



# Ambedkar Times

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## Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia Ji and the Birth of Dalit Movement in Punjab

Prem Kumar Chumber  
Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times

Punjab has the distinction of being the only state in India where caste based social exclusion was diluted because of the long spell of Muslim rule on the one hand and the most appealing egalitarian philosophy of Sikh faith and its grassroots impact on transformation of the life of downtrodden, on the other. However, caste and its resultant social negativities never ceased to torment the major section of the society. Caste discriminations in Punjab were/are more material in nature than social as in other parts of India. Prejudice takes precedence over pollution in Punjab. However, absence of pollution does not mean that Brahminism social order is alien to it. On the contrary, it thrives under new structures of social subordination entrenched in material deprivation of Dalits in the state. Material deprivation of the downtrodden in the state was reinforced by the customary laws of Razat-Namaas and the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900. Along with many other non-agricultural castes, Scheduled Castes people were historically deprived the right to own land. This restriction made them absolutely landless.

It was because of this legal restriction that when Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia Ji after his return to Punjab from USA asked his father to buy some land to evade social oppressions at the hands of landlords that he came to know that social subordination of the Scheduled Castes people was also rooted in the law of the land. This has led him to organize his fellow beings to form a movement for the emancipation and empowerment of downtrodden what eventually termed as Ad Dharm Movement. This movement was the first of its kind that became suddenly popular because of its grassroots appeals. Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia Ji devoted his entire life for the cause of total transformation of his country and the socio-economic and political uplift of his people who were relegated to the periphery since centuries. He exhorted his people to come over a common platform to challenge the forces that subjugated the Dalits. He waged a long battle and finally able to unite many communities among the Scheduled Castes to work for their upward social mobility. Scheduled Castes of Punjab, particularly of the Doaba region, consider him the pioneer of Dalit movement in the state that played a leading role in strengthening the mission of Dr B. R. Ambedkar not only in Punjab but in the whole of the country. www.ambedkartimes.com congratulates all its contributors, readers, and well-wishers on this auspicious occasion on the birth anniversary of Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia Ji.

## Lohia Line on Destruction of the Caste System

Dr Ram Manohar Lohia was the theorist of seven revolutions in the context of creating a new world order on the basis of socialism. The programme of seven revolutions included confrontation with discrimination and deprivations based upon caste, class, race, gender and nationality. He wanted to give a new direction to the movement for socialism by giving equal emphasis to the struggles against sexism, class and caste-based exploitations.

It was a departure from the Marxist line of a class-centric programme for a socialist revolution. It was also going beyond the Gandhian emphasis on constructive programme of ending untouchability and casteism. These seven revolutions are supposed to be simultaneously taking place in the modern world system and it was presented as the most outstanding feature of the twentieth century. These seven revolutions are: (1) for equality between man and woman; (2) against political, economic and other inequalities based upon skin colour; (3) against the inequalities between higher and backward castes and for preferential opportunities for the backward sections; (4) against foreign rules and for freedom and democratic world government; (5) for economic equality and planned production and against the lust for and system of private property; (6) against unjust interference in private life and for democratic methods; and (7) against arms and weapons and for Satyagraha. It is obvious that nearly half-a-century after this thesis of Lohia the world has moved closer to these noble aims in different parts of the world.

But the Lohia line of caste-related preferential opportunities has become the most powerful programme among the backward castes and communities in India. Lohia began conceptualising his understanding of the caste system (JatiPratha) as well as his programme for eradication of castes (Jati Toro) between 1952 and 1967. The formal programme about preferential opportunities was adopted by his party at the Third Conference of the Socialist Party in 1959. He also created a manifesto of the Forum for Studying and Destroying Caste in 1960. He further developed his programme against the caste system by 1962 in the form of a seventeen-point programme. Finally an eleven-point programme was presented by him in a historical essay in 1966—SamtaAurSampannata. The Lohia line was first articulated in his famous lectures at Hyderabad in 1952 where he defined caste as immobile class and class as mobile caste. This was part of his worldview which has been published as Wheel of History.

• Lohia interacted with some of the most important anti-caste leaders, movements and organisations of India in the 1950s with the quest for ending the caste system. He engaged with Dr B.R. Ambedkar in 1955-56 and Periyar RamasamiNaicker in 1958. He did not agree with the anti-Brahminism of both the social revolutionaries as it was found to be used for dominance of the middle caste in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. It generated a split among the poor of India. Lohia also found the necessity to connect the movements for

unity among the non-dwija castes with the socialist movement to strengthen the struggle for equality and prosperity in India after independence. In Lohia's view, the caste system has not created a bipolar system of forward and backward castes. In fact there are three layers in

the society because of the logic of the caste system—the real upper castes who are affluent, the fake upper castes who are the poor, and the backward Shudars. He also underlined the pathetic condition of all women across caste lines. Thus he wanted unity of all the women, Shudars and the fake upper caste people who are together trapped for centuries in the prison of poverty and powerlessness. Furthermore, he also

wanted to take the anti-caste forces beyond the twin tragedies of jealousy and sycophancy so that a new age of unity, sacrifice and reconstruction may be inaugurated through struggle against the caste system.

He was aware of the negative and positive aspects of his caste policy. He used the metaphor of Samudra-Manthan where poison (Vish) preceded nectar (Amrit). He also used the example of Mahabharata to prepare the socialists of India for his anti-caste programme. He did agree that there will be need of large-heartedness on the part of the youth of the upper castes as the programme of preferential opportunities may contain elements of short-term injustices against them. But it has to be tolerated in order to energise the backward millions of men and women

who are arrested in two prisons of caste and gender-based segregation for centuries. He also warned the victims of caste and gender-based injustices about the possibilities of their leadership adopting the ways and means of the upper-caste elite and destroys the dream of an egalitarian and prosperous Indian society through destruction of caste and class-based injustices.

Lohia wanted preferential opportunities for all the backward sections of the Indian society which included (a) women, (b) the backward castes, (c) the Scheduled Castes, (d) the Scheduled Tribes, and (e) the backward sections of Muslims and other minorities. These opportunities were in the fields of (i) political leadership, (ii) government jobs, (iii) army and (iv) economic enterprises. But he was against prevention of the children of non-backward sections from educational opportunities. He was against any reservations and discrimination in the field of education as he wanted quality of basic education for all children and open opportunities for higher education for all students. Therefore, he was only a partial supporter of the recommendations of the First Backward Classes Commission.

The Lohia line was part of his vision of seven revolutions. He wanted to combine the forces of class conflict and caste conflict. His dream was partially accepted in the later years in the form of the Mandal Commission recommendations. But there is a fundamental difference between the Lohia line and the Mandal mindset: Lohia wanted end of the caste system whereas the Mandal movement has only promoted a dominant-caste democracy. It is time to get back to the Lohia line.

Anand Kumar



# Assemblyman Hoover's Representative Report

## California Legislature Back in Session

Happy New Year! The Legislature returned to session this week and as we begin 2025, I'm excited to return and continue serving as your voice in Sacramento. This year, I'm committed to pursuing bold, commonsense solutions that address the challenges we face as a community. My legislative priorities will focus on lowering costs for hardworking Californians, enhancing public safety across our neighborhoods, and driving efforts to make government more efficient, transparent, and accountable to the people it serves. I look forward to sharing more about these initiatives in the weeks to come.

My team is ready to serve you in 2025. If you have any issues with a state agency, a request for recognition, an opinion on legislation, or a bill idea please call my District Office at (916) 294-9774 or fill out this form.

Transparency, accountability, and collaboration remain the cornerstones of my work. Your input shapes the policies that matter most, and I'm dedicated to ensuring your voices are front and center in the decision-making process. Throughout this session, I encourage you to share your concerns and stay engaged in the legislative process.

Together, we can make 2025 a year of progress, unity, and opportunity for everyone in our district. Thank you for trusting me to represent you—it's an honor to serve.

## New Committee Appointments

I am honored to be named as the new Vice Chair of the Assembly Education Committee. My first elected position was on a school board fighting for parents and students during the pandemic. There is much work to be done to put the needs of families over the special interests in Sacramento.



ASSEMBLY MEMBER  
**Al Muratsuchi**  
ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 66  
*Chair of the Education Committee*



ASSEMBLY MEMBER  
**Josh Hoover**  
ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 7  
*Vice Chair of the Education Committee*

I have also been named Vice Chair of the Communications & Conveyance Committee, which covers issues such as broadband internet, telecommu-

nications, autonomous vehicles, and SacRT's Gold Line. Simply exit at the



transportation. While many challenges persist, I'm excited for the opportunities and possibilities of 2025!

## Folsom Light Rail Service Now Available

SacRT has announced that light rail service to Folsom area stations has resumed. Additionally, as of yesterday, SacRT has launched 15-minute service frequency at all Folsom area light rail stations, including: Hazel, Iron Point, Glenn/Robert G. Holderness, and Historic Folsom.

With the addition of a passing track at Glenn/Robert G. Holderness Station, SacRT can now provide more frequent service on weekdays, significantly enhancing convenience for Folsom area riders. This improvement marks a major milestone in SacRT's commitment to modernizing transit in the region. At Glenn/Robert G. Holderness Station, riders will notice a new station design and two separate boarding platforms and tracks: board one side for travel toward

Historic Folsom and the other for travel toward Sacramento.

Constituents visiting my Folsom District Office can conveniently take



ASSEMBLY MEMBER  
**Tasha Boerner**  
ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 77  
*Chair of the Communications and Conveyance Committee*



ASSEMBLY MEMBER  
**Josh Hoover**  
ASSEMBLY DISTRICT 7  
*Vice Chair of the Communications and Conveyance Committee*

for the Sacramento Sheriff's Toy Project and an amazing 450 pounds of food for the Orangevale-Fair Oaks Food Bank. Your contributions made a real difference, bringing joy to children and helping families in need during the holiday season. As we move into the new year, let's keep this spirit of giving alive and continue supporting those in our community. Thank you for your kindness and for making these efforts such a success!



Assemblyman Hoover

## San Juan Unified School District New Board Members Swearing In

My staff was proud to attend the swearing-in ceremony to congratulate the newly elected San Juan Unified School District board members—Abid

Glenn/Robert G. Holderness Station and follow the short walking route indicated on the map above to reach our office.



For full service details and to plan your next trip you can visit the SacRT website.

## Holiday Open House and Toy/Food Drive Final Count

I wanted to give everyone a final count on the incredible donations collected during our Holiday Open House. Thanks to your generosity, we gathered four overflowing boxes of toys

Stanekzai, Pam Costa, and Nick Bloise. School board members play a critical role in shaping the future of education, and their leadership will have a lasting impact on our students and community. As a former school board member, I understand the dedication and hard work this role requires and extend my wishes to the new board as they take on these important responsibilities.



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# MEMOIR OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN INDIA DURING THE MAHRATTA WAR OF 1817, 1818 & 1819

BY LIEUT. -

**COLONEL VALENTINE BLACKER  
COMPANION OF THE MOST HON-  
OURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH,  
AND QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL  
OF THE ARMY OF FORT  
ST. GEORGE (1821)**

Colonel Burr had, at this time, under his command three Native battalions, including one of the auxiliary corps, with some light artillery. Also Major Cunningham had arrived at Poonah, on the 28th of December, with seventeen hundred irregular horse, for the purpose of mustering and paying them there. The Colonel, doubtful of Brigadier-general Smith's movements, was only certain of his being at a considerable distance; which appeared so remote, as to favour the supposed designs of the Peishwah. In this state of affairs, he considered himself authorized to augment his means by calling to his aid another battalion of Native infantry from Serroor. Accordingly, at his requisition, Captain Staunton marched with the 2d battalion of the 1st Bombay Native infantry, two guns under Lieutenant Chisholm, of the Madras artillery, and Lieutenant Swanston's detachment of two hundred and fifty reformed horse.

Gallant Defence of Koreigaum

This detachment left Serroor, on the 31st of December at eight P.M.; and at ten the following forenoon, had reached the high ground overlooking Koreigaum, at twenty-seven miles distance from Serroor. Captain Staunton was now presented with a most cheerless prospect. In the valley below, lay the whole of the Peishwah's army, consisting of twenty thousand horse and nearly eight thousand foot, encamped on the right bank of the Beemah, above the village of Koreigaum; under the walls of which, the high road to Poonah crossed the river by a ford. Luckily for this detachment, the road to the village, which was on the left bank, was unoccupied by the enemy. Captain Staunton pushed for the walls of Koreigaum, and succeeded in gaining that position; before it fell entirely into the hands of the enemy. They were little aware of the approach of the detachment; but soon concluding what measure it would adopt, they likewise detached some infantry to secure the village. Both parties accordingly succeeded in occupying a part; and the village was immediately afterwards surrounded by bodies of horse and foot, with two heavy guns. The Peishwah ascended an eminence at some distance to await the contest, and to encourage the troops by his presence; while his principal chiefs gathering round him, flattered his hopes with the early destruction of this small but resolute band.

The village of Koreigaum is very irregular, and composed of terraced buildings, some of them substantial and surrounded with a wall. It also contains a small choultry, of which the British gained possession;

but the most commanding situation was left to the enemy. Good positions were however obtained for the two guns, to command the avenues by which the enemy might approach in force; but even this advantage was greatly reduced, by their being exposed to sniping fire from neighbouring walls. The village became extremely crowded; both horse and foot, as well as baggage, cattle, and followers, being obliged to take shelter in it; and a multitude of the enemy pressing on them with daring impetuosity. Situated as the two parties were, the British had every reason to

impetuous attacks, repulsed by desperate sallies from the other; for, when closely pressed, the detachment, in order to gain room, was obliged to charge with the bayonet. This measure, therefore, was frequently repeated, and with success; but as a charge must always be led by an European officer, the majority of these became disabled by death, or wounds, in successive attacks. So much execution was done by the guns, that the enemy found no important impression could be made till they were taken. These, therefore, became the object of all the direct at-

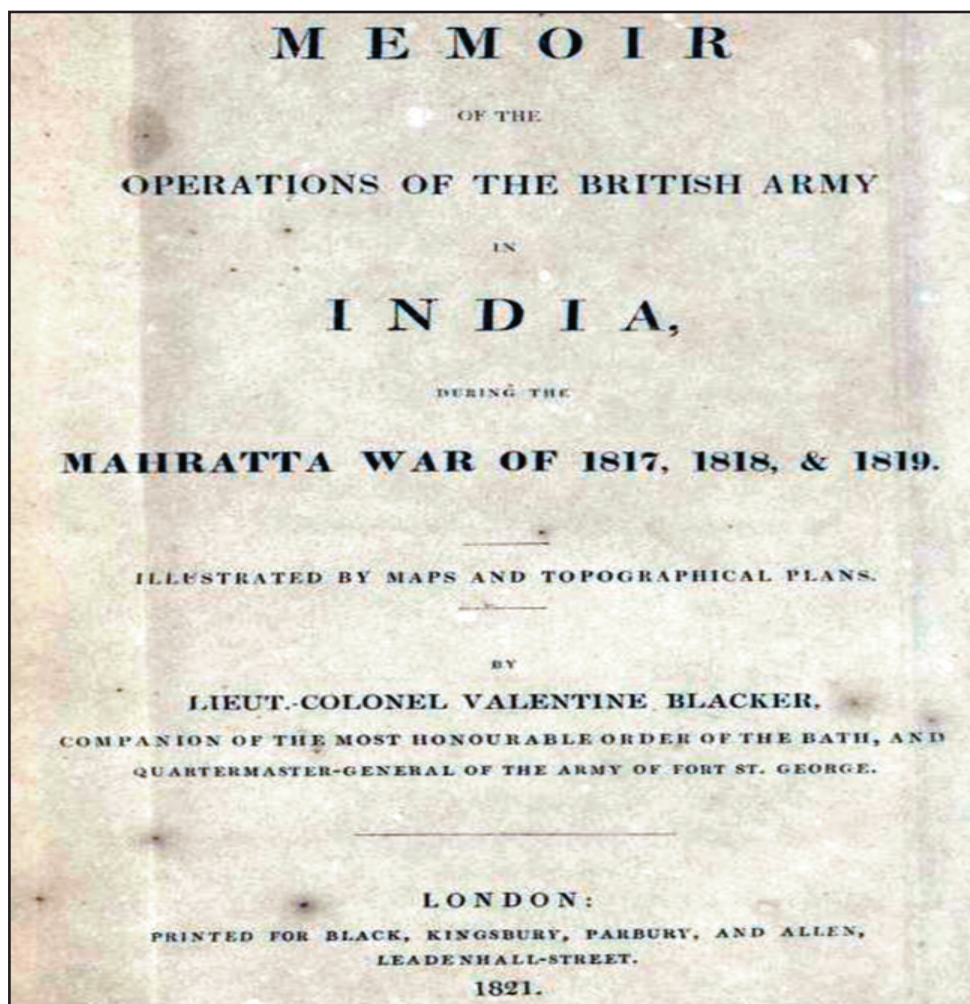
eigaum, the loss was so great, and the exertion attended with so much exhaustion from want of water and refreshment, that some of the men, both European and Native, considered resistance hopeless;

and expressed a desire to apply for terms. Their commanding officer, however, such is the result of education, formed a better judgment of the state of their affairs: while he encouraged them to persevere, he represented the forlorn prospect of a surrender to barbarous and cruel enemies, exasperated by the contemplation of their own losses. This exhortation had the desired effect, and the enemy began to doubt the success of further attacks. They however maintained their original position in the village till nine P.M., when they finally evacuated it to seek repose and refreshment; apprehensive, probably, of being exposed to attacks in their turn, if they remained longer. Under cover of the night the detachment got a supply of water, and made preparations for renewing the contest next morning, being now in possession of the whole of the village. But the enemy were satisfied with the attempts which had been already made and day-light on the 2d discovered them preparing to move off on the Poonah road. This had now become necessary, as on that day Brigadier-general Smith arrived at Chakun.

### Successful Retreat to Serroor

From subsequent accounts it appears, that the Peishwah's army were to have marched, on the previous day, from Koreigaum, though their movement was deferred unusually late; and that, had the detachment arrived there an hour later, this severe contest would never have occurred. Captain Staunton was entirely ignorant of the position of the Fourth Division. It was therefore incumbent on him to provide for his retreat to the point from whence he marched. His want of ammunition and provisions precluded his remaining where he was, and the continuance of his progress to Poonah was impracticable, seeing the enemy already occupied that road. It seems, at the same time, that they expected this measure to be attempted, as they lay all that day and night at Loonee. They, also, endeavoured to induce the detachment to move to the same place, by sending in spies, as from Major Cunningham, with an invitation to meet him there, and to march into Poonah. Captain Staunton appeared to acquiesce, and made his arrangements for the conveyance of his sick; for some, who were able to rise, on bullocks, and for the remainder, in blankets slung to a pole, to be carried by their

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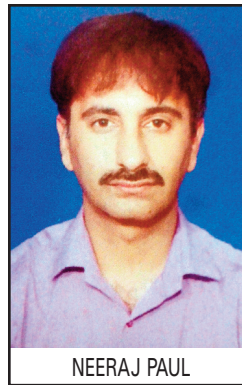


expect, that even a desperate resistance must soon be overcome; and Captain Staunton failing in his endeavours to drive the enemy from their strong positions, was reduced to the measure of defending his own.

In this state was the detachment, at twelve o'clock at noon, cut off from the water, under a burning sun, after a long night march and no subsequent repose. On entering the village, it consisted of five hundred Native infantry, and twenty-six European artillery, besides the horse, who had no room to act, and were unsuitably armed for defence, when dismounted. These troops were commanded by eight European officers, including two assistant-surgeons, who were more usefully employed in encouraging the fighting men, than in attending the wounded. The infantry of the enemy, who advanced to the attack of the village, are represented as three bodies of one thousand men each. They were all, probably, Arabs, for that corps with the Peishwah was estimated at three thousand. No regular description can be expected of such a conflict. It consisted, on one side, of

tacks; as well as of the galling fire kept up, with aim, from behind some walls. In one of these assaults a gun was taken, Lieutenant Chisholm was killed, and his severed head sent off as a trophy to the Peishwah; but the gun was immediately afterwards retaken by a successful charge; and the enemy driven out with much loss by the way they came in.

In the course of the day, Lieutenants Swanston and Connellan, and Assistant-surgeon Wingate, who were severely wounded, were placed for safety in the choultry; but this small building fell into the enemy's possession in one of their successful attacks. Conceiving that this advantage ensured to them the victory, they gave way to the desire of plunder, and put Mr. Wingate to death, in a spirit of cruelty. The same fate awaited the two remaining officers, when Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Mr. Wylie, the only officers left unhurt, vigorously charged the enemy in turn, recovered the choultry, with all the lost ground, and rescued the lives of their companions. Yet, with all the success which had hitherto attended the defence of Kor-



NEERAJ PAUL

# MEMOIR OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN INDIA DURING THE MAHRATTA WAR OF 1817, 1818 & 1819

(Contine from page 3)  
comrades. But, as night fell, instead of following the expected route, he took that of Serroor, and at nine o'clock the next morning the detachment entered that place, with their guns and wounded, with drums beating and colours flying. Lieutenant Patterson here died of his wounds, but the two remaining wounded officers recovered. Of twenty-six artillerymen, twelve were killed and eight wounded; of Native infantry, there were fifty killed and one hundred and five wounded; and of the reformed horse, ninety-six killed, wounded, and missing: while the loss of the enemy was estimated at six or seven hundred men. This will be easily accounted for, by adverting to the situation in which their attacks were necessarily made, in avenues raked by the two guns. On one of these occasions they are represented as having suffered a dreadful loss. An artilleryman serving his gun, half filled it with grape, and let them approach within a dozen yards of the muzzle before he applied the match; nor did it miss fire

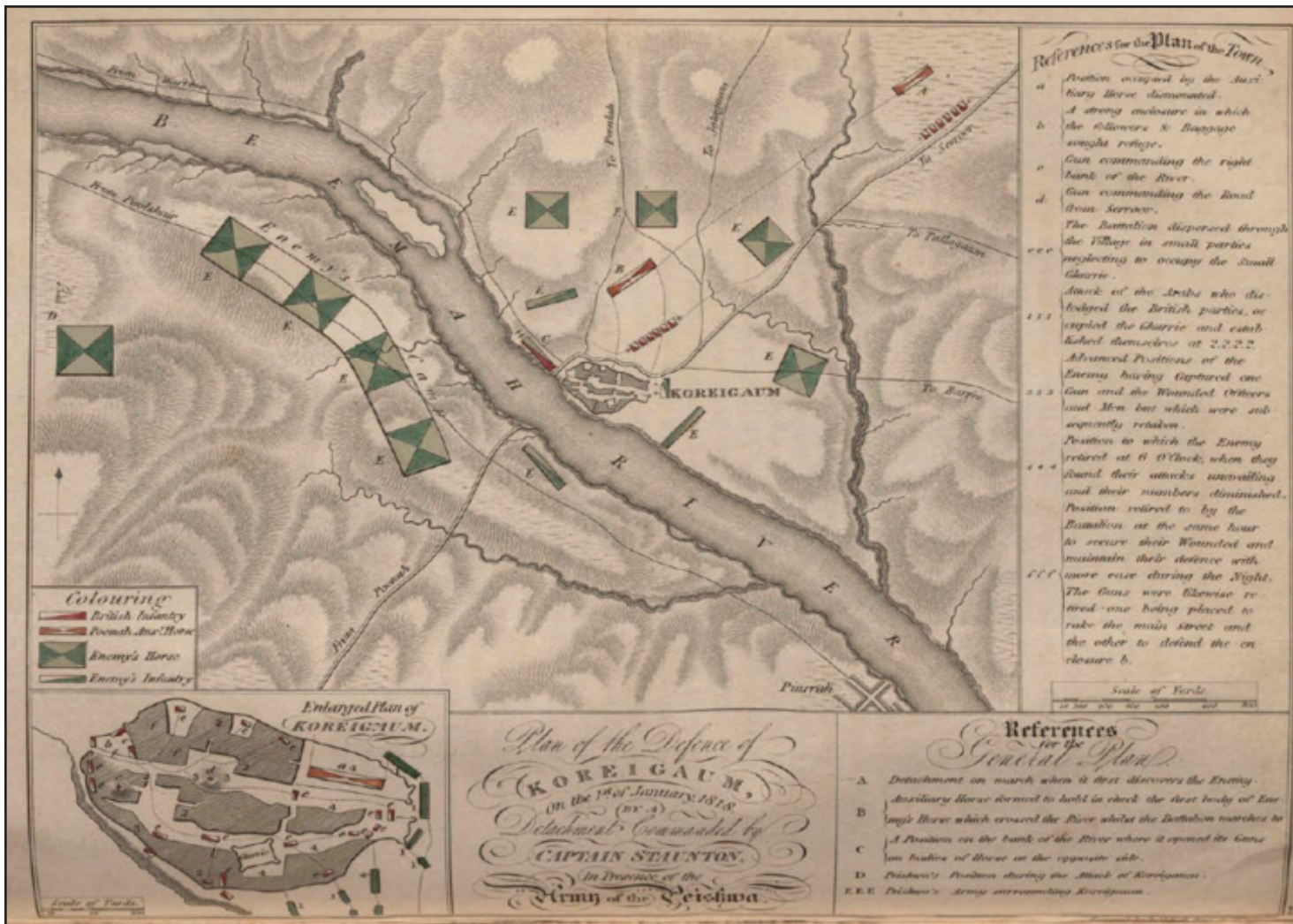
to disappoint his coolness, but discharged the unusual contents where no effect could be lost. It seems that this detachment marched with what would generally be held a superabundant supply of ammunition, both gun and musquet; the deficiency of which has been, on so many occasions, the cause of unavoidable surrender. The 2d battalion of the 15th Madras Native infantry, which had marched on the 23d of December for Peirgaum, returned by forced marches on the evening of the 2d to Serroor, having been called in from its insulated position, by repeated expresses, on the approach of the Peishwah.

### Reflections on this Exploit

It would be difficult to form any opinion but one, respecting the inflexible defence of Koreigaum. Thus the public, as well as every constituted authority, though differing in the expression of their sentiments on many occasions, concurred in bestowing their unqualified and enthusiastic commendation of the behaviour both of officers and men. In the general alacrity to acknowl-

edge their services, the hackneyed expressions of applause appeared insufficient and unsatisfactory. In order to strain the imagination to the utmost, this brave detachment is represented as having defeated the attacks of the Peishwah's entire army. Such exaggeration, probably, arises from a common quality of the human mind, which renders it incapable of forming a distinct idea, when under the influence of admiration; for there can be no greater mistake than to imagine the attack of Koreigaum by all the Peishwah's forces. His choicest infantry, amounting to near four times the numbers of the British force, assailed them, on all sides, with an impetuosity and perseverance, to be surpassed only by that with which the assaults were repelled. It does not even appear that this division of the enemy was ever relieved or reinforced. There were probably no more, brave enough to take their places. Reinforcement was also unnecessary, where already more were present than could act simultaneously. The twenty thousand

cavalry were distributed over the plain, on both sides of the river; but none of this arm could be brought into action. The utmost effect which could have been produced by this development of the whole army, was to appal, through the eye, a handful of men, with whose numbers there was no parity. But this handful was composed of soldiers who required to be addressed through other senses, and despised a display which could only impose on the ignorant and untried. The unembellished report of the commanding officer, clear as it is modest, will always command, from the intelligent, higher admiration than any figurative exhibition. The facts were such, that their unadorned exposure presents the most forcible appeal for well-earned applause. If a similar defence occurred in European warfare, and proposed for its object the detention of the enemy from some other point of great importance, it would be justly appreciated on that account; but in the absence of that, or some other object of equal moment, it is a question if such determination would be held excusable. The apparent hopelessness of the situation would afford sufficient arguments for the necessity of a surrender; and the detachment might, or might not, according to circumstances, be permitted to march out with the honours of war. But this reasoning applies to civilized warfare, where prisoners of war are treated with respect; whereas, with a Native enemy, no dependence can be placed on their promises of security. Whenever they have been trusted, immediate slaughter, or cruel treatment, has been the invariable consequence. The faith of a British officer is so well-established, that Native garrisons will surrender to a British force; but, perhaps there is no example of a body of troops, in the field, laying down their arms. When defeated, they expect no quarter; and the irregularity of their flight is such, as to afford no opportunity of offering them terms. Their chief is generally, on such an occasion, the first to fly; and there remains no one to be answerable for the rest, or to whom the victors can offer terms.



Plan of the Defence of Koreigaum On the 1st of January 1818

By A Detachment Commanded by Captain Staunton In Presence of the Army of the Peishwa

Select paras from Book II Chapter 1:  
**PURSUIT OF THE PEISHWAH TO THE REDUCTION OF SATARA**  
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