

Ambedkar Times

Editor-in-Chief: Prem Kumar Chumber

E-mail: chumbermedia@yahoo.com,

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SOCIAL JUSTICE

Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: "Ambedkar Times" & "Desh Doaba" Weeklies

Democracy and social justice are interrelated social processes. The one is incomplete in the absence of the other. Democracy offers freedom space to realize equality and experience fraternity. Equality and fraternity are the two essential ingredients of social justice, which achieves its true form with the addition of liberty. Thus the trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity constitutes the essence of social justice and the institution of democracy provides the requisite realm for its realization. Though many scholars' boasts of ancient origins of democracy in India but it would be prudent to argue that democracy achieves its roots in the real sense of the term with the adoption of the constitution in independent India. Bodhisattva Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, Chairman of Constitutional Drafting Committee, worked very hard to incorporate various provisions for the realization of social justice in the Indian society. He was of the firm views that if social and economic parity remains an elusive to the multitude of poor and historically socially excluded people in the country, then the very purpose of having parliamentary democracy would not be served efficiently. He reiterated the seminal point during his engaging discussions at various important forums within and outside the Indian parliament that for social justice to prevail in the country, India needs effective participation of the downtrodden in all the different spheres of the society.

The demand for social justice was also raised at various platforms during the freedom struggle movement in colonial India. Ad-Movements in North and South India, Justice Party in South India, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia from Punjab, Swami Achhuta Nand Ji from Uttar Pradesh, Baba Ghasi Das Ji from Madhya Pradesh, Sri Narayana Guru from Kerala raised a consistent campaign for the prevalence of social justice in the Indian society. Babu Mangu Ram Muggowalia presented a number of resolutions to the British Government for the removal of untouchability and special provisions for the inclusion of socially excluded sections of the society in the public realm of power and social

Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia joined hands with Bodhisattva Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar in his struggle for equal rights for the socially excluded people of India. When Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar spreaded its movement into the political agile lands of Punjab with the formation of Punjab chapter of Scheduled Castes Federation, there was a tremendous response from the grassroots. That was precisely the contributions of Ad Dharm movement which laid the foundation stone of social justice campaign in the state in the mid-1920s. But the irony of the matter is that even after more than six decades of India's independence, Dalits in the country are still subjected to various types of atrocities and social discriminations. Though the Indian state, while making the optimum use of various anti untouchability clauses of the constitution, is doing its best to bridle the monster of caste, but still is more needed to be done at the social level where the people should come forward to internalize the values of liberty, equality and fraternity in order to realize the true sense of democracy and social justice.

DEMOCRACY AND Remembering Gadri Baba Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia at Gadar Memorial Hall, San Francisco (CA)

Prem Kumar Chumber Editor-in-Chief: "Ambedkar Times" & "Desh Doaba" Weeklies









Gadar movement was the pioneer liberation struggle primarily by the Punjabi immigrants in North America in the early twentieth century. These Punjabi immigrants, mostly workers in the lumber industry and agriculture farms, took no time to realize in the egalitarian and democratic ambience of their dream land in North America that life in their home lands will never be complete and enjoyable without putting a permanent end to the British yoke. They put aside their all divisive identities and forge an indivisible unity across religion, class, caste and ideological outlook. They give a call for the liberation of their motherland and committed to sacrifice all they had including their precious lives for the same.

Dedicated to the historic Gadar movement and fond memories of the valorous Gadri Babes, the Consulate General of India, San Francisco (CA) organized Gadar Mela on July 24, 2022 at Gadar Memorial Hall, 5 Wood Street San Francisco (CA). Speaking on this most memorable occasion, the Consul General of India San Francisco (CA). Dr. T. V. Nagendra Prasad high-

lighted the invaluable sacrifices of the Gadri Babes and their great vision for the freedom, unity and prosperity of India.

The most memorable event of this great occasion was the installation of the picture of Gadri Baba Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia in the Gadar Memorial Hall 5 Wood Street San Francisco (CA) along with other Gadri Babes. Gadri Baba Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia was one of five Gadri Babes who were assigned the herculean task of taking weapons from North America to India on SS Maverick Ship. He reached the USA in 1909 and was among the pioneers of the Gadar Movement founded in 1913. He was captured on board SS Maverick along with his other accomplices while weapons to India and sentenced to death. Somehow, destiny saved him and he spent many years incognito before he finally returned to his native village, Mugowal in Hoshiarpur District of Puniab.

Prof. Mark Juergensmeyer, a world reputed American Sociologist and Scholar of Global Studies and Religious Studies, did a pioneer path breaking study on him and his post Gadar Ad Dharm movement in Punjab. Mr. C. L. Chumber published a detailed souvenir on the life and movement of Gadri Baba Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia in 1980s. Prof. Ronki Ram, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Chair Professor of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh, wrote many research articles on the life and movement led by him in Puniab since the formation of Ad Dharm movement in 1926.

The picture of Gadri Baba Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia was presented to Hon'ble Dr. T. V. Nagendra Prasad on the podium by Mr. Prem Kumar Chumber, Editor-in-Chief "Ambedkar Times" (English) & "Desh Doaba" (Punjabi) Weeklies, in the presence of representatives of various organizations related with Gadri Babes. Everyone memorable gathering welcomed the valuable initiative.

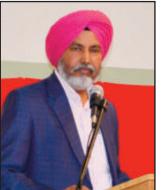
Dr. Akun Sabharwal Consul meticulously conducted the stage proceedings and thanked the participants on behalf of the office of the Consulate General of India, San Francisco (CA) followed by dinner.











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Consulate General of India San Francisco honored the memories and legacy of Gadar movement founded in the early part of the 20th century by Indian expatriates who were stimulated and imbued with the spirit of patriotism. The mission was to overthrow the British rule in India. It was founded by intellectuals like Lala Hardayal and Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna as its president. These revolutionaries joined by many others rose above their religious affiliations and knew patriotism as their only religion.

It was my privilege and pleasure to accompany Mr. Prem Kumar Chumber, Chief Editor, "Desh Doaba" and "Ambedkar Times" to attend this the freedom fighters who sacrificed their lives for the sake of their native country. They also appealed to all to perpetuate their memories and sacrifices for generations to come. A few other speakers from the audience also shared their thoughts on the occasion.

Alongwith many other patriotic revolutionaries, Chaudhry Mangu Ram Muggowalia, later known as Babu Mangu Ram Muggowalia, was among the pioneer members of this movement. So courageous and patriotic, he was, that he was sent to India with a shipment of weapons for use in India against the British. He was caught by the British Agents on freedom fighters to adorn the sacred walls of the Gadar Memorial Hall at 5, Wood Street, San Francisco. It was an accomplishment of many years of unrelenting efforts of Mr. Prem Kumar Chumber.

A sumptuous dinner preceded by sweets and snacks was also served to the participants on behalf of the Consulate General of India which was an added grandeur to the magnanimity of the whole program. The whole event was videotaped with a live broadcast by Mr. Prem Kumar Chumber assisted by his friend, Mr. Chemas Bhatti and will go in the annals of the history of Gadar Memorial Hall as a lasting memory.

his sacrifices as a freedom fighter Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and will remain as shining symbol of patriotism for generations to come. We humbly salute to his spirit of



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courage, determination and sacrifices for the sake of his motherland he loved so much.

The cherished dreams of



historic Gadar Mela held under the auspices of Consulate General of India, San Francisco first time at its full-fledged level on July 24th, 2022 (Sunday) at Gadar Memorial Hall located Wood at 5, Street, San Francisco.

Honorable Consul General Dr T.V Nagendra Prasad and Consul Dr. Akun Sabharwal addressed the affluent audience with glowing tributes to his way back but escaped with the help of some German Agents and went into hiding under various guises before arriving back in India.

The most significant feature of this gathering was that a beautifully framed picture of Gadri Baba Babu Mangu Ram Muggowalia presented by Mr. Prem Kumar Chumber to the Consul General was honorably accepted to join the family of the



RAM MUGOWALIA'S ARRIVAL IN INDIA: -On his arrival back in India Mangu Ram Muggowalia founded "Ad-Dharm Mandal Punjab" against social discriminations so rampant in Indian society and remained its president for the rest of his life.

Mr. Muggowalia was also awarded with a gallantry Award for Muggowalia, Manyavar Shri Kanshi Ram and Babasaheb Dr. B.R.Ambedkar can be true only with the social emancipation of the down trodden sections of society.

With hearty congratulations to all on the historic celebration of 75th Anniversary of India's independence.

















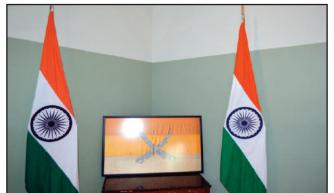
































































President of India – Droupadi Murmu

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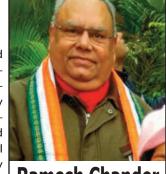
The wheel has come full circle. Droupadi Murmu, a worthy tribal lady and a symbol of the marginalized sections of the society, has been declared as the President Elect on July 21 and would take the solemn oath of office on July 25 to be the Mahamahim of Bharat, the first citizen of India and the symbol of the nation. Why I say that the wheel has come full circle in the 75th anniversary of our freedom and the year of 'Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav'? - Mahatma Gandhi desired to make a lady of the depressed and oppressed segments of the country to be the first President of India in 1947 itself as written by the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, Raj Mohan Gandhi in his book 'Why Gandhi Still Matters: An Appraisal of the Mahatma's Legacy'. According to the book, the proposal for a Dalit as the first President was sparked off by the death of a "talented" young Dalit from Andhra Pradesh, Chakrayya, who was

Orisha is remarkable in a sense that it a big stride towards the vision of Mahatma Gandhi and Babasaheb Ambedkar. Nalin Mehta in an article 'A new social evolution dawns on the Republic' in the Hindustan Times of July 22 rightly said, "A woman tribal as President is a logical step forward and a major milestone in Indian politics." "We the people of India" have made it and India remains on track. It is a matter of gratification to note. Congratulations.

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Over the years, philosophers, scholars, politicians, statesmen, diplomats, scientists from Rajendra Prasad to Ram Nath Kovind representing various religions, different ideological belief, both the gender, diversified socio-economic and cultural backgrounds adorned the high office of the President of India – The Mahamahim of India that is Bharat. It is my pleasure and honour to add here that during the course of my diplomatic ca-

Minister in Orisha, Governor of Jharkhand and occupied various positions of authority and responsibility in the BJP. As the youngest President of India, she will be the second lady occupant of the majestic Rashtrapati after Pratibha Patil and will be the third dignitary from the weaker sections of the society to reach the heights of the Raisina Hills in the Luyten's Delhi, the seat of power of India, in toe of K.R. Narayanan and Ram Nath Covind. I feel good by adding that I have had the honour to know and interact with the Mahamahims, Narayanan and Kovind. President K.R. Narayanan was my boss as Ambassador of India to China in 1977-78 and President Ram Nath Kovind and her gracious wife Savita are the family friends of my sister Kamla and brother-n-law (Behnoi) Kumar and as such Savita Behn and her daughter honoured us by joining at the marriage of my daughter Vaishali at Jalandhar in Decemtion' and 'empower-ment' as visualized by our forefathers and rightly so. I was told by one of my friends, Prem Shant, a close confidant of



Ramesh Chander
Ambassador - I.F.S. (Retired)
91-99885-10940

Babu Kanshi Ram that in the mid 1990s, PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee offered the position of President of India to Kanshi Ram to succeed President Shankar Dayal Sharma but he turned down the gesture by saying that he was more interested in pursuing his agenda and mission to get due share in the political structures and corridors of power for the 'Bahujans' rather than comfortably sitting in the











living with Gandhi at Sevagram Ashram from its inception. Mahatma Gandhi said on 2 June 1947 at a Prayer meeting that he wanted to make Chakrayya the President of India but that was not to be. Again on June 27, 1947 at a public meeting Mahatma reiterated his wish and said, 'If I have my way, the President of Indian Republic will be a chaste and brave Bhangi girl." He sounded his associates like Nehru, Patel and others but they turned it down by terming it as a "radial suggestion" as written by Raj Mohan Gandhi. Babasaheb Ambedkar termed the exalted position of the President of India as 'He represents the nation but does not rule the nation'. Ambedkar was also a protagonist of women power and desired them to be around in building the county and reforming the society. He said, "I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. Unity is meaningless without the accompaniment of women. Education is fruitless without educated women and agitation is incomplete without the strength of women." Droupadi Murmu's elevation to Raisina Hill from a remote village Rairangpur in reer, I have had the opportunity to see, meet and interact with some of the Mahamahims – Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Dr.Shankar Dayal Sharma, Giani Zail Singh, K.R.Narayanan, Pratibha Patil, APJ Abdul Kalam and Ram Nath Kovindand I cherish those moments and memories.

I wrote this, not long ago, on June 18, 2022 in one of my blogs. I also commented in one of my Facebook entries that on coming to know the candidature of Droupadi Murmu, her opponent, Yashwant Sinha should have withdrawn from the contest in all magnanimity and pragmatic arithmetic having registered the opposition's principled opposition to the ruling dispensation. Perhaps we are yet to learn the finer nuances of parliamentary democracy and conduct ourselves with 'constitutional morality' the much need attribute of good politics.

President Elect, Droupadi Murmu, 64, is fully qualified and competent to adorn the high office of Mahamahim, the President of India. He is a University Graduate with a wide spread experience – Teacher, Councilor, MLA, ber, 2001 and my son Rupesh attended the marriage reception of the scion of the first family of India when Kovind Sahib was an MP. Subsequently President Ram Nath Kovind Sahib visited our family home in Jalandhar as an MP and Head of the SC Morcha of BJP in mid 2010s. It is a matter of satisfaction that both Narayanan Sahib and Kovind Sahib did full justice to the highest job of the country under trying circumstances during their respective tenures. I am confident that the President Elect, Droupadi Murmu would prove herself and bring further laurels to the office of the President of India. PM Narendra Modi while congratulating her rightly said, "India scripts history...a daughter of India hailing from a tribal community born in a remote part of eastern India has been elected President."

I would conclude this piece with a somewhat prognostic note. It goes without saying that these political and strategic gestures of political parties to give these 'symbolic' positions to the competent nominees from the weaker sections of the society go a long way in promoting the agenda of 'affirmative acpalatial Rashtrapati Bhawan. I Googled to check the veracity of this anecdote and it was confirmed in a story in the Nav Bharat Times of March 22, 2022. Let us hope that a day would come when a dalit or a tribal would, too, occupy the coveted position in the South Block and 7 and reside at Lok Kalyan Marg (Race Course Road) with or without another Ambedkar or Kanshi Ram. It would be a big leap forward to transform our political democracy into a social and economic democracy as visualized by Babasaheb Ambedkar. Political wonders do happen.

Hearty congratulations to the President Elect Droupadi Murmu and all the best wishes to the outgoing President, Ram Nath Kovind and Savita Behn. Postscript: Without comment -

Claim: B. R. Ambedkar said – "The day a tribal woman becomes the President of India (the highest office), the reservation should be abolished in the country"

Fact: No evidence was found on the internet to confirm that Ambedkar made that statement. He made no such comments either in the Constitutional Assembly debates or in his books. Hence the claim made in the post is FALSE.

THE AD-DHARMIS: SOURCES/WRITINGS ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE AD-DHARM MOVEMENT

In addition to the book "Religious Rebels in the Punjab: The Ad-Dharm Challenge to Caste" authored by Mark Juergensmeyer which is a history book about the glorious Ad-Dharm Movement of the Untouchable Castes of Punjab for Ad-Dharm Religion, there are many other sources of information about the Ad-Dharmis.

The Indian Franchise Committee Report 1932 is another invaluable source of information which has a Memorandum submitted by the Ad-Dharm Mandal delegation to the Committee. The Memorandum starts with the following lines:

"In the first place we want to make it quite clear that we are not Hindus. There is no doubt that from time immemorial on account of political and economic pressure we have been kept in the fold of Hinduism. But this was done by the trickeries of the Hindus for their own political purposes. We are as separate from the Hindus as east is from the west and north is from the south. We are the descendants of the aborigines of India who were the real sons of the soil."

Support was also extended to the Ad-Dharmis by Mr. M.A. Ghani, M.L.C., General Secretary, Punjab Labour Board via his Memorandum submission to the Indian Franchise Committee, which stated:

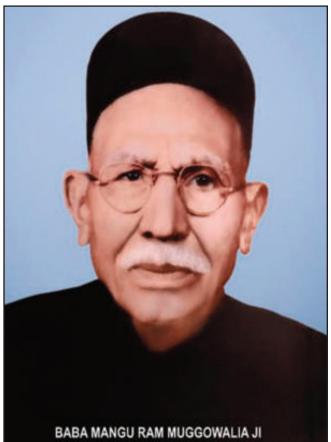
"A strong movement is afoot among these people to cut themselves off from the Hindus and form a separate religion of their own. This religion is called "Ad-Dharm". So popular the movement is among them that in the last census, with all the atrocities and cruelties perpetrated upon them by the Hindus and Sikhs, no less than 4 lakhs of them were able to have themselves recorded as Ad-Dharmis. Had there been no pressure on them from the well-to-do communities, their number would surely have been no less than 25 lakhs. Under the circumstances, I would strongly appeal for separate electorates for them."

Dr. Rajendra's Prasad's book "India Divided" is an invaluable source of information of that time period, which has passages about the Ad-Dharmis and further confirms the status of Ad-Dharm as a separate religious identity in pre-partition period in both Census 1931 and 1941. This book was first published in 1946. This book is a must buy for those interested in Indian History.

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In 1985, a Souvenir was pub-

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lished by Late C.L. Chumber, Organiser, Babu Mangu Ram Memorial Committee, on the 99th Birth Anniversary of Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia, which has invaluable information in Punjabi language about the Ad-Dharm Movement.

Recently it also came to my knowledge from Mr. P. K. Chumber, Editor-in-Chief, Ambedkar Times and Desh Doaba, that there is also reference of the Ad-Dharm Mandal in the writings of Shaheed Bhagat Singh. "Shaheed Bhagat Singh Te Una Deya Likhta" in Punjabi and "Bhagat Singh Aur Unke Sathiyon Ke Dastavez" in Hindi, are both edited by Jagmohan Singh. From this input about the Writings, I then also came across during research, a news article published in The Tribune dated March 22, 2018 titled "Pro-Dalit stance largely forgotten" which has a line stating: "Bhagat Singh backed the activities of the Adi Dharam Mandal led by Babu Mangu Ram." In addition to this, the article titled "Problem of Untouchability by Shahid Bhagat Singh"

> was published in Red Spark and "Achhoot Samasya" was published in Hindi in the Marxists Internet Archive (MIA). The source of information of this article was: "Kirti, a Punjabi Magazine published from Amritsar in June 1928." Balbir Madhopuri, Punjabi Writer and Sahitya Academy award winner, brought to my notice another publication titled "Bhagat Singh - Amar Vidrohi" edited by Malvinder Jeet Singh Warriach, and published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India.

> Additionally there are references/important passages about Dharm from the following sources in English:

1. Continuing Revolution of Dalit Identity Paradigms and Possibilities in Punjab - Nirmal Singh

2. Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire - Maia Ramnath

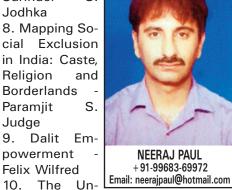
3. Sikh Identity: An Exploration of Groups Among Sikhs - Opinderjit Kaur Takhar

4. Routine Violence: Nations, Fragments, Histories - Gyanendra Pandey 5. Internal Classification of Scheduled Castes: The Punjab Story - Avinash Kumar Mishra

6. Rich Heritage of Punjabi Dalit Literature and its Exclusion from Histories - Raj Kumar Hans

7. The Ravi Dasis of Punjab: Global Contours of Caste and Religious

S. Surinder Jodhka 8. Mapping Social Exclusion in India: Caste, Religion Borderlands Paramjit S. Judge 9. Dalit Empowerment



touchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India - Oliver Mendelsohn, Marika Vicziany

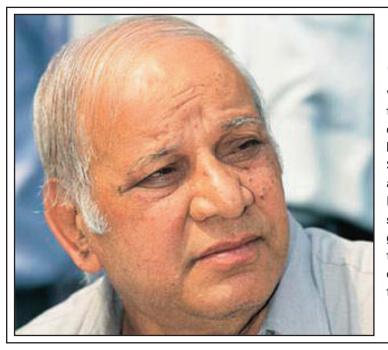
- 11. Religion, Language, and Power -Nile Green, Mary Searle-chatterjee
- 12. When Scholars Study The Sacred - Andrea Diem-lane
- 13. Dalit Empowerment through Entrepreneurship: A Case of Punjab -Gurpreet Bal

14. Mangoo Ram, Ad-Dharm and the Dalit Movement in Punjab - Ronki Ram

Important among the sources is the Ad-Dharm Mandal Report and the Census 1931 Punjab Report. The Ad-Dharm Mandal Report is available in English in the Appendix in the concluding part of the book "Religious Rebels in the Punjab: The Ad-Dharm Challenge to Caste". The Census 1931 Punjab Report has a Chapter on Religion which has a separate Section on Ad-Dharmis. In both Part-1 Report and Part-2 Tables of the Census 1931 Punjab, can be found statistical information about the Ad-Dharm Religion. Some statistics in tabular format has also been reproduced in the previous edition of Ambedkar Times.

In the previous two editions of Ambedkar Times I had shared information about the Ad-Dharmis from other available sources of the pre-partition period, "The Modern Review" and "The Indian Social Reformer". There may be many other sources of information which needs to be found and researched.

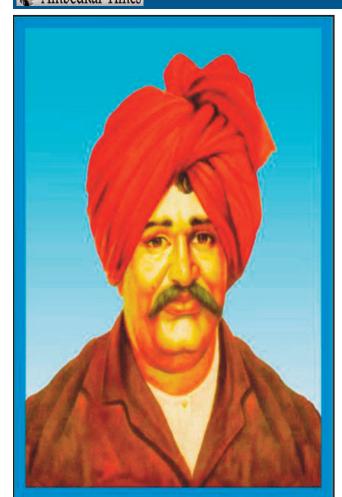
This research work is an ongoing process, and as and when more information is found, would be made known and shared.



BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY AND THE IDEOLOGY OF AD-DHARM

"The real objective of the Ad Dharm movement was to create an egalitarian social structure where Ad Dharmis would be proud of their community and feel free to aspire for equal opportunities. With an aim of achieving the same objective, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has become active in Punjab since 1985. Of late the Party has claimed that "the ideology of Ad Dharm has become the spine, heart, brain, eyes, feet, and arms of the struggle of the BSP" (Bahujan Samaj Bulletin 12 January 1997:8). In 1996, it won three of the thirteen parliamentary seats and recorded leads in as many as seventeen assembly constituencies in Punjab (Verma 1999). Kanshi Ram, founder of the BSP, was elected to Lok Sabha (1996) from the Hoshiarpur constituency, wherefrom 50 years ago Babu Mangu Ram, founder of the Ad Dharm movement, got elected to the Punjab Assembly in 1946. More interestingly, it was again in Hoshiarpur that the BSP celebrated 75th year of the AD Dharm movement on 28 February 2001. On this occasion, Kanshi Ram in his address exhorted the "Bahujan Samaj" to follow the principles of the Ad Dharm movement of which the BSP has, now, become the torch-bearer."

> REF: AD-DHARM MOVEMENT AND DALIT CONSCIOUSNESS IN PUNJAB - DR. RONKI RAM



Remembering: Chhatrapati Shahuji Maharaj on 120th year of 50 % Reservation for the Dalits and Backward Classes

Prem Kumar Chumber Editor-in-Chief: "Ambedkar Times" & "Desh Doaba" Weeklies

Chhatrapati Shahu Ji Maharaj was one of the earliest pioneer-saviours of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes who, for the first time in the history of the country, implemented 50 percent of reser ation for the Dalits and Backward Classes in government jobs and education institutions. He also facilitated the entry of the lower castes in the temples. He was of the firm view that a handful of the upper-castes of his state hadmonopolizedall the offices of profit. All the shrines in the temples within his state, as elsewhere in rest of the country, were also monopolized by Brahmin priests. He saw to it that at least fifty percent of the shrines were to be looked after by the priests belonging to lower castes. He wanted that the lower castes should get best of the education, so that they could compete with their counterparts from the upper castes effectively. To make this a reality, he made the primary education compulsory for the lower castes in his Kingdom of the Kolhapur state.

The seminal contribution made by Chhatrapati Shahu Ji Maharaj was not limited to education and government jobs. He made concerted efforts to liberate the lower castes from the all pervasive hegemony of the Brahminical priestly class structures of socioeconomic dominations by empowering them to stand on their own sources of livelihood so that they need not to depend on the evil and oppressive systems of Balutdari and Vatandari. He paved the way for the inclusion of reservation in the constitution of Independent India drafted under the Chairmanship of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to whom Shahu Ji Maharaj encouraged and supported to come forward to cut the shackles of the centuries old slavery of the lower castes. "Desh Doaba" & "Ambedkar Times" weekly newspapers fondly remember and pay its deepest regards to Revered Chhatrapati Shahu Ji Maharai on his great cause to the Dalits and Bacward Classes.

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