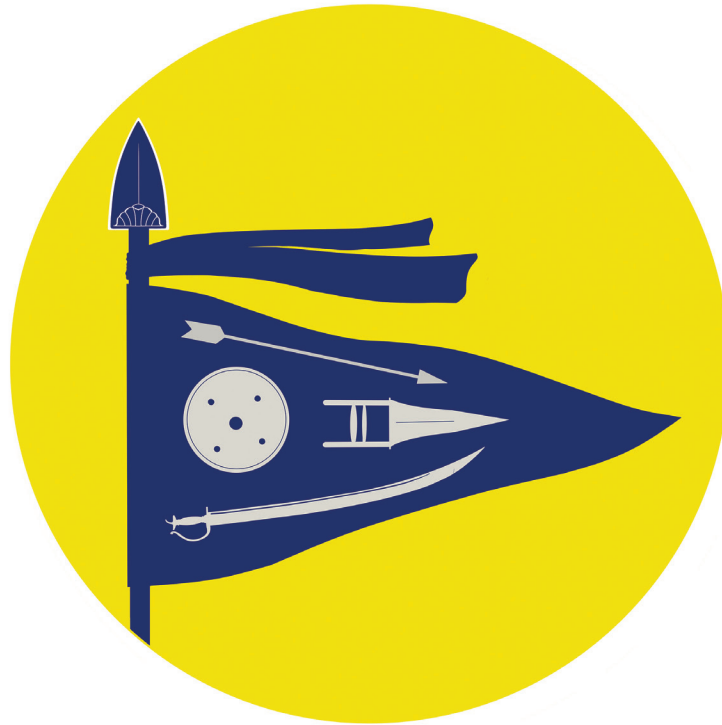


# ਅਗਾਂਹ ਵੱਲ ਨੂੰ ਤੁਰਦਿਆਂ...



ਹਮ ਰਾਖਤ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ ਦਾਵਾ

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ।

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ । ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ ।

ਮੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਉਤੇ ਪਵਿੱਤਰ ਫਰਜ ਆਇਦ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਜਹਾਨ ਨੂੰ **ਬੇਗਮਪੁਰਾ** ਨਿਆਈ (ਭਾਵ ਪਿਆਰ-ਸਾਂਝੀਵਾਲਤਾ, ਨਿਰਭਉਤਾ-ਨਿਰਵੈਰਤਾ ਅਧਾਰਤ) ਸਮਾਜ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਯਤਨਸ਼ੀਲ ਰਹਿਣਾ ਹੈ। ਐਸੇ ਸਮਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਦਰੂਨੀ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰੀ ਕਲੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਰੱਖਣ ਲਈ **ਹਲੇਮੀ ਰਾਜ** ਲੋੜੀਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਮੱਚ, ਨਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਬਰਾਬਰੀ ਅਧਾਰਤ ਹੋਵੇ।

ਐਸੇ ਸਮਾਜ-ਰਾਜ ਦਾ ਅਧਾਰ **ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਬੋਲਬਾਲੇ** ਹਨ ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਅਸੀਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ ਆਖਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਜੋ ਹਲਤ-ਪਲਤ ਦੋਵੇਂ ਜਹਾਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਇਕੋ ਸਮੇਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਜੀਓ ਦੇ ਸੁਤੰਤਰ ਵਿਚਰਨ ਦੀ ਜਾਮਨ ਹੈ।

ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਨੇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ-ਮਨਮੁਖ ਧਿਰਾਂ ਦੀ ਚਲ ਰਹੀ ਸਦੀਵੀ ਜੰਗ ਵਰਤਮਾਨ ਸਮੇਂ ੧੯੮੨ ਤੋਂ ੧੯੯੨-੯੩ ਤੱਕ ਸ਼ਾਨਾਮੱਤੇ ਤਰੀਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਲੜੀ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਕਿ ਤਵਾਰੀਖ ਵਿੱਚ **ਖਾਲਿਸਤਾਨ** ਲਹਿਰ ਦੇ ਨਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਦਰਜ ਹੈ।

ਲਹਿਰ ਦਾ ਖਾੜਕੂ ਖਾਸਾ ਕਮਜ਼ੋਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਹੁਣ ਮਸਲਾ ਸਿਰਫ ਲਹਿਰ ਨੂੰ ਪੁਰਾਣੀਆਂ ਲੀਹਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਸੁਰਜੀਤ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ, ਸਗੋਂ ਲਹਿਰ ਦਾ ਅਗਲਾ ਪੜਾਅ ਨਵੀਂਆਂ ਸਥਿਤੀਆਂ ਅੰਦਰ ਸੰਘਰਸ਼ ਦੇ ਖਾਲਸਾਈ ਨਜਰੀਏ ਦੀ ਵਾਜਬੀਅਤ ਨੂੰ ਮੁੜ-ਬਹਾਲ ਕਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਸਹੀ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ।

ਇਸ ਖਰੜੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਜਿੱਥੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਅਤੇ ਬਿਪਰ ਸਾਮਰਾਜ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਚਲ ਰਹੀ ਜੰਗ ਦੀ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਨੀਤੀ-ਪੈਂਤੜੇਬਾਜ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਪੜਚੋਲ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਉਥੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੇ **ਅੰਦਰੂਨੀ ਵਹਿਣ ਦੀ ਪੜਚੋਲ ਵੱਲ ਜ਼ਿਆਦਾ ਜ਼ੋਰ** ਦਿੱਤਾ ਹੈ। ਸਾਡੀ ਮਾਨਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਜਦੋਂ ਤੱਕ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦਾ ਕਾਰ-ਵਿਹਾਰ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਾਹਿਬਾਨ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਬਾਪੇ ਨਿਆਰੇਪਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ, ਉਦੋਂ ਤੱਕ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਮੱਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹ ਦੀ ਪੂਰਨ ਬਖਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਤੋਂ ਮਹਿਰੂਮ ਰਹੇਗਾ ਤੇ ਪੰਥ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਜੰਗ ਫੈਸਲਾਕੁੰਨ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਿੱਤ ਸਕੇਗਾ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਇਹ ਖਰੜਾ ਭਵਿਖਮੁਖੀ ਹੱਲੇ ਤੋਂ

ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਅੰਦਰੂਨੀ ਕਤਾਰਬੰਦੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਥਕ ਪਰੰਪਰਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਮੁੜ-ਉਸਾਰੀ ਦੇ ਨੁਕਤੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਵੀ ਵਿਚਾਰੇ ਜਾਣ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਉਪਜਿਆ ਹੈ। 'ਸੰਵਾਦ' ਵਲੋਂ ਆਉਂਦੇ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਇਸ ਖਰੜੇ ਦੀ ਰੂਹ ਮੁਤਾਬਕ ਵੱਖਿਆਨ ਅਤੇ ਲੇਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਲੜੀ ਚਲਾਏ ਜਾਣ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਵੇਗਾ ਜੋ ਇਸ ਖਰੜੇ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਰ ਵਿਸਤਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਸਪਸ਼ਟਤਾ ਪ੍ਰਦਾਨ ਕਰੇਗੀ।

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥  
ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਜੀ ਕੀ ਫਤਿਹ ॥

## STEPPING INTO THE FUTURE

*The Way Forward...*

On 23 Jeth, 547 Nanakshahi (June 6, 2015 CE), Bhai Daljit Singh released a draft document<sup>1</sup> initiating a process of dialogue and deliberations in order to propel the Khalsa Panth towards the objective of achieving *Khalsa Jee Ke Bol Baalay*.<sup>2</sup> With the blessing (*bakhshish*) of *Akaal Purakh*, the Samvad initiative has worked collectively towards this objective over the past several years through lectures, dialogue, seminars, symposia and conferences to facilitate critical discussions for our internal development.

In order to chart out the further course of action and to move into the next phase, selective *panth dardis*<sup>3</sup> from across the world got together at Sri Anandpur Sahib during the Hola Mohalla jor mela this year to engage in self-reflection and deliberation. The essence of those deliberations are being, hereby, put before the Khalsa Panth for perusal, feedback and guidance so that a strategy to achieve the objective collectively can be evolved.

This document is a set of suggested guiding principles based on the confines of understanding of the congregation of *panth dardis*. It is not intended to be definitive or conclusive. We hereby request the enlightened minds of the *GurSangat* to share their valuable thoughts so that we can build the path forward and work collectively towards the common goal of “*Khalsa Jee Ke Bol Baalay*.”

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1 <https://sikhsiyasat.net/2015/06/07/position-document-released-by-sikh-leader-bhai-daljeet-singh/>

2 ‘Khalsa Jee Ke Bol Baalay’ or the ‘Khalsa’s sovereignty’ refers to Khalsa Jee’s sovereign decision-making authority, which is intricately linked with concepts of sutantar vicharna and patshahi explored within this document.

3 Panth dardi are those that are dedicated to the Khalsa Panth.

## Foreword

Guru Nanak Sahib took human consciousness to its pinnacle so that it can directly experience the limitlessness of the *Infinite*. It is through this transformation from Sikh-consciousness to Guru-consciousness that the sublime form of the Khalsa came forth into this world. During the period of Sikh misls and Sarkar Khalsa, the world witnessed the reflections of the divine Khalsa spirit in the social and political structures of the times.

Following the weakening of the Khalsa Panth's *prampara* (tradition) in the final decades of Sarkar Khalsa however, history is witness to the betrayal and devastating losses that followed in its wake. With the waning of the Khalsa Panth's *jathebandi* (organization), the temporal sovereignty of the Sarkar Khalsa was also lost.

It was at this point that Sikhs first came face-to-face with *Western secularism*<sup>4</sup>

4 While the vanity of the West traces itself back to ancient Greece, it was the process of colonialism that expanded a disciplining mode of knowledge-production based on the primacy of positivism and the finality of human intellect and agency. Through this myth from ancient Greece to “modern” Europe, this project continued to expand and sought to define all elements of life as it simultaneously sought to conquer the material world in its entirety. With the Protestant Reformation, this duplicitous project emerged into a new phase—premised on the superiority of materialism and the “secularization” of the world.

*(manmat)*<sup>5</sup> and a new, rapidly changing world.

In the past century, the idea of the nation-state has gradually emerged to replace the monarchy as the predominant political structure around the world. Subsequently,

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During the time of the so-called Renaissance in Europe, two competing perspectives jostled for dominance in interpreting the world: the theology of the Church and scientific positivism. As positivism came to replace Christian theology as the dominant paradigm of knowledge-production and interpretation, this project embarked on a process of “secularization.” At the core of this process is the replacement of divine agency as the foundation of understanding the world (i.e. knowledge-production), with the human intellect built around the Ego. With the replacement of “God” by the “Ego” as the ultimate authority of life, this cognitive mechanism asserted itself as an abstract universal—disembodied from its concrete origins and historical context. Built upon the prototype of the White European Male, this abstract universalism projects itself as the apex of human life while all others (racialized/colonized peoples) must assimilate to the West’s “civilization” in order to develop beyond their “local parochialisms” and “backwardness.”

The most important limitation of this “secularism” is not only that it prioritizes empiricism and the material realm as the ultimate source of Truth, but that it actively prohibits the divine (and non-Western perspectives) from all forms of public (social, political, and economic) life and knowledge-production. While the development of secularism is one of the defining elements of the “West,” this intermingles with its other foundational elements—Eurocentrism and White supremacy. This is why the West is incapable of developing a genuinely universal ethics or working for sarbat da bhala. Without spiritual balance and the guidance of divinity—science, reason, and industrialization function only as tools of Capital (profit) rather than the wellbeing of all. Accordingly, social relations, governance structures and other institutions derived by the West remain institutions of domination rather than seva.

As Khalsa Jee Ke Bol Baalay revolves around a divine vision manifested in the material realm, the Khalsa’s understanding of the world is built around a unique epistemology ignored and erased by Western secularism.

5 This Western worldview is manmat by its very definition. The valorization of the Ego (illusion of the self as “I”), at the heart of this epistemology, along with political structures built around the paramountcy of individual liberty thus reek of egocentrism and manmat that the gurmukh overcomes.

the nation-state's corresponding electoral system has come to be accepted as the approved method of selecting leadership—all under the appearance of “the current system of democracy.”

After the decline of the *Firanghi*<sup>6</sup> empire in 479 Nanakshahi (1947 CE), the transformation of power in the region saw the Khalsa Panth's historical territory divided into two and the reins of power over the *Firangi-created* artificial entity “India” handed over to the *Bippar Sanskari*<sup>7</sup> Congress party. The new imperial rulers of “India” selected the least developed model of the electoral system (“first past the post”) from amongst a host of options to impose a majoritarian system through “representative democracy.”

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6 foreign (British) colonizers.

7 “Bippar Sanskar are the destructive processes which break entire societies from the mystic relationship between their being and their divine origins by subordinating them to the giaan-haumai (epistemic ego-centrism) of materialism. Wrenching the human connection from divinity and replacing this with bland worldly desires, emotional instability, and a desire to dominate all of creation, these efforts for self-gratification are turned into the enslaved person's new God. As it rapidly transforms the sublime consciousness of the mystic towards giaan-haumai, this process turns human existence and activity towards a revised form of idolatry. Human communities based on the beauty of deep gratitude are shattered and replaced with the psyche of endless consumption and the establishment of new idols. Integrity is hung to dry in a vacuum of vulgar emptiness while collective values are drowned in the deceit of obscenity.

Bippar Sanskar can take a great number of form: Sikh, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu et cetera, but the central prototype throughout all of these derivatives are in their brahminical influence. The social systems developed around Brahminism are the original mold of Bippar Sanskar and are perpetually reproduced by these conditions.” —from Prof. Harinder Singh Mehboob's *Sehaje Rachio Khalsa*, page 610.

As the instruments of the establishment began its nation-building project with full intensity, unique cultural groups and identities were subsumed into the so-called “Indian nation” built upon a *brahminical* mold. As a result of the new elite’s imperial psyche and expansive Western political structures at its service, the imposition of Indian nationalism and capitalism sharpened the attack against the Khalsa Panth’s distinctive existence in the new so-called “republic.”

Despite these adversities, Sikhs continued to resist and to uphold their commitment to sovereignty (*sutantar vicharna*)<sup>8</sup>. The various phases of this struggle include the struggle for a linguistic region within the structure of “India” (Punjabi Suba movement), the struggle for autonomy (Anandpur Sahib Resolution), the struggle for confederation (Amritsar Declaration), and ultimately—the struggle for an independent state (Khalistan Declaration).

Unfortunately, over the past two decades, a significant section of the Sikh *Sangat* has let down its legacy of struggle and has reverted to the self-defeating political strategy

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<sup>8</sup> The principle of *sutantar vicharna* reflects the Khalsa’s commitment to remain free from any fear or influence of any worldly authority. Commitment to the Truth and reflection of truthfulness in action is central to this principle.



of finding relief within the “Indian” electoral system and its authoritarian structure. As a result, the activities of many Sikh *dharmik* (religious) and political groups are only drifting further and further away from *Gurmat* and Sikh *prampara*.

At this critical juncture, we need to reexamine the *Khalsa Panth*’s political policy and strategy and reflect on our internal dynamics of the *Panth*. It is imperative that we also begin to understand the processes and phenomena taking place throughout the world based in a *Gurmat perspective*. In order to understand our current situation, and to imbue ourselves in the Khalsa’s divine character and its blessings, we must turn to a process requiring deep thought and self-reflection.

We place these suggestions before the Khalsa Panth in the above light, so that we can analyze the current situation of the Panth, identify the roots of the disease, and formulate possible solutions—all in the hopes of marking the signposts of our future advancement.

## THE EPICENTRE OF THE DISEASE

In the current times, the defining centre of life for most Sikhs is no longer *Guru-Liv*<sup>9</sup>, due to which the lustre of *eilaahi hukam* and *raza* (divine will) has diminished within Sikh consciousness. Instead of seeking Akaal's blessings, most Sikhs have come to solely rely upon their own individual efforts and are deluded into believing in themselves and 'material world' to be the ultimate source of their agency.

In our failure to maintain the structures of Sikh knowledge-systems, both *Bip-par Sanskar* and Western secularism have affected and distorted our interpretations of Gurbani, our understanding of our history and following our tradition. Because of this disconnect, the substance and spirit of our foundational institutions—GurSangat and the Guru Khalsa Panth have been eroded and distorted.

Western secularism (manmat) is the foundation on which the entire gamut of social, political, administrative, educational and economic structures of the world are

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<sup>9</sup> The state of being defined by a deep connection and absorption in the Guru's omnipresence that is experienced through naam and gurbani.

based. Alongside these global processes, our own Gurdwara management, panthic institutions, our religious and political discourse have been mired with the limitations of ego (haumai)-driven knowledge-systems rather than being based on *rabi sidhak* (unwavering faith in the divine).

Since the time of Renaissance in Europe, non-white peoples around the world have been subjected to the process of so-called “civilization” in the name of “modernity.”<sup>10</sup> This project unfolded in a coordinated process to promote white racial supremacy hand in hand with establishing and maintaining the political and economic supremacy of the West throughout the world.

This project sought to define living beings as static *objects* according to the perspective of a “universalized” secular view of the world, and simultaneously discipline them to *assimilate* to the standards of the Westernizing “civilization” project.

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10 This is why it is important to recognize that the so-called “Renaissance” and “Enlightenment” processes in Europe have been experienced by Europe’s underside in the form of colonialism. It is not possible to look at the project of “modernity” without understanding its violent moorings. The discourse of “modernity” has been mobilized as the driving force of colonialism and the defining narrative of white supremacy.

In particular, educational institutions (i.e. schools and universities) were mobilized as a fundamental tool of this project. These disciplining institutions have served to erase other modes of producing knowledge, and replace them by imprinting “modern” (i.e. Western/“civilized”) definitions and worldviews into the hearts and minds of colonized peoples.

Sikhs were also domesticated by the British education system under this policy. As a result, our collective moral and spiritual fortitude—based on direct experience of the divine through daily life—was deeply damaged.

By submitting to the project of “modernity” (i.e. coloniality) and adopting a so-called “modern” identity as a source of accomplishment, such Sikhs have condemned themselves to their own existential imprisonment. Not only do they suffer the loss of their own sense of self by rejecting their heritage, but they have not been able to formulate a new sense of “self” or a meaningful vision for the world through the project of modernity either. This is not only because the project of modernity is fundamentally premised on the exclusion and subordination of the non-white world, but because its corresponding

secular worldview maliciously prohibits a sovereign Sikh worldview in the public (social, political, and economic) sphere.

### AS A RESULT...

- our personal and collective *rahit* (way of life) only remains partially inspired by *Gurmat*. Sikh personalities have turned secular (cold)—bereft of the warmth, beauty and poetics infused into life through Gurbani.
- We are only able to transmit a limited or distorted interpretation of Gurbani, history and *prampara* to our next generations.
- Both atheism<sup>11</sup> and empty ritualism are being promoted in the name of *Gurmat parchar* (dissemination).

<sup>11</sup> By atheism we do not simply mean a disbelief in “God” or “religion.” The atheism we are referring to is the expansion of Western secularism into the realm of faith. Such parchariks seek to secularize Sikh dharam by restricting it solely to the sphere of private belief and intellect by contorting it to conform with the precepts of “modernity” and scientific positivism. This “parchar” is an internalization of the Western “civilization” project as it seeks to “modernize” the Panth by assimilating and subordinating Gurmat to the material worldview and values of Western secularism. The ultimate result seeks to erase the sovereignty, mysticism, and divine agency inherently embedded within Sikhi.

- Our ability to understand the world's social, political, and natural phenomena from a *Gurmat* perspective has been handicapped.
- Due to the blurring of a *Gurmat*-based worldview, whatever intellectual exercises currently occur in Sikh spaces remain alienating and disconnected from the Panth. Because of this, antithetical practices, anti-panthic individuals, and groups are gaining prominence within the Sangat.
- We are having difficulties in understanding the claim to *patshahi* and the unique sovereign nature of the Guru Khalsa Panth.
- The role of the Guru Khalsa Panth is being limited to one region (Punjab) alone.
- Because of the fading of a *Gurmat* worldview, which correctly understands and expounds the Sikh tradition of *sangarsh* (struggle), there is an incomplete understanding around the significance of armed struggle within the Sikh Sangat.

- Rather than the esteemed ideals of *sarbat da bhala*<sup>12</sup>, untrustworthy political leaders engrossed in self-gratification are promoting egotistical practices as the norm. Character and integrity are slowly being eased out from Sikh politics and *Panthic* leadership.
- We are increasingly vulnerable to *Bippar Samraj*'s ongoing exploitation and oppression, the cultural invasion under the guise of nationalism, and the subtle psychological impacts of *Bippar Sanskar*.
- Customary Sikh educational systems have gradually been replaced by Western education through the normalization and acceptance of the modern schooling system.
- Antithetical modes of *Panthic* organization and political action have become predominant.
- Social media and technology are being misused to exacerbate conflict and tension within the Sikh Sangat.

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<sup>12</sup> The welfare of all elements of Akaal Purakh's creation. This is not limited to humans alone but includes everything within this biosphere and beyond.

In order to combat these fatal trends, the only effective solution is to rejuvenate those *Panthic* customs and traditions which have either been distorted or faded away in oblivion. For this reason, we first turn to analyze some of these key customs and practices.

## **KHALSA JEE KE BOL BAALAY** **AN ANALYSIS OF PANTHIC TRADITION**

### **1. The Position of the Guru Khalsa Panth**

Guru, Khalsa, and Panth are three different words that take on a whole new significance when they come together. Through *Sachay Patshah* (the True Sovereign), the eternal spirit (*Akaal Purakh*) enters into *kaal* (time-space, i.e. physical form) and manifests in history through Khalsa Panth. After Guru Sahib blessed the *guriaee* (guruship) collectively to Sri Guru Granth Sahib and the Guru Khalsa Panth, Guru's Sahib's spirit is ever present within Sri Guru Granth Sahib in *shabad* form, and embodied in the Guru Khalsa Panth.



Guru Sahib blessed the Khalsa Panth with a unique responsibility. Only by walking along the path of *gurmukh rehat* does the Khalsa take on the qualities of the Guru. Progressing through the stages of *udham* (effort), *sidhak* (faith), *parkh* (test), and *bakhshish* (blessing), the Khalsa Panth becomes worthy of being *shiromani* (preeminent) and playing a central role within the *GurSangat*.

The Guru Khalsa Panth is not merely a “culture” among others—it is the name of the sublime, living flow of spiritually awakened souls. Only *Sachay Patshah* determines who will be given the service of the Panth through *seva*, *tyaag* and *shahadat*.<sup>13</sup> The Guru Khalsa Panth is the extension of one to *sarbat* (all of creation). This Khalsa, even in the form of *sava lakh*,<sup>14</sup> is capable of serving justice. While the Khalsa exists in a collective form (*Sangat*), in some moments, a lone Khalsa rises to fulfill the role of the entire collective.

Ultimately, the Guru Khalsa Panth is the medium through which the divine qualities of *Peeri* (spiritual sovereignty) and *Meeri* (temporal sovereignty) manifest and take form in a historical context.

13 Service, sacrifice, and shaheedi (martyrdom).

14 Within the Khalsa tradition, *sava lakh* (125,000) is equivalent to one Khalsa.

## 2. Patshahi and Raj

The Guru Khalsa Panth's claim to *patshahi*<sup>15</sup> is not based on any worldly concept; it is the spiritual inheritance bestowed by Sri Guru Nanak Sahib *Sachay Patshah* while concrete political structures are the tangible *expression* of this *patshahi* in the material world. This *patshahi* is not dependent on any worldly power or throne; warriors of the Khalsa have given their *shahadat* throughout history relying solely on the blessing of *Akaal Purakh*. This is why the Khalsa Panth is the heir of *Akaal takhat*—the throne of *Akaal*.

Thus, the Khalsa Panth's claim to *patshahi* is a phenomenon that is simultaneously connected both to *Akaali* (timeless/formless) sovereignty and the tangible political structure of a given time. According to Gurbani, *kaal* (time-space, i.e. the material realm) is only temporary—not eternal. For this reason, the Guru Khalsa Panth will always remain beyond any political structure—*even one of its own making*.

The principle of the Khalsa's *patshahi* means that the Khalsa Panth can never ac-

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15 Patshahi is the expression of the complete (spiritual and temporal) sovereign and autonomous nature of the Khalsa due to its status as the Guru-Panth.

cept the *adheengi* or *gulaami*<sup>16</sup> of any other power, idea, or polity under any circumstances. The Khalsa Panth surrenders to one and only *Akaal Purakh*, and accordingly, no power has the authority to limit, control, or subsume the Khalsa Panth's existence or its sovereignty. Whenever any power seeks to control or limit the sovereign existence of the Khalsa Panth, or defiles the cosmic divinity of creation by establishing an oppressive polity, the Khalsa Panth wages an unrelenting struggle to uproot such tyrants and establish a polity dedicated to *sarbat da bhala*, with the determined commitment to be “*sovereign or resist*.”<sup>17</sup>

The nature of Guru Nanak Patshah's *Peeri* (spiritual sovereignty) is eternally merciful and dedicated to *sarbat da bhala*. For this reason, the Khalsa Panth's obligation to *Meeri* (temporal sovereignty) is to “*destroy the tyranny and protect the weak*”<sup>18</sup> by establishing *Halemi raj* to stop the desecration of *Kartar's* (the Creator's) creation.

When disconnected from *Guru-Liv* however, the Panth loses its status as Guru and

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16 subordination or subjugation/slavery.

17 “Baagi ja baadshah.”

18 “Gareeb di rakhiya, jarvanay di bhakhiya.”

Khalsa—and with this, its claim to *patshahi* withers away. Instead, its existence is diminished to that of a “cultural identity” among many others.

Under the influence of Western secularism, a significant proportion of Sikh Sangat today has begun to see the source of sovereignty solely in the modern state rather than *Akaal Purakh*. For this reason, most of the entities claiming to be representative bodies of the Khalsa Panth exist simply as political factions subordinate to worldly powers—political factions whose claim is not even one of *badshahat* (temporal sovereignty), but *subedari*<sup>19</sup>.

The Guru Khalsa Panth is distinguished from various sects and ethnic identities by its *eilaahi naem and roohani jeevan* (mystic discipline and spiritualized life). While such groups may adhere to a specific ideology or rely on ties of identity, they are bound within the confines of time, while the Guru Khalsa Panth remains dynamic for all times. Rather than a static ethnic identity frozen in time, the Khalsa manifests the continuous

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<sup>19</sup> Subedari refers to the mode of politics that restricts itself to the limited powers or autonomy that is meted out to entities subordinate to a higher worldly power—and therefore a position that is unacceptable to the Khalsa at all costs. For example, while sub-units within a federal structure can have some degree of autonomy, this autonomy is inherently limited and granted to the sub-unit by the central government—the ultimate sovereign within such a system.

flow of spiritual life and divine justice.

In the past 150 years, a large portion of the Sangat have forsaken their divine claim to *patshahi* and as a result, limited their horizons to seeking power within the parameters of European nation-states—like any other political entity. The Khalsa’s *patshahi* however, goes far beyond the notion of some identity-based desire for limited political power within a subordinated system subject to *kaal*. But today, a section of Sikhs has completely forgotten its *patshahi* and is concerned solely with “protecting” its “cultural identity.”

This is why no political party, *dharam prachar jatha* (religious groups), Gurdwara committee structure, or intellectual centre can ever claim to represent the Khalsa on their own. Those political entities that are satisfied with *subedari* of a worldly power in the place of *patshahi* can never represent the Khalsa Panth.

### **3. The Panthic Tradition of Organization and Action**

It is through the *jathebandi* (organization) of the Khalsa that the *supreme being* intervenes in the realm of *kaal*. The *jathebandi* of the Khalsa Panth is not limited only

to the purpose of *Meeri* (temporal sovereignty), but also manifests the divine qualities of *Peeri* (spiritual sovereignty). In other words, the Khalsa was not established solely for a worldly purpose, it is a force of the divine structures established within *parmatam ki mauj* (the ecstatic will of the *supreme being*).

As such, the *jathebandi* of the Khalsa Panth is not a collective of individuals, a communal identity, or a sociopolitical organization. It is the living flow of self-less<sup>20</sup> souls in one concrete manifestation. In the face of adversity, Sikhs have always turned towards Sri Guru Granth Sahib and the *jathebandi* of the Khalsa Panth.

In accordance with Guru Maharaj Jee's divine *hukam*, Sikhs have raised smaller *jathay* (units) for specific tasks since earlier times. The existence of these *jathay* however, was never separate from the Khalsa Panth's overall *jathebandi*. From time to time these *jathay* have always been created as units within the *jathebandi* of the Khalsa Panth and then dissolved upon the completion of their task. There is no hierarchy within or

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20 This notion of selflessness is not merely a quality of altruism. It is based on a core concept of Gurmat—shedding the duality of haumai (“I am me”). Gurbani diagnoses haumai as the central disease of human existence which deludes our mind into believing itself to be a separate entity from Akaal (or that there is anything other than Akaal). Through the blessing of naam, the gurmukh removes this veil of falsehood by shedding the ego and merges into the Akaal—permeating all of creation.

among *jathay*; any one *jatha* can be given a task according to its capability and skill.

The unifying thread between the various *jathay* of the Guru Khalsa Panth has always been *Gurmat* and Panthic traditions. The central facet of this tradition is *panch pradhani* leadership and collective decision-making. The Guru Khalsa Panth was and is based on the principle of *hannai hannai meeri*.<sup>21</sup> This Panthic tradition flows in a state of constant renewal, ensuring that Panthic structures always remain flexible.

But in today's reality, many within the Sikh Sangat have been focused on establishing static organizations based on the prevalent structures of the West and their hierarchical bureaucracies. Instead of consulting personalities based on their qualities, those holding bureaucratic positions within systems of hierarchical decision-making are predominant. Rather than strengthening Sikh *prampara* and institutions, this type of Sikh political organization is consistently rejecting *Gurmat* due to its mislead obsession with fighting elections subordinated to the state.

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21 This phrase is derived from the word hanna (referring to the pommel of a saddle) and is based on the premise that each and every Khalsa who is *tiar-bar-tiar* (ready for battle) is a bearer of the Khalsa's *patshahi* with a direct link to Akaal. As such, even as *sava lakh*, the Khalsa never accepts any form of domination—whether that is of an external political power or even a proposed hierarchy within the *jathebandi*.

#### 4. The Panthic Tradition of Leadership

Since the time of Sri Guru Nanak Sahib *Sachay Patshah*, the tradition of selecting leadership has been based on quality. Through commitment and persistent *seva* (service), such personalities naturally emerge within the *GurSangat*. There has never been a tradition of selecting leadership on the basis of calculating majorities. Accordingly, the Guru Khalsa Panth has always maintained a *panch pradhani* system of collective leadership. The jathedars of the Guru Khalsa Panth and various *jathay* exist only in the form of co-ordinators and *not* as overlords.

The decisions of the Guru Khalsa Panth or its *jathay* are thus made collectively by the *panch*<sup>22</sup>. This principle of leadership must maintain a delicate balance between *shabad de abhiyaasi*, *bani de rasiye*, *panth dardi*,<sup>23</sup> and experts in relevant worldly fields (having balance between spiritual, mental, physical and worldly skills).

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22 council of five.

23 practitioners of the Shabad, imbued in Gurbani, and dedicated to the Panth.



## 5. Decision-making process

The institution of the *gurmatta* is the Guru Khalsa Panth's process of decision-making. Today, instead of collective *gurmattay* in light of Guru Maharaj Jee's sovereignty, decisions are often taken in accordance with the whims and interests of egotistical elites controlling Panthic institutions.

A *gurmatta* is the institutionalized expression of the Khalsa Panth's spirit. It is the collective *GurSangat's* clear position on a specific issue. In other words, it is the concrete self-expression of souls simultaneously existing in divine realms and the material world, through which their cohesive theory and praxis is manifested in the unified spirit-body of *Sarbat Khalsa Jeeo*.

There are many distinguishing factors between the *gurmatta* and worldly consensus building. Within Western systems, individuals in a gathering (as the focal point of modern political theory and structures) retain their individual identity. They may temper their individual positions in order to achieve agreement, but they do not merge their individuality into a selfless collective. In contrast, the Khalsa's *gurmatta* rises above

individual existence in order to merge into one unified whole.

The *panch* that will be making the decision are selected from among the *Sangat* that has gathered. After the decision-making process is complete, they again return to being regular members within the *Sangat* because this is not a bureaucratic appointment of a permanent hierarchy or a “representative assembly.” Panthic leadership is not a separate structure that exists outside of the *GurSangat*, it is the collective and formless leadership of the whole.

The Guru Khalsa Panth’s decisions are made collectively under the guidance of Sri Guru Granth Sahib and the leadership of the *panch pradhani* system. In the Guru Khalsa Panth’s tradition, these *panch* listen to the suggestions of the *GurSangat* and weigh them in light of Gurbani, Sikh history, and the Khalsa’s mystic intuition. As they are collectively considered to be the form of *Akaal Purakh*, the *panch* reserves the right to make the final decision binding on the *GurSangat*. It is not just the deliberation process and ideas of the *Sangat* that are factored in when making a decision, the ultimate faith of the decision-making process rests on *Akaal Purakh*’s will and agency in executing the decision.

## THE ROLE OF THE GURU KHALSA PANTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The Guru Khalsa Panth's central distinguishing factor is its claim to *patshahi*—which has been bestowed upon the Khalsa by *Akaal Purakh*. Accordingly, the Guru Khalsa Panth renders justice without concern for boundaries. Unlike Western nation-states, it is not restricted by the limits of borders and identities. As the source of the Guru Khalsa Panth's *patshahi* is a divine blessing of cosmic dimensions, it manifests in all material spheres. Alongside the spiritual realm, it asserts itself in the political, social, economic, and epistemic spheres as well.

The Guru Khalsa Panth's role in the world is timeless: any worldly power which does not fulfill its responsibilities in accordance with Sri Guru Granth Sahib's principle of *sarbat da bhala* must be reformed or destroyed. The Guru Khalsa Panth's responsibility is to work to dismantle those systems that violate the precept of "*gareeb di rakhiya, jarvanay di bhakhiya,*"<sup>24</sup> and defile the cosmic divinity of creation through any form of oppression. Accordingly, while Sikhs outside of Punjab may live in many different

24 "destroy the tyranny and protect the weak"

societies, their role in relation to their sociopolitical realities *must* be based on the holistic principles of *sarbat da bhala* and *patshahi*.

The Sikh Sangat throughout the world occupies a respected position due to its social and political achievements, as well as its unique identity. This respect and recognition for its solidarity with the oppressed during times of crisis and difficulty is due to the blessings of Sri Guru Nanak Sahib *Sachay Patshah*.

It is important to acknowledge however, that much of the social service and political engagement that is taking place in foreign countries today is premised on *ignoring and erasing* the Khalsa's *patshahi*. This *patshahi* is crucial because without it, rather than *sutantar vicharna*, the existence of the Khalsa Panth is reduced to a mere cultural minority subordinate to the state. Without this *patshahi*, the Khalsa Panth's splendour does not manifest in its entirety nor can the ideal of *sarbat da bhala* be meaningfully practiced and implemented in the world.

It is thus pivotal for every Sikh, to work in accordance with the principles of the

Guru Khalsa Panth and *Gurmat* to achieve *sarbat da bhala* — and not operate in subservience to the state or other oppressive powers of the time.

## **THE ROLE OF THE GURU KHALSA PANTH IN SOUTH ASIA**

### **1. The importance of Punjab within the region**

#### **The unique character of Punjab**

Punjab is that historical land where concrete social and political structures, inspired by *Gurmat* and dedicated to *sarbat da bhala*, were established for the first time. The central shrines of the Khalsa Panth decorate this entire land. Punjab is the land of the Guru Khalsa Panth's legacy whose glorious history is full of battles fought for the “*destruction of the tyranny, protection of the weak.*” Punjab has been blessed with rich natural resources—ample fresh water sources, fertile soil, and a temperate climate due to which it is renowned within the entire subcontinent for its abundance.

## Punjab's place within the geopolitics of South Asia

According to the current political realities, Punjab's geopolitical significance is very high due to its location between two nuclear armed powers. The easiest route to and from the current globally recognized conflict zone of Kashmir runs through united Punjab. For countries like Russia, Central Asian countries, and China, access to warm water ports in the Indian Ocean also runs through united Punjab.

Considering the increasing likelihood of global tension following the West's decline and the rise of China, any conflict between the two forces will naturally impact Punjab as well.

## The Role of Punjab in the South Asian Economy

The route of South Asian trade with the Central Asian republics and Arab countries has historically always been through Punjab. Before 479 Nanakshahi (1947 CE), the city of Sri Amritsar was one of Asia's central dry ports. With China's "Belt & Road Initiative" and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor under construction, a new global trade route

will mark its footprint around the world. It is inevitable that this will significantly impact East Punjab.

## **2. Delhi takhat<sup>25</sup> and the oppressed peoples of the region**

### Defining characteristics of Delhi takhat

Delhi takhat is defined by a blended mix of influences, made up of four predominant layers:

- a). Imperialist political structures
- b). Nationalism and state-building
- c). *Bippar Sanskar*
- d). Capitalism

### Analysis

a). The British rule over the region may have officially ended in 1947 Nanakshahi (1947 CE), but its imperialist structure of domination (i.e. the “Indian” state) is still

<sup>25</sup> seat of power.

continuing on the same tracks to this day; the exploitation of natural resources and treatment of people as resources continues today. This psyche is inherent to the very nature of India as a colonial project.

The decisive power over this state structure remains in the hands of the so-called “upper caste” elite, while the desires and aspirations of the diverse racial, social, political, cultural, religious, and linguistic communities are repressed purely by state violence. Even today, the state does not govern with the consent and input of citizens but instead imposes its policy on the masses with brute force.

b). In order to shackle the countless racial groups, cultures, nations and historical polities and keep them subordinated to one centralized political structure, the nation-building project was intricately interwoven with the imperatives of state-building after 479 Nanakshahi (1947 CE).

To achieve this vision, all of the state’s institutions, including the education system, cinema, television, and other mechanisms of communication and culture, were deployed in the state’s nation-building project in order to assimilate these diverse peoples into one



artificially constructed “Indian nation.”

c). As a result of *Bippar Sanskar* being at the foundation of the ruling core, the hierarchical and discriminatory systems of Brahminism are embedded in the structure of the state and society. All peoples impacted by caste apartheid and economic deprivation are still struggling for their dignity, social, political, and economic equality.

The elite so-called “upper castes” have tightened their grip over Delhi takhat in recent years and as a result, are pushing their chauvinistic project even more aggressively than before. This supremacist psyche is at the root of their desire to become a global superpower and its aggressive tone is sharply intensifying day by day. In this regard, this elite propagates the mythic self-perception of itself as the “Guru of the world.”

The deteriorating relations with India’s neighbours is a result of this supremacist mindset and its approach to those nations shackled within its borders is no different. Delhi takhat does not view these peoples as its own or as partners, but as enemies that are yet to be fully conquered. Those who advocate *sanjhiwalta (equality, fraternity and peaceful co-existence)* in the region have been increasingly marginalized.

d). The last layer of Delhi takhat is its capitalist economic structure which, in the past three decades, has rapidly intensified the rate of concentrating as much capital as possible in the hands of a few major industrialists and corporations. Along these lines, successive “Indian” governments have conspired with domestic and foreign capitalists to blindly exploit the natural resources and peoples of the subcontinent.

Before the current corporate capitalist model was imposed, the Indian economic system purported to adopt a socialist economic model which in reality was just state capitalism. In order to force the diverse, multinational subcontinent into a homogenized nation-state, it was necessary that all economic powers remained highly centralized in the hands of Delhi takhat as a pivotal tool of social and political engineering.

This is why India’s diverse regions were forced into economic dependence on Delhi.

Going forward, it is crucial that we begin meaningful attempts to develop just economic relations and systems in light of *Gurmat* and based on the dignity of *kirat* (labour), not capital (profit).

### **3. The liberation question**

#### **Prevalent visions among resistance movements**

In order to build meaningful and just social relations amongst the peoples of the region it is imperative to wield political power for the purpose of *sarbat da bhala*. In order to change the current power structure in this region, there are six prevalent visions articulated amongst different communities and resistance movements.

a). The first suggestion is based on the misconceived notion that India's constitution is capable of justice, but the system faces a lack of honest leaders. This suggests that honest individuals can take over the current structures and address the massive shortcomings.

b). The second suggests that the current structure merely requires minor constitutional and structural reforms in order to fully implement justice and equality within its current confines.

c). The third is that India must be decentralized into a federal structure to allow more autonomy to different regions.

d). Fourth, is that the Indian state should be dismantled and divided into multiple sovereign countries i.e. Nagaland, Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, *Khalistan*<sup>26</sup> etc.

e). Fifth, is that the subjugated peoples of the region dismantle the Indian state and establish multiple sovereign countries which develop a confederation to maintain means of cooperation. This may look similar to the European Union.

26 What is Khalistan?

A. Khalistan is the expression of the eternal patshahi bestowed upon the Khalsa by Sachay Patshah, Guru Nanak Sahib. Khalistan is the tangible manifestation of this blessing as a practical means to exercise the Khalsa's political power today.

B. The struggle for Khalistan is not a product of an anxiety to protect our identity or existence from danger. This struggle is an inevitable consequence of the Khalsa Panth's patshahi—which is an integral aspect of the Khalsa throughout all the ages of creation.

C. When we talk about Khalistan, we mean a free (completely sovereign) political structure where two key processes can occur: the Khalsa's unique and autonomous hondh-hasthi can flourish without any limits or restrictions; and where spiritual and temporal structures based on sarbat da bhala can develop so that everyone can blossom to their full potential. This requires sovereignty, equality, and justice so that an ideal society and polity based on sanjhivalta can flourish.

D. A sovereign political structure capable of manifesting the cosmic perspective of Sri Guru Granth Sahib.

E. A polity which will be based on principles of autonomy and collective leadership (i.e. panch pradhani) in which self-determination is a key organizing principle of structures from the grassroots up.

F. A political structure that promotes an equitable international political order—not one based on the hegemony of one or several states.

G. An atmosphere of Begampura that promotes life based on physical wellbeing, dignified labour, self-respect, and chardikala where people can live without fear.

—from the policy statement by Bhai Daljit Singh on 17 Vaisakh, 552 Nanakshahi (April 29, 2020 CE).

f). Sixth, the administration of Delhi takhat should be radically transformed under the leadership of the Guru Khalsa Panth.

### **Practical Possibilities**

The Brahminical Delhi takhat has adopted the *Firanghi* imperial structure in its entirety—maintaining its foundations of exploitation and oppression. For this reason, expecting justice and equality from the current system is futile and meaningless. The structures and rules of Delhi takhat should be understood as the power source of Bippar imperialism (*Bippar Samraj*)—of which Brahminical fascists have been dreaming about for years.

From a *Gurmat* perspective, and keeping practical realities on the ground in mind, the most effective strategy is that whosoever is resisting the domination of Delhi takhat's Brahminical project and political domination should form a united front.

Recognizing the complex nature of diversity within and among each community and region, it is not possible to establish a unified goal and agreed upon system immediately at this stage. The one common uniting factor is a desire to dismantle the current

structure of Delhi takhat. After achieving this goal, each entity can determine what they envision and work towards whichever political structure they would like to develop in its place.

#### **4. The Khalsa Panth's role in developing a structure capable of *sarbat da bhala***

The imperialist nation-state in the political sphere and Brahminism in the socio-spiritual sphere, are both grounded in materialism. These forces represent the *jarvana* (tyrant) which represses and terrorizes the oppressed peoples of the region. The Khalsa Panth's legacy has always been one of destroying such tyrants and protecting the weak. For this reason, the Khalsa Panth's responsibility in the current situation is to side with the oppressed and play a leading role in the struggle for *sarbat da bhala*.

It is necessary to consider the Khalsa Panth's strategic scope and role in the region. It is also important to develop a nuanced analysis regarding the complex nature of diversity in the region and how this ought to be reflected in the political structure and social relations of the future.

# THE KHALSA PANTH'S ROLE IN PUNJAB

## 1. Punjab's Political Challenges

Punjab's political crisis has four layers which remain at the root of all the symptomatic ailments that we see today:

- A. Imperialism: The roots of Punjab's political and economic crises, including river waters, agriculture, industry, and trade are all based in Delhi takhat's imperialist policies.
- B. India's nation-building exercise: the ongoing project to develop a homogenized nation-state has led to the further suppression and dependency of Punjab.
- C. Capitalism: The neoliberalism, privatization, and globalization driven by capitalism have sharpened the teeth of imperialism in the region. The exploitation of Punjab's farmers, workers, and labourers has increased exponentially. Further, these capitalist forces serve to promote and glorify a hedonistic culture driven by mass consumption.

D. The conflict between *Gurmat* and Brahminism: The fourth layer is the conflict between *Gurmat* and Brahminism. *Gurmat* advocates a society-polity based on dignity, equality and *sanjhivalta* whereas Brahminism promotes a society based on hierarchy and discrimination.

The sum total of this situation is that the struggles of other oppressed peoples in “India” align with the first three layers, while the fourth layer distinguishes the Sikh and Punjab conflict with Delhi.

Because of the Guru Khalsa Panth’s capacity to become a vanguard of the oppressed peoples of the entire region, Brahminical forces have always feared the Guru Khalsa Panth. These are the reasons that Delhi takhat has always attempted to repress Sikh institutions and organizations.

### Path to a Political Solution

From the perspective of *Gurmat* and strategically for a political solution in Punjab,



the most appropriate strategy is to unite with all of those forces within Punjab which oppose the social and political domination of Brahminism and Delhi takhat.

The speed of political change is rapidly increasing in the 21st century and there is no predicting what may happen tomorrow. In this scenario, it is imperative to consider where Sikhs fit within the coming global order. After the disintegration of Delhi takhat's current structure, we should consider what kind of political structure we seek to create (be that an independent state, a confederation including a sovereign Punjab, or *Khalsai badshahat* over Delhi).

In making this decision, the most important question will be determining what the role of the Guru Khalsa Panth will be in the new reality. What will the relationship between the proposed political structure and the Guru Khalsa Panth look like? Carefully contemplating these questions is crucial to meaningfully achieve *Khalsa Jee Ke Bol Baalay*.

## **2. The Issue of Punjab's Exploitation**

Delhi takhat's ongoing exploitation of Punjab's human and natural resources is

due to the multifaceted layers of the conflict outlined above. The only permanent solution for Punjab itself is freedom from the imperialism of Delhi takhat.

This struggle may be long and drawn out. This is disconcerting, considering the ecological, economic, and social disasters pending on the horizon. For this reason, whatever efforts can be made on social and panthic levels within the current realities should be launched immediately in order to alleviate the conditions to whatever degree possible.

### **3. Efforts to Build Social Bonds Based on *Sanjhivalta*<sup>27</sup>**

It is undeniable that political power shapes and impacts the development of social relations on a deep level. For this reason, it is impossible to build effective social relations and structures based on *sanjhivalta* without first taking political power.

But by mobilizing the Sikh institutions bestowed upon us by Guru Sahib in the light of *Gurmat*, we can make significant gains. The first step is rejuvenating and mobilizing our foundational institutions: *GurSangat*, Gurdwara, local Panthic *jathay* and

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<sup>27</sup> Sanjhivalta is not a false unity forged by an assimilating universalism, but the dignified co-creation/co-existence of diverse entities.

mobilizing them according to *Guru Jugat* (way/technique).

## **SUMMING UP**

The Khalsa Panth has faced countless obstacles in the past and has emerged victorious throughout history. In order to develop a consensus-based path towards *Khalsa Jee Ke Bol Baalay* today, this document has been presented to the Panth to reflect on our current challenges.

Because of the nature of technology, trade, culture and politics today, Sikhs are simultaneously intertwined with four different but linked spaces: Punjab, India, South Asia, and the entire world. Our analysis of the current situation has accordingly been placed within a global perspective, however we have started from Punjab as the starting point to regenerate a mode of politics oriented around *Sarbat da Bhala*.

The central idea of this entire document is that the solution to our current ills lies in consciously living the Guru Khalsa Panth's authentic existence by rejuvenating the institutions of Panthic leadership and decision-making.

The role of Sikhs in today's changing world is gaining increasing significance. It is pivotal that we step into this role and ensure that our *seva* takes place in accordance with the principles of the Guru Khalsa Panth. This is not only the Panth's need of the hour—but rather the whole world's. This is the path of *sarbat da bhala*, for which this document has been produced.

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## ਸੰਵਾਦ

~ਸਰਬੱਤ ਦੇ ਭਲੇ ਲਈ~

ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਦਾ ਆਸ਼ਾ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਸ਼ਖਸੀਅਤ, ਬੇਗਮਪੁਰਾ ਨਿਆਈ (ਭਾਵ ਪਿਆਰ-ਸਾਂਝੀਵਾਲਤਾ, ਨਿਰਭਉਤਾ-ਨਿਰਵੈਰਤਾ ਅਧਾਰਤ) ਸਮਾਜ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਅਤੇ ਐਸੇ ਸਮਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਦਰੂਨੀ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰੀ ਕਲੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਅਤ ਰੱਖਣ ਲਈ ਹਲੇਮੀ ਰਾਜ ਸਿਰਜਣ ਦਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਸੱਚ, ਨਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਬਰਾਬਰੀ ਅਧਾਰਤ ਹੋਵੇ।

ਸਮਾਜ ਦੀ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਦੇ ਵੱਖੋ-ਵੱਖਰੇ ਪਹਿਲੂਆਂ ਦੇ ਪਰਥਾਏ ਲਗਭਗ ਹਰ ਸੰਜੀਦਾ ਸ਼ਖਸ ਫਿਕਰਮੰਦ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਵਰਤਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਤੇ ਸਾਂਝੀ ਸਮਝ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਆਪਸੀ ਉਲਝਣਾਂ ਵਧਦੀਆਂ ਜਾ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਅਸੀਂ ਸਮਝਦੇ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਅਜੋਕੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਜੋ ਵੀ ਮਸਲੇ/ਸਮੱਸਿਆਵਾਂ ਹਨ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਹਰ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਪੱਖ ਸੁਣਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ ਅਤੇ ਸੰਜੀਦਾ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਵਟਾਂਦਰਾ ਹੋਵੇ।

ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਹ ਨੂੰ ਸੰਗਤ ਨਾਲ ਸਾਂਝਾ ਕਰਨ ਹਿਤ ਅਸੀਂ ਇਕ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਅਖਾੜਾ "ਸੰਵਾਦ" ਬਣਾਇਆ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ 20੧੬ ਤੋਂ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਸੈਮੀਨਾਰ, ਵੱਖਿਆਨ, ਗੋਸ਼ਟੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਮੁਕਾਮੀ ਇਕੱਤਰਤਾਵਾਂ ਕਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਅਨੇਕਾਂ ਪੱਖ ਸੁਣਨ-ਕਹਿਣ (ਸੰਵਾਦ) ਦਾ ਮਾਹੌਲ ਸਿਰਜਣ ਲਈ ਸਾਡੀ ਆਸ ਵੀ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਅਰਦਾਸ ਵੀ।

ਇਹ ਵਿਚਾਰ ਅਖਾੜਾ ਕੋਈ ਜਬੇਬੰਦੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਨਾ ਹੀ ਇਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੋਈ ਦਰਜਾ-ਬ-ਦਰਜਾ ਅਹੁਦੇਦਾਰ ਹਨ। ਇਹ ਇਕ ਸੰਗਤੀ ਅਖਾੜਾ ਹੈ ਜਿੱਥੇ ਸਭ ਬਰਾਬਰ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਆਪੋ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਮਰੱਥਾ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਕਾਰਜ ਨਿਭਾਉਂਦੇ ਹਨ।

ਸਾਡੀ ਮਨੋਤ ਹੈ ਕਿ 'ਘਟਨਾਵਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਵਰਤਾਰਿਆਂ ਬਾਰੇ ਸਾਡੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਸਮਝ ਅਧੂਰੀ ਹੈ' ਇਸ ਲਈ ਅਸੀਂ ਘੱਟ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਅਧੂਰੀ ਸਮਝ ਨਾਲ ਬਣੀਆਂ ਧਾਰਨਾਵਾਂ ਤੇ ਸਿੱਟਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਚਾਰਨ ਦੀ ਜਗ੍ਹਾ ਮਸਲਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਬੁਹਪਰਤੀ ਪੜਚੋਲ ਲਈ ਵੱਖੋ ਵੱਖ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਜੀ ਆਇਆਂ ਆਖ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ।

ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਸ਼ਿਆਂ ਉਤੇ ਹੁਣ ਤੱਕ ਸੰਵਾਦ ਰਚਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਚੁਕਿਆ ਹੈ, ਉਹਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਣਕਾਰੀ ਹਿਤ [www.samvadblog.com](http://www.samvadblog.com) ਦੇਖਿਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ।

ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹੀ ਦੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ  
ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਅਕਾਲਪੁਰਖ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ  
ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਹੋਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਾਕਤ, ਵਿਚਾਰ ਜਾਂ  
ਰਾਜ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਦੀ ਅਧੀਨਗੀ ਜਾਂ ਗੁਲਾਮੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਰੂਪ ਵਿੱਚ  
ਕਬੂਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦਾ। ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਸਿਰਫ ਅਕਾਲਪੁਰਖ  
ਦੀ ਸਿੱਧੀ ਅਧੀਨਗੀ ਕਬੂਲਦਾ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ  
ਪੰਥ ਦੇ ਅਮਲ/ਸਰਗਰਮੀ ਅਤੇ ਸੁਤੰਤਰਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਸੀਮਤ ਜਾਂ ਕਾਬੂ  
ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਹੱਕ ਕਿਸੇ ਵੀ ਤਾਕਤ ਕੋਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਜਦੋਂ ਵੀ ਕੋਈ ਤਾਕਤ  
ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਦੀ ਸੁਤੰਤਰ ਹੋਂਦ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਬੂ ਜਾਂ ਸੀਮਤ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ  
ਯਤਨ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਜਾਂ ਰੱਬੀ ਹੁਕਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਉਲੰਘਣਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਜੁਲਮੀ  
ਰਾਜ ਸਥਾਪਤ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਤਾਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਪੰਥ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਜੜ੍ਹੇ  
ਪੱਟ ਕੇ ਸਰਬਤ ਦੇ ਭਲੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਸਿਰਜਣ ਲਈ  
'ਬਾਗੀ ਜਾਂ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ' ਵਾਲੀ ਦ੍ਰਿੜਤਾ ਨਾਲ  
ਜੱਦੋ-ਜਹਿਦ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੈ।