

## **Sukha Jinda Letter**

The hearing began in the case of General Vaidiya's murder. On Aug. 10th, 1985, Harjinder Singh "Jinda" and Sukhdev Singh "Sukha", gunned down General Vadiya after his retirement from the Indian army. General Vadiya was the Chief of the Indian Army who ordered the attack on the holiest of the holy shrines at Amritsar and elsewhere in Punjab during 1984 operations. On Oct. 9, 1992, Sukhdev Singh "Sukha" and Harjinder Singh "Jinda" were hanged until death in Puna Jail.

==> Here is the text of Sukha and Jinda's letter to the President. They were executed for the killing of General Vaidya who led the assault on the Golden Temple during Operation Bluestar.

"EK ONKAR"

"Rastrapati Ji",

Kindly accept Sat Sri Akal (Salute to the Revered Timeless) by the two Singhs (Sikhs) on their way to martyrdom.

Theoretically, it is appropriate to clarify that our Rastrya (nation) is the Khalsa Panth absorbed into the Guru Granth Sahib. We took the first vital steps towards the destination of Khalistan by touching our foreheads with the footdust of this nation. The elimination of Mr. Vaidya, the General of your forces engaged in destroying the Khalsa Panth and its power, was a holy act on our difficult path of martyrdom. It has once again brought the historical truth to light the urge of the Khalsa Panth to breathe in freedom, its self respect and honor cannot be finished.

We wish to clarify that we are not addressing these words to you as an individual but as the head of a State that is communal and Brahmanical. Whosoever occupies, occupied, or will occupy this throne of falsehood, will be to us a symbol of oppression and cruelty. We have not forgotten that when the "wedding party of sin" (the Indian Armed Forces) was invading our Temple of God, a heathen in the garb of a Sikh, was sitting in your place (Zail Singh). The Panth will "Settle its accounts" with him, when Sikh history imparts its justice.

By invading the Golden Temple, your army tried to rob a nation of saint-soldiers, living in its divine simplicity, of its joy. It gave us a feeling once as if you succeeded in driving us to a point of utter frustration. But by performing our historic task we have reminded you that our heroes like Sukha Singh, Mehtab Singh, Udham Singh are shadowing your tyrants like Wazida, Lakhpat, Rebeiro, Dawyer.

We accept with great joy the penalty of death pronounced by your court of law alienated from the divine blessings and fallen to the Brahmanical reflexes, for whatever we undertook in accordance with the vision of the Khalsa. By touching the sharp edge of death we are moving towards fullness. Without martyrdom the magnificent fair of life cannot come into full swing.

The fact is that the Brahmanical form of Hinduism thinks of the Akal Takhat and its thoughtcomplex related to the movement and play of eternal in vulgar pragmatic terms. This sort of limited thinking of Brahmanical Hinduism puts the great institution of the Khalsa Panth on a very low pedestal and elaborates it in a very harsh practical sense. From this narrow angle the Akal Takhat is reduced to an ordinary building or at the most to a place of worship. The Khalsa Panth does not accept this situation. The Khalsa does not worship power, rather it enters history by empowering itself. The truth from the Akal Takhat has taught us that by being armed, the Khalsa has to snatch the power of the powerful and by absorption into the Eternal Word, the Khalsa has to assimilate the saintliness of the saint. This theory has destroyed the centralized authority of power and saintliness (Miri-Piri) and was very

threatening to the Brahmanical stream of thought. Because the new Sikh doctrine not only awakened the people, it also inspired them to organize themselves for an armed struggle under the leadership of the Akal Takhat by shattering falsehood of Brahmanical thought. The Masters of Centralism at once came into action. They began to repeat the well-designed danger to the "unity and integrity of the country" to retain power and encouraged the rise of "Personal Gurus" in the arena of religion.

The thought of Brahmanical reflexes had in fact started attacking the consciousness of the Sikh Gurus ever since its emergence, but on 15th August after assuming imperial authority, the Brahmanical thought took still nastier forms. In the last few decades, your parliament, courts, educational institutions and media have tried to humble the consciousness of the Khalsa through the subtler force of majoritarianism and material monopoly.

We are not hesitant to say that conspiracies have been hatched and very subtle arrangements have been made at the psychological level to destroy the great institutions, traditions, originality and unique sovereignty of the Khalsa Panth. The destruction of the Akal Takhat by sending in lakhs of soldiers was part of this larger conspiracy. In this situation, it hardly needs saying, how justified it was to eliminate the military general Vaidya who was not only a part of this conspiracy but also responsible for its planning and implementation. By completing this holy and historic task, we have unburdened our conscious and proved that the real force of the Khalsa Panth is and will remain free from the Brahmanical reflexes in all ages. By cautioning the Khalsa Panth of these strategies we have won the love of Guru Gobind Singh.

When nations wake up, even history begins to shiver. During such momentous movement a Banda Bahadur bids farewell to his peace-dwelling and destroys a state of oppression like Sirhind, a Che Guevera turns down a ministership of Cuba, loads a gun on his breast and entrenches against the enemies in the forest of Bolivia, a Nelson Mandela rejects the ideology of apartheid and prefers to spend his life in a dark prison cell.

...And we have the privilege of being in the loving care and companionship of that unique general of the Panth Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, blessed by the valiant and transcendental visionary Guru Gobind Singh. We are tiny particles of dust of the numberless heroic jewels of the Sikh nation who walked on the sharp edge of the Dagger, the Khanda, given to us by Guru Gobind Singh. Only the chosen few get the honor of laying down their lives for the nation. We are proud of this honor.

In no way is it just to accuse us of an unheroic act in attacking an unarmed man. We wish to remind you that by misusing your vast resources you have tried your utmost to humiliate us as a nation. In every field you have tried to make us helpless. You are empowered with your massive armed force and equipped with the most advanced military arsenal of our times. You have made us inadequate to fight you in the open battlefield. In the present situation there is no other alternative with us except to use the kind of method that we employed on General Vaidya to punish the tyrants for their evil deeds. When you are already waging an undeclared war on our nation, guerilla attacks are not our pleasure but an historical compulsion. Please do not forget this fact of history that during the 18th century when robbers like Abdalis and Nadarshah were driving your daughters to Kabul like enroped flocks of animals, our brave Sikh brethren from their jungle and desert hideouts fiercely attacked the robbers. Even the frightened enemies had to praise our courage. We are fired with a generous humanism. Our grip extends to the entire life with its beat and vibration.

In the last one decade there have been very few "actual" encounters between our soldiers and your forces. But wherever those have occurred, the evidence in them of our valor and radiant heroism, we are sure, is preserved in your confidential files. A fragment of that fact once in a while slips through your newspapers as well. Our Khalsa vigor is an aspect of our spiritual heritage. In such moments of fight, spirituality radiates through the flasher of our swords.

Oh. President representing Brahmanism Hear the words of Kazi Noor Mohammad, an eye witness during the seventh invasion (1764 AD) of Ahmad Shah Abdali: "It looks as if guns were invented by these Sikhs and not by Likman. Although many possess guns yet none understands them more than the Sikhs. My observation will be confirmed by the 30 thousand brave soldiers who fought against them."

When we attacked General Vaidya, apart from his own arms, he had with him a well equipped body guard. Our attack was part of the same battlefield strategy that was once used by our hero-martyrs Madan Lal Dhingra, Bhagat Singh, Kartar Singh Sarabha, and even today it is used by revolutionaries the world over, and considered right.

Through you we also wish to transmit this message that we harbor no enmity towards the great people and land of India. We are not touched even a bit by hatred for the people of India. Not only to embrace our people, we are restless to embrace the whole of the earth and the sky. We intoxicatedly remember the entire cosmos and worship the life that vibrates in it.

The Khalsa is inseparably and lovingly related to the people of India: the millions of Dalits, the workers who earn their living through honest labor, the Muslims and other minorities, and all those homeless and destitute who have remained oppressed and exploited by Brahmanism for centuries. They are all our kith and kin. Our Master Rider of the blue horse (Guru Gobind Singh) recognized them much earlier. All those termed by the proud Brahmin the lowly, scavengers, shoemakers, mean-professioned, became the beloved sons of our Tenth Father. They rose to Generalships in the army of the Khalsa. Thrones and honors kissed them. Without fantasizing, we are declaring in the midst of history that our gurus loved the meta-poetry (bani) of those divine souls drenched with a passion for the Dalit brotherhood. The gurus bestowed the highest honors on them and included their (bani) along with their own in the Guru Granth Sahib. The spirit of the Dalits and their pain are aspects of our own anguish. We are touched by the warmth of their door. There is hardly any Agro Industry in the Punjab. Heavy industry is totally non-existent. We want to keep our capital safe for our development, but you are exploiting us as if we are your colony.

You have not spared an effort to hurt our culture. By damaging our heritage you want to keep us in a miserable psychological state so that we may feel embarrassed over our language, culture and proud history. Your strategy is to destroy us from "within" and reduce us to your slaves so that you may keep on sucking our blood without any protests.

You want us to adopt your rootless culture of razzle dazzle as our way of life. You want to uproot our culture and take away our source of life. You think our history is not worthy of any significance.

But now we keep track of your ever step. Still a vital blood flows in our veins. We will structure our way of life according to our originality and history. Every one knows that without getting political power it is not possible for any nation to guard its culture. It is not possible for us to keep our cultural and national identity intact without establishing a Sovereign Khalistan. We are offering our heads for achieving our goal; Our True Guru has granted a sovereign State to us, we have won his blessing by offering our heads.

Now we beg to address our Khalsa Panth. The way of the Khalsa is very trying. It is sharper than the edge of a Dagger, the Khanda, and subtler than a strand of hair. The Khalsa panth at all cost has to preserve the original and pure form of its great struggle. The struggle is a diving journey inspired by a transcendental consciousness. During these moments of struggle, the Khalsa is to remain continuously absorbed into the Guru Granth Sahib, no matter how many cruelties are inflicted and provocation is given, the Khalsa has to keep its cool and discipline in the horrible and barbaric situations. The Khalsa has to preserve its traditions established by the valiant Sikhs through martyrdom.

In comparison with the violence of the enemy, the violence of the Khalsa abounds in divine qualities and spiritual blessings. The Khalsa has to give such a divine form and beauty to its struggle that it may even burden the conscience of the enemy with the realization of its own sin. Such a moral miracle will be possible only if the concentration on the guru of the Khalsa and rhythm of the Guru Granth Sahib remain fully connected and intact. The Guru Granth Sahib is the main source of our life-stream and spiritual power. It is also the chief spring of our inspiration to advance towards the destination of Khalistan.

If concentration on the guru and the internal rhythm of the Guru Granth Sahib are the main life-stream of the Khalsa, then it is also necessary to say a few words to the militants who are intensely in love with the stream. In this terrible crisis of history, the concentration on the guru and the rhythm of the Guru Granth Sahib are the only armed brigades. They are the army of the Timeless Man, and they are the guardians of the pure consciousness of the Khalsa. We too had the honor of having been the humble parts of these forces.

It is true that we are confronting a vast material State that has at its command all the worldly resources, horrifying scientific inventions, a capacity to attack and disable the intellect and praxis. The state can also weaken us through penetration and strategies of its intelligence. It can also develop shocking plans and more than everything else it can assemble huge armies. But so what? The Khalsa can send shivers into the spine of the enemy and shake its State with its spiritual might. It is not the bodies alone that fight. It was only a miracle of the Khalsa spiritual strength that even with its tiny number the Khalsa subdued the 10 lakh army of the Mughals at the Castle of Chamkaur.

During the last decade we have overwhelmed this State of Brahmanical prejudices with martyrdom. We have been hailed in all corners. Now the matter is not restricted to the possible creation of Khalistan alone. Several oppressed nations of India have come out in the open to fight for their freedom. The Dalit brothers, specially are liberating themselves from the destructive influence of Brahmanism. The so-called hue and cry made for "unity and integrity" does not touch them any more. They have well understood the cunning of Brahmanical rulers veiled behind this hue and cry. Although these are magnificent accomplishments of our movement still we are not free from big mistakes and inadequacies.

Sometimes, during our struggle we do commit something that is neither morally unique nor pious. Although we are marching towards our goal of achieving Khalistan with determination yet still we have not fully learnt how to go through this difficult terrain. The understanding and experience of our struggle are still diluted and superficial. We have still to develop a large vision that crosses decades and centuries.

We still keep doing something that gives our enemy an opportunity to question our proud and glorious history. Several times our arms have wrecked the joys, blossom and aspirations of those who had never directly hurt our movement.

It appears sometimes as if we were trying to strike terror among the people although our commitment to the ninth Guru is neither to terrify nor to get terrified.

Oh valiant brethren! Why are not our actions and deeds firing many colors and proliferating unusual effects of life? Why to give the people an excuse that a wide gap has appeared between our mind, word and action. When we sin we become drunk with victory of fault and when we lose we do not investigate its reasons. As a result a chain of losses begins. In such a situation we do not urge to re-integrate ourselves with the transcendental consciousness of the Khalsa, nor do we seek the blessing of the guru's abode.

We are becoming martyrs, going to jails, bearing every attack of the enemy, but still in our basic thought, the gratitude to the Lord, patience and commitment have not fully penetrated. Sometimes, the glory of the material status, its power and shine captivate us, as a result we fall prey to material values and miracles. During such moments we do not passionately pray

before the Guru Granth Sahib to keep our unique character by heroism and spirituality higher and untouched by narrow ends.

Several times we suffer from indecision. To free ourselves from this state instead of getting close to the guru we rather choose distance. We are forgetting that during disagreement among us, the resolution of the entire Khalsa adopted at the Akal Takhat can cement and guide us. Oh Brave brethren drenched with the divine love of the sixth guru, Hargobind Sahib! Why don't you flock towards the Akal Takhat for guidance? Our guru spreading his arms awaits us.

At times, our baseless suspicions divide us into groups. We then patronize our group, and to protect it we unnecessarily accuse the other groups of crossing all limits. Our sword proudly falls on their necks. The militants of the Khalsa Panth have to meet this serious challenge of the moment with determination and love, with a prayer for the enhancement of wisdom and humility of the mind. Will you follow this path our brethren after we are gone?

Oh militant comrades of the procession of those walking with their heads on the palms for sacrifice! You carry on your shoulders the historic responsibility of recognizing the main lifestream and original form of the Khalsa and also the responsibility of identifying the deadly current of ignorance and temptation. This current, to obtain power, has fallen to act on Brahmanical practices. Please understand the narrow motives concealed behind this current that on surface appears to be proSikh. Wage a war against it. Its divisive tendencies are to be strongly resisted. The people associated with this current have lost their faith in the higher struggle. They have been tempted by the Brahmanical reflexes and its allied power hierarchies. They have begun to like evanescent colors. Their actions do not reflect the message of Guru Nanak's transcendental journey: Nor do they flash any divine experience. Their state mirrors a schism between the mind and word. Declare that these people are false and they have disowned our panth. If they want to be owned by the Khalsa and they feel that there is still in them a secret of truth enunciated by Guru Nanak let them advance straight towards Khalistan otherwise they will be thrown into the dustpan of history.

Respected President Ji! After these few words with our nation we again address you. When we bid farewell to the world it will be a strange meeting of numerous contradictions. If we look at the world insightfully, the whole world is in turmoil, a powerful turmoil. With an alien eye it may look to be a destructive development. It feels as if human peace and action were going through acute disturbance, but the people with intuition can see all this from a different angle altogether.

The humankind's aspiration for freedom cannot be controlled in any system. Any effort to destroy this aspiration gets selfdefeated in history. We are witnessing the same happening in our times also.

The same passion for freedom burning like a flame in the depths of humankind gave birth to the great French Revolution. And then in the beginning of this century, we are watching the tumbling of the Tsarist regime that had become a symbol of terror and tyranny.

But whatever systems have been built up on the ruins of Tsarism, have not succeeded in fully preserving and understanding the rush and aspiration of human freedom. All these massive artifices are showing cracks. What an irony of our times that the same people who had raised our ancestors' flag of freedom became the murderers of freedom.

We are saying this with deep sorrow that the same lands where lakhs of people laid down their lives fighting the Nazis, today are providing shelter to the murderers of the Sikhs. We mean the country of the great Tolstoy and Lenin, the Soviet Union and its East European allies, where the killers of hundreds of Sikh youth like Buta and Rebiro are taking shelter under the pretext of holding diplomatic responsibilities. But at the same time fresh winds of freedom blowing in these countries give us a hope that these countries will not remain safe shelters for

these murderers of mankind. To us that time is not distant when the people of these countries will hand over these criminals to us so that they can be given their due in the court of the Khalsa.

The dark storm of oppression that is blowing over the Khalsa and the fire of tyranny that is burning it, must have touched at least a little, the soul of Lincoln, Emerson, Rousseau, Voltaire and Shakespeare because the people fighting for their freedom and sovereignty have the same blood flowing in their veins. But permit us to say that among the people of these great men's lands the urge to push their tradition is dying. Their spiritual values are drying up, they are unable to see the new sun shining in the land of Khalistan whose rays will also radiate the universe. We are hoping that they will accept the reality of Khalistan. We appeal to the United Nations to recognize the face of Khalistan so that the Khalsa nation can make historic contribution to the international peace and security according to the UN Charter, and may also help in building up their relations of tolerance and goodwill among India and its neighbors.

Honorable President Ji! We are going to look into the eyes of death because we believe that the flag of life's glory flies even in the face of death. Not only us, but our entire nation has taken birth from the art of keeping its head on its palm. The guns of evil will never frighten us.

In this era of betrayals we are going to meet our beloved in full faith and wholesomely. Our martyrdom will radiate only integration. We are feeling that martyrdom is a transcendence of all fears, greeds and obscene physical desires. The consciousness of the Khalsa is the most pure and luminous during the moments of martyrdom.

We have chosen the path of martyrdom so that the ever fresh face of the Khalsa and its unique glory can come into its own once again, and enlighten the whole world. In their eternal joy and grace the Gurus blessed us with a spark of their love. With that spark we are on full blossom. Our love for freedom has taken us to the state of cosmic equilibrium sahaja.

We have met our True Guru. The fairies of the eternal symphony have arrived to congratulate us with all their families at this momentous hour of meeting.

Martyrdom has a unique relish of its own. How wonderful is it beyond the material and ineffable emotions!

Please tell our nation not to be sorrowful. The sweet remembrance of, Guru Gobind Singh flows like a river in us. Please tell them that the stream of love of the Tenth Guru has already gushed forth in us. We are going towards the altar in higher peace and divine poise. We are riding a unique boat that the currents are unable to sink.

The maker has put together all the wood perfectly, O Nanak my Lord will not let even lakhs of sea currents sink the boat.

The Khalsa has upheld the belief that whenever death comes, accept it with joy. For this reason please tell all those warriors of the world bringing with the fire of freedom not to let go-mellow the challenge thrown by us. Let their bursting bullets become a lament on our death.

The rope of gallows is dear to us like the embrace our Lover but if we are condemned to be the prisoners of war, we will wish bullets to kiss the truth lurking in our breasts so that the sacred ground of Khalistan becomes more fertile with our warm blood.

Long Live Khalistan!!!!

We are restless to drink the pint of martyrdom of Khalistan.

-  
- Sukhdev Singh

Harjinder

Singh

Enclosure:

Atrocities perpetrated on the Sikhs:

Dear Rastrapati ji,

We are giving below the methods of torture, humiliation and atrocities used by your state against the Sikhs. These have been mentioned by the humanitarian organizations and individuals who hold prestige in their respective fields. These organizations and individuals are not seen directly or emotionally connected with our movement. They have been forced to write about the extreme violations of human rights of our people. We wish you to know and witness the continuous repression and atrocities perpetrated against the Sikhs by your army, paramilitary forces and the police. We are not presenting all this to you to win your sympathy, nor do we wish you repent by taking pity on us. In fact by situating you in this picture we want to have the verdict of the people of the world over the extent you have violated the UNO's Declaration on Human Rights, the Geneva Convention, and many other international treaties. We are mentioning below the violations and atrocities:

- To interrogate the Sikhs, a round log of wood is placed on their legs, and after putting heavy weight on the log it is rotated on the legs.

- Chillie powder is sprinkled in the eyes and sex organs of the Sikhs.

- Sikhs are hung upside down from the ceilings till they became unconscious.

- The body joints are battered.

- Electric shocks are administered to the genitals making most of the youth impotent

- Sikh women, during interrogation, are hurt in their sex organs. Filthy abuse is showered on them.

- Violence is inflicted on the parents in presence of their sons and daughters and vice-versa.

- Brothers are forced to beat sisters and vice versa. violence is inflicted on adult girls after stripping them naked and their sex organs are damaged. They are sexually assaulted, pregnancies are terminated of the expectant females

- Crotchets are pulled apart.

- The victims of inhuman violence are made to sit naked in winter, and under the sun in summer, kept sleepless for days in solitary cells.

- Sikhs are subjected to severe beatings and filthy abuse in the presence of their village folks.

- Dead bodies of Sikhs killed in fake encounters are not handed over to their parents to conceal marks of excessive violence.

- The state manipulates tailored post mortem reports from the doctors, and burns the dead bodies of the Sikhs after falsely declaring them unclaimed.

- All sorts of excesses are made on the parents of underground Sikh youths.
- Indiscriminant atrocities are committed on the parents of the underground youth of the area where some militant action takes place.
- Atrocities are committed without caring for one's age, health life or death. If some one luckily survives such brutal excesses, it is well and good But if one dies while under "interrogation", then such a dead body is taken out, pierced with some bullets, and a news item is sent that a dreaded terrorist has been shot dead in an encounter.
- Houses of underground Sikh youths are demolished, their belongings are looted, crops destroyed, their tube well motors are taken away, and they are prevented from sowing crops.
- Even animals of the families of underground Sikh youth are subjected to police anger. After summoning the families to the police station, villagers are told not to take care of the animals of the families of the underground youth. Generally the animals starve to death.
- False cases are registered against innocent sikh youths, later they are let off taking fat bribes.
- Reporters giving true reports are arrested, an undeclared censorship is imposed on them to stop them from exposing police atrocities.
- Peaceful protests by the Human rights organizations are prohibited.
- Press is used to launch vicious and false propaganda against the Sikhs.
- Hardened criminals are inducted into Sikh movement to help in arresting the Sikh revolutionaries and sabotage the movement. Such criminals are inducted to tarnish the fair name of the Sikh revolutionaries are now called the "Black Cats" in the Punjab. Under SSP Izhar Alam, such criminal gangs were named the "Alam Sena." Besides, such police sponsored bands of criminals also operated under the name of Panthic Tiger Force and "Red Brigade." The director general of the police himself admitted about the "Black Cats" bands. In his interview to the India Today on Sept. 15, 1988, KPS Gill had announced without an iota of shame that the security forces in Punjab cannot do anything without the help of secret bands (Black Cats).
- Thousands of innocent pilgrims, children, females, aged people, who got encircled in the Golden Temple during Operation Bluestar were made to die through starvation and thirst. The whole of Punjab was converted into a vast jail by clamping curfew on the entire area. The army bulletin branded all Amritdhari Sikhs as terrorists.
- Indian army desecrated the Gurdwaras and committed such atrocities on the Sikhs that even the soul of Ahmed Shah Abdali might have felt ashamed of.
- The targets of army guns were none else but religious persons, devotees, pilgrims, ladies, old people, children or some militants whom the indian government deemed as terrorists.
- No neutral observer was allowed to take stock of the situation.
- The injured during the attack on the Golden Temple were subjected to extreme partiality. Whereas every assistance and facility was made available to the injured army personnel, there was no such provision for the wounded belonging to the other side.

- The number of prisoners taken was rather small. There is ample scope for doubt that the Indian army had thought it better to eliminate the thousands of people seized in the Golden Temple instead of taking them prisoners or having to provide them with medical assistance.

- No need was felt to perform religious rites for the dead pilgrims and devotees.

- Before consigning the dead bodies to flames, no effort was made to identify them. No relatives were informed.

- No dead bodies were handed over to the next of kin. In such a situation only the dead or those wishing to be dead could be present at the last rites.

- All dead bodies were placed in heaps and then consigned to flames. IT was never insured that among the dead there could also be some Muslim devotees. To cremate is against the tenets of Islam.

- No need was felt to give a list of the dead to the Red Cross or any other International Agency.

- Despite such atrocities, no commission was appointed to go into this dark episode. Even the Britishers, the foreign rulers, had cared to appoint the Hunter commission to inquire into the Jallianwalla Massacre which was of a much less magnitude on the other hand. The Indian government, on the other hand, took all steps to hide the excesses of the army.

The hearing began in the case of General Vaidiya's murder. On Aug. 10th, 1985, Harjinder Singh "Jinda" and Sukhdev Singh "Sukha", gunned down General Vadiaya after his retirement from the Indian army. General Vadiya was the Chief of the Indian Army who ordered the attack on the holiest of the holy shrines at Amritsar and elsewhere in Punjab during 1984 operations. On Oct. 9, 1992, Sukhdev Singh "Sukha" and Harjinder Singh "Jinda" were hanged until death in Puna Jail.

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Temple of God, a heathen in the garb of a Sikh, was sitting in your place (Zail Singh). The Panth will "Settle its accounts" with him, when Sikh history imparts its justice.

By invading the Golden Temple, your army tried to rob a nation of saint-soldiers, living in its divine simplicity, of its joy. It gave us a feeling once as if you succeeded in driving us to a point of utter frustration. But by performing our historic task we have reminded you that our heroes like Sukha Singh, Mehtab Singh, Udham Singh are shadowing your tyrants like Wazida, Lakhpat, Rebeiro, Dawyer.

We accept with great joy the penalty of death pronounced by your court of law alienated from the divine blessings and fallen to the Brahmanical reflexes, for whatever we undertook in accordance with the vision of the Khalsa. By touching the sharp edge of death we are moving towards fullness. Without martyrdom the magnificent fair of life cannot come into full swing.

The fact is that the Brahmanical form of Hinduism thinks of the Akal Takhat and its thoughtcomplex related to the movement and play of eternal in vulgar pragmatic terms. This sort of limited thinking of Brahmanical Hinduism puts the great institution of the Khalsa Panth on a very low pedestal and elaborates it in a very harsh practical sense. From this narrow angle the Akal Takhat is reduced to an ordinary building or at the most to a place of worship. The Khalsa Panth does not accept this situation. The Khalsa does not worship power, rather it enters history by empowering itself. The truth from the Akal Takhat has taught us that by being armed, the Khalsa has to snatch the power of the powerful and by absorption into the Eternal Word, the Khalsa has to assimilate the saintliness of the saint. This theory has destroyed the centralized authority of power and saintliness (Miri-Piri) and was very threatening to the Brahmanical stream of thought. Because the new Sikh doctrine not only awakened the people, it also inspired them to organize themselves for an armed struggle under the leadership of the Akal Takhat by shattering falsehood of Brahmanical thought. The Masters of Centralism at once came into action. They began to repeat the well-designed danger to the "unity and integrity of the country" to retain power and encouraged the rise of "Personal Gurus" in the arena of religion.

The thought of Brahmanical reflexes had in fact started attacking the consciousness of the Sikh Gurus ever since its emergence, but on 15th August after assuming imperial authority, the Brahmanical thought took still nastier forms. In the last few decades, your parliament, courts, educational institutions and media have tried to humble the consciousness of the Khalsa through the subtler force of majoritarianism and material monopoly.

We are not hesitant to say that conspiracies have been hatched and very subtle arrangements have been made at the psychological level to destroy the great institutions, traditions, originality and unique sovereignty of the Khalsa Panth. The destruction of the Akal Takhat by sending in lakhs of soldiers was part of this larger conspiracy. In this situation, it hardly needs saying, how justified it was to eliminate the military general Vaidya who was not only a part of this conspiracy but also responsible for its planning and implementation. By completing this holy and historic task, we have unburdened our conscious and proved that the real force of the Khalsa Panth is and will remain free from the Brahmanical reflexes in all ages. By cautioning the Khalsa Panth of these strategies we have won the love of Guru Gobind Singh.

When nations wake up, even history begins to shiver. During such momentous movement a Banda Bahadur bids farewell to his peace-dwelling and destroys a state of oppression like Sirhind, a Che Guevera turns down a ministership of Cuba, loads a gun on his breast and entrenches against the enemies in the forest of Bolivia, a Nelson Mandela rejects the ideology of apartheid and prefers to spend his life in a dark prison cell.

...And we have the privilege of being in the loving care and companionship of that unique general of the Panth Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, blessed by the valiant and transcendental visionary Guru Gobind Singh. We are tiny particles of dust of the numberless heroic jewels of the Sikh nation who walked on the sharp edge of the Dagger, the Khanda,

given to us by Guru Gobind Singh. Only the chosen few get the honor of laying down their lives for the nation. We are proud of this honor.

In no way is it just to accuse us of an unheroic act in attacking an unarmed man. We wish to remind you that by misusing your vast resources you have tried your utmost to humiliate us as a nation. In every field you have tried to make us helpless. You are empowered with your massive armed force and equipped with the most advanced military arsenal of our times. You have made us inadequate to fight you in the open battlefield. In the present situation there is no other alternative with us except to use the kind of method that we employed on General Vaidya to punish the tyrants for their evil deeds. When you are already waging an undeclared war on our nation, guerilla attacks are not our pleasure but an historical compulsion. Please do not forget this fact of history that during the 18th century when robbers like Abdalis and Nadarshah were driving your daughters to Kabul like enroped flocks of animals, our brave Sikh brethren from their jungle and desert hideouts fiercely attacked the robbers. Even the frightened enemies had to praise our courage. We are fired with a generous humanism. Our grip extends to the entire life with its beat and vibration.

In the last one decade there have been very few "actual" encounters between our soldiers and your forces. But wherever those have occurred, the evidence in them of our valor and radiant heroism, we are sure, is preserved in your confidential files. A fragment of that fact once in a while slips through your newspapers as well. Our Khalsa vigor is an aspect of our spiritual heritage. In such moments of fight, spirituality radiates through the flasher of our swords.

Oh. President representing Brahmanism Hear the words of Kazi Noor Mohammad, an eye witness during the seventh invasion (1764 AD) of Ahmad Shah Abdali: "It looks as if guns were invented by these Sikhs and not by Likman. Although many possess guns yet none understands them more than the Sikhs. My observation will be confirmed by the 30 thousand brave soldiers who fought against them."

When we attacked General Vaidya, apart from his own arms, he had with him a well equipped body guard. Our attack was part of the same battlefield strategy that was once used by our hero-martyrs Madan Lal Dhingra, Bhagat Singh, Kartar Singh Sarabha, and even today it is used by revolutionaries the world over, and considered right.

Through you we also wish to transmit this message that we harbor no enmity towards the great people and land of India. We are not touched even a bit by hatred for the people of India. Not only to embrace our people, we are restless to embrace the whole of the earth and the sky. We intoxicatedly remember the entire cosmos and worship the life that vibrates in it.

The Khalsa is inseparably and lovingly related to the people of India: the millions of Dalits, the workers who earn their living through honest labor, the Muslims and other minorities, and all those homeless and destitute who have remained oppressed and exploited by Brahmanism for centuries. They are all our kith and kin. Our Master Rider of the blue horse (Guru Gobind Singh) recognized them much earlier. All those termed by the proud Brahmin the lowly, scavengers, shoemakers, mean-professioned, became the beloved sons of our Tenth Father. They rose to Generalships in the army of the Khalsa. Thrones and honors kissed them. Without fantasizing, we are declaring in the midst of history that our gurus loved the meta-poetry (bani) of those divine souls drenched with a passion for the Dalit brotherhood. The gurus bestowed the highest honors on them and included their (bani) along with their own in the Guru Granth Sahib. The spirit of the Dalits and their pain are aspects of our own anguish. We are touched by the warmth of their door. There is hardly any Agro Industry in the Punjab. Heavy industry is totally non-existent. We want to keep our capital safe for our development, but you are exploiting us as if we are your colony.

You have not spared an effort to hurt our culture. By damaging our heritage you want to keep us in a miserable psychological state so that we may feel embarrassed over our language,

culture and proud history. Your strategy is to destroy us from "within" and reduce us to your slaves so that you may keep on sucking our blood without any protests.

You want us to adopt your rootless culture of razzle dazzle as our way of life. You want to uproot our culture and take away our source of life. You think our history is not worthy of any significance.

But now we keep track of your ever step. Still a vital blood flows in our veins. We will structure our way of life according to our originality and history. Every one knows that without getting political power it is not possible for any nation to guard its culture. It is not possible for us to keep our cultural and national identity intact without establishing a Sovereign Khalistan. We are offering our heads for achieving our goal; Our True Guru has granted a sovereign State to us, we have won his blessing by offering our heads.

Now we beg to address our Khalsa Panth. The way of the Khalsa is very trying. It is sharper than the edge of a Dagger, the Khanda, and subtler than a strand of hair. The Khalsa panth at all cost has to preserve the original and pure form of its great struggle. The struggle is a diving journey inspired by a transcendental consciousness. During these moments of struggle, the Khalsa is to remain continuously absorbed into the Guru Granth Sahib, no matter how many cruelties are inflicted and provocation is given, the Khalsa has to keep its cool and discipline in the horrible and barbaric situations. The Khalsa has to preserve its traditions established by the valiant Sikhs through martyrdom.

In comparison with the violence of the enemy, the violence of the Khalsa abounds in divine qualities and spiritual blessings. The Khalsa has to give such a divine form and beauty to its struggle that it may even burden the conscience of the enemy with the realization of its own sin. Such a moral miracle will be possible only if the concentration on the guru of the Khalsa and rhythm of the Guru Granth Sahib remain fully connected and intact. The Guru Granth Sahib is the main source of our life-stream and spiritual power. It is also the chief spring of our inspiration to advance towards the destination of Khalistan.

If concentration on the guru and the internal rhythm of the Guru Granth Sahib are the main lifestream of the Khalsa, then it is also necessary to say a few words to the militants who are intensely in love with the stream. In this terrible crisis of history, the concentration on the guru and the rhythm of the Guru Granth Sahib are the only armed brigades. They are the army of the Timeless Man, and they are the guardians of the pure consciousness of the Khalsa. We too had the honor of having been the humble parts of these forces.

It is true that we are confronting a vast material State that has at its command all the worldly resources, horrifying scientific inventions, a capacity to attack and disable the intellect and praxis. The state can also weaken us through penetration and strategies of its intelligence. It can also develop shocking plans and more than everything else it can assemble huge armies. But so what? The Khalsa can send shivers into the spine of the enemy and shake its State with its spiritual might. It is not the bodies alone that fight. It was only a miracle of the Khalsa spiritual strength that even with its tiny number the Khalsa subdued the 10 lakh army of the Mughals at the Castle of Chamkaur.

During the last decade we have overwhelmed this State of Brahmanical prejudices with martyrdom. We have been hailed in all corners. Now the matter is not restricted to the possible creation of Khalistan alone. Several oppressed nations of India have come out in the open to fight for their freedom. The Dalit brothers, specially are liberating themselves from the destructive influence of Brahmanism. The so-called hue and cry made for "unity and integrity" does not touch them any more. They have well understood the cunning of Brahmanical rulers veiled behind this hue and cry. Although these are magnificent accomplishments of our movement still we are not free from big mistakes and inadequacies.

Sometimes, during our struggle we do commit something that is neither morally unique nor pious. Although we are marching towards our goal of achieving Khalistan with determination yet still we have not fully learnt how to go through this difficult terrain. The understanding and experience of our struggle are still diluted and superficial. We have still to develop a large vision that crosses decades and centuries.

We still keep doing something that gives our enemy an opportunity to question our proud and glorious history. Several times our arms have wrecked the joys, blossom and aspirations of those who had never directly hurt our movement.

It appears sometimes as if we were trying to strike terror among the people although our commitment to the ninth Guru is neither to terrify nor to get terrified.

Oh valiant brethren! Why are not our actions and deeds firing many colors and proliferating unusual effects of life? Why to give the people an excuse that a wide gap has appeared between our mind, word and action. When we sin we become drunk with victory of fault and when we lose we do not investigate its reasons. As a result a chain of losses begins. In such a situation we do not urge to re-integrate ourselves with the transcendental consciousness of the Khalsa, nor do we seek the blessing of the guru's abode.

We are becoming martyrs, going to jails, bearing every attack of the enemy, but still in our basic thought, the gratitude to the Lord, patience and commitment have not fully penetrated. Sometimes, the glory of the material status, its power and shine captivate us, as a result we fall prey to material values and miracles. During such moments we do not passionately pray before the Guru Granth Sahib to keep our unique character by heroism and spirituality higher and untouched by narrow ends.

Several times we suffer from indecision. To free ourselves from this state instead of getting close to the guru we rather choose distance. We are forgetting that during disagreement among us, the resolution of the entire Khalsa adopted at the Akal Takhat can cement and guide us. Oh Brave brethren drenched with the divine love of the sixth guru, Hargobind Sahib! Why don't you flock towards the Akal Takhat for guidance? Our guru spreading his arms awaits us.

At times, our baseless suspicions divide us into groups. We then patronize our group, and to protect it we unnecessarily accuse the other groups of crossing all limits. Our sword proudly falls on their necks. The militants of the Khalsa Panth have to meet this serious challenge of the moment with determination and love, with a prayer for the enhancement of wisdom and humility of the mind. Will you follow this path our brethren after we are gone?

Oh militant comrades of the procession of those walking with their heads on the palms for sacrifice! You carry on your shoulders the historic responsibility of recognizing the main lifestream and original form of the Khalsa and also the responsibility of identifying the deadly current of ignorance and temptation. This current, to obtain power, has fallen to act on Brahmanical practices. Please understand the narrow motives concealed behind this current that on surface appears to be proSikh. Wage a war against it. Its divisive tendencies are to be strongly resisted. The people associated with this current have lost their faith in the higher struggle. They have been tempted by the Brahmanical reflexes and its allied power hierarchies. They have begun to like evanescent colors. Their actions do not reflect the message of Guru Nanak's transcendental journey: Nor do they flash any divine experience. Their state mirrors a schism between the mind and word. Declare that these people are false and they have disowned our panth. If they want to be owned by the Khalsa and they feel that there is still in them a secret of truth enunciated by Guru Nanak let them advance straight towards Khalistan otherwise they will be thrown into the dustpan of history.

Respected President Ji! After these few words with our nation we again address you. When we bid farewell to the world it will be a strange meeting of numerous contradictions. If we look at

the world insightfully, the while world is in turmoil, a powerful turmoil. With an alien eye it may look to be a destructive development. It feels as if human peace and action were going through acute disturbance, but the people with intuition can see all this from a difference angle altogether.

The humankind's aspiration for freedom cannot be controlled in any system. Any effort to destroy this aspiration gets selfdefeated in history. We are witnessing the same happening in our times also.

The same passion for freedom burning like a flame in the depths of humankind gave birth to the great French Revolution. And then in the beginning of this century, we are watching the tumbling of the Tsarist regime that had become a symbol of terror and tyranny.

But whatever systems have been built up on the ruins of Tsarism, have not succeeded in fully preserving and understanding the rush and aspiration of human freedom. All these massive artifices are showing cracks. What an irony of our times that the same people who had raised our ancestors' flag of freedom became the murderers of freedom.

We are saying this with deep sorrow that the same lands where lakhs of people laid down their lives fighting the Nazis, toda are providing shelter to the murderers of the Sikhs. We mean the country of the great Tolstoy and Lenin, the Soviet Union and its East European allies, where the killers of hundreds of Sikh youth like Buta and Reberio are taking shelter under the pretext of holding diplomatic responsibilities. But at the same time fresh winds of freedom blowing in these countries give us a hope that these countries will not remain safe shelters for these murderers of mankind. To us that time is not distant when the people of these countries will hand over these criminals to us so that they can be given their due in the court of the Khalsa.

The dark storm of oppression that is blowing over the Khalsa and the fire of tyranny that is burning it, must have touched at least a little, the soul of Lincoln, Emerson, Rousseau, Voltaire and Shakespeare because the people fighting for their freedom and sovereignty have the same blood flowing in their veins. But permit us to say that among the people of these great men's lands the urge to push their tradition is dying. Their spiritual values are drying up, they are unable to see the new sun shining in the land of Khalistan whose rays will also radiate the universe. We are hoping that they will accept the reality of Khalistan. We appeal to the United Nations to recognize the face of Khalistan so that the Khalsa nation can make historic contribution to the international peace and security according to the UN Charter, and may also help in building up their relations of tolerance and goodwill among India and its neighbors.

Honorable President Ji! We are going to look into the eyes of death because we believe that the flag of life's glory flies even in the face of death. Not only us, but our entire nation has taken birth from the art of keeping its head on its palm. The guns of evil will never frighten us.

In this era of betrayals we are going to meet our beloved in full faith and wholesomely. Our martyrdom will radiate only integration. We are feeling that martyrdom is a transcendence of all fears, greeds and obscene physical desires. The consciousness of the Khalsa is the most pure and luminous during the moments of martyrdom.

We have chosen the path of martyrdom so that the ever fresh face of the Khalsa and its unique glory can come into its own once again, and enlighten the whole world. In their eternal joy and grace the Gurus blessed us with a spark of their love. With that spark we are on full blossom. Our love for freedom has taken us to the state of cosmic equilibrium sahaja.

We have met our True Guru. The fairies of the eternal symphony have arrived to congratulate us with all their families at this momentous hour of meeting.

Martyrdom has a unique relish of its own. How wonderful is it beyond the material and ineffable emotions!

Please tell our nation not to be sorrowful. The sweet remembrance of, Guru Gobind Singh flows like a river in us. Please tell them that the stream of love of the Tenth Guru has already gushed forth in us. We are going towards the altar in higher peace and divine poise. We are riding a unique boat that the currents are unable to sink.

The maker has put together all the wood perfectly, O Nanak my Lord will not let even lakhs of sea currents sink the boat.

The Khalsa has upheld the belief that whenever death comes, accept it with joy. For this reason please tell all those warriors of the world bringing with the fire of freedom not to let go-mellow the challenge thrown by us. Let their bursting bullets become a lament on our death.

The rope of gallows is dear to us like the embrace our Lover but if we are condemned to be the prisoners of war, we will wish bullets to kiss the truth lurking in our breasts so that the sacred ground of Khalistan becomes more fertile with our warm blood.

Long Live Khalistan!!!!

We are restless to drink the pint of martyrdom of Khalistan.

- Harjinder Singh  
- Sukhdev Singh

Enclosure:

Atrocities perpetrated on the Sikhs:

Dear Rastrapati ji,

We are giving below the methods of torture, humiliation and atrocities used by your state against the Sikhs. These have been mentioned by the humanitarian organizations and individuals who hold prestige in their respective fields. These organizations and individuals are not seen directly or emotionally connected with our movement. They have been forced to write about the extreme violations of human rights of our people. We wish you to know and witness the continuous repression and atrocities perpetrated against the Sikhs by your army, paramilitary forces and the police. We are not presenting all this to you to win your sympathy, nor do we wish you repent by taking pity on us. In fact by situating you in this picture we want to have the verdict of the people of the world over the extent you have violated the UNO's Declaration on Human Rights, the Geneva Convention, and many other international treaties. We are mentioning below the violations and atrocities:

- To interrogate the Sikhs, a round log of wood is placed on their legs, and after putting heavy weight on the log it is rotated on the legs.

- Chillie powder is sprinkled in the eyes and sex organs of the Sikhs.

- Sikhs are hung upside down from the ceilings till they became unconscious.

- The body joints are battered.

- Electric shocks are administered to the genitals making most of the youth impotent
- Sikh women, during interrogation, are hurt in their sex organs. Filthy abuse is showered on them.
- Violence is inflicted on the parents in presence of their sons and daughters and vice-versa.
- Brothers are forced to beat sisters and vice versa. violence is inflicted on adult girls after stripping them naked and their sex organs are damaged. They are sexually assaulted, pregnancies are terminated of the expectant females
- Crotchets are pulled apart.
- The victims of inhuman violence are made to sit naked in winter, and under the sun in summer, kept sleepless for days in solitary cells.
- Sikhs are subjected to severe beatings and filthy abuse in the presence of their village folks.
- Dead bodies of Sikhs killed in fake encounters are not handed over to their parents to conceal marks of excessive violence.
- The state manipulates tailored post mortem reports from the doctors, and burns the dead bodies of the Sikhs after falsely declaring them unclaimed.
- All sorts of excesses are made on the parents of underground Sikh youths.
- Indiscriminant atrocities are committed on the parents of the underground youth of the area where some militant action takes place.
- Atrocities are committed without caring for one's age, health life or death. If some one luckily survives such brutal excesses, it is well and good But if one dies while under "interrogation", then such a dead body is taken out, pierced with some bullets, and a news item is sent that a dreaded terrorist has been shot dead in an encounter.
- Houses of underground Sikh youths are demolished, their belongings are looted, crops destroyed, their tube well motors are taken away, and they are prevented from sowing crops.
- Even animals of the families of underground Sikh youth are subjected to police anger. After summoning the families to the police station, villagers are told not to take care of the animals of the families of the underground youth. Generally the animals starve to death.
- False cases are registered against innocent sikh youths, later they are let off taking fat bribes.
- Reporters giving true reports are arrested, an undeclared censorship is imposed on them to stop them from exposing police atrocities.
- Peaceful protests by the Human rights organizations are prohibited.
- Press is used to launch vicious and false propaganda against the Sikhs.
- Hardened criminals are inducted into Sikh movement to help in arresting the Sikh revolutionaries and sabotage the movement. Such criminals are inducted to tarnish the fair

name of the Sikh revolutionaries are now called the "Black Cats" in the Punjab. Under SSP Izhar Alam, such criminal gangs were named the "Alam Sena." Besides, such police sponsored bands of criminals also operated under the name of Panthic Tiger Force and "Red Brigade." The director general of the police himself admitted about the "Black Cats" bands. In his interview to the India Today on Sept. 15, 1988, KPS Gill had announced without an iota of shame that the security forces in Punjab cannot do anything without the help of secret bands (Black Cats).

- Thousands of innocent pilgrims, children, females, aged people, who got encircled in the Golden Temple during Operation Bluestar were made to die through starvation and thirst. The whole of Punjab was converted into a vast jail by clamping curfew on the entire area. The army bulletin branded all Amritdhari Sikhs as terrorists.

- Indian army desecrated the Gurdwaras and committed such atrocities on the Sikhs that even the soul of Ahmed Shah Abdali might have felt ashamed of.

- The targets of army guns were none else but religious persons, devotees, pilgrims, ladies, old people, children or some militants whom the Indian government deemed as terrorists.

- No neutral observer was allowed to take stock of the situation.

- The injured during the attack on the Golden Temple were subjected to extreme partiality. Whereas every assistance and facility was made available to the injured army personnel, there was no such provision for the wounded belonging to the other side.

- The number of prisoners taken was rather small. There is ample scope for doubt that the Indian army had thought it better to eliminate the thousands of people seized in the Golden Temple instead of taking them prisoners or having to provide them with medical assistance.

- No need was felt to perform religious rites for the dead pilgrims and devotees.

- Before consigning the dead bodies to flames, no effort was made to identify them. No relatives were informed.

- No dead bodies were handed over to the next of kin. In such a situation only the dead or those wishing to be dead could be present at the last rites.

- All dead bodies were placed in heaps and then consigned to flames. It was never insured that among the dead there could also be some Muslim devotees. To cremate is against the tenets of Islam.

- No need was felt to give a list of the dead to the Red Cross or any other International Agency.

- Despite such atrocities, no commission was appointed to go into this dark episode. Even the Britishers, the foreign rulers, had cared to appoint the Hunter commission to inquire into the Jallianwalla Massacre which was of a much less magnitude on the other hand. The Indian government, on the other hand, took all steps to hide the excesses of the army.