

# Prevention of Future Holocausts

**Prof. Sajjan Singh Bajwa**

*\* Formerly, Asst. Prof. at the University of Southern California, USA and Professor at Khalsa College, Amritsar. Address: 1461, W. Nancy Lane, Paterville, CA 93257, USA.*

With calls of “Never again” the U.N. General Assembly commemorated the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi death camps after World War II. Holocaust survivor, Elie Wiesel, a Noble Peace Prize winner, joined world leaders in confronting a question that has haunted the U.N. whether its member states have the will to stop future genocides. About 1 to 1.5 million Jews perished in gas chambers or died of starvation and disease at Auschwitz, Poland. Overall, six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust.

## **Handling Holocaust:**

It is important that every person should learn about the Holocaust, the systematic murder of six million Jews during World War II (1939-1945). Holocaust is a dark scar across the face of humanity. The future generations are to lead and guide humanity so they must learn what happened during the Holocaust. The understanding of Holocaust is important to all human beings. The world should be a safe place for each person regardless of their religion, caste, ethnicity, or nationality. Holocaust is actually the “dislike of the unlike”, which means that an ethnic group whom someone dislikes or hates can be vanished. The key word that motivates a Holocaust is the ‘fear’ - fear of difference and the fear of prejudice. The difference may be cultural, racial, or religious. In case of Sikh Holocaust it was the fear of religious difference. People must learn from the Holocaust and they must learn to respect one another in spite of differences. Guru Nanak said that all human beings are equal. India is a nation of several different religions, languages, cultures, ethnicity, and nationalities. In such a diversity, dislikes of the unlike for religion or language is dangerous for all Indians. If Indians allow such intolerance for any group of people, any of such group can be selected for destruction. There is dire need for understanding and respecting one another irrespective of differences. Understanding one another leads to coexistence and survival of mankind. Present generation is raised in different world - the world in which many young people don't know about Holocaust. Some people prefer to forget about it.

According to a Jewish Holocaust survivor “it could happen anywhere, even here. When you see it coming, don't wait, leave. Don't let yourself become tied up in material things. Just leave.” However, the Sikhs have been taught by the Tenth Master Guru Gobind Singh Ji to protect themselves. When nothing else works Sikhs can use all types of armament, and must therefore, keep weapons for self defence to protect themselves and their families. The Sikh history is a lesson which recent Sikh generations have perhaps forgotten.

## **Help for the victims:**

The Jewish victims of Holocaust have received and are receiving a lot of help from European and American governments due to pressure from Jewish community. Jews have been pushing for every event which helps them anywhere in the world. For example, recently the French and Switzerland banks have opened the old accounts belonging to Jewish Holocaust victims in the nineteen forties. All the Jewish Holocaust victims and their children can withdraw those funds now. It was announced in Miami in 2005 that U.S. government will pay \$25.5 million settlement to families of Hungarian Holocaust victims and will acknowledge the U.S. Army's role in commandeering a trainload of the families' treasures during World War II.

Third Sikh Holocaust (1984-1994), was clamped on Sikhs by Indian government and its lumpen agents. In the last two decades scores of Sikhs\_were\_imprisoned and tortured as part of the Sikh Resistance Movement. These victims of state repression never received

enough help. Sikhs and their organizations should help the victims of Sikh Holocaust by providing education to their children, living expenses for unemployed Sikhs and by adopting destitute children. Their addresses can still be obtained by contacting Simran Kaur at the email address: [simran1994@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:simran1994@yahoo.co.uk).

Sikhs must look and investigate this disastrous contemporary history of repression and analyze the trauma of the victims. We must look and work for the justice for surviving widows and children. Sikhs should not rely on Indian media and instead think of what's right for them. In addition Sikhs must be looking outward to make the atmosphere worth living for themselves and their children. We must pressurize Indian Members of Parliament (MP) to compensate Sikhs killed in Sikh Holocaust.

All scientific discoveries have been made by individual scientists, which mean that an individual Sikh can do a lot to help victims. A Sikh can have his or her own idea and pursue it because it is not good to die merely with a noble idea. At the same time, we must recognize and appreciate the work done by Sikh organizations and individual Sikhs in helping these victims.

#### **Apology for Holocaust:**

The German government has apologized to the Jews for the atrocities committed by Nazi regime. The United States Government captured and imprisoned American citizens of Japanese origin during World War II. US Congress has apologized and even paid compensation for the damage. This was acted upon because of the pressure of Japanese-Americans in the United States. Similarly, Japanese government has apologized and has accepted its guilt for acts against Korean and Chinese ladies and soldiers mistreated during World War II. The Sikhs should pressurize Indian government to compensate for killing civilian Sikh population, to arrest the culprits, to pass a condolence resolution for Sikh Holocaust, specifically for killing thousands of innocent devotees in June 1984. These innocent people assembled in large numbers on the solemn occasion of Martyrdom Day of Guru Arjun Devji. Similarly Indian government should apologize for killing Sikhs throughout India in November 1984 which was selectively motivated. When Mahatma Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were killed (by Hindus) no Hindu was killed, whereas only Sikhs were killed after assassination of Indira Gandhi by two Sikh security guards on October 31, 1984. The killing spree went on for four days with police as a bystanders. The Indian government must not forget the sacrifices of Sikhs during freedom struggle and subsequent wars with China and Pakistan. In addition the Indian government has been using Sikhs to put down any rebellion in India since independence, thus realizing a lot of gain from Sikhs. Actually, the Sikhs are agents of democratic freedom and they share the ultimate goal of the Indian nation - **liberty and justice for all**. There are two sides to every argument and the two sides are never equal in truth. To prove or disapprove is a challenge. The Sikhs must accept this challenge and prove the Sikh Holocaust was wrong and the Indian government must pay for the loss of life and property. Sikhs should not ignore this challenge. Acceptance of challenge and answering it would prevent future Holocaust of different religions and language groups in India.

The Sikhs in India may not get justice from Indian government. However, the Sikhs settled in the West must keep this issue alive in capitols of different nations and should continue to do their best not to let the issue die. The Sikhs must remind the Indian government that Sikhs will not rest till justice is done.

#### **Handling of Sikh Grievances:**

The Sikhs were the soft target of Indian government in Sikh Holocaust. When India was run over by the English, Dutch, Portuguese and Muslims, the Indians did nothing to prevent

them. However, when Sikhs asked for their human rights restored according to Indian Constitution, the government attacked its own citizens who happened to be the Sikhs. The purpose of the Hindu gangs was to suppress and to demoralize the Sikh community.

During emergency Indira Gandhi freely and falsely accused the opposition of plotting to kill her. The same theme was picked up by her son Rajiv Gandhi during the election campaign. Winning an election by attacking one type of people in the future could be prevented by advertising or distributing flyers stating opposition to misleading information. Such action will prevent others from winning elections at the cost of any minority community.

Forensic experts unearthed the bodies of fiftyone Bosnian Muslims from a mass grave which might contain the remains of up to three hundred people killed during the 1992-1995 war. The Bosnian Muslim Commission for the Search of Missing Persons found the bodies in the mass grave in Bratunac, fifty five miles away from Sarajevo after nine days of exhumations. The Sikhs have been deprived of systematic, accurate and complete data information on the victims of Sikh Holocaust. The Indian government is either, not providing information, or providing false information as Indira Gandhi did in White Paper in 1984 just after attacking Darbar Sahib.

The Sikhs must have determination and ask the government continuously to provide the list of Sikhs killed in Sikh Holocaust. The Sikhs who were killed and wounded at Darbar Sahib were bundled together, shoveled in dump trucks as garbage; big pits were dug in the back of military colony where their bodies were dumped in these pits and covered with dirt. Those places are now covered with grass. The Sikhs killed in New Delhi might have been treated the same way. The Sikhs should pressurize MPs and government officials to dig the bodies out so that they can be cremated according to Sikh religious rites. DNA analysis should be conducted to find the loved ones who disappeared suddenly. Forensic anthropologist can be used to know the way the victims were killed.

Well known Sikhs must apply political pressure to punish the guilty and take action against police officers who committed crimes against Sikhs. We should ask our MPs to convince MPs of other states to cast votes along with Sikh MPs for Sikh causes. Sikh MPs and notable Sikhs must bargain with other MPs and officials on the notion, "I help you, you help me." The Sikhs should inform all MPs, Prime Minister, President, and government officers about their concerns. The copies of all information, letters, brochures, pamphlets, etc. can be mailed to individual MPs and high officials. In addition Sikhs must share their grievances by writing to foreign officials and heads of other countries, UNO, and Pope Paul. If Sikh MPs and other Sikhs do such maneuvering, the lives of Sikhs will be much easier. The Sikh MPs with the help of other MPs should direct the Union Home Ministry to provide names, addresses, dates, and places of arrest and release of Sikh prisoners held under Indian Black Laws throughout India.

Democratic India must show to the world that it upholds the fundamental principles of Democracy. Due to 9/11 terrorist act, the US government did not abandon its laws. US government did not allow intimidation of Muslims in the USA. It did not encourage hate groups to attack Muslims. US President even went to a Mosque to assure safety of Muslims. The hate crimes committed by some have been vigorously pursued to punish those who committed them. The Sikhs must expect the same from government and people of India according to democratic principles listed in Indian Constitution. Democracy cannot survive if the laws are not upheld in the courts of justice. **Triumph of democracy is the triumph of the human spirit!**

**Still Looking for Justice:**

The government of India always pretended that situation in Punjab and rest of India related

to Sikhs was a law and order situation. However the attack on Darbar Sahib was not according to any law. The local city government was to solve the problem first, the district authorities were next and then state authorities. The state government did not ask the federal government to get involved. If federal government was to get involved, it should have handled the situation according to the constitution. It is far easier to solve problems at lower levels. The central government should give more powers to states as it is done in other democratic countries. It should have arrested disorderly people and filed cases against them in the court. However, the government did not follow its own policy.

Similarly, the local authorities in New Delhi did not follow the law. The police officers refused to register the cases of Sikh Holocaust victims and no help was provided to them even when they cried for help. Instead the police, Congress MPs, and Hindu gangs joined together to attack predetermined Sikh homes and businesses. This disorderly and lawless situation was created by Indian government itself. The law laid down in Indian constitution was never followed.

The Sikhs are citizens of India. Why did the Indian government take such a drastic step against the Sikhs who were already a minority? A white Supremacist, Arian Nation, and Black Nation in America demand their rights all the time. The American government takes action against that person who breaks the law. America has never tried to kill all the people in those communities. The Sikhs are part of India as well as part of the world community. However, the Indian government did not provide the Sikhs with equal protection under the law and did not follow the due process of the law, which is discriminatory in nature. **In the real sense, the Indian government stole the constitutional rights of the Sikhs.**

After killing sprees, the government wanted to show good intentions. The government created several commissions to look into the complaints by the surviving Sikh victims. However their reports were either suppressed by the government or their findings were completely ignored. These commissions generally delay justice and try to fool the Sikhs.

During November 1984 Holocaust more than seven thousand Sikhs were massacred throughout the country. Nearly four thousand Sikhs were most brutally and inhumanely butchered in New Delhi alone. Several committees, such as Citizens' Commission headed by retired Chief Justice of India, Justice C. M. Sikri have proved that central government, state government, and Congress Party workers killed Sikhs. The administration committed heinous murderous crime in broad daylight in the presence of numerous witnesses. However, no one has been sentenced to death for Sikh killings up to date.

Justice M. P. Thakkar, a former judge of Indian Supreme Court was appointed as commission of inquiry on November 20, 1984, to inquire into Indira Gandhi assassination. He submitted his report on November 19, 1985, and a final report on February 27, 1986. Both were tabled in Parliament on March 27, 1989. The reports, without a doubt, showed that Prime Minister's Special Assistant, R. K Dhawan was responsible for her assassination. The government covered it by Action Taken Report. Beant Singh, Satwant Singh, and specifically non - participant Kehar Singh were used as pawns in whole episode and were given death sentences.

The Misra Commission, appointed in April 1985 found that in many areas where large numbers of killing and lootings of the Sikhs took place, complaints to the police were not recorded and no cases were registered against persons directly responsible for killing of Sikhs. Thereafter Justice Nanavati Commission and Ranganath Mishra Commission were created. Recently, Justice G.T. Nanavati submitted two hundred pages of reports on 1984 anti-Sikh riots in India. His report has linked the sequence of events leading to riots against Sikhs. Nanavati also showed the lapses of duty on the part of officers and politicians

responsible for maintaining law and order. However, all these commissions were whitewash and they did not solve Sikh grievances to date. No commission answered the thirty-six questions raised by Ranjit Singh Narula in 2000. The Sikhs have to use all the available means to seek justice for the victims of Sikh Holocaust.

The Sikhs living outside of India should take their Holocaust case to World Court. On November 20, 1945, after World War II, Nuremberg trials were conducted. Twenty-two German war criminal leaders and several organizations were tried and convicted of war crimes against humanity. Such trials can only be held if Sikhs become very strong like the Jews who are highly educated, economically wealthy, and hold high positions in government offices, universities, and in the media. With economic and political power, they are able to twist any nation's arm to fulfill their interests.

A UN war crimes court in Hague, Netherlands, in 2004, charged Kosovo's former prime minister with 37 counts of war crimes for alleged atrocities committed against Serbs and Gypsies by ethnic Albanian separatists during 1998-99 war. Ramurh Haradinaj, commander of western-backed Kosov Liberation Army, committed crimes against humanity, which included murder, rape, persecution, inhumane acts, unlawful detention, deportation and forcible transfer of civilians.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, similar to that of South Africa, can be created to heal the wounds of surviving victims. Sikh Human Rights Commission or a committee can be created by Sikhs themselves so the government officials and goondas face the truth. International Human Rights Commission and UNO can also help. These bodies will show the Sikhs did not receive equal protection under the law according to Indian constitution.

#### **Writing and Preserving Sikh History and Art:**

The Sikhs must not forget or ignore Sikh Holocaust. Sikhs should write their own history and it should not be overshadowed by the writings of other historians. In the real sense, Sikhs make history but do not write their own history. The Sikhs have made so many sacrifices about which other individuals wrote. The Sikhs should write their authentic history for their future generations. The Sikh Gurus are real examples as they wrote their own Gurbani and prepared Guru Granth Sahib, which is still available in its original form. Sikhs should create albums containing photographs; write stories and novels; develop films, videos, CDs on family lives of Sikh martyrs; write about the families who completely vanished because of the atrocities of Indian army and police. The Sikhs should write about personal and private recollections from Sikh elders, army men, and policemen, village sarpanch, mothers and wives of Sikhs who disappeared; write about the lies in the White Paper produced by government of India which was ALL fake; write about the fake encounters, fake commissions, fake agreements, and fake promises. Sikhs need to write about stories from the children, wives and mothers of victims of Sikh Holocaust, etc. Such records must be preserved in libraries and museums for future guidance, learning, and research.

The Sikhs now need to develop art work which can be kept in Sikh museums for future generations. There is a dire need to develop and install Sikh Holocaust memorials with names of Sikh martyrs and victims carved and installed at Darbar Sahib. This is the only way to keep those people alive and the present generation will feel they are still living among them. The future generations will always remember these martyrs and victims and they will always be ready to prevent future genocide.

The Sikhs must speak with witnesses, with survivors of persecutions about the procedures of deaths, talk to Sikhs who took the side of Indian government, get the testimony of survivors, go to all the villages and cities and write about people who disappeared or who were picked up by police and Indian army and never returned home. Write about police

officers who were killed by Indian government because they were blamed for something they did not do. Follow up on atrocities mentioned in newspapers and magazines. Interview survivors from Sikh Holocaust and write in books or magazines. The survivors may be police officers, army personnel, teachers, lawyers, social workers, store keepers, farmers, etc. The historians, writers, and singers should plan to write and publish as much as possible. Get all the photographs of victims, victims of prejudice and persecution and develop a video album and distribute it to libraries all over the world. Now is the time to collect information on the Sikh Holocaust because the survivors are still living among us. Even when the incidences and stories of families are too painful, we must write to prevent future holocausts. A detailed history of Sikhs, villages, and cities who suffered must be recorded. All Sikhs, including students, teacher leaders, writers, singers, etc., should start such projects as soon as possible because as time passes, the evidences disappear. The survivors should speak up now, because they are hiding pain for so many years and they should not die with such pain. It is true that remembering those events and talking about them is difficult, but survivors or witnesses must speak out. Thus, the Sikhs will remember the suffering of their own - parents, grandparents, sisters, and bothers. Such actions will prevent post traumatic stress in survivors.

Shonali Bose, an Indian film director, has developed a film called "Amu" which deals with the 1984 massacre of Sikhs by angry Hindu mobs. The film might drive debate about the killings and might force legal authorities to renew investigation. The investigation of this dark era must be conducted by Sikhs of their own. The killings of thousands of Sikhs, looting of valuable Sikh relics, burning of Sikh religious documents in library, and the destruction of Sikh art in Sikh Ajaibghar (museum) were ill-conceived orders of Indira Gandhi. The Sikh history and arts must be persevered at a place which is secure. Khalsa College at Amritsar is a good place to create National Khalsa Sikh Library and National Khalsa Sikh Museum. Preservation of Sikh history and art work for the future generation will help prevent another pogrom.

#### **Awareness of Sikh Holocaust:**

The Sikhs must be ready and prepared to thwart such probable attempts in the future as India changes due to Hindutva politics. The Sikhs should not rest till whole India understands and regrets for the atrocities committed against Sikhs. The Jews have been successful in revitalizing the memories of their Holocaust. They put all people to shame especially the leader of the free world. The Jews have produced many movies, museums and books on their Holocaust. The Sikhs also should follow their example. Novels, pictures, stories, books, diaries, autobiographies of the victims and survivors of Sikh Holocaust should be produced. The stories of people, villages, families, Gurdwaras, jails, torture, imprisonment, etc. must be published to keep Sikh Holocaust memories alive for future generations who can develop methods to prevent such Holocausts. Remembering Sikh Holocaust will create awareness in Sikhs and non-Sikhs, thus preventing the occurrence of such mass killing anywhere in the world.

Spaniards fell silent for five-minute vigil on the first year anniversary of the Madrid train bombing, a paroxysm of violence that killed 191 people. Around the country, Spaniards stopped whatever they were doing and poured into the streets for five minutes of quiet remembrance. They planted a grove of 191 olive and cypress trees, one for each person killed.

Ceremoniously raising of flag is done by Armenians every year. They observe and commemorate the genocide in which one and a half million Armenians were killed in Turkey from 1915-1923. Sikh Martyrs' Day must be arranged by Sikhs all over the world falling on

June 6th, as well as October 31st and we should observe a moment of silence all over the world at a fixed time.

It is known that only those nations live who continuously remember their martyrs. More than twenty years have passed since the Indian army attacked Darbar Sahib and thirty-eight Gurdwaras. However, the Sikhs have not raised Sikh memorials in the memories of Sikh victims and martyrs. Sikhs have declared June 6th as the Sikh Memorial Martyrs Day (Sikh Shahidi Din). This day is to remember the sacrifices of all the Sikhs who died for Sikh cause. Other Sikhs arrange Sikh Martyr Day to commemorate ecumenical services in their Gurdwaras. Ceremoniously raising of the Sikh flag is done while reciting "*Deh Shiva...*," the Sikh National Anthem. To acknowledge the sacrifice of Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, Akal Takhat Jathedar, Joginder Singh Vedanti has already declared him a Sikh Martyr, who sacrificed himself on June 6th, 1984, for Sikh cause. All Sikhs must feel the sorrow of the Sikh families killed. Memorials in memory of those killed in June and November 1984 should be established in Amritsar and New Delhi respectively. If possible, a wall with names of those who were killed should be erected at Sikh Gurdwaras. All Gurdwaras should observe and commemorate the genocide of innocent Sikh children, elders, ladies, and youth in New Delhi every year on October thirty-first.

Sikhs and Sikh associations should arrange candle light vigils to pay respect to those who died, pause to remember those who were innocently killed in Sikh holocaust. Sikhs should create awareness of holocaust by radio, television, and by distributing flyers to make more people conscience of injustice. Educating the Sikhs and non Sikhs about the Sikh Holocaust will reduce violence against Sikhs. Several tributes must be paid to the victims and martyrs who died in Sikh Holocaust. The Sikhs have not forgotten and will not forget the sacrifices of the martyrs. All Sikhs must acknowledge the sacrifices of the Sikh Holocaust martyrs.

The Sikh Forum in New Delhi holds public meeting in first week of November to pay homage to the Sikhs who were brutally killed in November 1984. Similar meetings in universities, colleges, and schools should be conducted throughout the world, not only in November but throughout the year. The general public in India should be reminded that such genocide can happen anywhere and it should develop policies and procedures to avert mass killings senselessly in the future. All Indians should fight together for maintaining freedom, democracy, and human rights.

Sikhs all over the world observed the Twentieth Anniversary of Sikh Holocaust in 2004. Several Sikhs commemorated the event in Yuba City Gurdwaras in November 20, 2004. Survivors of Holocaust gave emotional accounts of what they experienced on that night when Indira Gandhi was assassinated. Sikh communities have been organizing such events of remembrance to increase the awareness for future generation. Jaskaran Kaur, author of "*Twenty Years of Impunity*," mentioned "Despite twenty years of impunity or because of passage of time, we hope survivors and their supporters will come together to demonstrate the power of personal testimony and community organizing to promote healing and closure."

Similarly, according to *Indian Express* about 5000 people attended a candle light vigil in Toronto, Canada to remember Sikh Holocaust. Simultaneous vigils were held in New York and San Jose, California. The candlelight vigils comprised of traditional Sikh classical music, candlelight vigil walk, eyewitness video of the pogrom and reflections from the Sikhs who lost loved ones. A special supplication prayer (*ardas*) was narrated. The Project 84 Committee created awareness of the Sikh genocide and worked to assist the families who have suffered and to show the Indian government unwillingness to provide justice to victims. Sikhs who arranged such memorial days must be appreciated. Visionary awards can be

arranged to honor such leaders who display the highest qualities and attributes of defending the foundation of Sikh religion. Sikh teachers and students must arrange lectures, workshops, conferences, etc. to spread the Gurus' word, Sikhism and culture. There are several sons and daughters of world leaders going to colleges. Sikh students should have good relation with them. Sikh students should participate, have career in public services where they can learn about fundamental political skill, building coalitions, public speaking, field organizing, rallying people on issues and conducting practical analyses of policy.

The Sikh leaders must participate fully in the meetings of the National Hindu leaders and watch their actions. Sikhs must have intelligence watch groups to know the planning and actions of India government within and outside of Parliament and ministries meetings. It is even better if the Sikhs are the leaders of all the political parties of India to protect their interests. Whenever there are negotiations between Sikhs and central government, single Sikh leader should not put his own selfishness in the front. He/she must represent the common interest of all the Sikhs. These leaders must find consensus among all Sikhs to fulfill their needs. Some Sikhs are very egotistical. They must follow the will of the people. For every problem, the Sikhs should brain storm in sangat, write down all the ideas, and vote on them to select priorities. Akali Dal, S.G.P.C. and all Sikh Gurdwara committees must have separate, highly educated and intellectual boards to guide them.

The Sikhs living in Punjab and outside of Punjab must have cordial relations to communicate their grievances and demands. The leaders of the Sikhs must help one another to seek the common good for all Sikhs. The Sikhs living outside of Punjab and in other states of India bear the untold revenge for the actions of Sikhs leaders in Punjab. Revengeful actions can be prevented by open communication. All Sikhs have to show the spirit of unity to protect their rights and interests. It is always felt that maintenance of Sikh Code of Conduct and Dress, including turban, signifies the strength of Sikhs. When there is a common threat, put aside individual differences and join forces to win over the threat. Otherwise, all Sikhs perish, as the Sikhs in New Delhi and other cities bore the brunt of organised brutal massacre.

The Sikhs should analyze Indian media every day and answer all the questions related to their interests to the public and to the media sources. The Sikhs should own newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television stations, and web sites on the internet, giving information daily.

Sikhs should not challenge or threaten other people unnecessarily at anytime. Should a change be needed, Sikhs must follow non-violence which will leave behind a better place to live and work for future generations. The old methods of morcha, dharna, gathering of supporters, harming the other side, etc. do not work in this contemporary world. The only way is to increase the voting power or fight in the courts. Even when non-violence is at the heart of Sikh religion, the Sikhs have suffered worst persecution in its short history of about five hundred years as compared to other religions. Sikhs should always be on the look-out to avert future holocausts by following such ideas.

Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor, told the UN General Assembly "The Jewish witness that I am, I speak of my people suffering as a warning. I sound the alarm to prevent these tragedies from being done to others. And yes, I am convinced if the world had listened to those of us who tried to speak, we may have prevented Darfur, Cambodia, Bosnia, and naturally Rwanda." Similarly, Sikhs must prevent any happenings leading to genocide.

□

