, bolstered by the experiences of several other clients, including West Point graduate and Bronze Star Medal recipient, Capt.

Simratpal Singh. Our Army can now fully reflect the diversity of faiths, cultures, and experiences that are woven into the fabric of our American experience and make us stronger.”

Before 1974, Sikh Americans were allowed to serve in the U.S. military with their articles of faith intact, according to The Sikh Coalition, but since 1981, stricter grooming regulations have required requests for religious accommodation on a case-by-case basis, according to the NBC News report.

In the army regulation included with the directive, it was noted that when the soldier is wearing an Advanced Combat Helmet or other protective headgear with the under-turban, the bulk of the hair will be repositioned or adjusted to ensure proper fit.

[ASIA SAMACHAR is an online newspaper for Sikhs in Southeast Asia and surrounding countries. We have a Facebook page, do give it a LIKE. Follow us on Twitter. Visit our website: www.asiasamachar.com]

GYANI KULDEEP SINGH STANDS HIS GROUND

Kuldeep Singh, granthi at Gurdwara Sikh Sangat of Virginia stood his ground last Sunday, May 22, in the face of mounting condemnation from many Sikhs for replacing three Baanees attributed to Guru Gobind Singh and traditionally recited during the Khanday Baatay Di Pahul ceremony with other Baanees from the Guru Granth.

In a lengthy statement to the sangat, defended his decision to the altered ceremony, which he conducted on April 15, by questioning the origin and authorship of these Baanees and all other writings, which are from the disputed Dasam Granth. He also questioned the inclusion of these Baanees in the Rehit Maryada, and accused the SGPC of secretly making alterations to the code over the years.

But both Kuldeep Singh and his opponents rejected the authority of the takhat Jathedars to summon him to the Akal Takhat to explain his changes to the Pahul ceremony.

Courtesy Sikh Free Press, April 23, 2017

[Congratulations to Gyani Kuldeep Singh and Sangat at Gurdwara Sikh Sangat of Virginia for doing the decent thing and shame on all those who are showing their ignorance about Gurbani by not recognizing that any Baani other than from Adi Granth is “Kachi Baani”. ED.]

SEEKING WISDOM A Blog by Dr. Harbans Lal

DON'T JUST LOOK ... SEARCH INSIDE

By Harbans Lal, PhD., D.Lit. (Hons).

The Indian Diaspora community in Nova Scotia invited me to a picnic during a visit there one summer. After a tasty meal, a group of people sat down and engaged in a conversation about the Guru Granth Sahib. It was a healthy dialogue, and all were pleased to learn something new.

Towards the end, a woman dressed in Western clothing requested the opportunity to ask me a personal question. “Being a Hindu, how did you get so deeply interested in the Guru Granth?” She asked, with thought-provoking intentions.

I knew the answer, but I intended to provoke further dialogue. I countered, “for the same reason that I find you, as a Christian, being so interested in Sikhi.” **“No my friend, I am Sikh and not a**

Christian, and my parents were faithful Sikhs in Punjab”. “They raised me in the Sikh tradition which I continue”, she responded with pride and confidence. But she was a bit startled and asked, “Why did you think I was Christian?”



No, they are not a Sikh couple, but Islamic scholar Maulana Wahiduddin Khan with his Muslim wife at home in the library.

I offered my apology for being mistaken in stereotyping her. I told her I was wrong about her religious identity because of my upbringing. In the community where I grew up, a woman with a Western hairstyle and wearing Western clothes would always be taken as a Christian as only they looked like this.

I told her I readily accepted her as a Sikh. I continued to tell the friends gathered around that I was Sikh also, even though I may look like a Hindu to some.

I was born in the House of Guru Nanak, and my parents took me to Gurdwara Sri Panja Sahib in Pakistan for the naming ceremony. The Guru and the congregation gave me my name, Harbans Lal. The surrounding community gave me my dress, which changes from time to time depending on the culture I live in.

The disconnect between faith and external perceptions is not my view, I learned it from my Guru. The lesson is that we should see others independent of stereotypes. Before I cite the Guru Granth, let me cite an example from Hindu scripture, Ashtavaker Geeta. I will abbreviate the story for lack of space here. Giani Harinder Singh narrates this story in detail often in his exegesis to illustrate the topic under discussion.

Ashtavaker, Amused



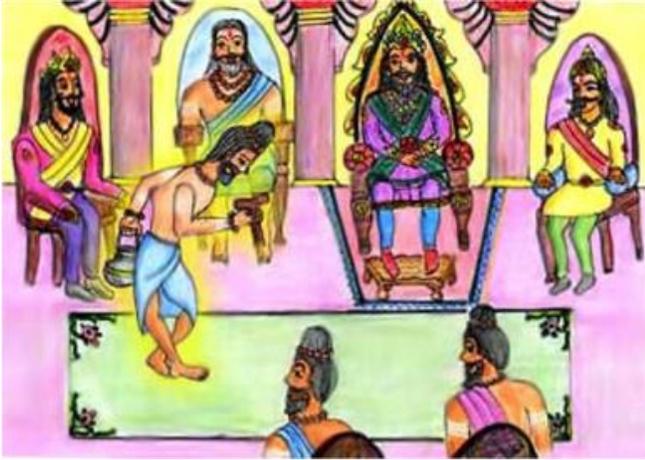
The celebrated King Janak held a debate of Hindu scholars on a religious subject and offered cows decorated with gold plated horns as a reward to the winner. A 12-year-old boy, Ashtavaker, who had developed a reputation for a high scholarship at a young age was invited. On the day of the debate, because of the long distance travel, the boy was late entering the court when the contest was already reaching its climax.

The pundits saw the deformed body of Ashtavakra moving in a funny way and began laughing. In fact, the whole meeting broke into laughter, and then Ashtavakra also began to roar with laughter.

King Janak asked the boy “Everyone else is laughing. I can understand why they laugh, but why did you laugh, my son?”

Ashtavakra responded – I expected to speak to an assembly of extraordinary scholars. Instead, I found a gathering of charmers and cobblers (people who worked with animal products including skimmers, butchers, skin and bones traders, shoemakers, etc.). Therefore, I could not control myself from bursting into laughter. What are all these cobblers doing here?”

A profound silence fell over the meeting. Butchers? Skimmers? The king asked, “What do you mean?”



Ashtavakra said, “They assessed me by only seeing my skin, my body and clothing. They failed to see the real me. Your Majesty, in the curve of a temple, is the sky curved. When someone smashes the pot, does the sky shatter? The sky is beyond the shells, which enclose it. They did not wait until I presented who I really was and just began laughing. My body is twisted, but I am not. Look inside me. You will not find anything more straight and pure.”

It was a very startling declaration, and there was complete silence. Janak was impressed and astounded: “You are absolutely right, why did I gather a crowd of animal skinners?” He became repentant and felt guilty that he too had laughed.

That day the king could not manage to say anything more, but the following day he went to Ashtavakra, dismounted from his horse and fell at his feet.

The day before he had asked, “Why do you laugh, my son?”. Ashtavakra was a twelve year old boy, and Janak had considered his age. On this day he did not notice his age. He fell at Ashtavakra’s feet, spread-eagled in prostration, and Janak eventually adopted Ashtavakra as his Guru.

What Guru Granth Says

The Guru Granth has many verses warning us against profiling people based on their looks or

external garb. For now, I will cite only one of those verses.

ਜਿਨ੍ਹ ਪਟੁ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਗੁਦੜੁ ਤੇ ਭਲੇ ਸੰਸਾਰਿ| SGGS, p.473
In this world, the meritorious are those who are silky inside (virtuous, caring, spiritual), though they may look like rags (downtrodden, noncompliant) on the outside.

In conclusion, I wish to say that you should be mindful and not stereotype someone when you see their appearance, religious or otherwise. They may be very different from what you expect. Before you complain, speak your mind, or send a belligerent email, pause. Ask yourself if you really know where the person is coming from. Try to rephrase critical thoughts into positive ones, or at least neutral ones. Don’t let your mind scan for negatives. Instead, look for the goodness inside.

SUKHMANI SAHIB AT A GLANCE

Sawan Singh Gogia

<sawansingh85@gmail.com>

In Sri Guru Granth Sahib, Sukhmani Sahib is titled *Gauri* Sukhmani. *Gauri* is the musical measure in which it is sung. The word *Sahib* is used as a sign of an honorific. It is a lengthy composition and master piece of Guru Arjan Dev (1563 -1606), the fifth Master, who composed it in 1602- 1603 at the bank of the *Ramsar* pool in the city of Amritsar. It is recorded in SGGS from page262to296.

Meaning of the Word Sukhmani

Scholars like Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha and Bhai Vir Singh have translated the word Sukhmani as **Consoler of the mind**. It is also called **The Psalm of Peace or Hymn of Peace**. Swami Rama, a saint scholar, who published its English translation, calls it **Fountain of Eternal Joy**. Late Prof. Sahib Singh translated it as jewel of comforts, but Dr. Joginder Singh, author of ‘Sukhmani Sahib da Darshnik Aadhar’ (Philosophical Base of

Sukhmani Sahib) does not agree with him and says that the word ‘*Mani*’ points to mind and translates it as provider of peace of mind. Piara Singh Padam’ in his book ‘Sukhmani Darshan’ (Philosophy of Sukhmani) explains the meaning of word ‘Sukhmani; on page 12 and agrees with Pro. Sahib Singh. German scholar Dr. Trump relates its name to *Sukmnan*, the word used by yogis, but many scholars do not agree with him.

Its Central Idea

After the first stanza of the first canto (*Ashatpadi*) there are two additional lines and at the end of these two lines, word *Rahaao* is added. It means we must stop for a while and ponder over the idea contained in these lines. These two lines, given below, are the central idea of Sukhmani:

ਸੁਖਮਨੀ ਸੁਖ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਨਾਮੁ

ਭਗਤ ਜਨਾ ਕੈ ਮਨਿ ਬਿਸ਼ਾਮ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ॥ (SGGS:262)

‘God’s Name is a jewel of bliss and nectar of Name. It resides in the hearts of true devotees.

Its Structure

It is an essay in poetry and contains twenty four slokas and each sloka or couplet is followed by an *ashatpadi* (canto) containing eight stanzas. Every stanza contains ten sentences. They are composed in the meter of *chaupai*. Stanzas of the *ashtpadi* explain the theme stated in the preceding couplet and the eighth stanza sometimes sums up the canto. This pattern is maintained throughout the whole composition.

Its Contents

The Sukhmani presents teachings of the Sikh faith though there is no progression of thought as in a philosophical work. Each canto unfolds a fresh and particular aspect of the Sikh philosophy. It starts with an invocation to the Supreme Being in the form of four line sloka. The following six cantos (1-6) dwell on the remembrance of God, i.e. obeying Its commands and following Its virtues. They also mention advantages of meditation in a spirit of love and importance of bliss:

ਸਿਮਰਉ ਸਿਮਰਿ ਸਿਮਰਿ ਸੁਖੁ ਪਾਵਉ ॥

ਕਲਿ ਕਲੇਸ ਤਨ ਮਾਹਿ ਮਿਟਾਵਉ ॥॥(SGGS:262)

‘Meditate, meditate, meditate in remembrance of God, and find peace. Worry and anguish shall be dispelled from your body.’

Cantos seventh to ninth describe the concept of a perfect and ideal man of God. **The next two cantos (10,11)** tell us that every creature is singing the praises of God Who is Omnipresent and Almighty, and cares for everybody:

ਉਸਤਤਿ ਕਰਹਿ ਅਨੇਕ ਜਨ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਰਾਵਾਰ ॥

ਨਾਨਕ ਰਚਨਾ ਪ੍ਰਭਿ ਰਚੀ ਬਹੁ ਬਿਧਿ ਅਨਿਕ ਪ੍ਰਕਾਰ ॥

(SGGS: 275)

‘Many people praise the Lord. It has no end or limitation. O Nanak, God created the creation, with its many ways and various species.’

The next four cantos (12-15) advise that he who sings the praises of God should be humble (canto 12), must not slander anyone, especially saints (canto 13) and he should seek the shelter of only the Lord who can do everything (canto 14-15).

The next three cantos (16-18) tell us that God is within everyone, but still it is detached. It is Everlasting and can be met by taking the shelter of the true Guru:

The next two cantos (19-20) describe the importance of the Holy Name which always helps the human being and which can be achieved by requesting sincerely. **The next three cantos (21-23)** expose the absolute infinite powers of the Creator of the world Whose greatness cannot be fathomed. The monist aspect of God’s power is emphasized. The last canto sums up the earlier cantos. Seekers of God are exhorted to dwell on the DIVINE Name in the company of the saints in all humility.

Its Characteristics

Sukhmani is practical in its outlook upon the problems of life. It tells us what the real and permanent comfort is. In the words of famous

scholar Sadhu T. L. Vasvaniit tells us the solution to the difficult problems of life. It is the theological statement of the major principles of Sikhism expressed in a poetic form. Its every line contains the Sikh philosophy. It mentions some as importance of meditation and holy company, need to obey the commands of God and following Its virtues:

ਨਾਮ ਤੁਲ ਕਛੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਹੋਇ ॥ (SGGS:265)

'There is nothing equal to the Naam.'

It teaches us to obey the Lord's Order willingly:

ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੀ ਆਗਿਆ ਮਾਨੈ ਮਾਥੈ ॥ (SGGS:268)

'Willingly abides by the Will of God.'

It can remove our sorrow, sickness, fear and doubt if we have faith, recite it sincerely and act upon its teachings:

ਦੁਖ ਰੋਗ ਬਿਨਸੇ ਭੈ ਭਰਮ ॥ (SGGS:296)

'Sorrow, sickness, fear and doubt depart.'

It describes absolute power of the Lord Who abides within all and yet remains unattached:

ਨਿਰਗੁਨੁ ਆਪਿ ਸਰਗੁਨੁ ਭੀ ਓਹੀ ॥ (SGGS:287)

'It (God) Itself is absolute and unrelated; It Itself is also involved and related.'

The Sukhmani states that there was utter emptiness before the creation of the world which It created at Its Will:

ਆਪਨ ਖੇਲੁ ਆਪਿ ਵਰਤੀਜਾ ॥

ਨਾਨਕ ਕਰਨੈਹਾਰੁ ਨ ਦੂਜਾ ॥ (SGGS:291)

*'It Itself has staged Its own drama.
O Nanak, there is no other Creator.'*

It also defines salvation in a scientific way:

ਜਿਉ ਜਲ ਮਹਿ ਜਲੁ ਆਇ ਖਟਾਨਾ ॥

ਤਿਉ ਜੋਤੀ ਸੰਗਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਮਾਨਾ ॥ (SGGS:278)

*'As water comes to blend with water,
his light blends into the Light.'*

Through Sukhmani the Guru advises us not to allow our bad instincts to overpower us:

ਕਰਤੂਤਿ ਪਸੂ ਕੀ ਮਾਨਸ ਜਾਤਿ ॥ (SGGS:267)

*'Though man belongs to the human species,
yet he acts like animals.'*

ਬਿਨਾ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਨਹੀ ਕੋਊ ਰਾਜੈ ॥ (5.12)

'Without contentment, no one is satisfied.'

Sukhmani shows God as kind, shelter of the shelterless and helper of the helpless:

ਦੀਨ ਦਰਦ ਦੁਖ ਭੰਜਨਾ ਘਟਿ ਘਟਿ ਨਾਥ ਅਨਾਥ ॥

(SGGS:263)

'O Destroyer of the pain and suffering of the poor, O Master of each and every heart, O Master of the master less One.'

Canto sixth counts the gifts of God and advises us to keep It always in mind:

ਤਿਸੁ ਠਾਕੁਰ ਕਉ ਰਖੁ ਮਨ ਮਾਹਿ ॥

'Enshrine that Lord within your mind.'

Qualities of perfect men as God-enlightened (*Brahm -giani*), holy persons (*Sadh*), saints and Pandits have been described so that we may become perfect. Such a saint is liberated from the cycle of birth and death while alive (*Jiwan mukat*) and is detached from grief and joy:

ਤੈਸਾ ਸੁਵਰਨੁ ਤੈਸੀ ਉਸੁ ਮਾਟੀ ॥ (SGGS:275)

'As is gold, so is dust to him.'

ਸਾਧ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਕਲੁਖਤ ਹਰੈ ॥

*'In the company of the saints,
blemishes are removed.'*

It is recited by devotees in a soothing and melodious voice in most of the Gurdwaras early in the morning. Some devotees include it in their daily prayer. Some have formed societies and assemble as per schedule at different houses or Gurdwaras and recite it turn by turn. Sukhmani has a very soothing effect when recited in congregation. Its soothing effect cannot be denied. Once a year it is recited by many devotees to pray for the world peace.

Its Language and Style

While its language has evolved out of Braj Bhasha, it is closer to Punjabi in many respects. It

is one of the easiest compositions in SGGS. It is simple in syntax and structure. Most of it can be understood by a Punjabi without the assistance of a learned priest or a help book. Its many lines are used in daily talk to advise persons who have gone astray. A haughty person is told:

ਆਪਸ ਕਉ ਜੋ ਭਲਾ ਕਹਾਵੈ ॥

ਤਿਸਹਿ ਭਲਾਈ ਨਿਕਟਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ॥(SGGS:278)

*'Goodness shall not draw near him
who calls himself good.'*

Similarly, a selfish person is warned
in these words :

ਸੇਵਾ ਕਰਤ ਹੋਇ ਨਿਹਕਾਮੀ ॥

ਤਿਸ ਕਉ ਹੋਤ ਪਰਾਪਤਿ ਸੁਆਮੀ ॥(SGGS:286)

*'One who performs selfless service,
without thought of reward,
shall attain his Lord and Master.'*

If we keep in view the vocabulary and grammatical rules, it is similar to the Punjabi we speak today. A few examples are being given below. Number of the canto and the stanza is also being given with each word: *Thivai* (3.2) for 'became' and *ditha* (7.7). for is 'seen' In some stanzas pure Hindi words can be seen as *hovat* (21.1) for 'had' and *japat* in the same stanza for 'seen'. Different kinds of metaphors have been used to make it easy to understand and simple.

Conclusion

The hymn of Sukhmani when recited by the devotees early in the morning inspires the reciters as well as the listeners and elevates their hearts. It is spiritual music which soothes the mind and provides solace to all of us who are stressed in our daily life. It is the practice of remembering the Divine Name that brings peace, tranquility and contentment to the seeker and aspirant. It beautifully expresses the teachings of Sikhism. It is the fountainhead of Divine bliss and one who heartily recites it will surely find it. No doubt, it is the best compositions of Guru Arjan Dev and it teaches us to achieve high spiritual state through meditation. Its message is universal and we should

understand it thoroughly. It would be seen that Sukhmani - the gem of peace, the Psalm of peace or whatever one calls it says peace is attained through practice of Naam. It is like a river of peace in which we can dip our souls. May this Palms of Peace kindle our hearts!

FINDING HARMONY IN DIVERSITY THROUGH SHARING SPIRITUAL CULTURES

Dr. Harpal S. Buttar, Ph.D.

You will be pleased to know that I was invited by the Intercultural Dialogue Institute (IDI, Ottawa) to give a talk on the Sikh religious practices, worship, and core values enshrined in the Holy Guru Granth Sahib. The theme of the Seminar was **"Finding Harmony in Diversity Through Sharing Spiritual Cultures"**. The participating religions were: Sikhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Native Spirituality. This Seminar was organized by Dr. Edip Y. Zeybek, Chairperson of IDI-Ottawa, on 6th April 2017 at the Turkish Community Centre, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Speaking Notes:

Dr. Edip Zeybek, Participating Interfaith Friends,
Ladies and Gentlemen & Fellow Canadians:

Sat Siri Akal to all of you
(The Sikh salutation which means
'God is Eternal Truth').

Firstly, I would like to thank Dr. Zeybek for the invitation to share the fundamental values and beliefs of the Sikh religion. I have been participating in the activities of IDI for the last several years, and have noticed Dr. Zeybek working very hard in bringing together participants of different religions practiced in the National Capital Region. I would like to thank Dr. Zeybek and his team from the bottom of my heart for their hard work, dedication, and relentless

efforts in bringing together people from different religions (Sikh, Hindu, Muslim, Jew, Christian, Buddhist, Jain, Bahai, Natives and others) under one umbrella to share their interfaith doctrines as enshrined in their respective Holy Scriptures.

It is, indeed, a wonderful idea to read and cite quotes from Holy Scriptures and share with fellow Canadians the immense wisdom and Divine Knowledge of the Prophets. From my perspectives, IDI is doing a great job to create Interfaith Harmony & Respect among different ethno-cultural communities. Such endeavour helps to recognize the diverse mental dispositions, interests, and spiritual inclinations of people of different geographical regions of the world. I believe that IDI provides an important forum to overcome barriers between multi-religions, between races, and between cultures residing in Canada. By understanding the religious practices and religiosity of each other, Canadians will not only free themselves from the xenophobia of other religions and self-righteousness, but also realize the fact that, among different religions, there are shared values and universal messages which are of greater significance than the differences; those have historically divided religions and people.

My religion, Sikhism, is about five hundred years old monotheistic religion, which was founded in the 15th century by Guru Nanak (1469-1539 AD), who was born on April 15, 1469 in the village Talwandi, now called Nankana sahib, in the province of Punjab, now in Pakistan. Guru Nanak learnt the core values and doctrines of Hinduism and Islam by visiting the Islamic and Hindu centres of spiritual learning and holding dialogues with learned men of all sacred schools of theology and philosophy. He not only travelled in whole of India, Tibet and Afghanistan, but also in the Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, Iraq, and Arabic Mesopotamia. After gaining comprehensive knowledge of the Hindu and Muslim theology and philosophy, he truly became a learned scholar and cultured man and subsequently propounded his unique Universal

Message of '**Oneness of God and Oneness of Mankind**' and communicated such message to people in his mother tongue, Punjabi.

His revelations of Sikh theology and philosophy are now preserved in the Sikh Holy Scripture, called Guru Granth. Guru Nanak's poetic style hymns, revealed pronouncements, and spiritual compositions are replete with the admiration of God Almighty and His creation. Our holy scripture was compiled about four centuries ago (1604 AD) by the 5th Sikh Guru (Guru Arjan, 1563-1606 AD) and is written in the Gurmukhi script.

The uniqueness of this Divine Commandment is that besides the Sikh Gurus, there are sophisticated hymns of several Hindu and Muslim saints with subtle references to ancient and classic Hindu scriptures, as well as Holy Quran. There is no antagonism to Hindu and Muslim religion in our holy scripture.

Sikhism is an autonomous and independent world-religion, whose philosophy is free from any rituals and superstitions, and opens a common window for all mankind to experience the virtues of Divine Truth pronounced by Guru Nanak. With all his humility, Guru Nanak says that I am lowest of the lowly, and as a human being I speak exactly what was revealed to me by God Almighty:

Guru Nanak says that God is omnipresent, omnipotent and ever pervasive. God bears no animosity toward any one, and God does not come into the cycle of birth and death. God was the truth throughout the ages. The truth is here and now. O'Nanak, the truth will be forever and ever eternal.

Guru Nanak said that "they are not physical, but inner eyes, with which my Beloved Lord may be seen". True understanding, appreciation, and perception for realization of God can only be achieved through the inner eyes or inner awareness as a means of experiencing divinity and

spiritual consciousness. The Guru claimed that human body is a mansion, a temple, and the home of the Creative Soul (Karta Purkh), who has infused Infinite Light in it. This statement depicts one very important doctrine and basic value of the Sikh faith.

Guru Nanak says that there are different ways of worship for cherishing the Divine Truth. However, the most important way is cultivating love for mankind in seeking the Divine Truth and leading one's life truthfully and consequently attain true happiness. He further says that truthful conduct is the highest, and everything else falls below truthfulness.

Guru Nanak's Universal message of love, harmony and peace appealed to the Hindus and Muslims alike, and both communities revered and perceived him as their own. When Guru Nanak passed away in 1539 AD, his mortal frame became a matter of dispute between the Hindus and Muslims, because the Muslims wanted to bury him, whereas the Hindus wanted to cremate his dead body according to the prevailing rites and religious traditions of the Hindus. As a testimony of this historical fact, there exists side by side a mosque and a Sikh Gurdwara in the town called Kartarpur at the banks of river Ravi, now in Pakistan.

Now, I would like to draw your attention to some of the fundamental beliefs and values of the Sikh religion:

Guru Nanak and other nine Sikh Gurus were great champions of human rights, social justice, and were great social reformers. They preached a direct link between God and humans to achieve salvation (Mukti). In other words, revelation of Divine Light by both men and women can be achieved through self-meditation without the assistance of any mediator. Sikh Gurus developed the institution of common congregation (**called Sangat**) and opened the doors of Gurdwara (Sikh temple) to everyone, irrespective of caste, creed and social status. The Sikh Gurus affirmed that no

religion is qualitatively superior to the other. Furthermore, the Sikh Gurus established the equality of men and women, and the third Guru, Guru Amar Das (1479-1574), abolished the custom of Satti (immolation of a widow on the burning pyre of her husband) among the Hindu and Sikh women. He encouraged widows to remarry. Guru Amar Das also developed the institution of common dining (**called Langar**), which in the context of four social classes created by the Hindus, meant a profound social revolution of such dimensions that it shook the very foundations of the hierarchy of Hindu caste-system of India. There is no caste-system, and there are no untouchables in the Sikh religion. Sikhism does not believe in conversion, and everyone is welcome in the Sikh Temple. Overall, the Sikh Gurus created loving, caring, sharing and hard-working community that should take care of the poor and needy.

Finally, I would like to make the following comments for your consideration:- What should we attempt to achieve through Interfaith/Intercultural Dialogue?

#1) We should respect and acknowledge the diversity of all world religions and their fundamental spiritual orientations. Interfaith Dialogue should be used as persuasive tool to create goodwill, harmony, and peace among diverse ethno-cultural communities of Canada.

2) We should discourage tendency to construct a synthetic universal religion because, by unification into one religion, we will lose many important spiritual qualities and richness of each particular tradition.

3) We should discourage clergy and religious preachers, who sow seeds of hatred and convince devotees of their religion's superiority and recruit them to swell ranks to commit terrorist acts. Teach adherents disregard for life (kill others), ask to sacrifice even life in the name of religion, and restrict freedom to worship (destroy worship places of others). We should deal constructively with the religious challenges of the new age and promote healing through unity.

4) Many ethnocentric clergy interpret religious metaphors for monetary gains. They invent mythical stories to make people feel good to belong to best religion, and consequently promote blind fundamentalism. We should encourage adherents to deepen appreciation of their own traditions and religious practices, and point out that human sensibilities and cultures are too varied to justify "a single way of life" to comprehend the Divine Truth.

5) We should attempt to bring in spirituality that does not threaten intercultural diversity and ethnicity. Diversity in religion not only strengthens religious cooperation, but also translates faiths into spiritual dimensions of human nature.

Finally, I would like to say, that it is our collective responsibility to build Canada that promotes the shared values of equality of diverse religions, freedom of worship, and tolerance of other peoples' religions. We should all endeavour to build multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Canada that should respect religious pluralism. Thanks for your kind attention.

CONTEMPLATION

By Amar Prakash

One of the first things that we learned in 3HO about Sikhi was that the Jap in Japji Sahib, was the only command in the Guru Granth and we Japped (Chanted) everything. But, was chanting what Jap was all about? Jap in this case is not even a command but is the title of Jap Bani and means Meditation. The truth is that Mul Mantar is its own separate Bani and the first line of Japji is "**It was True In The Beginning.**"

What is the meaning of meditation? Meditation can be defined as engaging in devout religious contemplation or transcendental spiritual introspection. I have come to the realization that the true meaning is contemplation. This becomes more apparent when you realize that Rahao is the

only command and appears several thousand times in the Adi Granth.

What is Rahao? The Rahao line of a Shabad is the essence or meaning of the Shabad. What does Rahao mean? Loosely translated it means Pause but it means more than that. It means Pause and Contemplate the previous line. It is said that Sikhi is a meditative path but even more so, it is a Spiritual Path of Contemplation.

"God's name is the real pilgrimage place which consists of contemplation of the Word (Naam), and the cultivation of inner knowledge." Guru Nanak

But what is the name of God. Contrary to popular belief the name of God is not WaheGuru. The chanting of WaheGuru is a fairly recent phenomenon which rises out of ignorance and misunderstanding of what the Gurus were talking about. There is absolutely no mention of WaheGuru in the Adi Granth except where Bhatt Gayand uses the term in praise Guru Ram Das. The chanting of WaheGuru is nothing more than some magical mystical mumbo jumbo that is being foisted off on the ignorant masses along with outrageous miracle stories that are not to be believed.

When I was in 3HO I had many so called Kundalini and Tantric experiences but it only been through contemplation that I have experienced true Ishnaan moments.

Most people believe that Ishnaan is physically taking a dip or taking a bath. But this is not true. How can you take a dip in something that is ethereal, Amrit?

Ishnaan is a mental state where you feel that your Tenth Gate (the True Gurdwara) has been opened and within your brain you are taking a shower in the Ambrosial Nectar:

ਮਨੁ ਮਤਵਾਰ ਮੇਰ ਸਰ ਭਾਠੀ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਧਾਰ ਚੁਆਵਉ॥੧॥

"Let your mind be intoxicated with the stream of Ambrosial Nectar which trickles down from the furnace of the Tenth Gate.1"

Bhagat Kabir page 1123

Your eyes tear:

ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਬੋਲੈ ਸਦਾ ਮੁਖਿ ਵੈਣੀ ॥

ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਵੇਖੈ ਪਰਖੈ ਸਦਾ ਨੈਣੀ ॥

"Those who continually chant the Ambrosial Words of Nectar see and behold this Amrit everywhere with their eyes."

Guru Amar Das page 118

And you can taste the Amrit:

ਸਤਿਗੁਰਿ ਦਿਤਾ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤੁ ਚਖਿਆ ॥

"The True Guru has blessed me with the Lord's Name, and I have tasted the Ambrosial Nectar."

Guru Arjan page 523

"The state of Contemplation of the Lord in His Praises, is the Highest state of Mind of Sehaj, the Essence of Worship, which takes man to Highest Eternal Wisdom, Highest state of Mind of Sehaj"
Guru Arjan

This is the true Amrit Sanchar. I have taken the Amrit Sanchar given to us by Guru Gobind Singh and it is a pale imitation to having your Dasam Duar is opened and you experience true Amrit Sanchar. You come to realizations where only questions were before. This must have been what Guru Nanak experienced when he disappeared for three days near the Bein at SultanPur Lodi.

Even though this can happen to anyone:

"but how rare are those few who, by Guru's Grace, obtain His Glance of Grace."

Guru Amar Daas, p. 111

But after Guru Arjun, this idea of Illumination has all but totally disappeared.

What is the first step in gaining the Highest "Eternal Wisdom, Joy and Eternal Truth?" Before

you can begin to Contemplate you must first have meaning. Gurbani should be read and studied in the language that you understand. Phonetically reading Gurbani or reading a transliteration of Gurbani without meaning is an empty ritual and as Kabir would say, empty rituals are like churning water. No matter how long you churn, you will never get butter. And that is exactly what chanting WaheGuru is, water.

ਦਧਿ ਕੈ ਭੋਲੈ ਬਿਰੋਲੈ ਨੀਰੁ॥੧॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥

"Mistaking it for cream, the people are churning water." Bhagat Kabir

TWO HEART WARMING STORIES FROM U. A. E. and GERMANY Guru Nanak would be pleased

UAE gurdwara holds Iftar for all faiths

The Tribune, Chandigarh, India

Jun 17, 2017,

Dubai, June 16

In a heart-warming gesture, a gurdwara here, the largest in the Gulf, organised Iftar where people of different religions and over 30 nationalities broke the Muslim fast together.



Guru Nanak Darbar Gurdwara hosted 120 residents of over 30 nationalities to celebrate the holy month of Ramazan. Courtesy: Twitter

To demonstrate the spirit of tolerance and giving, **Guru Nanak Darbar Gurdwara** hosted 120 residents of over 30 nationalities to celebrate the holy month of Ramazan and support the Muslim community in breaking their fast in a multicultural setting.

As the call to Maghreb (evening) prayers rang inside the gurdwara, Muslims broke their fast over water, dates and Indian dishes. Later, they offered prayers inside the gurdwara premises in Jebel Ali. Surender Singh Kandhari, chairman, Guru Nanak Darbar, was quoted as saying by the Khaleej Times that the Iftar was to bring people together in the face of adversity.

“In a world that struggles with extremism, the best way out is through creating friendships among different faiths and nationalities. It is only through communication that we can overcome adversities,” said Kandhari, noting that guests varied from Arabs, Ethiopians, and Mexicans to Americans and Serbians.

Indian Consul General in Dubai Vipul said the gurdwara was doing a great service by getting all communities and religions together. He cited the example of the gurdwara achieving a Guinness World Record by hosting breakfast for 101 nationalities in April.

“I see today’s Iftar also as a step in that direction,” he was quoted as saying by Gulf News. A regular visitor at the gurdwara, **Mitchell Peeters from Belgium, said as a Christian, having Iftar in a Sikh temple made the experience in the UAE more special.**

“It is a nice experience to enjoy happiness and friendliness of people around you from different faiths and nationalities. It is part of the charm of living in Dubai and adjusting to local customs,” said Peeters, a UAE resident for four years.

The gurdwara serves free meals to visitors everyday and food packs in labour camps each weekend. — PTI

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Germany to open its first liberal mosque
The Tribune, Chandigarh, India
Jun 17, 2017,

Berlin, June 16

Seyran Ates’ vision of a liberal mosque where all Muslims can pray together — women and men, Sunni and Shiite, straight and gay — is almost a reality, and the 54-year-old daughter of Turkish guest workers in Germany is ecstatic.

Ates, a well-known women’s rights activist and lawyer, has fought for eight years to establish a place of prayer for progressive Muslims in Germany where they can leave their religious conflicts behind and focus on their shared Islamic values.

The mosque, which opens today, will be the first of its kind for liberal Muslims in Germany, Ates said.

“There’s so much Islamist terror and so much evilness happening in the name of my religion... it’s important that we, the modern and liberal Muslims, also show our faces in public,” she said.

The mosque is named Ibn-Rushd-Goethe-Mosque, combining the names of medieval Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd and German writer Johann Wolfgang Goethe.

Visitors looking for a minaret or trying to follow the call of the muezzin will be searching in vain. The mosque occupies a big room on the third floor of an old Lutheran church.

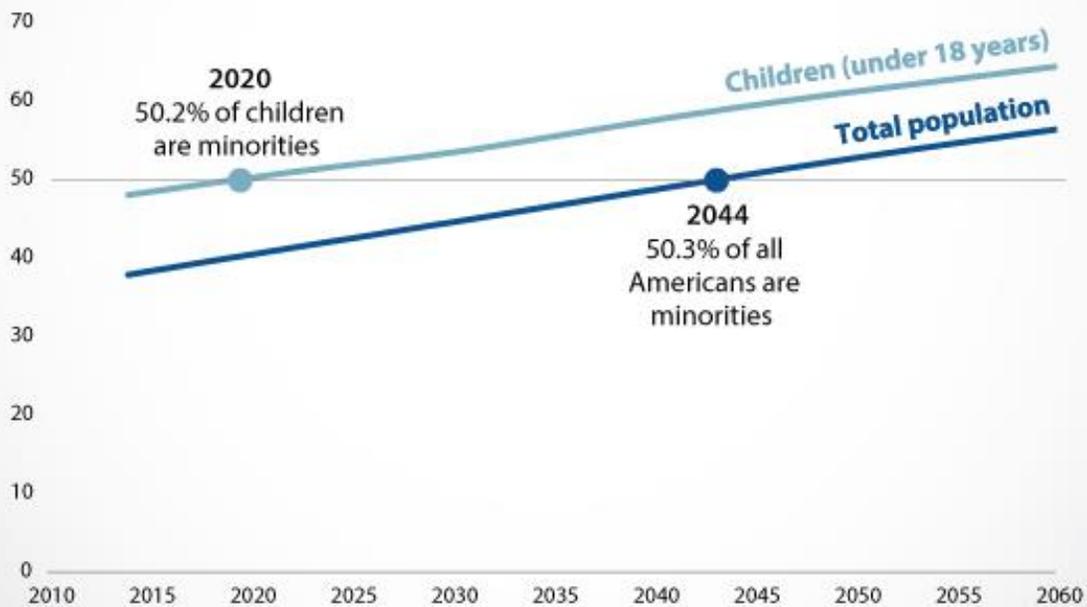
More than 40 lakh Muslims live in Germany, the majority from Turkey but also from the Balkans, the Middle East and Northern Africa. — AP



Projecting Majority-Minority

Non-Hispanic Whites May No Longer Comprise Over 50 Percent of the U.S. Population by 2044

Percent Minority by Age Group: 2014 to 2060



Note: Minority is defined in this figure as any group other than non-Hispanic white.

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Economics and Statistics Administration
U.S. CENSUS BUREAU
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Source: 2014 National Projections