



## Electoral Politics, Self-respect and Dalit Empowerment

Prem K. Chumber

Editor-In-Chief: Ambedkar Times

Dr. B.R Ambedkar devoted his entire life for the emancipation of the socially excluded people of India and their genuine empowerment so that they can live a meaningful life with self-respect and public dignity. He wanted that his own people must be treated with the same respect and dignity back home that he experienced during his sojourn at US, the land of liberty and social justice. He learnt from his illustrious Professors at Columbia University the meaning and significance of freedom and equality. He got convinced that the battle for liberty and dignity is not merely a political struggle but a spiritual fight, which requires a right kind of approach based on democratic values and political moves. He gave utmost importance to law of the land and electoral procedures for contesting the authoritative and oppressive structures of power. He knew very well that without following a right kind of way to acquire political freedom rooted in social democracy, any freedom devoid of social and economic base will not last long.

He did not join any political party of his time. He knew very well that all the Political Parties of his time were incapable of providing suitable space to Schedules Castes to rise on the given scale of social status. All the Political Parties though needed their votes to come into power, they often fall short of helping them shed their burden of historical social exclusion based on the pernicious principle of high vs low birth. It was because of this reason that he wanted his own people to have their separate and distinct Political Party that can stand for their emancipation and empowerment. During his lifetime, Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar founded two Political Parties (Independent Labour Party and Scheduled Castes Federation) and contested the Assembly and Parliamentary elections for the dignity and freedom of the Scheduled Castes people in India. It is equally known to everyone that he faced stiff opposition from all those people who always wanted the votes of Scheduled Castes but never wanted them to come at par with themselves. The third political party (Republican Party of India), the blue print of which was prepared by Babasaheb himself was also meant to be an all-inclusive political party of the downtrodden aimed at their welfare and political empowerment. He did not think even for a while to join any other political party of his time. For he knew that without having our own party there can never be an ultimate solution to the problems of his people.

Let us compare our times with that of the beginning of the Electoral Politics in India. When Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was determined to raise a distinct Political Party of the Scheduled Castes, many of us are running after the mainstream political parties to get crumbs. They knew very well that by winning on the given tickets of these political parties they cannot do any good to their people. But still they willingly got into the trap to garner the Scheduled Castes votes for such political parties at the cost of their community. We should not forget the teachings of our Babasaheb that our battle is a battle of pure dignity and self-respect, what he called spiritual, and that cannot be won while sitting in the feet of our tormentors.

## Farida Khaq Na Nindee-Ai: Panjab Da Virsa, Itihaskari Te Sahitkar

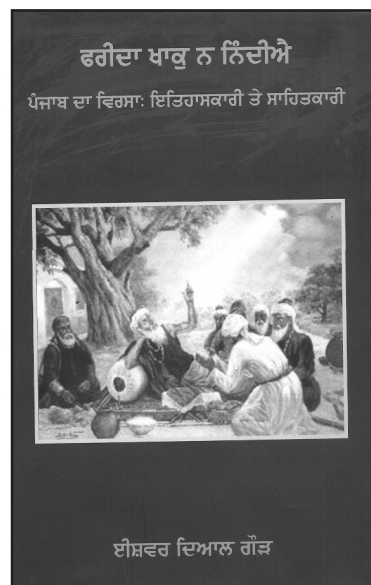
The book under review is a valuable contribution to the fast growing scholarly domain of medieval historiography of Punjab. What makes this study unique and engaging is its being grounded in the folk of medieval Punjab meticulously preserved in the rich treasure of the poetry of Punjabi Sufis, Gurus, and Bhagats. Medieval Punjabi poetry, a seamless blend of devout and erotic idioms, provides a solid aesthetic and poetic backgrounder to the often neglected field of Punjabi folk history and historiography. The medieval Punjabi poetry rooted in the syncretic communal character of the medieval Punjab taught the lesson of the unity of Being and His khalquat (human beings) and warned against all sorts of divisions in the name of religion, caste and creed.

The medieval Punjab revered its poets and Sants on equal footing. Its glimpse cannot be obtained from the peer reviewed mainstream historical research based on research material of official data-bank. The mainstream history and historiography represents the people of Punjab through different colours of religious glasses. It simply tells us the structured 'history of the poetry'. But it fails to reveal the 'poetics of History'. The socio-cultural space of Punjab (Punjabi-tiranjan), informed the author, is beyond the reach of the mainstream medieval Punjabi historiography. The learned author weaves an engaging and



Ishwar Dayal Gaur  
Farida Khaq Na Nindee-Ai:  
Panjab da Virsa, Itihaskari te Sahitkar,  
(Publication Bureau: Panjab University,  
Chandigarh), pp. 277, Price 350

challenging counter narrative of medieval Punjabi history while delving deep into the rich and until now unexplored vast domain of Punjabi folk, culture and literary world of the unlettered. To come closer to the natural milieu of medieval Punjabi world of folk life and vision, Ishwar Dayal Gaur chiselled new paradigms of "Farid-Nanak Kaida", (primer of Farid and Nanak), "Satjugi Darwar" (Kingdom of Spiritual world), and "Tiranjan of Eman" (socio-cultural space of faith). It is through the iconoclastic barrels of such paradigms that the author enabled the marginalised voices to once again stand up and speak for themselves. It opened the doors of the closed cellars of the medieval poets, pirs, murshids and qissakars (story-tellers) to speak for themselves. The author tells us that folk is alive and it has its own genealogy. Any history that disconnected itself, cautioned the author, from its own folk genealogy becomes dry and oppressive. Gaur further writes that "Farid-Nanak Kaida"/"Satjugi Darwar" reminds us that Punjabi society owes its evolution to an interfaith dialogue among divergent faiths, religions and social movements occurring at the single folk time zone which is far more complex to be decoded by the linearly tailored and modernity oriented paradigms of historiography based on the methodologically sound mainstream history. Farid-Nanak paradigm introduced an alternative way to explore medieval Punjab buried under the debris of one-sided historical facts well preserved in the State guarded official archives. It gives, the author emphasised, more space



and value to the folk memory judiciously kept alive in the 'universal' memory of the syncretic community's cerebral space. It is such a folk paradigm, argued the author, which gathers the required strength to make a rupture in the mainstream hollow historiography. The mainstream historiography did not provide any space to folk literature and often presents the later as non-intellectual thing. The people history and folk archives, asserts the author, need to be brought into the pages of factual history.

Ishwar Dayal Gaur emphasizes that the Punjab cultural matrix (socio-cultural space) is a soothing concoction of divergent social, religious, cultural and linguistic signifiers, creations and artefacts laced with syncretic folk musk. It is much more ancient than ancient limits of the mainstream historiography. It has no affinity with those discourses, narratives, stories, ideologies, practices and idioms that foment enmity between clans and faiths, and construct counter hegemonies of varied varieties. It considers Khaq or mitti (one's primordial cultural space/vernacular cultural space) as pious and native where folk memory digitised in the Kalams (poetic narratives) of sufis, qissakars and pirs sets the rules of social and individual interaction devoid of caste and religion. Baba Farid and Baba Nanak

assign utmost importance to the primordial cultural space of people. The author has referred to many couplets of the spiritual poetry of Baba Farid and Baba Nanak in order to highlight the importance of folk history and its contributions towards the evolution of syncretic Punjabi socio-cultural space. He further stated that the new paradigm of Farid-Nanak Kaida teaches the art of making a

distinction between the 'history of literature and culture' and 'literature and culture of history'.

The learned author made a logical distinction between the 'history of literature and culture' and 'literature and culture of history'. The 'history of literature and culture', argued the author, thrives on the factual database accumulated in the official archives of the State. But the 'literature and culture of history' has nothing to do with the dominating and hegemonising sermons of the mainstream historiography.

It owes its evolution to fertile land of Punjabi-tiranjan. The mainstream literary historiography, according to the author, presents a distorted picture of the medieval Punjab while pigeonholing it into mutually contradictory faiths/religions. Whereas the 'literature and culture of history' provides a holistic perspective wherein socio-culturally diverse space of Punjabi society can be seen naturally interacting among itself. Dialogue and continuous inter

(Continue on page no 3)



Prof (dr.) Ronki Ram  
ICCR Chair Visiting Professor of India  
Studies Faculty of International Studies  
Ryukoku, University 67  
Tsukamoto-Cho, Fukakusa,  
Fushimi-Ku Kyoto 612-8577 Japan  
E-mail: ronkiram@yahoo.co.in  
WhatsApp: +91-9779142308  
Shaheed Bhagat Singh Professor of  
Political Science  
Panjab University, Chandigarh 160 014 India  
E-mail: ronkiram@yahoo.co.in  
Mob: +91-9779142308

# An Open Letter of an AAM AADMI – Dalit Vote Bank of Punjab

Dear Voters of Punjab,

In the run up to the forthcoming elections in Punjab scheduled for early next year, all political parties are busy in wooing the Dalit vote bank with more than 32% vote share. Some constituencies in Doaba have a huge share of Dalits ranging from 40% to 50%. Almost one third, 34 constituencies out of a total of 117, is reserved as SC constituencies. Obviously, Dalits have the potential to make or mar any candidate, if they decide carefully. But, unfortunately, they don't have the wherewithal to realize and avail of their latent power. As a result, Dalits have remained on the margins of power structures in Punjab so far. The ruling parties, the Congress Party, the Akali Dal and the BJP did not care to give their share and always tended to satisfy them with a small share in the whole pie. There is no point in blaming the exploiters but Dalit themselves. It is a proven fact that in politics, nobody gives anything to anybody. One has to claim and grab power in whatever way it is possible. Dalits could not do so in spite of their demographic position. After Acharya Prithvi Singh Azad and Master Gurbanta Singh in 1950-60s, no Dalit leader could make honorablespace in the power structures of Punjab. No party groomed any Dalit to be a leader who could claim acceptability outside their limited areas of operation and constituency. After the fledgling Republican Party of Ambedkarites in the 1970s, BSP under Babu Kanshi Ram showed some promise in the 1980s but soon fizzled away due to winds of divisive powers unleashed by the hitherto ruling classes on one hand and the short sighted approach and conduct of the BSP leaders on the other. Since then much water has flown in the proverbial five rivers but the fortune and fate of Dalits remained almost static, limited to the constitutional arrangements of reservation only.

It is a matter of regret that in spite of the fact that Punjab has the biggest size of population of SCs as compared to the other states of India, SCs still don't have much share, space and say in the corridors of power. Why it is so? It is the question which should engage Dalit intelligentsia and the political leaders of all hues. Dalits are the spiritual followers of the great Guru, Sahib Shri Guru Ravidass Ji who said

“प्राधीकृता पाप है; ज्ञान लसिरे मीत,  
खदि सदा सप्राधीन से कौन करे हैप्रीता।”

Dalits are the followers of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Babu Kanshi Ram politically in the contemporary times. Both these Dalit icons pleaded and demanded, for the socially and economically weaker sections of the society, a share in political and administrative power structures of the country. But Dalits are still standing far away from these hollowed outfits as equal partners. The off the cuff answer to these important questions is that Dalits are a divided lot in Punjab both religiously and politically.

They are searching for their religious and communal identity as Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists, Christians in a broader sense and as Ad-Dharmis, Ravidassia Sikhs, Mazhabi Sikhs, Valmikis, and Kabirpanthis etc. in a somewhat confined sense resulting in further divide. After the relentless struggle of Dr. Ambedkar in the 1930s culminated in the shape of the Communal Award of the British Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald and Poona Pact between Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar in 1932 and finally in the constitution of India with enabling provisions for empowerment of Dalits including political reservation in the parliament, the state legislatures and other structures up to the grass roots i.e. panchayats. Dr.

Ambedkar was defeated and cheated by the wily Hindu leaders headed by Mahatma Gandhi under the garb of nationalism and to save the life of the great Mahatma who undertook fast unto death against the Communal Award in 1932. Under the Poona Pact, Dalits were made to lose Separate Electorate

offered by the Communal Award by the British government and an alternate of political Reservation was given. Reservation has become a much maligned concept. Political reservation has not worked to the real advantage of the Dalits. It has divided Dalit community into various vested political agenda. It has created yes-men. Babu Kanshi Ram called them Chamchas (stooges) in his book on contemporary Dalit politics “Chamcha Age”. The Congress party, the Akali Dal and also the BJP have taken advantage of the situation and have deliberately divided them under one pretext or the other. The religious or spiritual Deras of Dalits have succumbed to temptations of gunmen, beaoned cars, escort jeeps and other fringe benefits and knowingly or otherwise helped the political vested interests in further dividing the community. Dalits need to address the situation and find answers; if they want to have their due share in the polity and society otherwise their demographic advantage will continue to be negated by the vested interests. It is felt, of late, the Dalit intelligentsia and the educated youth have started

realizing these ground realities. They are increasingly becoming aware and alive of their fate and have started asserting themselves. Obviously, it will affect the emerging political scenario. Political parties are also increasingly trying to grasp the situation to attract the Dalit vote bank to their advantage.

The ruling alliance of Akali Dal and BJP are yet to come out with their election manifestos. But it is a common knowledge that these parties will try their best to woo Dalits to garner their votes by hook or crook. The so called Blue Card holders are mostly Dalits. The government is all set to throw away the freebies like Dal Atta schemes, free electricity, and free water, providing bicycles and

cooking gas connections to the venerable sections of the society. They are not really interested in bettering the condition of Dalits by empowering them by making good arrangements for their education, training and employment. The ongoing problem of post matric scholarships to Dalit students

cries for attention but nobody is serious. The question of surplus (nazul) land and share of Dalits in its allotment is never addressed with sincerity. Both the Akalis and BJP are falling on each other to own Dr. Ambedkar to please Dalit communities. Many proposals and programmes to recognize and honour the Dalit icons have been undertaken with an eye on the elections and these will be forgotten, as usual, after the elections. The Khuralgarh project in Hoshiarpur to honour Guru Ravidass was inaugurated with great fanfare. But there is no time frame and no budget. It will remain on the drawing board for long. Mr. Vijay Sampla of BJP announced a college to be opened at BootanMandi in Jalandhar to honour Dr. Ambedkar soon after he was appointed as the President of Punjab BJP. The land said to be earmarked for the project now has been auctioned to set up a vegetable market. These parties are simply fooling the gullible Dalits. Punjab SC Commission, a statutory body, headed by a BJP nominee Rajesh Bagha, is toothless. Chairman Rajesh Bagha has alleged openly in the

media that he and other commissioners are being treated shabbily by the government not only in the matter of payment of salaries and perks but also otherwise as compared to other such statutory authorities. The allegedly tainted SC Akali leaders namely Sarwan Singh Phillaur and Avinash Chander have been denied tickets by the Akali Dal but the likes of Bikram Singh Majithia who is also involved in the same kind of allegations and investigations is calling the shots. This is the treatment SCs get at the hands of their political masters. Dalits need to see through the situation and assert themselves for their due space in the system.

The AAP has come out with a much flaunted Dalit Manifesto. I also contributed to the AAP's Punjab Dialogue to consider some of the issues of interest and concern to Dalits of Punjab. I am sorry to say that the said manifesto could not impress Dalits. I wrote about this in detail in my blog and e-mailed to the AAP leadership. As I said earlier that Dalit vote bank has the potential to do or undo. The Akali-BJP combine could come to power last time only because of the fact that they were able to wean away Dalits from the Congress Party and win more seats in Doaba and elsewhere. I would not refrain from stating the fact that AAP is yet to convince Dalits of their sincerity and gain their acceptance. I don't think that realization has dawned yet. Both the Congress Party and the Akali-BJP alliance seems to be much careful in selecting their candidates for reserved seats. They have given fair representation to Dalit intelligentsia including highly placed senior bureaucrats and professionals. On the other side, AAP appears to be allergic to this category of aspirants of AAP tickets. AAP brags that they have given tickets to taxi drivers, sons of poor chowkidars etc. There could not be any animosity or opposition to such candidates as such but this bragging by the leadership smacks of sense of superiority and a sense of doing a favour to poor dalits. This patronage has not gone well with the Dalit masses. AAP should rectify its dalit policy and agenda, the sooner the better. I am reminded of a couplet:

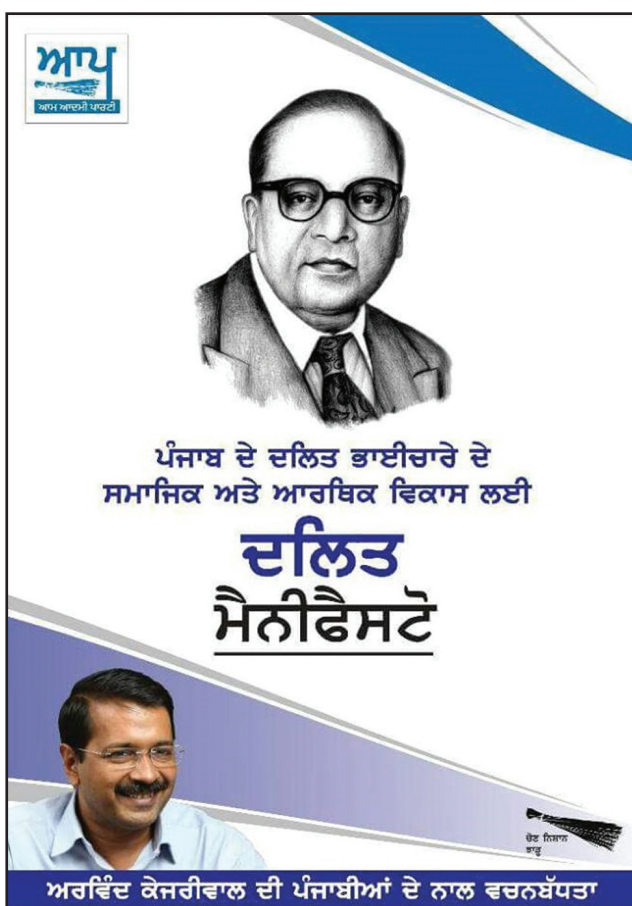
बड़ा शोर सुनते थे पहलू में दलित का;  
मगर जो चीरा तो इक कतरा खूब न निकला !

Though most Dalits are economically poor, apart from their social backwardness, yet the Left parties could not make any inroads to their constituency. It is a subject of study. My personal feeling is that the communist leaders of yore in Punjab were all well to do Jatt Sikhs or elite Hindus. They could not embrace Dalits in

(Continue on page no 3)



Ramesh Chander  
Ambasador



# Ambedkar statute in Japan



**Arun Kumar,  
Bedford**

It is a matter of pride for all those who are involved in the human rights movement and particularly the followers and admirers of Dr Ambedkar that his statue had featured at the World Heritage Site in Koyasan, Wakayama, Japan. This

statue was donated by the Maharashtra Tourism Development Corporation (MTDC) and inaugurated by the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Devendra Fadnavis on 10th September 2015 at the Koyasan University.

Unveiling the statue, the Chief Minister, Fadnavis said, "The statue is a gift from the people of Maharashtra and India to the people of Koyasan and Japan. Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar was a great jurist, politician and a social reformer. Dr B R Ambedkar's struggle and principles for human dignity, social equality and justice is universal and relevant even in the modern age."

He further added, "Dr Ambedkar was also one of the world's greatest Buddhist leaders. It is a matter of great coincidence that Koyasan is celebrating 1200th year of its foundation and the en-

tire world, especially India is celebrating 125th birth anniversary year of Bharat Ratna Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar."

Wakayama Governor Yoshinobu Nisaka said that Koyasan, the ancient seat of Buddhist learning in Japan, was the ideal place to establish the memorial for Dr Ambedkar.

The MTDC had earlier signed an agreement with Wakayama Prefecture to promote tourism in both destinations. As the Wakayama state has Buddhist connection and deep-rooted Buddhist culture, it was appropriate that a piece of Indian Buddhist culture was exported to Japan. The choice fell on Dr Ambedkar. It was decided that the MTDC would install Dr Ambedkar's statue and the government of Wakayama would maintain it. Dr Ambedkar is not only considered a leader of the human rights movement and father of Indian Constitution but also a revivalist of the Buddhism in India. He embraced Buddhism along with thousands of his followers. As a result, Buddhism has become one of the main religions of India.

Statue is measuring 6 to 6.5 feet and is modelled in the 'Parliament' pose, which shows Ambedkar with book in his left hand and his right hand raised.

The Japanese International Corporation Agency and MTDC are jointly promoting Buddhist tourism in Maharashtra and they have also funded MTDC for the Ajanta-Ellora Caves Conservation.

The statue installation event was jointly organised by the Wakayama Prefecture, Maharashtra government and the Japanese chapter of the Dr Ambedkar In-



ternational Mission.

Ram Pal Rahi, a member of Ambedkar Mission Society, Bedford, Vice President of the Federation of Ambed-

karite and Buddhist Organisations UK and President of Punjab Buddhist Society, UK went to Japan to attend the unveiling ceremony of Dr Ambedkar's statue

## ONE DAY NATIONAL CONFERENCE (NCAIP 2016) ON "PHARMACEUTICAL SCIENCE RESEARCH: DRUG DEVELOPMENT, VALIDATION AND ANALYTICAL METHODS"

Advance Institute of Pharmacy, palwal organized one day national conference (NCAIP 2016) on "Pharmaceutical Science Research: Drug Development, Validation and Analytical Methods" on 24th Dec 2016.

More than 200 delegates, faculties and Industrial persons were present in con-

ference. The conference was inaugurated by Chairman AEI, Shri Venay Gupta and further taken over by



Director AEI, Dr. R. S. Chaudhary, Principal AIP, Dr. Neelam Singla and Organizing Secretary Dr. Arpana Rana. In the opening re-

marks Organizing Secretary welcomes all the dignitaries and delegates & addressed the gathering by sharing the importance of such activities. Conference was started with saraswativandana as tradition of our culture. Chief Guest Dr. Kaptan Singh (Senior GM-API Research, Sun Pharma, (Conginue no Page no 6)

## Farida Khaq Na Nindee-Ai: An Open Letter of an AAM AADMI - Dalit Vote Bank of Punjab

(Continued from Page 1)

action between various view-points, meticulously narrated in the folk literary world of medieval Punjab, made it totally different from the one (mutually repulsive) as projected in its mainstream history. The major difference between people history and mainstream archival history is that the former talks about the syncretic tradition of socio-cultural ethos of Punjabi society whereas the later tells us only about its divisive discursive logic. The former lives in the memory of people and folk-literature. The later is kept alive by the hegemonic dictates of the elite/State. The author opined that ideologues of those movements/ideologies who discarded/forgotten the paradigm of socio-cultural faith as taught by Baba Farid and Baba Nanak are either already vanished away from the land of Punjab or are on the brink of the extinction or got absorbed by the mainstream.

In a nutshell, the author has carved a brilliant counter-narrative that forces the reader to think afresh and at the same time to doubt what s/he learnt from the silky pages of the official texts. This bold and engaging study will give rise to a new thinking and debate about the urgent need of relooking at medieval Punjab through the eyes of its pirs, poets, qissakars and gurus and to find new ways to encounter the complex challenges faced by the contemporary Punjab. I congratulate the author for penning this brilliant text, which would be appreciated widely by the admirers of Punjabi cultural heritage and the students of medieval historiography of Punjab.

Posted on-www.ambedkartimes.com

(Continued from Page 2)

the caste ridden society. The so called party of Dalits, the BSP has done much harm to negate the demographic advantage of Dalits in Punjab. They could not mobilize Dalits as they did in UP. BSP, knowing or otherwise, tended to support the traditional parties by acting as dummies or spoilers. The Dalit Deras have played a negative role by dividing the community into divisive streams. Most of them don't have any political Think Tanks who could advise them to handle the political situation and safe guard the political interests of their innocent and faithful followers. With this, one can safely say that Dalits have harmed themselves in this tedious process. Unfortu-

nately, no silver lining is in sight. I am certain that nobody would do anything. Dalits will have to do it themselves. Will we wait for another Ambedkar or Kanshi Ram to appear? I conclude with this question to be addressed by the Dalit intelligentsia, spiritual leaders and the educated youth. Let me quote yet another couplet to say my mind:

जसि खेत से दहनिका को मयसूर नहीं रोड़ी;  
उस खेत के गोशे गंदम को जला डालो !

With regards,

Yours truly,

(Ramesh Chander)

December 19, 2016

Postscript:

तूफहले बात फरिबातका अंदाज़ पैदा कर;  
फरि तुझे दुनियामें कोई नज़र अंदाज़ कर नहीं सकता!





















**Bharat Rattan Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar**



**Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram Ji**



**Babu Mangu Ram Muggowalia**

# “Ambedkar Times” Forum Wishes Happy New Year 2017

“Ambedkar Times” Forum takes pride in wishing all its contributors, readers and viewers a very happy, peaceful and productive New Year – 2017.  
May all your goals, plans and visions come true and our society get rid of caste and various other related social evils!

**Prem K. Chumber, Editor-in-Chief (Cell: 001-916-947-8920)**

“Ambedkar Times” (English & Punjabi) & “Desh Doaba” (Punjabi)

Emails : [deshdoaba@yahoo.com](mailto:deshdoaba@yahoo.com)

[chumbermedia@yahoo.com](mailto:chumbermedia@yahoo.com)

**ਵੈਲੰਡਰ 2017**

[www.ambedkartimes.com](http://www.ambedkartimes.com) [www.ambedkartimes.org](http://www.ambedkartimes.org) [www.deshdoaba.com](http://www.deshdoaba.com)

**ਵੈਲੰਡਰ 2017**

ਜਨਵਰੀ JANUARY ਕੱਤਕ/ਮੱਘ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

ਫਰਵਰੀ FEBRUARY ਮੱਘਰ/ਫੱਗਣ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28				

ਮਾਰਚ MARCH ਫੱਗਣ/ਚਿਤ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

ਅਪਰੈਲ APRIL ਚੇਤ/ਵੈਸਾਖ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
30						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

ਮਈ MAY ਵੈਸਾਖ/ਜਿਠ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

ਜੂਨ JUNE ਜੇਠ/ਹਾੜ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

ਜੁਲਾਈ JULY ਹਾੜ/ਸਾਵਣ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
30	31					1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29

ਅਗਸਤ AUGUST ਸਾਵਣ/ਭਾਦੋਂ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

ਸਤੰਬਰ SEPTEMBER ਭਾਦੋਂ/ਅੱਸੂ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

ਅਕਤੂਬਰ OCTOBER ਅੱਸੂ/ਕੱਤਕ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

ਨਵੰਬਰ NOVEMBER ਕੱਤਕ/ਮੱਘਰ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

ਦਸੰਬਰ DECEMBER ਮੱਘਰ/ਪੋਹ						
ਐਤ	ਸੋਮ	ਮੰਗਲ	ਬੁੱਧ	ਵੀਰ	ਸ਼ੁਕਰ	ਸ਼ਨੀ
31						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						



**Ambedkar Times**

**ਅੰਬੇਦਕਰ ਟਾਈਮਜ਼**

P. K. Chumber [editor@ambedkartimes.com](mailto:editor@ambedkartimes.com)



[www.deshdoaba.com](http://www.deshdoaba.com)

Editor-In-Chief: P. K. Chumber Phone 001-916-947-8920 Email: [deshdoaba@yahoo.com](mailto:deshdoaba@yahoo.com)