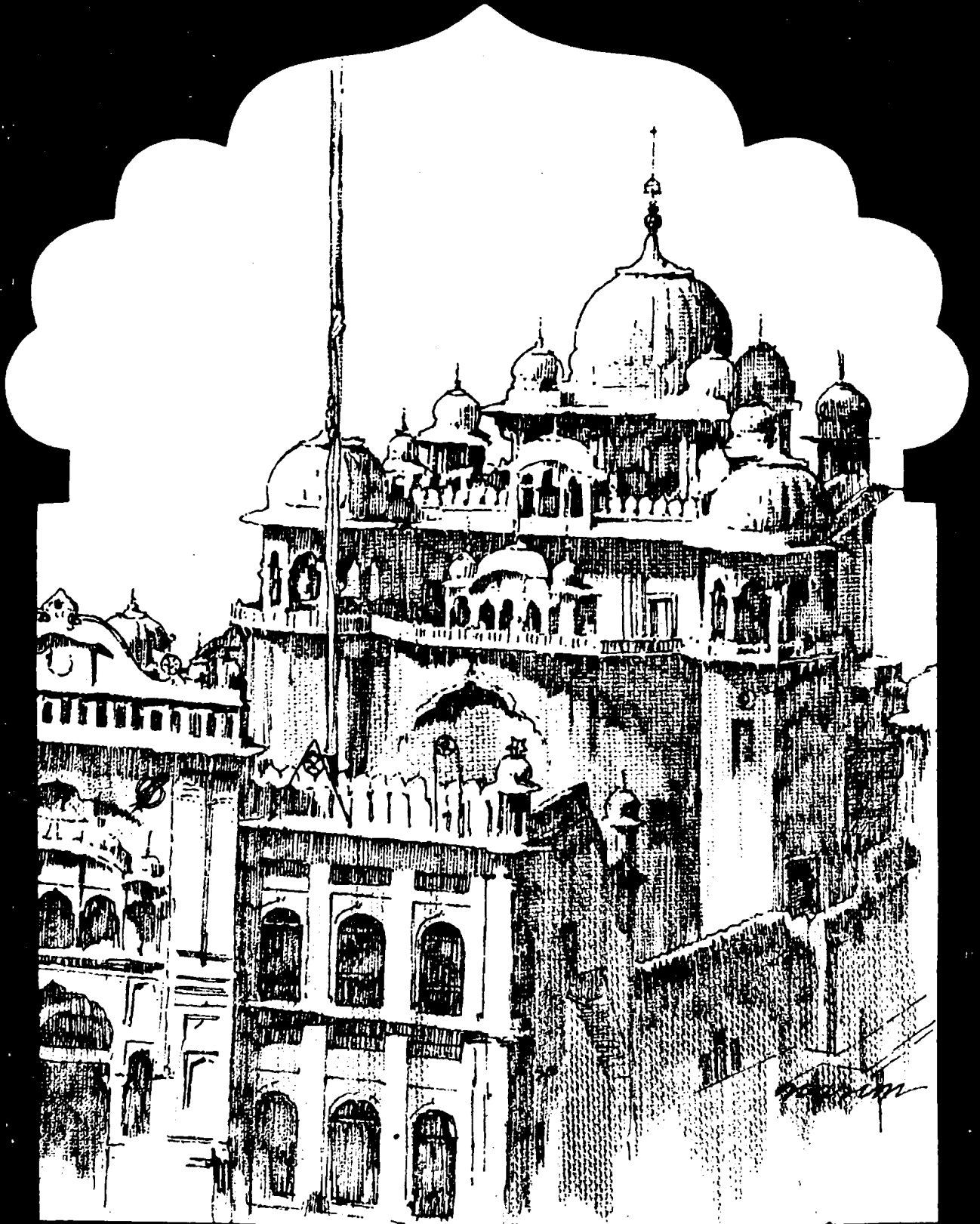




# Anandpur Sahib Resolution



• INDIAN COUNCIL FOR SIKH AFFAIRS

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Cover : Gurudwara Kes Garh Sahib, Anandpur—the birth place of Khalsa.

# Anandpur Sahib

Anandpur Sahib—the Birth-place of the **Khalsa** is situated at the foothills of the Shivalaks in Ropar district of Punjab. This city was founded in 1665 by Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Nanak, who was martyred by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb at Delhi for protecting the religious freedom and championing the cause of civil liberties of the oppressed Hindus.

On April 13, 1699, when thousands of Sikhs had gathered at Anandpur Sahib to celebrate the Baisakhi—the tenth Guru, Guru Gobind Singh performed a unique drama of deep symbolic and mystical significance to select the “Five Fearless Ones”.

The Guru came to the congregation with an **unsheathed** sword shining in his hand and announced : “My sword wants blood. Come, who would offer me his head”.

There was hushed silence. But when the Guru repeated his words for the third time, **Bhai Daya Ram Khatri** of Lahore came forward and offered himself for sacrifice. The Guru took him into the tent nearby and came out with his sword dripping with blood. Again he demanded “one more head”. The four others who came forward at the call of the Guru to offer themselves for the supreme sacrifice were ; **Dharam Dass**—a jat from Delhi ; **Mohkam Chand**—a washerman (DHOBI) from Dwarka in Gujarat ; **Himmat Rai**—a water carrier (Jhewar) from Jagannath Puri in Orissa and **Sahib Chand**—a barber (Nai) from Bidar now in Karnataka.

It is significant to note that four of the five who first embraced this new order of Khalsa were Sudras or untouchables according to the Hindu caste reckoning. Only one was a Khatri and none was a Brahmin. What was more important that they hailed from the different parts of the Indian sub-continent.

The Guru baptised them with **Khande da Amrit**—water sweetened with sugar and churned with a Khand (double edged dagger) while reciting Gurubani. He enjoined the newly baptised Sikhs to be called as “The Khalsa of Waheguru”—the Lord’s Own with the common surname of Singh (Lion). The Guru honoured them as Panj Piare (the Beloved Five). The Guru then himself took Amrit-nectar of immortality from the Beloved Five and thus

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1. Khalsa, an Urdu word, is derived from the first letters of the following words. Kh stands for **Khud** self ; Alaf denotes Akalpurakh, God ; Lam means, “what do you want with me? Here I am what would you have?” Swad is an abbreviation of Sahib (Lord or Master) and H stands for Harriyat Azadi or Liberty

(vide New Royal Percian English Dictionary by S.S. Paul 1925 ed.)

established the democratic principle of "Equality among the Khalsa". The Guru prescribed the five emblems for the Khalsa i.e. KES (unshorn hair and beard); KANGA (Comb); KACHHA (Knee length breaches); KARA (Steel bracelet) and KIRPAN (Sword). The Guru declared that, "From now on you have become castless and classless. No ritual, either of Hindu or Muslim will you perform, nor believe in superstition of any kind, but believe only in one God who is the Creator, Master and Protector of all". In this order, the lowest will rank equal with the highest and each will be to the other a brother. Woman is man's better half and as such helps him in attaining Grace. So she has equal rights in this order of Khalsa. No pilgrimage for you any more, nor austerities but pure and simple life of a householder, yet you should be ready to sacrifice all at the call of the Dharma".

Guru Gobind Singh gave the Khalsa a slogan "DEG TEG FATEH"— manifesting three ideals. By **DEG**, the Guru meant the establishment of socialistic and democratic pattern of the society where all people irrespective of their caste, creed and religion could partake their bread on the basis of equality, liberty and fraternity. By **TEG**, the Guru implied evolution of divine heroism in the lives of individuals and the Nation—which was necessary for an honourable and happy life. And by **FATEH** which means Victory, the Guru signified living and dying practically for the victory of the Dharma.

The Khalsa stands for Universal Brotherhood, humanism, purity and love. According to Dr. Gokul Chand Narang ; "the Sikhs were turned by the tenth Guru into a Nation of warriors and heroes who would dare the lion in his own den and challenge the dreaded Aurangzeb in his own Court."<sup>2</sup>

Anandpur Sahib where the Guru Gobind Singh established a castless, classless coherent brotherhood of saint-soldiers to protect the weak and helpless and destroy the wicked, is in the news again.

The Anandpur Sahib Resolution is based upon one of the main-planks upon which the Freedom Movement was carried on, was the demand for greater autonomy to the provinces (states). This was embodied in the Resolution adopted by the Indian National Congress at its Lahore Session in 1929. Since the programme of the Indian National Congress was not fully implemented, amongst others in respect of the greater autonomy to the states the Shiromani Akali Dal at its Annual Session in 1973 at Anandpur Sahib adopted this Resolution which reiterates the similar stand taken by some other opposition parties.

We are publishing the complete text of the Resolution with relevant statement and resolutions adopted by Indian National Congress in 1929 and Shiromani Akali Dal in 1978, when the Akalis were in power in the Punjab to enable the people to study it in depth and know the reality.

**Baldev Singh Bal**

2. Dr. Gokul Chand Narang : The Transformation of Sikhism.

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In order to understand the significance of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, it had to be remembered that the Founding Fathers of the Constitution of India has envisaged a truly Federal Political structure with sufficient powers for the states to work for their development.

Unfortunately during the last thirtyfive years, through repeated and ill conceived amendments of the Constitution, the provincial powers have been curtailed to such an extent that the states are unable to play any constructive role for the welfare of their people. And if this trend continues, the interest of the religious and ethnic minorities in India, are bound to suffer.

Anandpur Sahib Resolution is nothing more than a deviose to guard against this danger. It is based upon the assurances given to the Sikhs on behalf of Indian National Congress by no less a person than Pandit Jawahalal Nehru.

Sant Harchand Singh Longowal  
President, Shiromani Akali Dal

Extract from "Exclusively for you Members of Parliament".

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**“The Congress assures the Sikhs that no Resolution in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give them full satisfaction.”**

A Resolution adopted at the  
Lahore Session of Indian National Congress in 1929

**“Sardar Madhusudan Singh has asked me for an assurance that the Congress would do nothing that might alienate sympathies of the Sikhs from the Congress. Well, the Congress in its Lahore Session, passed a resolution that it would not enter into or be a party to any settlement with regard to the minority question that failed to satisfy any of the minorities concerned. What further assurance the Congress can give to the Sikhs, I fail to understand. I ask you to accept my words and the Resolution of the Congress that it will not betray a single individual much less a community. If it ever think of doing so, it will only hasten its own doom, I pray you, therefore; to unbosom yourselves of all your doubts... What more shall I say? What more can I say than this ; Let God be the witness of this bond that bind me and the Congress with you.”**

Mahatama Gandhi  
at Gurudwara Sis Ganj, Delhi  
on 16th March, 1931.

Young India dated 19th March, 1931.

**“The brave Sikhs of Punjab are entitled to special consideration. I see nothing wrong in an area and a set-up in the North wherein the Sikhs can also experience the glow of freedom.”**

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru  
Press Conference at Calcutta,  
on 6th July, 1946

Statesman, Calcutta 7th July, 1946

# ANANDPUR SAHIB RESOLUTION

*Policy and Programme of The Shiromani Akali Dal adopted at Sri Anandpur Sahib on October 16-17, 1973.*

## **(A) Principles**

- (i) The Shiromani Akali Dal is the supreme body of the Sikh Panth and as such is fully authorised to represent and lead them. The basis of this organisation depend on mutual relations, aspirations of man and his relations with the creator.
- (ii) These principles are embodied in the doctrines of Guru Nanak Dev, viz, Nam Japo (God Worship), Kirat Karo (Do hard labour) and Wand Chhako (share your hard earnings with others).

## **(B) Aims**

The Shiromani Akali Dal shall strive for the fulfilment of following aims:

- (i) Propagation of Religion and Sikh tenets and condemnation of atheism;
- (ii) Maintaining the realisation of Panth's independent entity and creation of such an environment where Sikh sentiment can find its full expression;
- (iii) Eradication of poverty and hunger through an equitable economic structure-increase in wealth and end of all exploitation;
- (iv) Removal of illiteracy, untouchability and casteism as laid down in Sikh scriptures;

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- (v) Ending ill-health and sickness—condemnation of intoxicants—so that the community is inspired to protect the Nation.

### PART-I

The Shiromani Akali Dal considers it a primary task to inculcate a sense of Divinity among the Sikhs so that they are proud of being the same. In order to accomplish the same, the Akali Dal will initiate the following programme:

- (a) Preaching the one-ness of God, worship, belief in the Ten Gurus and the Holy Granth, and information about the doctrines explained by them for implementation by the Sikhs;
- b) For the successful preaching of Sikh Divinity, philosophy, tenets and kirtan etc. production of good preachers, singers, Dhadis and poets from Sikh Missionary Colleges so that preachers are able to propagate freely in India and abroad, villages and cities, schools and colleges etc.
- (c) The work of Amrit Parchar (Baptism) to be undertaken at a larger scale, particularly among the school and colleges. Study circles of college professors and students to be organised for this purpose;
- (d) Revival of Daswandh (donation of 1/10th of income) among the Sikhs;
- (e) Respect and honour the Sikh historians, intellectuals, writers, Parcharaks, Granthis etc. and provide facilities to raise the standard of their life, training and work;
- (f) In order to streamline the Gurdwara administration, arrangements to be made for the training of employees, maintenance of Gurdwara buildings and issuing of necessary directives to the S.G.P.C. members in this behalf;
- (g) Correct printing of scriptures, research of old and new Sikh History, translation of scriptures and preparation of clean literature of Sikh principles.
- (h) Strive for the enactment of new All India Gurdwara Act under which all gurdwaras in the country are managed efficiently and endeavour that old institutions of the Sikhs like



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Udasis, Nirmale etc. become and integral part of the Sikh society;

- (i) The Managers of all Gurdwaras in the world to be woven in a single chain in order to have effective benefits of the common means of religious propaganda;
- (j) To secure "Open Darshan" of Sri Nankana Sahib and other Gurdwaras which have been snatched away from the panth.

### PART-II

#### Political

The panthic political aim is definitely based on the directives of the Tenth Guru, which is engraved on the pages of Sikh History and is in the mind of the Khalsa Panth—Its aim is, Khalsa Ji Ka Bol Bala.

To this and in view, the Shiromani Akali Dal will strive and wage struggles for the following:

1. (a) The areas which have been taken away from Punjab or have been intentionally kept apart e.g. Dalhousie from district Gurdaspur; Chandigarh; Pinjore, Kalka and Ambala City in district Ambala; whole Una Tehsil of Hoshiarpur district, "Desh" ilaqa of Nalagarh, Shahabad block of district Karnal, Sub Tehsils of Guhla and Tohana, Rattia Block of district Hissar and Sirsa Tehsil, 6 Tehsils of district Ganganagar of Rajasthan and the contiguous Punjabi-speaking Sikh-populated areas, should be immediately merged, with Punjab under one administrative unit:
- (b) In this new Punjab, the Central intervention should be restricted to Defence, Foreign Affairs, Post and Telegraphs, Currency and Railways. The rest of the departments should be under the direct control of Punjab:
- (c) Effective arrangements should be made to safeguard the interest of the minority Sikh community living outside Punjab, so that they do not fall a prey to any discrimination;

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2. Shiromani Akali Dal will also try that the Indian Constitution becomes Federal in the real sense and all states are equally represented at the Centre.
3. The Shiromani Akali Dal feels that the foreign policy of the Congress Government is useless and harmful for the country and the Nation as a whole. It will strive for good relations with all neighbouring countries, particularly where the Sikhs reside or where their religious shrines are found. Our foreign policy should not be tagged along with any other country.
4. To ensure justice for Sikh employees at the Centre and States and to raise effective voice against injustice, meted out to them, is an important part of the Shiromani Akali Dal's programme. Particularly in the Defence Services, efforts will be made to maintain the conventions of the Sikhs and the demands of Sikh soldiers would be constantly kept in view. Shiromani Akali Dal will also try that the "Kirpan" (sword) becomes an integral part of the Sikh soldiers' uniform.
5. Creation of favourable atmosphere for the rehabilitation of ex-serviceman, provision of necessary concessions and safeguards for their rights so that they live a life of self-respect.
6. The Shiromani Akali Dal feels that every man or woman, who has not been sentenced by a Court of law, should be allowed to keep a fire-arm without license;
7. The Shiromani Akali Dal favours a policy of prohibition and ban on smoking at public places.

### ECONOMIC POLICY AND PROGRAMME OF SHIROMANI AKALI DAL AS APPROVED BY THE WORKING COMMITTEE IN ITS MEETING HELD AT SHRI ANANDPUR SAHIB, ON 17TH OCTOBER, 1973

Though Indian economy is essentially an agrarian economy and no political force which is committed to building of a social order based on justice can ignore this, the crux of the whole problem is that the main lever of economy are in the hands of the big business, the capitalist and the monopolist class. It is precisely this class which has grown rich during 26 years of freedom though benefits

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of economic growth have been shared by other classes too. It is this class which essentially wields political powers. Therefore, any effort of building a new social order through peaceful means has to be directed in breaking the stronghold of this section of the population both on economy and politics.

The Akali Dal stands for removal of disparity between the rich and the poor, both in urban and rural areas. It, however, wants that the first attack on the concentration of wealth should be made on those who really control the economy. In the rural areas too the Akali Dal stands for the weaker sections of the population, scheduled castes, backward landless tillers, poor peasants and middle peasants. It therefore, stands for rationalisation of land legislation in such a manner that all lands of above 30 standard acres should be taken over and distributed among the rural poor.

The economic policy of the Akali Dal, therefore, would mainly be directed to achieve these objectives.

### 2. Agrarian Sector

In the agrarian sector, the country has witnessed a series of land reforms on one hand and on the other hand a new phase of green revolution. The Akali Dal is pledged to stipulate the green revolution on one hand and to ensure that increase in Agricultural production leads to the improvement in the standard of living of all sections of the rural population, particularly the middle peasants and poor and landless population. To achieve this end The Akali Dal proposes to take in the coming period following measures:

- (a) Initiate land reform measures to remove disparity and to increase Agricultural production. The existing legislation regarding ceiling on land would be reviewed and a ceiling of 30 standard acres per family be fixed. All remaining intermediaries on the land would be abolished and real security of tenure to actual tillers conferred. Landless agricultural labour and poor peasants would be settled on surplus lands and Government waste cultivable land would be distributed to the landless, preferably to the persons belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The scheme for distribution of these lands would be evolved in such a manner

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that poor section of Harijans and landless population benefit from it. Along with these, the Akali Dal would also examine how the tenants can be given the right to mortgage their interests in land for obtaining credit and how restrictions can be placed on sale of lands given by Government to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes in favour of others;

- (b) The Akali Dal will also strive for the modernisation of agriculture so that the middle, small and poor peasants too can benefit from cheap in-puts like electricity, water, seeds, fertilizers and credit through co-operatives and other public Agencies.
- (c) The Akali Dal shall strive that agricultural prices are fixed on the basis of the cost of production of the average farmer. Prices should be declared well in advance of the sowing period. State Government shall have the authority to fix the price.
- (d) The Akali Dal stands for complete state Trading in food-grains and steps would be taken to facilitate take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains and other agricultural produce be the State Government and Government Agencies.
- (e) The Akali Dal is against all type of food Zones and restrictions placed on the Movement of Agriculture produce in the Country. The whole country be treated as a single Food Zone.
- (f) Special efforts will be made to complete Thein Dam and Bhatinda Thermal Plant, so that irrigation facilities and Electricity is augmented in the State and ultimately made more cheap. A concerted effort shall be made to set up an atomic electricity plant.
- (g) Service co-operatives should be built up in rural areas and special attention should be paid to development of minor irrigation projects in those districts where canal irrigation is not available.

### **Industry**

The Akali Dal demands that all basic industries should be brought under the public sector. The Akali Dal wants that all con-

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sumer industries dealing with essential commodities be nationalised so as to keep the price level under control and to end the exploitation of the poor consumer by the industrialists and the middle man.

Public Sector industries should be set up in such a manner as to remove the regional imbalances which has been created as a consequence of discriminatory policies of the Central Government.

A planned effort be made to develop agrobased industries in the rural areas so as to relieve the pressure on population on the land. The management of industries be democratised to include to 50% representative of the Workers on the management and a detailed scheme be brought under the public sector. The Akali Dal is committed for progressive nationalisation of transport.

Public Sector projects should be given more autonomy and manned by young competent persons committed to the project and special efforts should be made to build up a cadre of public sector project.

### **Fiscal Policy**

The Akali Dal demands the review of the whole taxation structures in such a manner so that incentives for tax evasion and black money are totally eradicated. The Akali Dal stands for such taxation system whose incidence of the tax would be direct and could not be transmitted to general mass of the people. The present taxation simply penalise the poor and provides big loop-holes to the rich. The Akali Dal stands for de-monitisation of the currency in order to destroy the parallel black money economy in the country.

### **4. Workers Middle Class Employees & Agricultural Workers**

The Akali Dal would strive for:

- (a) need based minimum wage for the industrial workers,
- (b) Continued improvement in the standard of living of the Government employees.
- (c) minimum wages for agricultural workers to be reviewed and if necessary, increased;
- (d) plug loop holes in the existing labour Legislation to ensure decent living conditions for the workers.

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- (c) execute urgent measures for increasing housing accommodation, both in the urban and rural areas, for the lowest running of the Society.

### 5. Unemployment

The Akali Dal stands for total employment in the country. To start with, it feels, it is the duty of the Government to provide jobs immediately, at least to all the educated and skilled people. Till the Jobs are not provided, unemployment allowance be provided to be shared on 50:50 basis between the Centre and the State Governments at the following rates:

Matriculate & skilled workers	Rs. 50/- per month
B.A. . . . . .	Rs. 75/- "
M.A. . . . . .	Rs. 100/- "
Professional Engineers & Doctors	Rs. 150/- "
Skilled persons . . . . .	Rs. 50/- "

provide old age pension to all deserving persons beyond the age of 65.

### 6. Scheduled Castes and Weaker Section of Society

Akali Dal will strive to raise the economic standard of the Scheduled Castes and other Weaker Sections of Society by providing them educational facilities, employment and other concessions so as to bring them at par with the advanced sections of society. These classes will be provided foodgrains at subsidised rates.

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“The Shiromani Akali Dal realizes that India is a federal and republican geographical entity of different languages, religions and cultures. To safeguard the fundamental rights of the religious and linguistic minorities, to fulfil the demands of the democratic traditions and to pave the way for economic progress, it has become imperative that the Indian constitutional infra-structure should be given a real federal shape by redefining the central and state relations and rights on the lines of the aforesaid principle and objectives.

The concept of total revolution given by Lok Naik, Sh. Jaya Parkash Narain is also based upon the progressive decentralization of powers. The climax of the process of centralization of powers of the states through repeated amendments of the constitution during the Congress regime came before the countrymen in the form of the Emergency, when all fundamental rights of all citizens were usurped. It was then that the programme of decentralization of powers ever advocated by Shiromani Akali Dal was openly accepted and adopted by other political parties including Janata Party, C.P.I. (M), A.D.M.K. etc.

Shiromani Akali Dal has ever stood firm on this principle and that is why after very careful considerations it unanimously adopted a resolution to this effect first at All India Akali Conference, Batala, then at Sri Anandpur Sahib which was endorsed the principle of State autonomy in keeping with the concept of Federalism.

As such, the Shiromani Akali Dal emphatically urges upon the Janata Government to take cognizance of the different linguistic and cultural sections, religious minorities as also the voice of millions of people and recast the constitutional structure of the country on real & meaningful federal principles to obviate the possibility of any danger to National unity and the integrity of the country and further, to enable the states to play a useful role for the progress and prosperity of the Indian people in their respective areas by the meaningful exercise of their powers.

The Resolution moved by S. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee and endorsed by S. Parkash Singh Badal, Chief Minister, Punjab. at the 18th All India Akali Conference held at Ludhiana on 28-29 Oct. 1978.

## INDIAN COUNCIL FOR SIKHS AFFAIRS

Indian Council for Sikh Affairs (ICSA) established in 1979 under the chairmanship of S. Surjit Singh Barnala, stands to promote the basic unity of this international community. Besides looking after the interest of the Sikhs living in the different parts of the world, it has been working for propagation of the Sikh religion throughout the world.

To revive the great traditions of Shabad Kirtan, ICSA has instituted an award entitled 'Gurmat Sangeet Shiromani Award' to promote the Gurmat Sangeet—the recital of Gurbani in prescribed ragas. The Council organises All India Gurmat Sangeet Sammelan every year at New Delhi since its inception.

In 1983, the Council constituted an Annual Lecture in the Memory of Mr. M.A. Macauliffe—the author of "The Sikh Religion" a monumental work published by the Oxford University Press, London in 1909. Now the ICSA has decided to institute "Macauliffe Memorial Award" for the best book on the Sikh history.

After the tragedy of Amritsar, the Council constituted a "Sikh Soliders Legal Aid Committee", with the cooperation of S. Mehtab Singh, Raja Inder Singh, S. Tarlochan Singh Sarna, S. Hardev Singh, Senior Advocate and S. Rupinder Singh Sodhi, Advocate of Supreme Court, to provide legal and financial aid to the Sikh Soldiers who were facing disciplinary action for expressing their resentment on the Army invasion of Golden Temple, Amritsar. S. Khushwant Singh—a noted historian and journalist is the Chairman of this Committee.

After the genocide of the Sikhs in Delhi and other parts of the Country in the November, 1984, the Council has set up a Rehabilitation Committee under the chairmanship of S. Makhan Singh, to provide financial and other assistance to the victims.

S. Gurdev Singh an anthropologist and Industrialist is the President of the Council.

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