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PUNJABI PEOPLE

RUPI KAUR, EXCERPTS (WASHINGTON POST)

FROM THE PAGES **OF HISTORY...**

Mamta Jakhad, Rajasthan; tr. LS

THE PRICE OF ONE NIGHT

union leaders' commendable

behavior and interactions with the women

have established an example for the other

members. It is an accomplishment of the

farmers' protest that it has erased these

historical differences. Women and men

have chosen to unite against a common enemy. There are some families that

are only represented by their

women members in the

protest, and now men

doubt

do not question

Jatinder Mauhar, Tikri

it.

Some historians believe that it was women who first domesticated crop plants and thereby initiated the art and science of farming.

MS Swaminathan



Women's partner-ship in the workerfarmers' movement

An interview of Harinder Bindu by Sangeet Toor, tr. A

Women have always participated indirectly in political struggles. Their direct participation in the farmer's agitation is due to the efforts of the unions. Harinder Bindu is the state president of the BKU (Ekta-Ugrahan) Women's Wing. She has been fighting for the rights of the laborers and farmers for the last 30 years. When I called her on the phone, she was getting ready for the day's meetings. Our conversation took place during this hectic moment. Her family had received land in the 1950s PEPSU Muzara movement and today corporations eagerly await opportunity to occupy it. She is determined to turn back this reversal of history.

Bindu assumed full organizational leadership of 4 districts during the initial months of lockdown. She readily undertook the establishment of new units and initiated meetings and activities. In this process, she never experienced that as a woman leader she isn't taken seriously. In fact, the male members are proud to see an exceptional woman as a leader of their union, and the women are assured that their gender is not an obstacle to their advancement in leadership roles.

Partnership

Months before the farm bills were passed, the Ugrahan union had already begun organizing meetings and committees especially for women in villages, blocks, and districts. The block committees went from village to village to set up new units and to conduct training sessions for families so that the men would take up domestic duties when the women were away to participate in meetings. The women were trained according to their interests and confidence. The women were assigned responsibility on par with the men. The male union leaders were encouraged to include the women in their families so as to set an example for other union members to involve their families.

It is because of these efforts that women are prominently visible in this movement. Those women who are unable to attend due to household obligations, are contributing by making pinni sweets, knitting sweaters, and preparing food. In addition, they are politically mobilizing other women in their homes, neighborhoods, and villages. Compared to young men, there are certainly fewer young women/wives at the Delhi protest. However, women are actively participating in the movement on the ground in Punjab.

Political Change

no matter which government is in power, they will be able to find a solution to any problem on their own as long as they are united.

The women in the villages are now confident that

Earlier, people used to knock on the doors of the political parties in power, they used to plead. Now people have realized that political power is in their hands and not the political parties. The people understand who the Ambani/ Adani corporations are, why the corporations want contract farming, and how contract farming will dispossess them of their land. The people recognize the corporate plot to control the nation's natural resources and developed infrastructure. And how the corporate houses are buying-off ruling parties as they steal the collective resources of the people. The people also understand that schools, hospitals, and railways are collectively owned. The land and harvests are our own. The people have developed a sense of belonging to this collective wealth as well as a desire to protect it.

Differences ...

Men and women are seen as different in society. But we need to understand that men and women are not each other's enemies; the enemy is the historically unequal societal structure. When we become conscious of this and become united, then we will also be able to change

women who venture their Women and men do not have just one mode of relationship, people have become aware of this as they struggle together and fight side by side against the government. The women have created a new space for themselves in their homes and their unions. Change that would take years has come about in a matter of months.

Editorial

We are commemorating the sacrifices of Mata Gujri and the four Sahibzadas these days. The farmer unions collective has extended an invitation to commemorate the sacrifice at the Singhu and Tikri protest sites. In addition, the birth of Jesus, Christ on December 25 'Christmas' was celebrated around the world. Jesus was also a working man and sought the welfare of all. His message was a threat to the rulers of the time and they nailed Jesus Christ to the

December 21 was the death anniversary of Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, the founder of the Ghadar Party. He was also the leader of the All India Kisan Sabha the 1930s and was frequently jailed during farmers' protests. Many units of the same farmer's union are also participating in the protest today. The sacrifices of the martyrs during the month of Poh's freezing nights give us the strength to fight against the tyrant and inspire us to remain undeterred in all circumstances. Mothers like Mata Gujri are with us; the innumerable sons of the 10th Guru are dedicated in their fight against the saffron-clad rulers. If the central government continues to be against the people, history will remember Prime Minister Narendra Modi's name along with tyrants like Aurangzeb and the inglorious Roman emperors.

On December 22, the government sent a letter to the farmer unions requesting yet another meeting. By extending these empty, pointless invitations, government is trying to create a false perception that we are ready to talk but the farmers are reluctant. On December 23, National Farmers Day, the farmer unions have demanded that the central government stop singing the same old song of amendments and instead make a solid offer of repealing the laws. The farmer unions have made several announcements to intensify the movement. These include relay hunger strikes, clapping and banging plates during the Prime Minister's "Mann Ki Baat" speech on December 27, making Haryana tolls free for 3 days, and blocking the rest of the main highways to Delhi.

Apart from this, the people of Punjab have begun shutting down Reliance cellular network towers. Farmer unions from Maharashtra are also en route to the protest site. Across Haryana, the farmers are picketing, challenging BJP members in multiple locations. The farmer unions are getting ready for a large rally on 29th December in Patna, the capital city of Bihar state. The support for the farmers' protests is also visible in foreign countries where people are making their voices heard by protesting in front of the Indian embassies and consulates. This shows how widespread the reach and impact of the farmer protests is, and how public pressure on the Modi government is consistently on the

Trolley Times condemns Jasbeer Singh Dimpa's misconduct with the journalist. It is clear that the ruling parties are avoiding the people's questions. To all our brothers and sisters - especially the young people it is our request that we celebrate the new year at the Delhi morcha. The new year celebration, this time, is dedicated to the farmers' struggle.

We wish eternal optimism and triumph to the farmer-workers' protest.



PEASANTRY WILL THRIVE HARMANJEET, tr. AB

An ancient form forged in green remains seated cross-legged in his mind. The clumps of the earth are as dear to him as his own limbs and a mere touch of this earth is enough to gather the scattered shards of his mind into a whole. The harvest he reaps is the essence of the sparkling sunshine dancing through his veins. He is not just an ordinary man cultivating crops, toiling away alone in the fields. He is present in every part of our life.

He wakes up the morning sun and labors in its heat. He turns into air and whispers the breath of life in the homes of even those plunderers who boil their lentils in his blood. Some poems are written without papers and pens. Just like the sweat trickling down his spine. This is one of the greatest poems of the world.

He not only cultivates the crops, he cultivates ideas too. In his talks, he stirs peace and pleasure. At times, he has been called rowdy, illiterate, conservative, even identified as a terrorist. But remember that he soars with the birds when they fly off the branches. What barriers could stop this dervish, who does not feel the difference between comfort and pain, who can see mountains even in the grains of soil. Rabb Raakha.

The knowledge of earth, moral duty, contempla-

will be remembered in every era The ones out to annihilate us will themselves get annihilated The peasantry will thrive! The peasantry will thrive!

Farmers possess a lot of patience. This patience will help them win. The government is playing deceitful games. Farmers are quiet, protesting peacefully. Farmers remain unmoved. Punjab asks in worry - what will happen? The answer arrives from the protest - we will return victorious. - Tanveer; tr. SS

PUNJABI PEOPLE

RUPI KAUR, EXCERPTS (WASHINGTON POST)

History shows Punjab has always taken on tyrants. Modi is no different.

My people laugh at tyrants. Punjabis today say, "When Alexander the Great attempted to invade, Punjab sent him packing. What's a Modi to an Alexander the Great?"

For Sikhs, dissent against oppression is nothing new. We resisted the Mughals for 300 years. We birthed a global resistance against colonial British rule, including one that stretched from the fields of Northern California to the villages of Punjab, called the Ghadar Movement. My parents' generation survived the 1984 Sikh genocide and the decade of state-sponsored violence and extrajudicial killings that followed.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi now joins the long historical list of tyrants Punjab has

My aunt, like most members of my family in

Punjab, is a small-scale farmer. More than half of India's workforce is in farming, with 85 percent of farmers owning less than five acres. "They can try to take everything we have, they've tried before," my aunt told us over the phone weeks ago; She had just returned from a protest in her village, "But our spirit will never extinguish."

Dissent is on its last leg in India. Any hope to restore it is tied to the fate of this farmers' protest. Their resistance acts as a last line of defense against a government-backed corporate takeover. An elderly protester recently said, "We have faced bigger tyrants than Modi. As long as there is breath in our lungs, we will keep fighting."

The ultimatum is clear.

Peace and justice for all minorities, or division and polarization?

Democracy or majoritarianism?

Farmers or Modi? Pick your side.

I've chosen mine.



OLD PUNJABI SOCIETY AND WOMEN

From Dr. Manzoor Ejaz's book People's History of Punjab, tr. GW

Women invented agriculture. They acted as the thought leaders and proponents of the invention. Revered as the creator and nurturer of life, women were regarded as the manifestation of the greatest power in the universe. In the ancient times, people worshipped goddesses. In some parts of the Indian subcontinent, crops are still sown by women. However, the advent of animal husbandry reversed the trend as men worked primarily with domesticated animals. The female deities were replaced by male deities. This was the time when the power shifted from female to male dominance.

THE INHERITOR OF WORKERS MOVEMENT

Amolak Singh, Tikri Front; tr. SS

In the ongoing struggle against the anti-farm laws, Surinder Kumari Kochhar, shared her valuable experiences of struggles she had participated in throughout her life. She arrived with a women's group to join the movement on the borders of Delhi. She said, "the scenes I witnessed in 1943-44 are in front of us once again." This reflection underscores fears that if the new laws are not repealed, people will lose their livelihoods, land, forests, water, the means to sustain life itself. They will drown in the ocean of poverty, pushed deeper to death.

The group of advocates, professors and theatre

artists in Surinder's group was deeply moved by the resolve, patience and team-work of the protestors - the elderly and younger men and women - who were camping at the Delhi border in trolleys, camps, or just the streets under the open sky. They remarked that people have waged this protest as a matter of life or death. Surinder had witnessed Ghadrites and labour leaders in 1944 visit the hutments of the poor. The Delhi protests brought back memories of that past as she witnessed the farmers' leaders organise meetings, discussions and rallies to mobilise support. She saw this as the making of history, the present woven together in the mesmerizing chain of past history and the history of the future

FARMERS' TANK

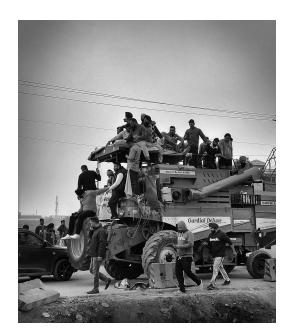
Manu Moudgil, Singhu Border

A combine harvester is the biggest machine used on a farm. It can harvest, winnow, and thresh rice, wheat in a single process, thus saving time and labour. But like all things, it too has a downside. The harvester is one of the reasons for stubble burning.

The harvester cuts the paddy crop eight inches above the ground, thus leaving a substantial amount of stubble to be disposed off. With hand harvesting, only a small portion is left stuck to the ground which can be ploughed in soil and would eventually rot. Straw, when hand harvested, was used for roof/floor of animal sheds and as fodder even though it's inferior in quality to wheat straw. The harmful effects of human to machine transition were aggravated when agricultural scientists recommended commercial fodder for animals instead of paddy straw to increase milk production. They also advised farmers to burn the straw which could kill insects and weeds and increase crop yield. The scientists were just focussed on ways to increase production of milk and crop. They did not think how this rupture in the deep relationship between animals and farms will impact natural and human life. The method of stubble burning might save money but destroys natural wealth. It is difficult to turn back the clock as stubble management becomes a major expense, and that too when farming itself is becoming a more capital intensive enterprise and when every quintal of grain, every litre of milk is essential.

To deal with this issue, the Punjab government made super SMS attachments compulsory for the combine harvesters a few years back. SMS shreds the straw finely, thus making it more manageable. But a new attachment requires tractors with higher power and extra fuel. Punjab doesn't have that many high power tractors. Farmers aren't keen either as SMS attachment leads to loss of grain.

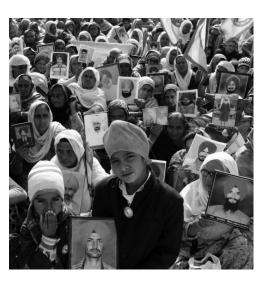
Hence the combine harvester remains as it is, a symbol of modern agriculture that has diminished humans even as they climb atop the machine



THE PRICE OF ONE NIGHT Jatinder Mauhar, Tikri

In this story by Gurmel Madahar, a young man has to go to water the fields on his wedding night. Leaving his bride at home, he goes with his father to the fields. The weather is chilly. The soil is sandy. The embankment he is trying to build with the shovel does not hold before the fast current of water coming from the stream, disabling him from setting the direction of water. Removing his shirt, the father of the young man sits in the freezing cold stream and asks his son to build the dam over his shoulder. The young man throws the sand over his father's back, whose body slowly starts turning blue in the cold. At last the dam stays.

The commission agent says to the young farmer when he takes the produce to the grain market, "The government is giving a good price this year!" It is hard to imagine the scenes in the young farmer's mind. All he wants to say is, "It doesn't even cover the price of our one night's work"



THE PEOPLE AT THE MORCHA

KULDEEP KAUR, tr. AB

having witnessed her father's killing in the riots of 1947 surjit kaur is looking for her son-in-law in this morcha he went missing during '1984' delhi, to her, is a cold slaughterhouse

jangveer cannot forget the lifeless corpse of his friend found in a cotton field scared, for so long, to enter that field he has arrived at this morcha to cry out his final tears

mocking the national citizens' register these two girls, deprived of school in class tenth, have arrived at this morcha to protest the government's conspiracy to murder their cancer-afflicted mother rolling the rotis surjan's thoughts are still stuck in that fateful night of 1986 now stifling himself with the four corners of the quilt he spends his days peering at young boys raising slogans looking for the face of his own son

having spent her entire life cooking and cleaning for others santo has arrived in this morcha to give a beat to its rhythms with her cracked heels and her cracked hands her sweat runs blood red, here

the people at this morcha swap with one another their dreams and their memories more than the ones they have lost they are worried about those they are yet to meet they have memorized every single letter of a history that is yet to be written

someone envisions baba nanak's pair of scales that bartered a whole granary for Him someone's memory brims with rage and sorrow someone keeps looking for the 'sarabaha' they had encountered in a book in class five while the separation from lahore's central jail will not let someone sleep

here, everyone looks for the loved ones they have lost here, protesting against their miseries everyone sets their hearts on fire this morcha has consumed all poisons this time, in this court, the people will have saved socrates



As the sun began to set, the women farmers returned to their trolleys after a full day of protests. As they settled down to rest a famer from Haryana came and handed them a sack of wheat. They requested him to take back the wheat sack as they have been carrying ration for months to come. The Haryanvi farmer insisted that they keep it a token of respect and love for his friends from Punjab. Of solidarity, peace and love

Shashank Walia, Tikri site



FROM THE PAGES OF HISTORY...

Mamta Jakhad, Rajasthan; tr. LS

I, Mamta Jakhad, am a farmer's daughter. As soon as I heard about the farmers' protest movement, I wanted to be part of it. On reaching here with my two daughters and husband, I felt a surge of pride for the spirit displayed at the protest and the people's anger towards Modi. One hardly ever gets to see the feelings that are evident here: the love, the brotherhood, of being part of a single big family. The socialist India that we have always dreamed about -- I can see it here.

Every child present at the protest wants the dictatorial Modi government to come to its senses, and to not impose the black laws on the people-- the farmers and the agricultural labourers -- otherwise the government will have to face the consequences. The people here are determined that however long it takes, they will get the laws repealed. Some people have told their family members back home that they will return only after the laws have been scrapped. The people are ready to fight this dictatorial government from all sides.

One cannot but praise the langar [community food kitchen] being run by our Panjabi and Rajasthani friends. This is the first time in my life that I'm witnessing a protest like this and the India that I had only read about in textbooks. The unity in our diversity, our plurality, of which also I had only read about, is clearly visible here. I've never seen this kind of solidarity.

There are people distributing winter clothing and essential items to those who need them. One sees such humanity only in a kisan andolan, the way people are cooking together, and serving food to each other with love -- it is only our annadatta, the provider of our food, who knows the value of land and of each foodgrain, who can do this.

Everywhere, people are lining up to protest against the dictatorial Modi government -- this protest is one of the largest seen in the country! And my daughters and I are proud to be part of such a historical moment



FROM HOME TO SING-HU BORDER - A DAY

Krishan Kumar Nirman, Karnal, tr: SS

As you leave for Delhi from Chandigarh, you get to behold a view of the farmers movement at least once every ten kilometers. Every vehicle with a farmers' flag or banner on it is stopped and is served tea, pinni, biscuits, bread etc. This sequence doesn't stop in Karnal, Gharaunda, and Panipat either. It does, however, get sparse in Samalkha and Ganaur but picks up momentum beyond that. You can observe the spell of farmers movement just as you enter Rai. Tractors, trolleys and cars nestled on the road can make you question the possibility in astonishment. You have to crawl at a slow pace in your vehicle through here. As you go a little further and enter Kundali, you too get doused with the incense of the resistance because you have to park your vehicle at the first place you can find and walk on from there.

One has to cover the distance of 2-3 kilometers to reach the main stage. As you walk on this path, you get to see the various colours of this struggle. A langar is organized every 100 meters. Young volunteers have taken the responsibility of cleanliness. Washing machines have been set up for convenience. Various stalls have been set up for sugarcane juice, kinnow juice, veg biryani, gajak etc. Peanuts get distributed at numerous places on the path. You can eat as much as you want if you have the capacity. Some places have people making posters, some have people shouting slogans while on others you can find them singing songs. Haryanvi turbans are in sight too. Hukka also makes its presence clear.

The funny thing is that only the future knows what this movement will lead to, but when I talked to some little children who live near G.T. Road, they smilingly said that they're enjoying it.

I inquired about the reason and source of their enjoyment. They said, "We've never before eaten this much variety of food." I felt good knowing that someone is being helped through this movement.

Not everything can be seen from the drone view. Elders are given massages; medical checkups have been organised on multiple spots. Sarv Karamchari Sangh has made a place for workers behind the main stage, a dispensary has been added too. Here, workers from various sectors raise their voice in support of the farmers. Jai Bhagwan Dahiya and Dinesh Chikara are standing firmly here. The main stage is here, the youngsters have excellently handled the security of entrance and the area surrounding it. Whole day speeches are made. When I was looking around here, the farmers from Uttrakhand were announcing that they wholly support this resistance.

You will meet some vendors selling dholaks and other musical instruments. I talked to several people. They all said the same thing that this obstinance and vanity doesn't suit the government. The agricultural laws should be repealed. Taking in all the arrangements it is clear that provisions for six months have been managed. Even after 24 days no one shows even a glimmer of lour. You can notice media roaming around here but wonder why godi media is nowhere to be found!

Translations by Aditya Bahl, Amritpan, Sahib Singh, Harjeet Kaur, Gurpreet Wasi, Lotika Singha, Manu Maudgil

Edits by Ravinder Kaur, Jasdeep Singh, Pavan Puneet Brar, Sangeet Toor

PARAMJIT AND NAINPREET

Jaspreet Kaur, Ghazipur Border

Paramjit and Nainpreet arrived at Ghazipur protest site from Ludhiana with a physiotherapy and nursing team to serve the farmers.

They've been at protests since 9th December. Due to the dearth of facilities for women, it is difficult for them to be at the protests during the winter cold. But they say, "when one is determined to serve, then these troubles barely matter'. The two girls began arranging the medical facilities as soon as they reached the protests alongwith their team.

By morning they had everything ready and started treating the farmers. They saw to the wounds on the farmers feet. They could rest only after working for 48 hours. They are both relieved and happy that these wounds have started healing.

Now they and their female colleagues have their own tent(s). They're content knowing that they're contributing to this movement.

KISAN AND JAWAN

Jassi Sangha, Singhu Morcha, Delhi

In past days, a very emotional Bir Singh, a Punjabi singer, talked about the attendance of Bapu Amarjit Singh. You can see an 85 years old man roaming around at Singhu front with military medals on his chest. He is Amarjit Singh, resident of village Naino Kot, District Gurdaspur. He fought in the first Indo-China War of 1962. He was captured during the war and returned to India after spending nine months in Chinese prison. In 1965 when the Indo Pakistan War happened, he fought from Jammu to Satwari. Later he took part in the war of 1972. Bapu Ji retired from the rank of Subedar. He tells that soldiers and farmers have an intimate relationship. The farmers' sons are serving on borders of the country and the farmers are fighting for their rights on the borders of Delhi.

Bapu Ji believes that if we don't fight today, our future generations will suffer because of these laws and condemn us. He speaks with a harrowing manner, "I fought three wars to protect the country, but didn't achieve martyrdom. This is the fourth war, we have to win, or we'll sacrifice our lives for our rights."

CLEANLINESS: GOVT'S RESPONSIBILITY

Prabhat Tiwari; tr. LS

Since about 25 days, protests have been ongoing at Delhi's Singhu and Tikri borders against the three disputed farm laws. Farmers have travelled hundreds of kilometres from their homes to gather together to agitate against the bills. They are tackling many challenges, one of which is lack of cleanliness and the attendant risk of disease. Although the farmers are making a concerted effort at their level, it won't be possible to overcome this problem without the government's support.

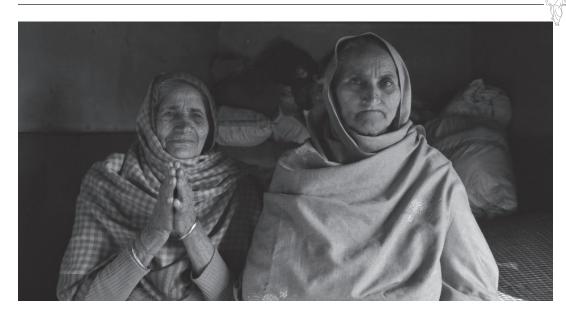
Some doctors from Punjab and Haryana are working to provide adequate medical facilities for the protesting farmers. Dr Sawai Maan Singh from Punjab said, "In the past few days there has been a sudden increase in diarrhoea, which is not right." He told us that at first they had not realised the protest would continue for so long. But once that became clear, they had been trying to arrange for adequate resources.

Dr Deol, who had accompanied Dr Singh, explained that separate facilities had been arranged for women, and they were also ensuring that women's needs for their wellbeing were being met. "We are providing sanitary pads for women. We don't believe in

being conservative about such things. We have a progressive approach in which we recognise women's needs and we are making sufficient arrangements for them."

Besides these issues, portable toilets are also being organised. A team of volunteers is on duty at regular intervals to clean the protest grounds, and this way the farmers are making sure cleanliness is maintained. Both the doctors and farmers are working hard to overcome the problem, however, the government needs to seriously pay attention to this challenge and ensure adequate arrangements for cleanliness at the protest sites.





THE NEW FARM LAWS WILL TAKE THE NATION DOWN THE ROAD OF STARVATION!

Islam Hussein, Uttarakhand; tr. LS

Will the new farm bills be detrimental only for farmers? Do the rest of the people, more than half of the country's population, have nothing to do with them? It is an absolute mistake to think or believe this. Allowing private purchase and large-scale storage of foodgrains and [the amendments to] the Essential Commodities Act can only be called a dangerous conspiracy, as it will make the future unsafe for the majority of the population.

Even now, in India, vast numbers of people go hungry because access to affordable food remains a major problem (which, in technical terms, is indicated by fluctuations in the hunger index). Those living below the poverty line and about half of those living above the poverty line do not have food security. Antyodaya and below-poverty-line households number 2.42 crore and 6.52 crore, respectively, which effectively means 40-50 crore people. Not included here are large numbers of missing households and middle-class households to whom state-subsidised foodgrains are distributed. In such a situation, the handing over of sales, storage and transportation of foodgrains to the private sector can only be considered as a betrayal of the nation and its public.

Despite an increase in foodgrain production, the reality of food insecurity on the ground was the reason why the previous government, in its last days, passed the National Food Security Act (NFSA 2013), which assured food security to 75% of the rural and 50% of the urban population.

This issue is not an old one, but a recent one-during the lockdown, when even well-to-do households became anxious about access to wheat and rice. Then people who looked down on controlled or quota rations were also seen queueing for the same. This only tells us that despite lakhs of tonnes (more than 800 lakh tonnes at the time of writing) of foodgrains in godowns and other storage facilities in the country, universal supply of rations is not possible without the Public Distribution System (PDS or the fair-price government ration shop).

During the lockdown there was such a huge din around rations, that the state governments had to expand the PDS to include all rations (including pulses). Lakhs of people who had given up using ration cards, were holding these cards and queueing for rations at government fair-price shops. Non-ration card holders were issued new ration cards, and in some places people could buy rations with Aadhar cards or voter ID cards.

At the start of the lockdown, in April and May, the nationwide panic over rations was enough to prove that even if there is excessive foodgrain production in the country, its universal and timely supply is necessary. However, this responsibility cannot be left to the private sector. Universal supply of rations is not possible without a public distribution system.

Remember how in the previous century, during the Bengal famine, despite the availability of foodgrains in the country, lakhs of people died of starvation. This was because there was no public distribution system and the whole nation was left at the mercy of private stockpilers.

If any kind of food-crisis were to happen now, how would we transport the foodgrains stored in private godowns to the hungry people who need them? Because then neither will the Food Corporation of India procure grains on behalf of the government nor will it have its own stock. It will be the private corporations owning the stock, and the foodgrains released from Adani's silos and warehouses will be sold at their asking price. The situation today is that in the big supermarkets and malls in the cities, wheat flour that should be priced at Rs 20 per kilo is being sold at Rs 50 per kilo, which the so-called 'elite' corporate employees are buying with pride. But the ordinary people of India will neither be able to afford these prices but nor will they bear such slavery.

The new farm laws, by promoting buying and selling of foodgrains in the open market, ending the use of farmers' markets [APMC or government-regulated wholesale markets] and removing the cap on stockholding of foodgrains, which will promote hoarding, are even more dangerous for ordinary consumers than for the farmers. Because then the FCI, which keeps prices under control for the ordinary people by procuring foodgrains in advance and releasing the grains in a timely manner, depending on the situation of the market, will no longer exist. (Today it might still be there, but once the big corporations have more stocks, it will completely vanish.) Then how will the prices and supply of foodgrains be regulated? This is worth considering.

In previous decades, whenever drought or excessive rainfall negatively affected rabi or kharif crops, the government restored balance in food prices by promptly ordering the release of excess foodgrains from the Food Corporation of India. Today the country has more than enough foodgrains (stocked by the Food Corporation of India), but who can guarantee that this situation will not change, that emergencies like droughts, excess rainfall and lockdowns will never happen again?

Also concerning are the questions around food security in India, the National Food Security Act, the Public Distribution System, Midday Meal programme and other various food-related social security programmes, the social welfare programmes for supply of foodgrains to student [at least 2/3 students are SC/ST/OBC] hostels, for which there were provisions for government support and subsidies to the Food Corporation of India. But since some time now, the government has withdrawn state aid to the Food Corporation of India, because of which the

corporation has started taking loans from various financial institutions to run these social welfare programmes (this loan has increased from 1 lakh crore to 2.5-3 lakh crores). The increase in this loan increases the risk of closure of the Food Corporation of India, or that the government may sell it off to the corporations at a quarter of its cost -- then neither will the government procure foodgrains, nor will there be a Public Distribution System or the bother of supplying the Midday Meal. [In Hindi] this is called 'Naa rahega baans, na bajeegi bansuri' [once the root cause of the 'trouble' is removed, the problem will cease to exist].

Looking at the aims of the current government, it seems as if it is bent on destroying the socialeconomic structures by ultimately withdrawing from all social welfare programmes. The provisions in the new farm laws that will reduce the role of the Food Corporation of India will be very costly for the majority of the population, because the very objectives behind setting up the Food Corporation of India included: ensuring food security for all the nation's citizens; efficient procurement of foodgrains at the Minimum Support Price (MSP) and their storage and distribution; maintaining buffer stocks of foodgrains so that, through appropriate policy initiatives, availability of foodgrains and sugar was ensured; using the Public Distribution System to ensure availability of foodgrains

SPRING WILL BLOOM ON THESE SLOPES

Manglesh Dabral, tr. AB

Spring will bloom on these slopes to commemorate us reviving once again the desires that have died of cold slowly, the fog will slowly fill out the empty caves the grass of the valley will spread through the night like a lone traveler the darkness will keep crossing the slopes

A mouth buried under rocks in all four directions will one day rise up and all of a sudden peek through a crevice it will melt away like yesteryear's snow and the flowers will come tumbling down the peaks in the midst of endless embraces a voice will keep writhing bloodied like a bird



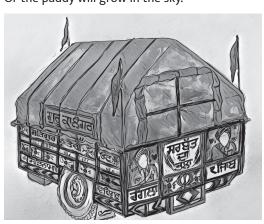
especially to the weaker and disadvantaged sections of society at reasonable prices; implementing the National Food Security Act 2013 throughout the country; efficiently procuring wheat, paddy/rice and mota anaj [millet] to regulate market prices; strengthening the targeted Public Distribution System; promoting the development of the sugar industry; modernising warehouses and other storage facilities; and making improvements in public services. The new farm laws' biggest impact will be on these roles of the Food Corporation of India. The government is assuring the farmers about maintaining the minimum support price but it is silent on continuing with the functions of the Food Corporation of India and the programmes for social welfare. This is why before the farmers, it is the ordinary public and social welfare organisations that need to stand up against the new farm laws.

What should have happened was that the ordinary public, social welfare organisations and the mainstream media should have, before the farmers, demanded answers from the government on the hastily passed new farm laws and their plans for a food distribution system; and how were they going to ensure continued food security for the nation? For which, in 2013, the National Food Security Act was passed.

PADDY IN THE SKY

Ramashankar Yadav 'Vidrohi'

I am a farmer,
sowing paddy in the sky.
some are saying
hey fool, paddy can't grow in the sky.
I say, fool
If God can grow on this earth,
then paddy can also grow in the sky.
and among these two
one thing shall definitely occur
Either the God will be uprooted from the earth,
Or the paddy will grow in the sky.





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TROLLEY TIMES > FACT CHECK



STOP ADANI, SAVE KISANI

The whole truth

- 1. FCI will be annulled once the agricultural laws are implemented. Adani can store the produce as long as they want. They will be able to decide the prices as they please. The subsidized rations for the labourers will end. All of us will have to buy grains at much higher price from Adani and Reliance stores.
- **2.** Adani, Ambani and other corporates will enter the agriculture sector when the farm laws are implemented. They'll start contract farming with charming contracts. But the farmers will have no way to decide the price for their harvest or no legal recourse to fight for their rights if the produce is bad or for any other disputes.
- will control the food prices if the farm laws are implemented. Gradually the debt on farmers will increase while their earnings will fall. Corporates will enjoy the profits and the farmers take the loss. The value of farmlands will drop. The farmers will lose their farmlands and will enter the labour force. Labourers will increase and labour wages will come down.





+3

-1

Bane: Your community members le

an evil impression on people where

they visit, due to their disrespectful

Bane: You have spent your time in conflicts

-1

and idle worldly pursuits, without realizing the value of human life due to your ignorance

+4

Bane: You are misguided by false words

of pseudo-saints who were making

offerings to their dead ancestors.

+2

ROLL AGAIN

Bane: You are a hypocrite; you've committed

a sin by believing in the myths surrounding

and holy services during a solar eclipse.

the discourse of activities related to food, charity,

GURU NANAK

Thukral and Tagra x The Kalgidhar Trust, Baru Sahib

Superiority of Deeds - Mecca, Saudi Arabia

Udasi 4. (1518-1522)

Boon: You believe in the superiority of

noble deeds as advised by Guru Nanak Dev Ji, "All have to give an account of their deeds. Without noble deeds, all would repent in the end."

Bane: You have discriminated on the basis of

ROLL AGAIN

Sikkim

Transformation of Ice into Nectar - Gurudongmar,

Udasi 3. (1516-1518) 3/5

Boon: You are a local Yak grazer whose pleas for drinking water have been answered by the Divine.

Bane: While traversing Sikkim, your movement got restricted by the frozen lake.

ROLL AGAIN

Boon: You make people believe in the omnipresence of the Divine.

Udasi 4. (1518-1522) 4/1

Omnipresence

Saudi Arabia

Mecca,

Bane: You believe that God's presence cannot be felt everywhere.

Stand by Truth -Sialkot, Pakistan

Udasi 3. (1516-1518) 3/6

Boon: You believe in the victory of truth, which is not dependent on suppressing falsehood but in standing firmly by the truth.

Bane: You are Moola Khatri, who often tries to seek truth but does not stand by truth in everyday life.

Sore penance doesn't lead to the Almighty -Bikaner, Rajasthan

Udasi 2. (1510-1515) 📑 2/2 🦠

Boon: You believe in Naam Japo - ceaseless devotion to God; Kirat Karo - earn a living honestly; Wandd Chhako - sharing with the needy.

Bane: You performed penance at one place and tortured yourself to realise the Divine within at the cost of your life.

ROLL AGAIN

Meditation A Spiritual Bliss - Sirsa, Naryana

Udasi 2. (1510-1515)

Boon: You attained spiritual bliss with utmost love and devotion to merge with the Divine within.

Bane: You are a follower of rigid ritualistic practices rather than ceaseless

Three bowls of Knowledge Jagannath Puri, Odisha

Udasi 1. (1497-1510) 1/5

Boon: Your devotion to the Divine has brought you deliverance and good fortune.

Bane: You pretended to be a saint and asked for charity in

the name of rituals.

The Universal Anthem -Jagannath Puri, Odisha

Udasi 1. (1497-1510) 1/6

Boon: You praised the 'Lord' in its O existence while Guru Nanak and B recited the holy verses to natu

Bane: You believe in man-made stor

ROLL AGAIN



awalkwithgurunanak.com

Guru Nanak Dev Ji over the period of 24 years had embarked on four spiritual journeys to deliver the message of peace, love, and compassion to humanity with his companion, Bhai Mardana. The aim of his sacred mission was to educate the masses residing in all four directions of the Indian Subcontinent and other countries. He travelled far to restore humanity in the midst of expanding ignorance and worldly attachments.

These games were played as a 40×40 ft installation, at Gurdwara Rakab Ganj Sahib, New Delhi and Anandpur Sahib, Punjab in Feb 2020, where the visitors played the games in teams and as individuals.

Sakhis: Historical narratives/ stories/ tales about moral lessons and principles by Gurus.

Udasis: Travels and divine journey by Guru Nanak.

- 1. Upto 4 players to be seated along the sides of the board game.
- 2. Choose grains / peas/ pulses as pegs and assign one to every player.
- 3. Toss the coin, heads denotes BOON and tails denotes BANE.
- 4. A player moves forward if it is a Boon.
- 5. A player moves backwards / toss again if it is a BANE.
- 6. Follow the instructions written next to the milestone you land on.
- 7. Play till the last milestone to seek blesseings from all the UDASIS given by Guru Nanak Dev Ji.





घर्याप्रमा । आशीर्वाद





NANAK'S VISION

Udasi 1/1. ਪਹਿਲੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1497-1510)





Kurukshetra (Haryana)

Inspire for good actions, not to perform false rituals.

People were made to believe that on the solar eclipse, the sun is attacked by demons and no one should cook food on this occasion. Instead, they should take a bath in the holy rivers and donate money for charity. When a king started cooking the hunted deer, the furious Sadhu incited the people to punish and kill the sinner king. Guru Nanak said, "If cooking a dead deer is sin, how can killing a man be an act of piety? Why do you accept charity from those who are meat-eaters? Why this hypocrisy? We should not eat the food which harms the body, makes it sick and leads mind astrav."

Udasi 1/2. ਪਹਿਲੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1497-1510)



O



Haridwar (Uttarakhand)

Let your intent and deeds speak rather than misleading beliefs.

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Udasi 2/4. ਦੂਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1510-√515)

Somnath (Gujarat)

All in One and One in all

equal. Love all without any discrimination."

Saints and other people were worshipping Shivling made of

stone, so that their worldly desires could be fulfilled. They were

also indulged in various superstitions, false rituals and casteism etc. Guru Nanak advised them, "Instead of man-made stone

Shivling, worship 'All in One and One in all', with whose Divine

Will this entire universe has been created; and He only is the

Driving Force. Stop believing in superstitions, false rituals and

casteism. All human beings have been created by God and are

People were offering water to sun towards the East because they believed that by so doing, the souls of their dead ancestors would get peace. To make them shun this false belief, Guru Nanak started offering water towards Punjab in the West and said that he was watering his fields. When people exclaimed that it was impossible, then Guru Nanak answered, "If water cannot reach my fields which are just a few hundred miles away, then how is it possible that your water reaches the Sun which is at a distance of crores of miles?"

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Udasi 1/3. ਪਹਿਲੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1497-1510)





Patna (Bihar)

Eternal reality lies in appreciating the real value of life.

To make people understand the significance of human life, Guru Nanak gave Bhai Mardana a stone and sent him to sell it in the town, but most of the people didn't buy it terming it of no value at all. But Salis Rai Johri, while expressing his inability to buy the precious stone, paid some amount for just having a glimpse

Udasi 1/4. ਪਹਿਲੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1497-1510)



Eastern India

Effect of Nobel and Evil Company

Inhabitants of a village neither paid respect nor offered food to Guru Nanak and Bhai Mardana. They were driven out of the village. Guru Nanak blessed them, "May you continue to thrive here." Inhabitants of another village paid obeisance, respect and provided shelter and food to Guru Nanak and Bhai Mardana. Guru Nanak said to them, "May God uproot you." On Bhai Mardana's bewilderment and enquiry, Guru Nanak said, "Wicked people will leave an evil impression on people wherever they visit while coming in contact with noble people, others will also become good human beings."

Udasi 2/3. ਦੂਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1510-1515)





Central India

Kirat Karō: making a living honestly

Kauda, the demon, used to live in the forest and never doing farming or any other activity, he used to kill and eat the lonely wayfarers. He made Mardana captive for his food. When Guru Nanak, in search of Mardana, reached in forest, Kauda fell at his feet when he saw the Guru's divine face. Guru Ji advised him, "Instead of robbing and killing people, earn through righteous means and help the needy too. Recite the Divine Name and work for the welfare of people."

Udasi 2/5. ਦੂਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1510-1515)





Shabad Guru

अप्तर ग्राव

Sangladeep (Sri Lanka)

Sermon on Sargun (Visible) and Nirgun (Invisible)

When Guru Nanak was to depart from Sangladeep, Raja Shivnabh said, "Guru Ji! When you will not be here, how will I have your Darshan (divine vision)?" Then Guru Ji gave a sermon on Sargun and Nirgun to the king: "My body is the manifested form of God. You can see me only till the time I am with you. You should see Eternal Omnipresent Divine (Nirgun) in 'Word' (Shabad Guru) by reciting Divine Name and applying Gurbani's message in daily life and by performing good deeds for the welfare of people."

Udasi 2/6. ਦੂਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1510-1515)



Bidar (Karnataka)

Service to Humanity is the service to Divine.

When Guru Nanak stayed on the outskirts of Bidar, several Faqirs came to pay obeisance to the Guru. They prayed to the Guru to help people who were living miserably due to scarcity of water. Guru Ji said, "Pir Ji! God has his own ways. Recite His Name." On removing a stone by Guru Ji, a Jhira, i.e., water-spring opened up, and clean, fresh water began to gush out. The crystal clear stream still flows in Bidar for the welfare of the locals.

Udasi 3/5. ਤੀਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1516-1518)





Gurudongmar (Sikkim)

True prayers never go unheard.

The Lamas prayed to Guru Nanak, "There is a scarcity of water in spite of the presence of a huge lake because it is always frozen due to snowy region." Reciting 'Sat Kartar', Guru Ji touched the frozen lake with his wooden staff melting that part of the lake into water.

Udasi 3/6. ਤੀਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1516-1518)





Sailkot (Pakistan)

Speak the truth without any fear.

भागता मेंड

भिदेश डेड

Sent by Guru Nanak to the town, Bhai Mardana asked many shopkeepers, "My Master wants to buy a penny worth of truth, and a penny worth of falsehood". Some considered him insane while others thought he was trying to make fun of them. But Moola Khatri said, "Tell your Master that life is false, and death is true. "When Mardana narrated this to Guru Nanak, he said, "He appears to know the reality of life." Thereafter, as per Guru Ji's wish, Moola Khatri accompanied them on their travels but returned home soon due to worldly attachment. On Guru's visit to the town later, Moola Khatri's wife lied that he was not at home. Guru Nanak said, "This man used to pretend to know the reality of life. But he too is clinging to falsehood. So, let it be. But who can escape death?"

Udasi 4/1. ਚੌਥੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1518-1522)



Mecca (Saudi Arabia)
God resides everywhere.

When Guru Nanak visited Mecca, his feet were facing Qaba while sleeping. A Qazi shouted angrily, "Why are you sleeping with your feet facing the Qaba? Don't you know that it is the abode of God?" Guru Ji replied humbly, "Please don't be angry. You turn my feet in the direction, where God does not exist." But the Qazi visualized God in all directions when he turned the feet of Guru. Guru Ji advised the Qazi, "God is present in each and every particle of the universe, and not only at one place or in one direction. Perform good deeds and visualize God in every human."

Udasi 4/2. ਚੌਥੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1518-1522)



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Mecca (Saudi Arabia)

Without noble deeds, all would repent in the end

The Qazis asked Guru Nanak, "Who will go to heaven – Hindu or Muslim?" Guru Ji replied, "Whosoever realizes God in this life itself, this life is heaven for him." Qazis further asked, "Who is superior – Hindu or Muslim?" Guru Ji replied, "Regardless of religion, all have to give an account of their deeds. Without noble deeds, all would repent in the end."



Guru Nanak Dev Ji over the period of 24 years had embarked on four spiritual journeys to deliver the message of peace, love, and compassion to humanity with his companion, Bhai Mardana. The aim of his sacred mission was to educate the masses residing in all four directions of the Indian Subcontinent and other countries. He travelled far to restore humanity in the midst of expanding ignorance and worldly attachments.

A player can read the information about the marked milestones from the game 'Nanak's Vision' using the instructions as mentioned in deck's cover.







Jagannath Puri (Odisha) Only divine path will lead to Truth

One pseudo-saint, claiming to be having knowledge of three worlds, was pretending to be sitting in meditation by closing his eyes. Guru Nanak picked up the bowl lying in front of him and put it behind him. After some time, when he didn't find the bowl there, he raised a hue and cry of its theft. By so doing, Guru Ji showed to people that the Sadhu, who couldn't know about his own bowl, how could he be having the knowledge of three

Udasi 1/6. ਪਹਿਲੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1497-1510)





Jagannath Puri (Odisha)

The Divine is Omnipresent and Formless.

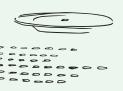
Priests were performing Arti in Jagannath temple by ringing bells and having earthen lamps, incense, flowers etc. in a salver. Instead of joining this Arti, Guru Nanak went to the sea-coast and recited universal Arti of the Omnipresent God. To make people understand this universal Arti, Guru Ji said, "Sun and moon are lamps in the sky as salver. Stars are the pearls. Sandalwood is incense. Wind is the huge fan. The flowers are in the form of entire vegetation and the Eternal Sound of His Word goes on uninterrupted."

Udasi 2/1. ਦੂਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1510-1515)



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23



Sirsa (Haryana)

You can conquer your own mind through meditation.

A number of Faqirs used to frighten people by saying that they had attained several types of occult powers by observing fast for forty days and other penances. When Guru Nanak tried to convince them, the Faqirs challenged him to meditate for forty days by eating just one food grain daily. By remainin immersed in the Divine without eating for forty days, Guru Ji made the Faqirs understand that they remained thinking about food only; as a result, they gained nothing but harm to the body. The claim of attaining occult powers is nothing but

Udasi 2/2. ਦੂਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1510-1515)





Bikaner (Rajasthan)

Penances and fasts have no relation to be religious.

When Guru Nanak saw the monks performing various penances and hypocrisies, he said, "Your impersonation, fasts and other activities you perform to harm your body, keeping continued silence, remaining unclothed, walking barefoot, eating leftovers, being dirty because of not bathing, all these acts have no relation to being religious. You should set an example for others by performing good deeds by remaining in society and living a householder's life. Divine realization cannot be obtained by inflicting harm to the body by performing penances and hypocrisies, keeping fasts and remaining silent.

Udasi 3/1. ਤੀਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1516-1518)





Mattan (Kashmir)

Bookish Knowledge inflates the ego.

Pandit Brahmadas always used to carry with him Scriptures on the back of camels because he was very arrogant due to the study of Scriptures. When he met Guru Nanak, he entered into lengthy arguments. Guru Ji advised him, "You must imbibe the knowledge of Scriptures, otherwise bookish knowledge will inflate your ego making life unfruitful." Pandit Brahmadas followed the Guru's teachings in real earnest by reciting the Divine Name and rendering selfless service to humanity

Udasi 3/2. ਤੀਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1516-1518)



14

Kathmandu (Nepal)

Inspire to tread the righteous path by spiritual knowledge

On meeting Guru Nanak, Siddhas said, "We have attained occult powers by penance, meditation and keeping fast. What type of occult powers do you have?" Guru Ji advised the Siddhas, "Nothing is obtained by torturing the body and keeping fast. It harms the body only. Shun all these false rituals and recite Divine Name. Inspire the devotees to tread the righteous path by giving them spiritual knowledge."

Udasi 3/3. ਤੀਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1516-1518)



Mount Kailash (Tibbet)

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The Divine knowledge is the true source of true knowledge and salvation.

The ascetics (Sidhas) said to Guru Nanak, "We will achieve salvation by shunning the worldly life, living in mountains and keeping away the attachment. We have attained occult powers." Guru Ji said to the Sidhas, "You gave up kingship, abandoned your homes, but you couldn't subdue the ego. The knowledge of Truth controls lust, singing the praises of God drives away attachment, peace of mind is attained and anger gets eliminated, the company of the divine help overcome greed too. If spiritual leaders like you, shunning your responsibility, will make mountains your abode, then who will guide the common people?"

Udasi 3/4. ਤੀਸਰੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1516-1518)





Leh Ladakh (India)

Preach selfless service to others

When the locals started coming in large numbers to Guru Nanak to hear his sermons, the demon of the region got furious, because he was very arrogant about his might. One day he pushed a boulder towards Guru Ji but it touched the body of Guru Ji like wax and an imprint of Guru Ji's body was formed. Seeing this, the demon fell to the feet of the Guru

Udasi 4/3. ਚੌਥੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1518-1522)





Baghdad (Iraq)

God resides in every particle of the universe

Pir Behlol always remained perplexed as he had several questions about God. He asked Guru Nanak, "If God has created the universe, then who created God?" Guru Ji replied, "There was nothing before God. God is His own Creator." Pir further asked, "Where does God reside? According to my religion, God resides on seventh heaven." Guru Ji replied, "God resides in each and every particle of the universe, like the butter present in milk, is invisible to us. God has created not only seven skies. He has created uncountable skies and netherworlds." Pir asked his last question, "What does God do?" To answer the last question, Guru Ji sat on his throne and made him stand on the ground. Then Guru Ji replied, "In a moment, God can transform a Faqir into a king and a king into

Udasi 4/4. ਚੌਥੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1518-1522)





Cairo (Egypt)

Material Wealth is an illusion.

Guru Nanak Dev Ji started collecting shards in front of the palace of the cruel, greedy and miser king Karoon Hamid. On the bewilderment and enquiry of the king, Guru Ji said, "I will carry these shards to the afterlife." Karoon said, "How is it possible? Everything remains behind after death." Guru Ji advised him, "Then what are you going to do with the amassed wealth? Use it for the welfare of your people. Always remember God and perform good deeds to attain salvation.

Udasi 4/5. ਚੌਥੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1518-1522)



Hasan Abdal (Pakistan) Jealousy would bring suffering in thoughts and actions.

Wali Kandhari used to live on a hillock and had a water spring under his control. To impress and frighten people, he pretended having the power of Tantra Mantra and miracles. When more

and more people started visiting Guru Nanak for his advice and guidance, Wali Kandhari blocked the flow of water spring. On the request for water by Bhai Mardana, he told him to ask for it from his Guru. To soften the ego of Wali Kandhari and put him on the righteous path, Guru Nanak uttered 'Sat Kartar' and asked Mardana to push a rock aside. The freshwater gushed forth from the spot and Wali Kandhari's water spring dried up. The furious Wali Kandhari pushed a boulder towards Guru Nanak, which the latter stopped by his hand. Wali Kandhari fell to the Guru's feet.

Udasi 4/6. ਚੌਥੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ (1518-1522)





Saidpur (Eminabad, Pakistan)

Justice and wellbeing of the people makes a just ruler.

Babar created havoc by his attack on Saidpur and massacre of the innocents. He made captive thousands of them. When Babar heard from his soldiers about the divine radiant face and hymns of Guru Nanak, he went to meet the Guru in prison and said, "Pardon me O Faqir! I have tortured innocent people and divine persons like you. Guide me on the righteous path." Guru Ji advised him, "Go and see for yourself the plight of the poor and innocents. No king has ever been spared by death. Stop oppression and injustice. Always think of the welfare of your people. As soon as justice is neglected, your rule shall be over."